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A B S T R A C T S

Washington, DC

**Context Matters:
Shaping Urban Policy
Locally, Nationally,
and Internationally**

March 31–April 3, 2004

Washington Marriott Hotel

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Breakfast Roundtables

Sessions

April 1

Thursday, 7:00-8:00am

Breakfast Roundtables:

1. Writing Book Reviews

Moderators:
Ali Modarres, California State University at Los Angeles
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This informal gathering is designed for those interested in writing book review for professional journals and the Journal of Urban Affairs in particular. Session leaders will discuss how a review should be organized and what it should cover including the difference between short one book reviews and longer review essays of several books. During this session, we will also collect the names, credentials, and interests of those who may be interested in writing reviews for the Journal.

2. Social Equity in Urban Spaces

Moderator: Edith Barrett, University of Texas at Arlington
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Many of us in UAA spend a great deal of our time researching issues of fairness, justice, and equality in metropolitan areas. We work with the public and with local government agencies to improve the quality of life for all in the city. Some of us work on housing issues, some on welfare and poverty, others on economic development or physical planning. There is much we can share about our successes, failures, hopes and dreams, yet rarely do we have an opportunity to talk with one another and social equity. For example, those working in housing seldom have the chance to share ideas with those working in improving access to public education. Scholars focusing on economic development have little interaction with those concerned with building social equity in local governance. The purpose of the breakfast roundtable is to have an informal cross-policy discussion on social equity as it relates to all issues within urban metropolitan areas.

3. How Can We Create More Livable Communities: Insights From The Academic Community

Moderator: Fritz Wagner, University of Washington
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4. Transatlantic Lesson Drawing for Urban Policy

Moderator:
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There is a long history of transatlatantic, urban policy exchange going back at least to the meeting between Richard Nixon and Harold Wilson held in 1968 when both political leaders agreed that 'the two countries should look together at some of the domestic and social problems faced by their governments'. John Prescott, the UK Deputy Prime Minister, has visited the USA twice during 2003 seeking insights from US experience with urban regeneration - and in September the UK legislation introducing a UK variation on the US policy of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs)was passed into law. And it is not just a US/UK dialogue that is taking place. As colleagues in the European Urban Research Association are well aware, several continental countries are examining US experience. Meanwhile, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development is examining European experience with, for example, affordable housing policies. The purpose of this round table is to examine the cross-national policy transfer process. Despite the growing volume of policy exchange it can be claimed that the process is relatively unsophisticated, even haphazard. There is an opportunity here - and HUD officials are interested to participate alongside the National League of Cities and others based in Washington - to foster a well informed discussion that can consider the strengths and weaknesses of present approaches to transatlantic urban policy transfer and articulate ways of improving this process in the future to the benefit of all the countries involved.

5. The Future of Green Infrastructure in U.S. Metropolitan Area

Co-moderators:
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The purpose of this roundtable is to discuss the future of green infrastructure in U.S. metropolitan areas. The moderators will begin with a brief discussion of their research on open space protection programs in the U.S., green infrastructure policies in Europe, and the potential transferability of European green infrastructure policies to the U.S. However, the goal of the roundtable will be to encourage willing participants to share their perspectives on this issue and engage one another in a thought provoking dialogue.

1. Housing and Social Equity

The Geography of Inequality: Risk Factors for Increased Income Inequality in Large US Metropolitan

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Income inequality is an important public policy concern because higher levels of inequality are associated with poorer health outcomes and other problems. Income inequality has increased nationally over the past 3 decades, but some metropolitan areas have higher rates of inequality than others. The reasons for this variation are not totally understood. Using data from the 2000 Census, we computed GINI index scores for all 61 metropolitan areas with more than a million people. GINI scores ranged from 37.25 to 47.49. A regression model using GINI scores as the dependent variable and the percent of employment in manufacturing, per capita income, Black-White segregation, the percent of families living in poverty, sprawl, percent Black, total population and percent foreign born as the independent variables. The percent Black, percent foreign born and total population variables were dropped from the final model because they were not statistically significant. The final model explained 78% of the variation of the GINI scores. Manufacturing was associated with decreased income inequality. Per capita income, sprawl, percent of people living in poverty and Black-White segregation were associated with increased income inequality. These results are consistent with the theory that a decline in manufacturing has contributed to the increase in inequality. Sprawl and segregation may reduce opportunities for poor people (particularly Blacks) increasing inequality. Alternatively, higher inequality may allow people to isolate themselves from Blacks, resulting in increased segregation. It may allow people to distance themselves from all potential neighbors, increasing sprawl. Or all three characteristics may reflect another, unknown factor affecting cotemporary US society. But income inequality, segregation and sprawl may be linked. The potential relationship of sprawl and segregation with income inequality needs to be better understood.

The Adker Consent Decree: How Effective Has it Been in Desegregating Public Housing in Dade County?

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For the past five years, the Miami-Dade Housing Agency has been under a federal consent decree to foster "desegretative" allocation of scarce Section 8 vouchers and to encourage non-Black residents in particular, to move into historically Black public housing. The decree costs MDHA appoximately $600,000 annually in direct costs annually. Indirect costs and agency time and effort conservatively double that figure. Our paper seeks to answer how and in what ways the decree has achieved its objectives? Adker follows in a long line of legal agreements PHA's and tenant groups seeking to desegrative; many of these decrees have had only marginal impact on racial balance in public housing. Has Adker differed, or does it follow from its lineage? We will examine the cost of implmenting the decision, then place these cost data in the context of spatial patterns of residents before and after implemention. This may shed light on the relative value of judicial efforts at changing housing preferences as a means of fostering integration.

Mixed-Income Neighborhoods: Issues of Assessment

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This paper will revisit the issue of "mixed-income neighborhoods," by reviewing what we know about such neighborhoods and suggesting that policy-makers might consider setting up a simple assessment mechanism to determine if neighborhoods are being more or less mixed by income. We will draw upon two streams of literature to review, first, that literature that suggests that subsidized housing residents benefit from mixed-income environments, and second, that literature that focuses on racial integration of neighborhoods. Through a case study of Grand Rapids, Michigan, we will suggest that these perspectives may not cover all dynamics needing examination. We will also review ways that income mixture has been examined and measured, and suggest that, here too, that several approaches have certain benefits but that they may need adjustment. We will use a combination of examination of census data (ranging 1990 to 2000, by block group) for Grand Rapids and share results of focus group discussions in mixed-income

neighborhoods to describe the issues involved, and to propose that setting up a simple means of monitoring income categories might be one way to monitor neighborhood health and stability.

Walking the Thin Line: HOPE VI Impacts on Deconcentration and Gentrification

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The federal HOPE VI program aims at redeveloping the worst of the nation's public housing stock. The program attempts to replace older, dysfunctional public housing projects with mixed-use, mixed-income developments. Though the HOPE VI funds are typically limited to public housing projects, the success of these projects is determined somewhat by the impact of redevelopment on the surrounding community. If there is no impact, the redeveloped public housing remains an isolated community set within a larger ghetto and lower-income residents continue to face a range of neighborhood-based problems. If the impacts are too far-reaching, HOPE VI may trigger (or contribute to) gentrification, forcing out lower-income residents, depriving them of the benefits of redevelopment. This study examines 1990 and 2000 census data for a sample of HOPE VI projects completed during the 1990s, to examine the neighborhood changes that accompanied HOPE VI redevelopment. The analysis begins by identifying HOPE VI 'neighborhoods' which include the project site and the census tracts immediately surrounding it. The paper looks at changes in the racial makeup of HOPE VI neighborhoods, differences in the income structure of the neighborhoods, and changes in the housing stock. These are compared to changes occuring in the city as a whole (to account for processes larger than the HOPE VI project that might have led to differences in the chosen indicators).

The Transfer of Council Housing to Housing Associations in the United Kingdom

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The Transfer of Council Housing to Housing Associations in the United Kingdom: A Glasgow, Scotland Case Study Abstract: The United Kingdom (UK) has long had a very large sector of publicly-owned housing operated by local authorities (cities) and a small sector of non-profit housing operated by housing associations. Since the Margaret Thatcher era of privatization of the public sector, almost 1.5 million units of council housing have been

sold to its occupants under the "Right to Buy" program. With many local housing authorities saddled with aging stock and heavy debt burdens, a newer phenomenon over the past decade and more has been the introduction of "large scale voluntary transfers" (LSVTs) under which council housing estates have been sold to existing and new housing associations with the approval of a majority of tenants through a vote. It is estimated that approximately 600,000 units has been transferred in the UK since 1991. Advocates of council housing have opposed this "privatization" trend. A companion policy has been private management of council estates. LSVTs promise tenants guaranteed tenure, physical improvements, and controlled rent increases. The UK government and the Scottish Executive have subsidized relief from pre-existing debts to allow housing associations to finance improvements. In many cases, however, demolition of aged units has been deemed necessary. This paper will analyze the largest LSVT in the UK and Scotland - the transfer of the entire stock of Glasgow, Scotland's council housing (82,000 units) to the newly-formed Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) in March, 2003. This transfer was approved by a vote of the tenants in April 2002 by a margin of 58%-42%. The city's debt has been assumed by the Scottish Executive and substantial public funding has been promised to the GHA to assist with modernization over a decade, with most of the financing to come from private banks. Tenants are to be involved in the planning and implementation of the GHA's operations. It is estimated that 14,000-18,000 existing units will be demolished (on top of the 20,000 units already demolished by the city itself) but with declining demand only 6,000 new units are planned to be built. A similar LSVT proposal in Birmingham, England was rejected by its tenants in April 2002. This paper will analyze the arguments in favor and against LSVTs, the transfer process and impact, and policy issues related to finance, management, and tenant empowerment.

2. Urban Development Issues in New York

The Perils of Downtown Housing: Lessons From the Lower Manhattan Revitalization Plan

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In 1995, the City of New York instituted legislation that would provide incentives to developers to convert existing office buildings to residential use in Lower Manhattan, an area that had for decades been the financial center of the city but where numerous office buildings had subsequently become obsolete and vacant. The City's Lower Manhattan Revitalization Plan (LMRP) provided

tax abatements and zoning changes in order to boost property values and provide apartments in a tight housing market. The City's goal was to turn this commercial district into a vibrant 24-hour, 7-day-a-week community. As the economy continued to boom, however, office space became scarce and developers and owners turned away from the LMRP, preferring the higher rates-of-return of office development. In addition, the kinds of retailing and other amenities (e.g., movie theaters) that would make the area attractive were slow to materialize. This further hindered the conversion process. Drawing on the experience of the LMRP, I explore the two issues that have to be overcome for downtown housing, and office conversions in particular, to be successful: (1) the land use and financial frictions between the residential market and the office market and (2) the slippage between private-sector but publicly subsidized residential construction and the unsubsidized, private sector retail market. Conceptually, this is a paper about market conflicts and interdependencies.

On Different Sides of the Tracks? Location Patterns of Nonprofit and For-Profit Subsidized Housing Services in New York City

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Cities are increasingly reliant on private developers for affordable housing production. Nonprofit developers have long been targeted for public subsidies based, in part, on the assumption that they will work in the high risk, distressed neighborhoods that for-profit actors have allegedly abandoned. Unfortunately, the state of our knowledge about the relative behavior of nonprofit and for-profit developers is extremely limited. With governments devolving an ever greater share of provision to nonprofit and for-profit providers, city agents and advocates are keenly interested in the practical differences between them. This paper explores whether there are systematic differences in the location of subsidized, rental housing produced by nonprofit and for-profit developers under New York City's Ten Year Plan (TYP). The Plan has supported the production and rehabilitation of more than 150,000 affordable, rental and ownership housing units. My dataset contains location information on TYP projects completed between 1987 and 2000, with information on the profit status of the project developer and surrounding neighborhood characteristics. To determine the relative importance of individual tract characteristics on the completion of TYP projects in a given tract, I estimate the ratio of units in a tract that are nonprofit as a function of various tract characteristics (standard measures of neighborhood distress as well as measures of

recent change). Controls for conditions prior to invest-
ment, including housing stock and community capacity,
are also included. Separate models are estimated the
1980s and the 1990s to assess changes over time, in-
cluding convergence in the neighborhood characteristics
of nonprofit and for-profit projects. The Plan is adminis-
tered by City staff working under contracting regulations
and political pressures as they allocate projects to pro-
grams and qualified developers. To better understand
this service network and the ultimate location patterns
observed, these findings are combined with interviews
with institutional actors and reviews of agency docu-
ments.

*Dilemmas of Spatial Planning and Economic Develop-
ment: The "Up-Zoning" of New York City's Waterfront*

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 This paper uses a case study approach to anatomize a
governance predicament that arguably is unique to
global cities – that of regulating land in mixed used dis-
tricts near CBDs that not only are logical sites for com-
mercial and residential expansion but which (because of
their proximity to end markets and their cultural vibrancy)
are also prime niches for property that commands lower
revenues: specialty manufacturing, light industry and
arts-related establishments. At the center of the debate
over the role of land use regulation in the transformation
of two particular New York City neighborhoods - Green-
point/Williamsburg, Brooklyn and Long Island City,
Queens - lie important questions for urban scholars.
First, does new retail, commercial and residential devel-
opment near CBDs compensate for the decline of incum-
bent sectors whose actors do not bid premium prices for
land? Second does the mix of land uses resulting from
uncoordinated property-led development produce a sta-
ble or equitable economy in the long term? After summa-
rizing a debate among urban scholars about property-led
urban economic development strategies and the appro-
priate function of land use regulation in the context of
such strategies, the paper profiles the two cases, in
which industrial land in mixed use areas near the mid-
town Manhattan CBD is being "up-zoned" to accommo-
date high-density residential and/or commercial develop-
ment. It argues that in New York's case, property-led
development in the absence of a wider strategy for in-
dustry in the city has permitted the depletion of the city's
industrial base to a greater extent than was inevitable or
desirable. Through the case studies, the article illustrates
a dilemma faced by planners in cities where central land
is highly contested and where urban officials are under
pressure to enable the "highest and best" use of property

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even as they are called on to regulate in the wider public interest.

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and the Rebuilding of the World Trade Center

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Research Question: The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey is the principal governmental agency responsible for planning and implementing the rebuilding of the World Trade Center (WTC) site in downtown Manhattan. The Authority has a long history of insulation from public participation. It is now, however, engaged in an endeavor where it is under considerable pressure to accommodate public input, as well as the views of city and state officials, and it is handling an area of national as well as local interest. The question is how the Authority is responding to the forces acting upon it and what its actions indicate about the flexibility and responsiveness of this body. Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of interviews with knowledgeable informants and on journalistic accounts. Key findings: The planning process surrounding the rebuilding of the WTC is operating within an extremely complicated political and legal context. The families of victims of the trade center attack, civic associations, the public at large, and architectural critics all also have pressed their concerns. At the same time the Authority is constrained by the agreement with the site's leaseholder, the need to continue to receive revenues from the project, and the plans of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation. So far, certain aspects of the planning process have been very open, while other parts of it have been developed according to the insular institutional tradition of the Authority. Implications: Authority structures have been intentionally designed to insulate decision making about mega-projects from popular input. The process of rebuilding the WTC represents an extreme situation that tests the extent to which the Authority can adapt its modus operandi. Its response is significant both because of the intrinsic importance of this case and also for its implications concerning this form of public institution.

3. Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Context of Work

'Race' at Work: Black and White Characterizations of the Place of 'Race' in the Workplace

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Very different stories of racial inequality and racial relations are presented in US social and political discourse. One is the widely told story of the US as a color-blind society and the declaration that race and racism have ended as factors in public life. This characterization of the social world is espoused in the media, in the social sciences, and in public opinion; it is articulated by state law and policies that have begun to dismantle equalization efforts and by the installation of laws aimed at the non-recognition of race Racial minorities and racial majority observers are, however, presented at the same time with the very different story: widespread and systemic racial inequality. This story is graphically illustrated by the persistence of racial inequality across all social and economic indicators. Racial minorities continue to lag behind the racial majority across social and economic indicators. And despite one half of a decade of policies aimed at the full social and economic incorporation of racial minorities, racial minorities still face discrimination in employment and in a variety of public accommodations. There is thus a contradiction. This paper presents findings from a case study whose aim it was to understand the ways in which 'race' is experienced by racial minorities in the workplace - a setting that is itself posed with a contradicting set of racial realities and narratives, hosts the majority of adult interacial interaction, and is uniquely regulated and subject to policy leverage - and to understand the ways in which those experiences are understood by, characterized by, and responded to by white members of the same case study agency, who have decision-making authority regarding racial matters and policy. The findings suggest that 'race' has a real place in the workplace lives of minority employees – through racial preference, prejudice, and bias and through racialization - and that the workplace itself is a heavily 'racialized' environment. The place of 'race,' however is minimized as "perception" by white decision-makers and the racialized workplace itself is denied by them.

Creativity, Class, and Gender: Comparing Women and Men in the Creative Economy

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Building upon Florida's (2002) work on creative regions in the United States, this paper investigates the gender-class structure of the ten most creative and ten least creative regions. It analyzes the distribution of creative class, working class, and service class occupations by gender within those twenty regions as well as earnings, educational attainment, and poverty using data from the U.S. Census 2000. Women and men are compared within and across the two groups of most and least creative regions. Data analysis is underway, and preliminary results are not yet available.

Achieving Activism and Democracy: Lessons from Denver and Guadalajara

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Contingent work is on the rise in urban labor markets in the western hemisphere as global corporations, seeking flexibility in production, prefer disposable workforces. Labor organizations are particularly concerned by this trend responsible for eroding hard-fought workers' rights and benefits. Some nonprofit organizations are embarking on contingent workers' organizing projects to challenge worsening employment terms. Interestingly, organizations in North America and Latin America have conceived of contingent worker organizing in distinct ways: North Americans mobilize previously disorganized workers toward workers' centers and cooperatives, while Latin Americans prefer a popular education, consciousness-raising approach. This paper examines the roots and implications of these approaches in Denver, Colorado and Guadalajara, Jalisco. My data includes interviews with 25 activist organizations in the cities, as well as participant observation with two organizations most involved in contingent worker issues. I find that the divergent approaches are rooted in distinct anti-globalization discourses. In Denver, the anti-globalization perspective draws attention to the community disruption and atomization inherent in global capitalism. Isolated and vulnerable, workers are less able to mobilize themselves toward common goals. Denver's organizations see value in organizing the disorganized, providing them with resources and agendas for improving labor conditions. Guadalajara's discourse focuses more on democracy,

viewed as a positive export of globalization. In their view, low educational levels depress "true" democracy in Mexico, defined as self-actualization and empowerment. As such, organizations prefer educational approaches that instill the tools for determining personal goals. They are anathema to actively supplying agendas and action plans to workers. I argue that each approach suffers from the shortcomings of the other. In Denver, workers often fail to grasp the point of workers' movements designed by professional organizers. In Guadalajara, the educational approach does not produce mechanisms for ensuring worker mobilization. I argue that the cross-national exchange of ideas may help groups think about strategies that can inspire activism and democracy.

4. Issues in Urban Service Delivery

Expectations, Performance and Satisfaction with Urban Services

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This paper presents results from two studies that both test the expectancy disconfirmation model of citizen satisfaction with urban services. The expectancy disconfirmation model views citizen satisfaction as determined – not simply by the perceived performance of urban services – but through a process in which citizens compare performance to their prior expectations. This type of model has dominated private-sector research on customer satisfaction for several decades, yet it has not been applied before to the study of urban services. Tests of the model are performed using both a New York City citizen survey, involving 2000 interviews by telephone, and an online, self-administered survey of over 600 respondents from a national panel. Although the two surveys involve very different populations and methods, they both allow for the measurement of citizen expectations, disconfirmation of expectations, and performance perceptions, along with overall citizen satisfaction. Modeling results from the two surveys are surprisingly similar and provide strong support for the expectancy disconfirmation with performance model. These results suggest that citizen expectations and especially the disconfirmation of expectations – factors that previously have not been considered in empirical studies of the determinants of citizen satisfaction – play a fundamental role in the formation of satisfaction judgments regarding the quality of urban services. Implications for research and the management of urban services are discussed.

Ignorance, Ideology, and Willingness to Pay Taxes

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Previous research has demonstrated that citizens often seek the "free lunch" of lower taxes and higher government service levels when it is offered to them. Recent research has suggested that citizens act more reasonably when they have a more comprehensive understanding of the complex decisions facing government decision-makers. This paper uses the results of a survey of West Hartford, Connecticut residents to further examine this reasonableness notion. West Hartford faced a budget situation where projected revenues fell short of projected spending. Residents there were asked about their support for taxes for 24 different services. Respondents were also queried about their beliefs about possible efficiency gains. We use this data to test the effects of respondents' perceptions of possible efficiency gains and budget balancing preferences on their support for taxes to fund government services.

Meeting 'Multiple Realities': Evaluation and Quality Service Delivery in 'Modern' Local Government

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While it is a truism that it is important to shape urban policy to address the needs of local people, this is easier said than done. Local communities are frequently highly differentiated and the need to ensure delivery of quality public services is coupled with financial pressures. In England much of this has been encapsulated within the 'Best Value' regime which forms a part of New Labour's agenda for the modernisation of local government. Best Value aims to ensure that quality services meeting the needs of local people are provided as efficiently and effectively as possible. Although initially the process was seen by many in local government as a 'sledgehammer to crack a nut', the concepts at the heart of Best Value have now been widely accepted as potentially beneficial if applied appropriately. In essence, Best Value has supplied a mechanism through which local government seeks to operationalise customer-focused performance improvements. However, efficient operationalisation depends on a full explanation of the complexity of commu-

nity and its 'multiple realities'. An in-depth understanding of local needs, combined with accurate performance data, is necessary to underpin change if it is to be effective. It has been questioned whether the limited evaluation processes inherent within Best Value itself are in fact capable of providing such an explanation. This paper draws on the findings of a recent research project (funded by the Economic and Social Research Council) to examine how local authorities themselves are addressing this issue. It focuses on two key aspects. One is the growing use made of evaluation within local government. The other is the way in which the findings of Best Value service reviews are being linked with other elements of the local government agenda (especially community planning) to create a holistic, balanced and responsive approach to the development of local policy.

Urban Family Court Systems: A Comparison Between Kentucky and Ireland's Programs

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Research Question: Beginning with Cincinnati in 1914, family courts began to appear in American cities. In 1996 when divorce became legal in Ireland, Irish barristers and mental health professionals consulted with family court professionals in Kentucky with regard to initiating their own national family court system. Subsequently, Kentucky passed legislation in 2003 that mandated the establishment of family courts within each county. While factors that need to be considered prior to the establishment of a local family court have already been articulated by previous research conducted in the United States (Page, 1998), the unanswered question is: which of these factors contribute to the success of policy and program implementation efforts both nationally and internationally. Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data and information gathered through interviews with Irish barristers, mental health professionals, as well as professionals involved with the Kentucky family court systems. Two case studies are developed that detail the experiences of individual family court systems in Kentucky and Ireland. Key Findings: We posit four key determinants of success policy and program implementation with urban family courts nationally and internationally: 1) strict legal adherence; 2) recognition as a social service delivery system; 3) unified case processing; and 4) leadership. First, as a judiciary, family courts must

strictly adhere to legal and equitable principals and refuse to act without a solid legal foundation. Second, the family court system must be recognized as a social service delivery system, which requires and provides necessary services either directly, in-house, or by way of referral to outside agencies to address the complex and multidimensional social problems the family court faces daily. Third, as a unified case processing and management system, the family court provides substantial screening, assignment and case monitoring. Finally, the organizational structure and administration of a total family court system needs to provide the leadership to ensure that it functions in accord with established principals and standards (Brown, Kreitman, Mattingly, and VanZyl, 2002). In addition to these four key factors, the success of family courts is affected by the role of key local stakeholders, especially church groups, in implementing public policy. Implications: The study findings show that despite differences in some basic characteristics, especially with regard to the influence of a national church, successful family courts share certain common characteristics and attributes.

5. Social Capital's Role in Community Development: Strategies and Challenges

The Durability and Vulnerability of Bridging Capital in the Immigrant Inner City

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For urban scholars with an interest in the inner city spaces and those who dwell there, the assessment of bridging capital constitutes an important research opportunity. Bridging capital, the variation of social capital that links groups together in productive horizontal and vertical relationships, is particularly important in an era of shrinking public resources. The devolution of funding and responsibility for social programs to state and local administrations requires new levels of collaboration and the development and utilization of effective bridges. The author has designed a network-mapping model that has been used by community members in two urban centers to identify and assess bridging capital in relation to community revitalization efforts. The research provided insights regarding the strengths and vulnerability of such ties in the inner city. The results of the data analysis proved to be both explanatory and predictive and provided the basis for action as well as for future evaluation research.

The Role of Social Capital in Development - An Empirical Assessment of Well-being

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The notion that social relations, networks, norms and values matter in the functioning and development of society has long been present in the economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science literature. Only in the past 10 years or so, however, has the idea of social capital been put forth as a unifying concept embodied in these multidisciplinary views. In parallel with endeavors to refine the concept, a growing number of efforts have been made to measure social capital and its impact on development and on various dimensions of well-being. This presentation reports on selected results from the World Bank's Social Capital Initiative, which conducted original empirical research on social capital in 15 countries. Although the research was conducted in both urban and rural areas, it is argued that the relevance of the findings transcends geographic location. The studies of the Social Capital Initiative document the pervasive role of social capital in accelerating poverty alleviation and development, facilitating the provision of goods and services, and easing political transition and recovery from civil conflicts. Social capital often matters more than technical or economic considerations in the design and implementation of development projects, and there is an explicit interaction between these factors. Certain types of infrastructure or other projects should not be proposed for communities that lack the social capital to maintain them. The successful management of community resources requires minimum levels of human and social capital. Our knowledge of the critical factors that contribute to successful investment in social capital is just beginning to emerge. This should be cause for action, not hesitation, however, in view of the large demonstrated potential payoff.

Making Citizen Engagement Serve Development Objectives: Lessons from the EZ/EC Program

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The federal Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC) program mandated that participating cities make community-based partnerships fundamental to their local programs and engage zone residents in governance. Cities complied with this mandate in varying ways, and with varying degrees of competency and effectiveness. This paper analyzes their experiences using data from the 5-year, 18-site interim assessment of the

EZ/EC program. It identifies the major factors that contributed to effective performance of community-based partnerships, the major challenges to creating such partnerships, and strategies local participants used to address those challenges. The paper pays particular attention to the role residents played in zone governance, and considers the observed tension between meaningful resident engagement in decision-making and the ability of the zone to formulate a sustain a coherent development strategy.

Community Conflict Resolution in the Service of Development: Lessons from Indonesia

Michael Woolcock, The World Bank
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Michael Woolcock, Sociologist for World Bank, will be presenting about his most recent research in poor communities in Jakarta, Indonesia. He has been studying the effectiveness of local associations and institutions in community development with a focus on their role in conflict resolution.

Sustainable Formalisation and Social Capital in Street-Trade: A Tale of Two Cities

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Following structural readjustment, liberalization and globalisation, often exacerbated by conflict or the ravages of disease, the primate cites of the third world have seen an acceleration of population growth, and a rapid increase in their informal sector (Jacques, 2000). The main locus of urban informal sector growth has been in the expansion of street trading, accelerating land-use change and creating numerous conflicts within the petty-trade sector, and between traders and other urbanites. Pressure on urban managers to formalize or regulate trade has been intense and the adoption of repressive versus developmental approaches has attracted scholarly and policy debate (Rogerson, 2001) as increasingly developmental approaches have been advocated (ILO, 2002). Nevertheless, for traders, the formalisation of street trade has very uneven outcomes. Whether carried out through regulation or the provision of buildings, through removals or in situ, many traders either do not survive the transition, or continue to trade outside the boundaries of the new arrangement. The present paper reports on comparative research identifying and analysing those factors crucial to success in a trading career, which may be adversely affected by planning and other

urban regulatory interventions, based on in-depth inter-views in Dakar and Accra. Adopting Sustainable Liveli-hoods as a conceptual framework (Rakodi, 2000) it fo-cuses on petty traders. Drawing on social capital theory (Putnam 2001, Coleman, 1993, Fafchamps, 2000), three assumptions are tested: that social networks and the their cognitive elements are crucial to successful petty-trade over

the life course; Their disruption is partly responsible for failure of traders to survive change, e.g. formalisation; Those traders whose activities survive transitions, will typically have developed their networks, adapting them to changing circumstances. Findings support the hy-potheses and are discussed in terms of important impli-cations for urban management and planning practice; for planning theory and for social capital theory.

6. Information Technology Issues in Urban Develop-ment and Governance

The Cure for What Ails You?: Information Technology and the Changing Work of Urban Health Care Profes-sionals

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This research examines the relationship between re-cently adopted information technology and work prac-tices of health care workers in three large Boston hospi-tals. Generally, I find that context matters -- while infor-mation technology facilitated centralization and control in the case study hospitals, the particular nature of large urban hospitals seems to shield workers from the eco-nomic and social polarization experienced by workers in other industries. Theorists in disciplines as disparate as urban sociology (Castells 1989, 1996), organization stud-ies (Orlikowski 1991) and microeconomics (Autor et. al. 2001), have linked innovations in information technology to increased social and / or economic polarization in the work place. This argument has been made especially broadly by urban social theorists led by Manuel Castells (1989, 1996) and Saskia Sassen (1991). Castells and Sassen argue that economic restructuring and the wide-spread diffusion of information technologies have collec-tively produced tendencies towards more polarization in the workplace. The mobility of commodities and informa-tion is fundamental to Castell's concept of the "space of flows." This concept essentially refers to the situation where large organizations no longer reside in a specific locale, but in networks of information and power. To Cas-tells, it is this shift that has encouraged a global tendency towards spatial, social and economic polarizations. The nature of hospitals - relatively immobile, and yet en-

meshed in the space of flows - makes hospitals a particularly interesting environment in which to investigate the effects of information technology upon workers.

Metropolitan Development and Market Heterogeneity: Effects of Local Knowledge on Business Banking

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Recent studies by financial economists suggest that changes in information technology have dramatically reduced the importance of personal interaction between financial professionals and small business owners in influencing the geographic distribution of capital investment. However, prior research also offers some evidence that market research data and related forms of information provide less accurate and reliable representations of urban markets than is the case for relatively homogenous suburban markets. In this paper, I explore two closely related issues. First, I examine whether (1) the frequency of personal interaction between commercial bankers and the owners of local firms or (2) the number and geographic dispersion of branch offices maintained by a financial institution has a larger effect on small business lending in urban markets than in suburban ones. Second, I measure the extent to which such differences can be attributed to the social, economic and political heterogeneity of central city and suburban counties in four metropolitan areas (PMSAs): Washington D.C., Baltimore, Atlanta, and Miami. The analysis employs a unique combination of market research data on banks' local marketing and lending practices with FDIC and Federal Reserve data on financial institutions' branch offices and organizational structure. Preliminary findings suggest that local firms evaluations of banks' small business lending practices are more strongly effected by contact with bank personnel and branch offices in urban markets than in suburban ones. The paper closes by considering policy implications for the regulation of financial industry consolidation.

Unbundling the Multiple Dimensions of Urban e-Governance: Administration of and Access to Public Services, Elections, and Citizen Mobilization

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Utilizing Information Technology (IT) to provide city governments with more efficient management structures and

their residents with more flexible and efficient channels of communication and access to municipal information and services has been a major focus of interest among urban scholars. However, several other applications of IT are having major consequences for urban governance in the areas of voting systems and mass citizen mobilizations in cities to exercise political voice outside formal institutions. This paper argues that it is desirable and necessary to develop a broader framework that identifies and relates the array of ways in which IT is effecting the management and democratic practice in urban places. The use of e-government portals and other web services has changed for some the experience of city government. Web sites and web forms have replaced many counter service and mailing paper forms. IT has improved transactional efficiency and provides new ways of 24/7 access to information and services. The manner in which IT is playing a role in changing how residents interact with government and how the benefits and costs are distributed will be examined. A current area of substantial conflict in the U.S. is over the validity, in technical terms, and fairness of various traditional as well as advanced electronic voting methods. The nature of these issues and how they are related to the more general context of e-governance will be considered. Finally, IT has become central to the growing number and effectiveness citizen movements to mobilize to exercise political voice outside formal institutions in cities to contest or foster policies within their community and on a global-scale in ways that interact and often clash with police and other security forces seeking to control or prevent such mobilizations. How movements like Reclaim the Streets, Critical Mass, Flash Mobs, and the vast coalitions of movements that have assembled tens of thousands in a city, such as Seattle in 1999, can be accounted for and their implications in an e-governance framework will be explored.

Information and Communications Technologies Impact on Local Land Use Planning Management: Comparative Study of Chicago and Seoul Metropolitan Areas

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Research question: Innovations in information and communications technologies (ICTs) play a significant role in bringing new elements and characteristics in urban environment. However, sporadic evidence points to a possible lack of understanding of this phenomenon and of planning tools relevant at the local level. Thus, an important question for local planning is: how have local plan-

ning tools responded to the emerging issues and opportunities to manage effects of ICTs and what will be its implication? Methodology: To contribute to a better understanding of this emerging phenomenon, we conduct a comparative study of Chicago and Seoul metropolitan areas. The paper is based on qualitative analysis of information gathered through interviews with local planning agencies, planning and policy documents (e.g., zoning), and related research literature. Key findings: The research findings identify land use planning issues and highlight the tools employed by local planning agencies. Municipalities in the Chicago metropolitan area have somewhat limited influence on establishment of ICT infrastructure due to the federal laws, which prevents them from regulating access to telecommunications services. Still, local governments focus on addressing health and aesthetic issues brought about by ICTs through local zoning regulations. In the Seoul metropolitan area, the national government plays a major role in providing ICT infrastructure and supporting relevant effects. Municipalities, therefore, do not take any part in regulating either ICT infrastructure or land use issues related to ICTs. Implications: The comparative approach provides an insight into the ways to manage the relationship with land use planning and policy tools in different context. Further development of comprehensive policy-oriented research is suggested to explore the effectiveness of planning policies and tools to provide a better guidance of ICT-related developments and impacts.

Electronic Government at the Grassroots: Barriers, Strategies and Impacts

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In the past five years or so, local governments across the US have rushed to adopt electronic government (a.k.a, e-government) as a alternative means of providing governmental information and services to citizens and businesses. Evidence available from the limited research conducted to date tells us that e-government is very costly; that while it may have the potential for some dramatic impacts on local governments, those effects are likely to be less than transformative; and that local e-government is not terribly sophisticated as measured by transactional capabilities and "portal-ness." Four obvious questions suggested by evidence are: 1) why has local e-government has not advanced more rapidly in terms of its sophistication? 2) what barriers do local governments face in deploying e-government? 3) what strategies do local governments use to overcome those barriers? And 4) what impacts, if any, have occurred from local e-

government in its early stages? To address these questions, I conducted four focus groups (in late 2002) with Chief Information Officers (CIOs) or their equivalents and other top officials from 38 US city and county governments. (This research was funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation.) I am currently in the process of coding the data from the focus groups. This task will be completed in the next few weeks when I will begin conducting data analysis in preparation for writing various papers from this research. In the paper proposed here, I will begin with a brief survey of the literature on local government adoption of e-government and will place this literature in the broader context of the literature on IT in government. I will then report findings from the focus group data with respect to barriers to e-government encountered by the focus group governments, strategies that these governments employed to overcome the barriers and deploy e-government, and the initial impacts from e-government that these governments have reported. I will conclude with observations about the probable next steps in the evolution of local e-government in the US and about what impacts can realistically be expected from e-government on governmental efficiency, effectiveness and service delivery and on government-citizen relations. The call for papers for the 2002 UAA Conference suggests (and rightly so) that "Context Matters." One aspect of my research which will be addressed in this proposed paper is whether and the extent to which certain "contextual" variables affect local governments' deployment of e-government, its sophistication and impacts. Among these factors are: type of government (whether city or county), form of government (whether mayor-council or council-manager), metropolitan status (whether central city suburban or independent), region of the country, wealth. I will report findings from the focus group governments as well as from two nationwide surveys (2000 and 2002) about whether and the extent to which these variables seem to "matter" with respect to the outcomes of e-government adoption, sophistication and impacts.

7. Colloquy: The University, the City and Land Development

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8. Arts and Education in Urban Development

The Local Government as a Policy Network Manager: Philadelphia's Avenue of the Arts

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Policy Network Management in Cultural District Initiatives: The Role of the Local Government in Managing the Implementation of Philadelphia's Avenue of the Arts This paper will present my dissertation research findings on the role of the local government as a policy network manager. Given the emergence of policy networks as a form of local governance, this research examines the effectiveness of the local government as a network manager. My dissertation studies the Philadelphia local government's role, under the leadership of Mayor Rendell (1992-2000), in managing the implementation of its cultural district, the Avenue of the Arts. By drawing on network management and urban development literature, this case study analyzes and evaluates how the Philadelphia local government managed the network through organizing interests, building consensus, and utilizing its policy tools (regulatory, economic, and communicative) to solidify the network and ensure its success. The Avenue of the Arts initiative is an important case because it demonstrates how the Philadelphia local government used network management strategies to move a series of stalled projects forward by motivating key actors to commit their resources to initiative, engaging in problem definition to make the development of a cultural district an important public policy goal, and serving as a facilitator for communication between divided actors so that they could develop and reach a shared goal. My research suggests that, despite its access to policy tools and resources, the local government is a weak network manager, effective in moving projects to completion but failing to safeguard democratic decision-making. This claim will be supported by: 1) examining the applicability of network management's view of the government as a special network actor charged with the unique responsibility of upholding democratic ideals to the U.S. urban context, 2) tracing key decision points in the implementation process to identify the local government's network management strategies, and 3) analyzing how policy lessons from the Philadelphia case can be used to advance the dominant theories of network management.

Culture vs. Concrete: Contrasting Approaches of Economic Development Strategies and Downtown

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Economic development strategies to support urban revitalization of downtown centers have traditionally focused on the big ticket items such a sport stadiums, convention centers, condominiums, hotels and a multitude of entertainment projects designed to attract middle class and upper income residents back downtown. While this approach has been the standard in downtown building, many have questioned the effectiveness of this strategy as a means of attracting people and business back downtown. Growing evidence suggests that numerous cities are using another approach, which maybe more effective in revitalizing downtown centers. This other approach builds on the lifestyle advantages sought after by many business location decision makers, new knowledge economy workers, and the middle and upper income classes by focusing on the arts and educational institutions as an economic development strategy. This paper provides a critical review of these two approaches as strategies for revitalizing downtowns and as a means to attract the new knowledge economy companies, workers and the middle and upper income residents back to downtown. Given that quality of life is important in attracting the new knowledge economy worker and the middle class back to downtowns, one would hope to find the use of arts as a strategy being significantly used by cities. However, the question which remain unanswered is how prevalent is the use of arts and culture as an economic development strategy in downtown revitalization? Methodology: The paper is based on quantitative analysis of data and information gathering which includes interviews with downtown development organizations, chambers of commerce, city officials and public documents (e.g., strategic planning reports, reports, and annual reports). Three case studies are developed that detail which approach each city is utilizing. The cities in the case study, all from North Carolina, include Greensboro, Charlotte, Winston Salem and Raleigh/Durham. Key Findings/Implications Paper in progress.

The University-Community Partnership—A Model for Neighborhood Revitalization and Economic Development Initiatives: The Case of Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio

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Research Question: The relationships between a university and its surrounding communities nationwide may be metaphorically described as a marriage of circumstance in which the well-being or the lack thereof of one, could directly or indirectly affect the other. For example, if a university is surrounded by blighted neighborhoods in which crime waves, economic stagnation, lawlessness, and poverty are a fact of everyday living, enrollment and other social activities in that university could be negatively affected because students and faculties alike, would not want to learn and work under such antagonistic setting. Youngstown State University is located in Youngstown, Ohio—a mill-town community whose economy was devastated in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the wake of the deindustrialization of the U.S. economy due to global competition. As a typical Midwestern city, Youngstown faced multi-lateral social and economic problems associated with suburbanization of its residents and businesses, high unemployment, and crime waves following steel mill closings. Youngstown State University was then surrounded by dilapidated housing units, and high crime neighborhoods that negatively impacted the social order and image of the university, resulting in a steady stream of students' flight. The question is: What and how did Youngstown State University Administration collaborate with the city government to reverse the status quo and increase student enrollment in its present form? Methodology: This paper is based on qualitative analysis of data and information gathered from interviews with top administrators at Youngstown State University, Youngstown City Mayor, Youngstown Economic and Planning Departments, COPC program director, and related research literature. This case study will detail the reasons for the significant turn around of the once derelict neighborhoods to that of attractive and thriving community as well as growth in the student enrollments. Key Findings: We posit five key variables for the success story of this model university-community partnership: mission statement of the university, competent leadership/ political capital, planning, funding, and aggressive advertisement. The mission statement of the university clearly states among others, to work collaboratively with the city and the larger communities to promote the social, economic, and the cultural well-being of their residents. As Hathaway et al (1990) surmised, "The university must not stand apart from its society and its immediate environment, but must be an integral part of that society. [It] best serves itself and society by assuming an active leadership role as opposed to its traditional stance of somewhat passive responsiveness." Implications: The study findings show that in spite of doomsayers' arguments that the inner city neighborhoods around the university would be difficult to revitalize in the short run, including improvement of the university's downward spi-

ral in enrollment – it has been found that good leadership, planning strategy, persistence, foresight and collaboration—have made a world of difference between success and failure in this effort. Future tasks involving university-community collaboration, should factor in these variables in order to truly evaluate their impacts on the outcome. Related Published Research Hathaway, Charles E., Mulhollan, P.E., and White, Karen A. (1990) "Metropolitan Universities: Models for the Twenty-First Century," Metropolitan Universities. Benson, Lee. (2000). Higher Education's Third Revolution: The Emergence of the Democratic Cosmopolitan Civic University." Cityscape: A Journal of Policy development and Research, Vol.5, No.1:47-58. Reardon, K. M. (200). "An Experiential Approach to Creating an Effective Community-University Partnership: The East St. Louis Action Research Project. Cityscape: A Journal of Policy development and Research, Vol.5, No.1: 59-74.

Building a Creative Hub: New York City's Creative Occupational Clusters

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There is no greater home to creativity than New York City. For decades, it has been a mecca of artistic and financial innovation. It is an intuitive leader in world culture and economy. This report examines the role of creativity in the greater New York City economy through an analysis of creative occupations. The great urbanist Jane Jacobs long ago noted the role of diversity and creativity in urban economic development. Others have shown the role played by human capital in regional development. More recently, Richard Florida at Carnegie Mellon University has argued that creativity is the building block of human innovation and economic success. Cities that nurture such creativity are the cities that prosper and grow. The research we have undertaken attempts to quantify and measure such creativity in New York City. Our study uses a measure referred to as a Location Quotient (LQ) to examine the concentration of creative occupations in the greater New York City economy. This is a method for measuring the concentration of a particular occupation in a region in comparison to its concentration in the United States. Using Bureau of Labor Statistics data for 2000, we have used the Location Quotient to measure the concentration of creative occupations in the New York Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA). Although traditional Location Quotient computations often use the total U.S. as base, we have opted to use more stringent (and more appropriate) criteria – gauging

the LQs of New York's occupations relative to other Metropolitan areas (MSAs) in the United States. Hence, we evaluate New York City relative only to other cities. We have also attempted to gauge the creative advantage of New York in two ways: relative to the total creative employees in the MSAs and relative to the total employees in the MSAs.

Thursday, 9:30-10:55am

9. Urban Politics: From Polarization to Incorporation

Against Assimilation: Mobilization and Group Political Incorporation in American Urban History

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Conventional images of group political incorporation in American urban history typically follow a model of liberal pluralist assimilation. In this view, the city is a democratic melting pot, where incoming groups gradually learn to participate in a liberal institutional arena and civic culture. Periods of urban protest merely reflect temporary pressures associated with the progressive accommodation of new groups. This pattern is reflected in the dynamic of mobilization: protest eventually subsides, moderate group representatives gain "entry," and each new group repeats the same cycle in a process of urban ethnic and political "succession." This paper proposes another interpretation. Drawing from urban regime theory and path-dependent (rather than fixed-cycle) models of movement outcomes, it assumes that political institutions are normally exclusive and discourage the absorption of new groups. Challengers necessarily disrupt established links between state and social actors, and call into question the organization of the regime as a whole. Mobilization introduces conditions of radical contingency and creates possibilities for alternative paths of reconstruction. Rather than the inevitable assimilation into a largely unchanged system, this approach allows for more detailed inquiry into concrete historical context, including the composition of the regime prior to the challenge, the alternative paths at stake in the conflict, and the reasons why certain paths prevail over others in a particular juncture. This approach is applied to an analysis of the urban black power movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Oakland, California. I show the established white-dominated regime excluded African Americans and resisted their challenge for power. I argue that the movement produced at least three different models of black empowerment: bureaucratic incorporation, exemplified in the ur-

ban renewal programs; bureaucratic opposition, illus-trated by the organization of the Great Society poverty programs, and independent party organization, repre-sented by the Black Panther Party.

The Cause and Context of Intra-Urban Political Polariza-tion in Canadian Cities

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Context: Research in the United States and Canada has found that residents of cities and suburbs have been polarizing in terms of their voting behaviour and political attitudes, even after controlling for individual-level char-acteristics (age, gender, religion, education, income, ethnicity, etc.). Suburban residence is increasingly linked to support for political parties and ideologies on the right of the spectrum, while residents of the inner cities hold more left-wing attitudes and vote for the left. However, the reasons for this polarization are not yet clear. While one perspective argues that individuals are self-selecting into different residential environments due to political values, others claim that segregation based on housing tenure or mode of consumption is the cause. A final per-spective suggests that differences in political positions are due to social contact between residents within a community (the 'neighbourhood effect'), or to the local context of information. These hypotheses have yet to be tested against each other in an empirical study. Method-ology: To test which of the above factors (self-selection, housing tenure, mode of consumption, social contact, local context) are responsible, after controlling for individ-ual-level characteristics, for city-suburban political polari-zation, interviews of 203 residents in the Toronto region were conducted by the author. Both qualitative and quan-titative (logistic regression) analyses were conducted on the results. Key Findings: City-suburban political polari-zation in Toronto is due to a complex interaction of fac-tors. Strong support was found for the proposition that those with views on the left are self-selecting into the inner cities, while some of the differences in voting and attitudes can also be explained via the local context of information and mode of consumption. The study found little evidence that political polarization between inner cities and suburbs is due to differences in housing tenure (tenants versus home owners), or to social contact be-tween neighbours.

Suburban Crusaders: The New Black Political Leader-ship in the South

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During the years 1970 to 2000, there was an increase in the number of Black residents in the suburbs of the South. During this period, the Black population developed strong Black leadership to help in the fight for racial and political equality in these locations. The Black leaders assisted the Black population in achieving partial political incorporation and a share of governmental resources. However, what this Black leadership also did was create a more pluralistic dialogue in a geographic area that was a haven for monistic thought patterns. This paper will analyze how a rising Black population in southern suburbs mobilized, created a different style of leadership, and has had an impact on the discourse in metropolitan areas of the South. The literature review conducted for this paper has turned up almost no research on the role of Black leaders, and other minorities for that matter, in southern suburbia. Research on black suburbanization, which began in the late-1960s, has focused primarily on issues associated with segregation and integration. This paper breaks new ground in developing ideas concerning leadership in America?s new melting pot ? southern suburbs. As a result of southern suburbs witnessing an influx of minority residents, a new battleground in the fight for equality in political capital and government services has been created. The leaders from the Black community who have led this fight were not of the same cloth as their forefathers in urban areas. They employed Civil Rights tactics and other measures developed for urban political fights, but also utilized savvy political techniques for the new affluent and educated population of suburbia they represented. Overall, this paper will posit that a suburban political landscape has required the development of a very suburban political leader. Politics in suburban areas has focused on different issues and therefore a different type of political leader has emerged. What worked in the urban areas of the South during the 1960s and 1970s, has not necessarily worked in the suburban areas of the South in the 1980s and 1990s. Black leadership in suburbia has created not only different mechanisms of involvement, but also different characteristics in dealing with the White leadership.

10. Urban Places by Design or Default?

Full of Emptiness

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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 dimension of the issue and the impact that urban decline and emerging emptiness has on different urban audiences: residents, business, potential visitors and, critically, policy-makers. The paper will then offer a critique of the expansive literature that presents solutions to emptiness, in particular examining 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 will present two case studies from a large Midwestern city to illustrate the strengthens and weaknesses of the approach to contemporary urban decline. It concludes with a discussion of alternative policy solutions for the empty city.

Seattle Uncovered: Life Without the Alaskan Way Viaduct

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The Seattle Alaskan Way Viaduct was built adjacent to Puget Sound in the 1950s. Seen as a way the way to speed cars north-south across the face of the city, it was hailed as a major highway improvement in its day. Today, the elevated roadway separates the city from its water's edge. The Viaduct is presently in poor condition and many citizens want to see it torn down. This paper explores the controversy and depicts a future without the roadway in place. Design alternatives are shown that depict the city uncovered. Methodology: Records of public meetings were reviewed and interviews were held with key stakeholders. The local newspapers were perused as well. An urban planning/design class took this information and developed a written account of the controversy and subsequently developed alternative designs to try and explore what new possibilities would emanate if the viaduct were raised. Key Findings: We found that there was much interest in all design alternatives. Virtually all persons who attended the class presentations preferred the removal of the viaduct. What helped inform their decision was the visual depiction of possible future designs. What governmental leaders honed in on was the cost of the alternatives. They liked the least cost alternative. Implications: Study findings show that when designs are crafted that the least cost alternative seems to win out amongst all choices. Benefit/cost analysis techniques may need to be further improved to better analyze such projects.

University Community Partnerships for Smart Growth

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Concerns about sprawl, traffic congestion, and loss of open space have risen to the top of community concerns. Often, while the problems are recognized, communities do not have the expertise or economic resources to address them. Driven in part by increased calls for accountability and "engagement," institutions of higher education have begun to play active roles in bringing their intellectual and institutional resources to bear on their surrounding communities. Within universities, departments and schools of urban or regional planning and urban affairs have often been leaders in creating partnership projects, involving faculty and students with community and civic organizations. This involvement has often been of very long duration, moving from project to project, enhancing the public debate while providing research opportunities for faculty and educational value for students. This paper presents the highlights of a book that is being edited by the authors, sponsored by the U.S. EPA and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

11. Community Investment and Lending in Urban Neighborhoods

Community Reinvestment and Community Crime: Does Access to Home Mortgage Money Reduce Crime Rates?

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Abstract: Mortgage lending has increased while crime has gone down in the nation's cities. Community reinvestment advocates and law enforcement authorities have long contended that access to financial services and home ownership are critical to neighborhood stability all of which contribute to lower crime rates. But no systematic research has explored the relationship between lending and crime. This study utilizes mortgage loan data with census and Uniform Crime Report data to examine the impact of lending on crime in Seattle, Washington communities, controlling for several neighborhood characteristics. We also examine the impact of loans made by lenders covered by the Federal Community Reinvestment Act to determine whether fair lending policy has an independent effect. The findings show that increased home mortgage lending is significantly associated with

lower crime levels and that the relationship is even stronger for lending by CRA-covered institutions. This research advances our understanding of the linkages among financial services, neighborhood social organization, and crime. It also offers policy recommendations for community reinvestment and law enforcement initiatives.

Does the Community Reinvestment Act Help Minorities Access Traditionally Inaccessible Neighborhoods?

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Mortgage lending has increased while crime has gone down in the nation's cities. Community reinvestment advocates and law enforcement authorities have long contended that access to financial services and home ownership are critical to neighborhood stability all of which contribute to lower crime rates. But no systematic research has explored the relationship between lending and crime. This study utilizes mortgage loan data with census and Uniform Crime Report data to examine the impact of lending on crime in Seattle, Washington communities, controlling for several neighborhood characteristics. We also examine the impact of loans made by lenders covered by the Federal Community Reinvestment Act to determine whether fair lending policy has an independent effect. The findings show that increased home mortgage lending is significantly associated with lower crime levels and that the relationship is even stronger for lending by CRA-covered institutions. This research advances our understanding of the linkages among financial services, neighborhood social organization, and crime. It also offers policy recommendations for community reinvestment and law enforcement initiatives.

The Effect of State Legislation on Sub-Prime Lending

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This research examines predatory lending practices and new state legislation intended to respond to this problem - one that continues to increase throughout metropolitan areas in the United States. We explore why some states have taken legislative actions to address these lending patterns and other states have not or why some states pass weak and others pass strong legislation. Our research suggests that states that have passed anti-

predatory lending legislation had a higher percentage of black sub-prime loans and higher black-white sub-prime loan disparity ratios compared to other states at the time the legislation was passed. Unlike the lending patterns for blacks, the percentage of sub-prime loans received by Hispanics in states with anti-predatory lending legislation is not higher than the percentage of sub-prime loans in other states. The Hispanic-white sub-prime loan disparity ratios are also not higher. A state's passage of anti-predatory lending legislation and the strength of legislative oversight is related to the following variables: passage of a city anti-predatory lending ordinance within the state prior to the existence of state legislation; the geographic region; percent metropolitan population within the state; party affiliation of State Government in control (e.g. governor, legislators); percent Black legislators; percent Hispanic legislators; the extent of state and national interest groups lobbying for and against the legislation.

Radical Restructuring or Business as Usual? The Community Reinvestment Act and Access to Banks in Post-Apartheid South Africa

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Using legislation as its main tool, the apartheid government provided White South Africans with abundant physical resources and economic opportunities. Correlated with the opportunities provided to Whites was the lack of opportunity available to other racial groups. Since 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) led government has attempted to remedy the effects of apartheid through legislative means. Community reinvestment legislation is part of this effort, and the ANC is determined to pass a Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) before the end of 2003. The South African government hopes that CRA will effect two changes, one geographic and the other institutional. The geographic transition concerns increasing the flow of funds into previously marginalized communities. The institutional change concerns broadening access to South Africa's banks beyond the 15-percent of the population currently served. This paper considers CRA's ability to effect institutional change: will CRA broaden access to South Africa's banks? Whether or not CRA will broaden access to South Africa's banks is a function of: the provisions of CRA, the attributes of South Africa's underserved populations, and rigidity or flexibility on the part of the country's banks. In order to assess these independent variables, the paper relies primarily upon analysis of stakeholder interviews conducted in 2002-3 with individuals from government, political parties, banks, housing institu-

tions, and community groups. Census data for the Gau-teng Province (Johannesburg/Pretoria) bolsters this analysis. The paper concludes that rigidity or flexibility on the part of South Africa's banks is the main determi-nant of whether or not CRA will result in broadened ac-cess to these institutions. In particular, banks can affect access to their services along four lines: proximity (location of services), familiarity (marketing efforts), affin-ity (customers' being made welcome in these formerly exclusive institutions) and relevancy (usefulness of prod-uct design). While the provisions of CRA might affect each of these things, the flexibility and creativity of South Africa's banks will ultimately determine whether or not CRA results in meaningful institutional change in post-apartheid South Africa.

12. Health and Human Services in Urban Areas

Health Services and Economic Development in US Met-ropolitan Areas

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 The suburbanization of employment combined with dis-crimination and a lack of affordable housing in the sub-urbs has created a 'spatial mismatch' of jobs and workers in recent decades. Job growth in industries more likely to employ lower-income central-city residents is occurring in areas of the metropolis least accessible to the poor. The result has been the increasing poverty and marginaliza-tion of inner-city populations. While urban job losses in manufacturing and other traditional 'blue-collar' industries continued unabated during the 1990s, central cities have retained a competitive advantage in health services, which constitute a large and growing base of central-city employment and are projected to enjoy substantial future growth. Broadly defined, health services include those establishments that provide people with medical, surgical and other health services. Unlike other service industries that are highly concentrated in central cities, namely pro-ducer services and tourism, health services can provide low-skilled workers with employment opportunities that enable them to advance toward jobs with more responsi-bility, skill, and compensation. Despite their rapid growth, prominence in many urban areas, and economic and workforce development potential, health-services indus-tries have attracted little attention from investigators of central-city economic development. In this paper we at-tempt to fill the gap by answering three key questions: · Do health services cluster in central cities? · Are central-city residents disproportionately employed in health-

services establishments? · Do health services offer low-skilled, central-city residents better job opportunities than other service industries located in the central city? Our findings will foster a better understanding of urban economies and aid policymakers in devising economic and workforce development strategies that promote central-city growth and create good jobs for low-income, entry-level workers.

Human Service Organizations and Children in Need: Are They Located in the Same Neighborhoods?

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An important element in urban social service provision is having organizations sited near those in need of assistance. In the case of children, after-school programs should be located within easy reach of children. Child care centers should be convenient for family members to get to work on time. But often nonprofits are situated where space is available and affordable, raising questions about the potential mismatch between their locational choices and community needs. As part of an ongoing study to assess the capacity of nonprofits that serve children in the Washington, DC metropolitan area, the proposed paper will examine the extent to which the location of human service nonprofits fits the distribution of children, particularly those from low-income families, in the DC region. More specifically, the paper uses data from U.S. Bureau of the Census and the National Center for Charitable Statistics to determine if nonprofits that serve children are evenly distributed throughout the DC metropolitan area, and how their locational choices relate to community-level social and economic factors in the region. Using spatial software, the study will map the location of human service agencies against several socioeconomic characteristics, including the number of children in poverty, children in single-parent families, families in poverty, number and percentage of immigrants, and unemployment rates. These data will be mapped at the census tract level in order to provide a detailed profile of geographic areas within each jurisdiction in the metropolitan region. By analyzing the spatial relationship between nonprofits and the children they serve, the paper will identify neighborhoods with a strong supply of services and areas that may lack the charitable infrastructure to adequately assist those in need. From a policy perspective, this study can help local leaders to direct public resources to specific locations that have relatively high or unmet needs.

Inner-city Food Shopping: Access to Health

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Research Focus: The U.S. Healthy People Report notes that individual behavior is embedded within a social, economic, and built environment that shapes behavior and provides access to healthy food. Black dietary studies indicate that blacks consume less fresh fruits and vegetables and more cholesterol rich foods than other ethnic groups. Our research focus is whether policy makers should focus on changing individual behavior or changing the opportunities for accessing healthy food in inner-city neighborhoods. Research Methodology: The methodological approach is a case analysis of inner-city shopping in Buffalo, NY. We utilize 900 face-to-face interviews to examine neighborhood constraints for healthy food shopping. We overlay the results of the face-to-face surveys with maps of food shopping opportunities and site visits of neighborhood food stores to contextualize the interplay between access to opportunities for eating healthy in the neighborhood and resources available in the neighborhood for accessing healthy food. Key Findings. Our paper illustrates obstacles facing inner-city residents to access healthy food. The focus of national studies on food opportunities is lack of healthy food in general, not convenience food. The issue for inner-city residents is less access to weekly food shopping opportunities, but more of access to convenient food shopping. For weekly shopping, residents do there shopping outside the neighborhood. In terms of convenient food shopping, residents shop closer to home. The problem, however, is what is available--high-fat, inexpensive convenient food. Evidence from suburban neighborhoods indicate nutrition quality and prices are similar. For inner-city policy makers, the issue thus becomes how can we make fresh fruits and vegetables convenient and accessible?

Community Supports for Children and Youth: A Cross-National Perspective

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There has been an increasing policy focus in recent years on the use of local communities (often defined as neighborhoods in cities) as an organizing principle to address a range of social problems, from poverty to child abuse to mental health to youth development. Community-based efforts across this spectrum treat the local

community as both the context for and the principle around which practice should be organized. As context, community is "taken account of" in order to make policies and programs more relevant, responsive, and effective. As organizing principle, community is seen as the unit of planning and action toward which policy is directed, for which programs are developed, around which strategic goals are established, or through which activities and services are provided. Interestingly, this focus on local communities and the policies and practices through which it is manifested are occurring in some quite different national contexts, and have been arrived at via some rather different developmental pathways. They are also taking place within the broader context of "globalization," and the various processes and interactions that define it—from the control and flow of international capital, to the rise of multi- and extra-national governance bodies, to the increased and shifting movements of populations across borders. This paper will investigate the emergence of one genre of these community efforts—those with a particular focus on creating community-based networks of support for children and youth—in three countries (Brazil, Israel, and the United States). It will provide a brief overview and comparison of the national contexts, outline the universe of initiatives focused on community-based supports for children and youth in each, present a comparative look at three brief case studies of particular initiatives, and draw out some of the implications for theory, policy, and practice.

Health Policy in an Inner-City Neighborhood: Scales of Policy-making in the Canadian Context

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The presentation will describe a research project being done in an inner-city neighbourhood in Ottawa, Canada. The Ottawa study is part of a four-city Canadian comparative study of health policy at the neighbourhood level, which is examining the impact of decentralization policies for poor inner-city neighbourhoods. It examines the kinds of policies, programs and expenditures that are taking place, given the decentralization of health care policies that has taken place of the federal and provincial levels of government. What is the impact of the global, national, urban, and neighbourhood levels of decision-making on what is actually going on at the neighbourhood level? Are inner-city neighbourhoods better able to influence the form of health care policies or does centralization really mean that these neighbourhoods are increasingly being abandoned by governments?

13. From Neighborhood Decline to Revitalization

Pro-Growth Regimes, Low-Income Residents, and the Redevelopment of Public Housing in New Orleans

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In a 1999 article in the Journal of Urban Affairs, Alexander Reichl concluded that low-income residents gained access to the pro-growth coalition in New Orleans. More specifically, he concluded that empowered residents shaped the St. Thomas Housing Development. What do the events over the last four years tell us about the role low-income residents play in the redevelopment of the St. Thomas Housing Development in New Orleans? In this paper, we explain how and why the pro-growth regime excluded low-income residents from decision-making since the time of Reichl's research. This paper focuses upon how big business removed residents from the governing coalition. It also has implications for regime shift and the community power debate.

The Redevelopment Paradox: The contested history of the King Edward Hotel

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Research Question: In early 2003 the City of Jackson, MS took complete ownership of the King Edward Hotel through a court proceeding. The hotel had stood empty and unused since 1967. The building stands at the western edge of Jackson's downtown along the once prominent and bustling main corridor, Capitol Street. The hulking, empty, and nearly windowless mass has widely been considered the key to the redevelopment and revitalization of downtown Jackson. A request for proposal for its redevelopment went out almost immediately after the City acquired full ownership. A rehabilitated and renovated King Edward would mark Jackson as a progress oriented, vibrant city. Renovated or not, the King Edward has significant symbolism as a place. The rebuilt King Edward would take on that meaning. The meaning of the King Edward is defined by its use, how it functioned, race and racial politics, class identity, economic conditions (often subsumed by race), changing economic and social conditions that hastened the decline of many downtowns, and the impact of modernism. What impact does the symbolism and meaning of the King Edward Hotel have on the redevelopment effort.
Methodology: This project draws upon the historical lit-

erature, primary sources in archives in both Mississippi and the National Welfare Rights Organization archive at Howard University. This historical discussion is paired with an analysis of the current redevelopment climate in Jackson, paying particular attention to the current proposals for the redevelopment of the King Edward.

Key Findings: The King Edward sits at an important and strategically significant place in downtown Jackson. The Hotel's location could be considered a gateway to West Jackson and Jackson State University. Its history as a site of symbolic and real segregation, its place in the era of desegregation, and its ultimate demise all must be a part of the redevelopment story. So far it is not.

Implications: It is important from an economic and community development perspective to fully clarify the cultural, historic, social, and political significance of this site as Jackson moves forward in its effort to bring about a revitalized downtown.

The City Redeemed: The Aesthetic Resurrection of Harlem

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In the 19th century, English town planners coined the term "gentrification" to describe the process by which "a generally affluent and distinctive social group was taking over – and making over in its own image – a number of working class communities around London" (Tobier, 1979). A century later, the process once again concerned urbanists. First observed in New York and London, gentrification is now noted throughout the Western world (Savage, 2003). Scholars have generated several theories to explain this multifaceted phenomenon. Some focus on the economics of gentrification, others on the culture of gentrification, still others on the demographics. These explanations miss out on another important – if interconnected – aspect: the aesthetics of gentrification. There is a distinctive aesthetic sensibility particular to gentrification -- one that consistently favors historical and premodern buildings. This paper concerns why gentrification, which is mainly explained as a social and economic phenomenon, is also associated with the restoration of the city's built past. Gentrification is associated with a wide variety of properties. It includes the restoring of brownstones, the renovation of modest workman's cottages, the rehabilitation of industrial space and the erection of new structures designed to simulate the older structures. What unites these cases is the aesthetic focus -- on returning the area to some imagined past state "of glory" (Lemann, 2002). This process is similar to popular western notions of redemption. Psychologists McAdams et al (2001) define redemption as "a transfor-

mation from a bad, affectively negative life scene to a subsequent good, affectively positive life scene. The bad is redeemed, salvaged, mitigated, or made better in light of the ensuing good." In gentrifying neighborhoods, people may have found that a satisfying way to resolve physical blight is not to obliterate it but to redeem it. I tested my hypothesis -- that notions of redemption attract people to formerly blighted neighborhoods, such as Harlem, and cause them to restore rather than modernize the built environment -- in three ways. First, I performed a content analysis of articles written about Harlem. Content analysis revealed that writers list the neighborhoods' rescue from blight as part of its appeal. Second, I looked at how realtors' boundaries for Harlem expanded as the neighborhood transformed. Third, I report on in-depth interviews with gentrifiers in Harlem. For the participants, part of the draw of the property and the neighborhood is that it has been restored. Gentrifiers not only tell the story of Harlem in redemptive terms but they also report more satisfaction with their neighborhood than people of comparable socioeconomic status in other New York neighborhoods.

14. Education Reform and Politics in Cities

Local Education Politics and the Emergence of Community-Based Education Programs

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While scholars of social movements have examined community mobilization around various issues including education, and researchers focusing on civic engagement and social capital have devoted much attention to civic participation and the organizations that facilitate such participation, there has been little attention paid to community-based attempts to provide supplementary or complementary educational experiences for urban youth. The mobilization of community resources that support these programs is reminiscent of some of the strategies employed during the civil rights movement (e.g. freedom schools). This paper reports early findings of a pilot study of the relationship between such programs and the local education politics in Baltimore. The existence of these programs implies the existence of educational needs that are going unmet by the state. The paper examines whether these programs are a direct response to the perceived ineffectiveness of the local school establishment. While some program organizers and volunteers are optimistic about future possibilities for educational reform, others view the local education politics as incapable of producing schools that meet the needs of urban youth – thus the need for communities to essentially do it

themselves. Ultimately, these programs are best understood as communities mobilizing resources (both internal and external) in an attempt to meet needs that are left unmet by the local education establishment. These programs constitute a vibrant and growing realm of civic engagement.

Civic Leadership and State Takeover in Public Education: Conflict or Convergence?

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Research Question: Researchers argue that the efforts of district and school-level leadership must be complemented by the ongoing engagement of city and state political leaders, leaders of civic institutions, and parent and community leaders. In December, 2001 the state of Pennsylvania took direct control over the school system of Philadelphia and proposed a radical privatization plan. Our previous studies of local civic engagement show that under previous reform initiatives, civic actors in Philadelphia became isolated from the school reform process. In our current study, we ask 1) What does civic engagement in public education currently look like?; and 2)What are the economic and political factors that interact with the development of civic capacity in the current context? Methodology: This paper is based on the first year of a larger study of the state takeover and subsequent reforms. The civic capacity strand of the study consists of 20 semi-structured interviews each year with key civic leaders including representatives from a range of constituencies and participant-observation in a range of relevant settings. Key Findings: The state takeover has resulted in an unprecedented degree and complexity of change for Philadelphia's public schools. Sectors of the civic community strongly resisted the state takeover and proposed privatization of the entire district, yet a year later many civic leaders are more involved with school reform than they had been previously. At this early stage of reform, we have identified contradictory explanations from different civic leaders for their new opportunities for engagement, reflecting their different political and philosophical stances. Implications: This study suggests the challenges that a politically charged environment brings to creating effective vehicles for generating agreement and action among differently positioned actors. The question is: What are the conditions in which civic engagement leads to longterm civic capacity for school reform? Relevant Literature: Christman, J.B. and A. Rho-

des (2002). Civic Engagement and Urban School Improvement: Hard-to-Learn Lessons from Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. Stone, C., J. Henig, B. Jones, and C. Pierrannunzi (2001). Building Civic Capacity: The Politics of Reforming Urban Schools. Kansas: University of Kansas Press.

From the Ground Up: Making School-Community Connections in Logan Square

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Research Question: Chicago's 1988 school reform, which supported substantial decentralization and community control of schools, has been closely scrutinized from the perspective of its subsequent impact on school change. One widely accepted view is that strong local school councils have been able to leverage school improvement. However, a largely unexamined question is: How did the involvement of parents in school councils also help strengthen their communities? Methodology: This paper is based on a three year study of the Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA) in Chicago. Research focused on LSNA's work in the areas of education and housing. The project combined interviews, observations, and document analysis by a team of outside researchers with participant observation and writing by community activists. Key Findings: In 1999, LSNA launched a campaign for affordable housing which brought together renters and home owners. This campaign grew out of the extensive base that LSNA had developed through its work with low-income Latino parents in neighborhood schools following the 1988 Chicago school reform. LSNA's work with schools also provided organizational visibility and credibility which have encouraged some of the neighborhood's more middle class residents and institutional leaders to support the campaign for affordable housing. Implications: This study suggests that Chicago's school reform law of 1988 had the potential to help strengthen poor and working class neighborhoods in Chicago and suggests the need to look more closely at why this did or did not happen. Furthermore, It suggests the need to look at current policy reforms, such as charters or voucher initiatives, from the perspective of their impact on community development. Related Work: Bryk, A.S., P.B. Sebring, D. Kerbow, S. Rollow, and J.Q. Easton (1988). Charting Chicago School Reform: Democratic Localism as A Lever for Change. Boulder: Westview Press. Gold, E., E. Simon, and C. Brown (2002). The Power of Ordinary People: Documenting the Success of Community Organizing for

School Reform. Chicago: Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform.

School to Prison Pipeline: The Impact of Education Reform on Urban Students in Massachusetts

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In this paper we discuss the consequences of education reform on urban students in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts school reform in 1993 increased expectations for school performance and led to an intolerance of disruptive students in the classroom. Implementation of zero tolerance policies in Massachusetts in 1995, also made it easier for school principals to suspend or expel students from school. The examination of school districts that consistently show up in a list of high exclusion districts shows that six cities (Springfield, Lawrence, Holyoke, Worcester, Boston and Lowell) accounts for 60% of all exclusions in Massachusetts. The concentration of school exclusions in a relatively small number of school districts, and especially in urban centers, shows that school exclusions are a new indicator of education inequity. In the paper we discuss the impact of student exclusion policies on student incarceration rates as well as student education achievement.

15. Economic Impacts of the Terrorist Attacks on New York City

The Fiscal Impact of 9/11 on New York City

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This paper examines the impact of the 9/11 attacks on local revenue, intergovernmental grants, and expenditure responses.

The Employment Impact on New York City and Its Low Income Workers

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The terrorist attacks had immediate and long term impacts on employment in New York City. Especially hard-hit were low-wage workers in a number of industries. This paper examines those impacts.

The Impact of 9/11 on Manhattan's Office Market

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The Impact of 9/11 on Manhattan's Office Market. Rents, Vacancy Levels in New York and nearby New Jersey are investigated for changes.

Did the Terrorist Attack Affect the Economic Competitiveness of New York City?

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This paper compares NYC and Manhattan's economy with other the rest of the nation, other large cities, and the NYC suburbs.

16. Welfare Reform: Work, Women and Poverty

Welfare Reform and the Role of Work for Low-Income Women

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Welfare reform emphasizes work as the cornerstone of economic self-sufficiency. However, this premise has been challenged as many individuals transitioning from welfare-to-work find themselves in low-paid, dead-end jobs that do not lift them out of poverty. Thus, this study was conducted to obtain a better understanding of the role of work in the lives of individuals leaving welfare. A total of 211 individuals completed a self-administered questionnaire about their experiences without welfare. The individuals lived mainly in Hartford, CT. but also to a lesser degree in Waterbury and New Haven, other urban areas in the state. Eighty-nine respondents (44%) were working. Findings indicate that generally friends and family help out more regularly when individuals are not working; and more non-working respondents receive medical assistance, food stamps, energy assistance, and mental health and substance abuse services. More non-workers are receiving education and training and would like additional computer training. Workers who want additional education indicate a preference for college. Workers are also more likely to have their own car and find that their income covers their experiences more adequately than non-workers. More non-workers indicate they had more security under welfare, wish they could still receive some

cash assistance from welfare, indicated that welfare made them feel bad about receiving help, and couldn't manage now if family and friends didn't help. The study indicates at least three important findings: 1) many individuals who are working find their lives without welfare better than previously; 2) many who are working still need help and we need to understand how to help this group better; and 3) there are many who are not working (56%). We need to understand how this group manages (some are in shelters) and how to help these individuals enter the work force and/or receive more adequate safety net services.

What Women Want: Needs of Lower Income Women in Metropolitan Chicago

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Community based organizations (CBOs), planners, and policy makers need good data to make decisions about effectively investing scarce resources. Michael Porter asserts that community based organizations have a limited role in facilitating job growth.* According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau Public-Use Microdata 5% Sample (PUMS), nearly 9/10 women in the Chicago area are in the $15K-$30K income category maintain a workload of 20 hours or more per week. A particular concern is how to provide relevant and useful services to lower-income working women that can not only help them with their daily lives (e.g., child care), but that can also help them improve their economic situation by increasing their employment potential and work opportunities. Porter suggests that one role of CBOs in this process may be to create work-readiness and job-referrals for community members.* This can include traditional skills building, employment training and education, but may also include other things such as housing, community resources, and referrals. The paper presents findings from a recent study of lower-income women in Chicago. The study looks at needs and current situation of these lower income women. Using both primary and secondary data sources, we develop a profile of these women and their service needs including PUMS 5% data, 2000 Census data, and focus groups with Chicago women and service providers, as well as data on services currently available to these women. The paper will examine these data through a policy lens to identify issues that may be lacking the attention of philanthropy and public agencies, to determine policy implications for the future. There will also be discussion of the current "work first" model as it relates to this population, and the degree to which barri-

ers identified prevent lower-income women from moving up, but also the degree to which this is feasible. *Porter, Michael. "Competitive Advantage of the Inner City," in The City Reader 2nd edition. Eds. Richard T. Gates and Fredric Stout. New York: Routledge, 2000. p. 278-291.

TANF Reauthorization: Divergent Discursive Practices and Welfare Policy Discourse

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Research Question: Scholars have found that women on welfare and their allies use a variety of discursive strategies to challenge prevailing ideologies about welfare. The primary question guiding this research is: What are marginalized welfare actors' discursive practices and narrative streams of welfare discourse? Methodology: This paper is based on qualitative analysis of interviews with welfare recipients, advocates, and representatives from grassroots and nonprofit organizations. Key Findings: Findings from a pilot study I conducted for my dissertation research suggest that marginalized welfare actors' discursive constructions of welfare are both accommodating as well as resistant to dominant discourses on welfare—but most importantly that these understandings of welfare are significantly shaped by the everyday realities of life on welfare. Implications: The patterns that emerged during the course of the pilot research suggest that alternative welfare policy frameworks that take into account women's realities are necessary. Related Published Research: Cushman, E. 1998. The Struggle and the tools. Oral and literate strategies in an inner city community. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Lens, V. 2000. Welfare reform and the media: A content analysis of two newspapers (New York City, Washington, D.C.). Yeshiva University. Doctoral dissertation. Lens, V. 2002. Public voices and public policy: Changing the societal discourse on "welfare." In Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 29(1): 137-154, March 2002. McCormack, K. 2002. Welfare (m)others: Discourse, discipline, and resistance. Boston College. Doctoral dissertation.

Welfare Reform: A Deafening Silence

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Research Question: Welfare policy, and even more so poverty policy, has been stalled in Congress for more than two years. The level of national discourse has decreased to near silence and has tremendous effects on

the 30 million people who live in poverty. What are the factors that have contributed to 1) the lack of public discourse regarding poverty and welfare and 2) the inability of Congress to reauthorize Temporary Assistance for Needy Families TANF? Methodology: This paper will review the literature to explore the factors that have contributed to stalled welfare reauthorization attempts and the silent poverty discourse. Key Findings: Social welfare policy in the United States is a product of a convergence of ideologies and values of the dominant groups in society. The current story of welfare reform, the action as well as inaction, is representative of the ways in which the poverty and welfare problems have been socially constructed. In the eyes of many Americans, not only has the welfare problem been solved, but poverty is also a non-issue. Issues of race, class, gender, the media, and power are particularly relevant to this lack of action. Implications: While Americans are keenly aware of international and global issues, the United States is experiencing a domestic economic crisis. As more families are beginning to experience material hardship due to rising unemployment, the need for a strong safety net is tremendously important. It is imperative that policy makers and advocates remain vigilant about the need for continued discourse and action regarding welfare and social welfare policy. Relevant Literature: Relave, N. (2003). Using Participation to Promote Welfare Reform Goals. Welfare Information Network - Issue Notes, 7(9), 9. Waller, M., & Berube, A. (2002). Timing Out: Long-Term Welfare Caseloads in Large Cities and Counties (Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy). Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Schram, S. F., & Soss, J. (2002). Success Stories: Welfare Reform, Policy Discourse, and the Politics of Research. In R. Albelda & A. Withorn (Eds.), Lost Ground (pp. 57 - 78). Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

17. The Global-Local Connection

The Myth of Global-Local Nexus: Spatial Governance Policy on Regional and Local Economic Development

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This paper aims to investigate the spatial implication of economic development in the face of economic globalization, with great emphasis on the linkage between regional and local economic development in the context of Taiwan. It discusses the linkage between regional and local economic development from a spatial perspective. On one hand, regional development is closely related to capitalist globalization; on the other hand, local development is constructed, under the control of local govern-

ments, within a localized spatial network. Convention wisdom has regarded global-local nexus as an imperative result of the connection between nodes that link each other in a globally economic spatial network. This paper, however, provides an alternative thought. Global-local nexus thus becomes an issue deserving our attention. This paper argues that, under the circumstances of globalization, global-local nexus is not a consequently direct result. Such a nexus needs some intermediate mechanisms serving to bridge regional economic development with local economic development. Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) were served as such an intermediate mechanism in Taiwan before the 1990s. After the break of the cooperative network of SMEs in the 1990s, it is essential to reestablish a new mechanism to reinforce global-local nexus. This paper concludes that the spatial governance policy regarding need-driven development, polycentric urban regions, and a system of industrial districts and living perimeters will fill the shoes to reconstruct global-local nexus as well as the place we live. A comprehensive literature review regarding global-local nexus will be offered. In addition to case studies, some statistical analyses used urban data and the Industrial and Commercial Census between 1981 and 2001 will also be presented in the paper. Taiwan is used as a case study in this paper.

Rescaling the City: A Comparative Perspective

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The city as a place and a set of institutions fails to comport with the new urban realities. The forces shaping metropolitan cities today include globalization, metropolitanization, decentralization and devolution, and the ascendance of market-based philosophies. Taken together, a rescaling and reterritorialization process is underway in city-regions. This takes the form of redefining the purpose and function of local government and degree of local autonomy. In addition, the desirable and appropriate boundaries to provide public services efficiently and effectively and to compete as a city-region in the world economy are also being redrawn. Who controls the process and the values embedded in the new institutions, jurisdictions, and boundaries has important consequences for the nature of local democracy and social sustainability in the city. In this paper, I compare recent metropolitan reforms in Tokyo and Toronto to explore these themes.

Local Globalization: Rethinking the Local and the Global

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In writings ranging from classical urban sociology to contemporary discourses on globalization and place, the "local" has often been represented as a static, bounded space where personal meanings are produced (and re-produced), cohesive cultural values are articulated, and traditional ways of life are lived. In classical urban socio-logical thought, the "urban," on the other hand, was gen-erally conceived as the rational instrumentalism of the capitalist market and the bureaucratization of the world. In the contemporary period the "urban" has been re-placed by the "global" as a metaphor for the central out-side threat to the primary social ties binding local com-munities. "Globalization" has been represented by many as a new form of capitalist (post)modernity, a process inherently antagonistic to the sustainability of local forms of social organization. In this paper, I aim to show how this dichotomization is problematic because ultimately "everything is local" and how a critical geography ap-proach that focuses on the "local" is more useful for un-derstanding globalization. This paper seeks to explore how a critical geography approach can 1) help to articu-late a more precise (and historically embedded) definition of globalization; 2) can be used to better understand the effects of globalization; and 3) perhaps most importantly help to illuminate the concrete structures that agents work with and must work through to achieve social change. This exploration will look closely at David Har-vey's critical geography approach (Spaces of Capital), which embraces the local-global dichotomy described above and will attempt to formulate a critical geography approach that does not rely on this false dichotomy.

A Case Study of Municipal Regulation in the NAFTA Era: Restricting the Use of Pesticides

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Municipalities have the democratic responsibility to gov-ern and pass legislation within their jurisdiction pursuant to the wishes of their electorate. With the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), municipalities' decision-making ability may now be con-strained. Through Chapter 11 of the NAFTA, foreign "investors" (usually corporations) can essentially sue the U.S. government for subjecting its "investment" to more restrictive treatment. If a municipal government in the U.S., for example, decides to impose a ban on the use of pesticides for cosmetic use, the U.S. government could face a corporate challenge under Chapter 11's investor-

state dispute settlement provisions. In our increasingly interconnected world, municipalities now have to be prepared to consider the implications of international investment agreements when passing restrictive by-laws – the banning of pesticide on lawns would be an example of such a by-law that is popular in some urban areas but might cause a Chapter 11 challenge. Clearly, this type of international agreement can intrude on a municipal government's ability to represent their constituents and implement laws they desire as a community. This paper will present the particulars around Chapter 11, discuss the general issues of municipal regulation in the NAFTA era, and then set out a few case study examples (where the general issue of municipal regulation has been affected by NAFTA or could be in the future) from the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

18. Urban Development and Environmental Issues

The Importance of Local Economic Context for Brownfields Redevelopment

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The redevelopment of brownfield sites, particularly in low-income and/or underinvested neighborhoods, presents a complex policy problem. These sites command our attention for at least three reasons: a) health and environmental effects of pollution and contamination b) the concentration of these abandoned sites in neighborhoods that are home to people of color c) the negative effects on neighboring properties and the larger neighborhood, and d) the breadth and extent of liability for past contamination. However, even as these sites command our attention, successful redevelopment of these brownfield sites in inner cities remains limited. This reasons include, but are not limited to: technical (Can clean-up make the property safe?); legal (Who owns the site? Who is responsible for clean-up?); economic (why is there limited or no interest in redevelopment?), and political (who will pay?). In this paper we argue that the successful redevelopment of these sites requires a full understanding of the theory of welfare economics (when is government intervention justified or required?) and of land economics (what is the 'correct' price of these sites?). The literature on brownfield redevelopment leads one to understand that in the majority of cases, it is not

the technical or legal problems that hinder the redevelop-

ment. We argue that a full appreciation of the local economic context is required in order to devise a potentially successful strategy for redevelopment of these sites.

Measuring the Urban Revitalization Impacts of Brownfields Redevelopment

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Federal, state, local and private dollars are being invested to help communities revitalize through brownfields redevelopment. Numerous federal agencies have brownfields initiatives, including the Department of Housing and Development, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Economic Development Agency. This paper identifies the extent and dimension of socioeconomic and quality of life changes occurring in select American Cities and neighborhoods that have received federal support for brownfields redevelopment. It demonstrates how brownfield redevelopment can be tied to neighborhood revitalization and stability. The findings will help HUD to more accurately predict the quality of life and economic impacts of any future brownfields redevelopment programs, including its Brownfield Economic Development Initiative. The results will also provide information to HUD that can help the department in meeting several of its strategic goals, including increasing the availability of decent, safe and affordable housing and improving community quality of life and economic vitality by improving the economic conditions in distressed communities. This paper addresses the urban revitalization impacts of brownfields redevelopment, specifically, it shows how local urban economies and communities are impacted by federal level investment in brownfields redevelopment. Focusing on cities receiving federal aid for brownfields redevelopment, the paper measures the outcomes of brownfields redevelopment by documenting the socioeconomic conditions of cities and neighborhoods surrounding brownfields sites. It looks at several indicators of urban revitalization, including economic conditions, such as the number and quality of jobs created; the changes in economic conditions; housing factors, and quality of life factors (crime, health, etc.). It measures the impacts by comparing the conditions before Federal brownfields policies were enacted to those after investments in brownfields redevelopment were made. The research is based on statistical analysis and qualitative interpretation of data from published dataset and from case study research with local stakeholders in 8 cities that are the most advanced nationwide in terms of brownfields redevelopment.

Smart Growth, Balanced Growth, Green Growth?:   A

Basin-Wide Context for Metropolitan Growth Management

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For several decades the Great Lakes basin has been the organizing framework for international efforts to improve water quality and protect aquatic habitat. Water resource practitioners have been urged to use the Great Lakes ecosystem as the context for research, policy and management decisions. Today the most critical pollution problems stem from land development and land management practices. While an understanding of the significance of such pollution has existed in the basin since the 1970s, it has only been more recently that land use and management has been incorporated as a strategy for protecting surface water, riparian corridors in the tributary watersheds, and near-shore wetland areas. Most recently, several Great Lakes states have instituted programs at the state level to curb "sprawl" development around metropolitan areas. While these programs are not necessarily focused on water quality (Ohio's being the exception), they are likely to hold important implications for and connections to the long-term water quality and natural resource management policies that preceded them. In particular, might the growing policy interest in "smart growth" in the basin be a more comprehensive articulation of the land use management practices that have been advocated for several decades in the basin? Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data and information gathered through a review of state smart growth and related documents (legislation, web pages and reports) and interviews with select Great Lakes researchers. I proposed a set of key comparators for analysis that might affect the configuration and implementation of smart growth strategies in each state which include location of smart growth program (executive, legislative), goals and objectives, mechanisms for implementation (plans, land use regulations, state investment, etc.), etc. Discussion: The paper describes the history and institutional framework for water quality management, and then describes the conceptual grounding of "smart growth." It then compares state-level growth management programs in several Great Lakes states and identifies potential impacts and implications for creating a basin-wide land use paradigm that would parallel existing water quality policy and management regimes.

The Private City as Context: Air Pollution in Houston

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This case study of air pollution in Houston uses the "private city" construct to examine how context shapes both policy and analysis. In terms of policy, Houston is the archetypal "private city,." especially on policy issues related to air quality. A city relatively unfettered by regulations, government, and planning, it continues to serve as a "free enterprise" model for "market-driven" urbanization (Feagin, 1988). "It smells like money to me," a 1980s bumper sticker referring to air pollution from the petrochemical industry, captures the sentiment But varied uses of the "private" city construct reveal the impact of changing contexts. Warner (1968) focused on political economy, as have many others using the construct since (Barnekov, Boyle, Rich, 1989). Geographers influenced others to expand the term to include the increased privatization of public space and the physical interiorization of public life (Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995). Lastly, others critique a rampant culture of private individualism, in which public life and community cohesion decline in an increasingly individualized culture (Sennett; 1974; Bellah et al, 1985; Putnam, 2000) In a paper which treats urban context both longitudinally and cross-sectionally, that is, focusing on debates about air pollution since the 1950s as well as a specific conflict in the late-1990s regarding the development of an ozone alert system, this paper (1) integrates the three private city constructs but (2) emphasizes that in terms of air pollution the private city context in Houston results primarily from its political economy. In instance after instance, in decade after decade, private sector leadership continued to define air pollution as a private matter with private-sector, industry-based solutions. Efforts to include the public, either as regulator or stakeholder, were fought vigorously. A product largely of Houston's dependence on the petrochemical industry, this policy remains in effect despite a significant diversification of both Houston's economy and political elite in the past two decades. References: Barnekov, T., Boyle, R, Rich, D.. 1989. Privatism and urban policy in Britain and the United States. NY: Oxford. Bellah, R. et al. 1985. Habits of the Heart: Individualism and commitment in American life. NY: Harper and Row. Feagin. J. 1988. Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political and Economic Perspective. New Brunswick: Rutgers. Putnam, R. 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. NY: Simon and Schuster. Sennett, R. 1974. The Fall of Public Man. NY: Norton. Sorkin, M., ed. 1992. Variation on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space. NY: Noonday. Warner, S.B. Jr. 1968. The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Growth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. Zukin, S. 1995. The Culture of Cities. NY: Blackwell

Voluntary Reduction of Air Pollution: How Does It

Work? Should It?

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Initiatives to reduce air pollution locally through voluntary actions are directed at pollutants that are not currently regulated by USEPA or do not come under its purview. Examples include smoking inside homes, the indoor use of certain cleaning products, the storing of fuel for powering lawn mowers in cans that leech air toxics, or various by-products of small-shop electro-plating, auto body and dry-cleaning activities. Do the benefits of voluntary initiatives to reduce air toxics outweigh their practical difficulties and the problems associated with the expenditure of public resources to support them? Methodology: In 2001, the USEPA initiated and funded a pilot project in two Cleveland neighborhoods. A stakeholding group including neighborhood, environmental, industry and government agency representatives made joint decisions through consensus to design and select projects to be funded from the total USEPA allocation. The pilot is now in the implementation phase for the first round of air toxics reduction projects. This article applies qualitative methodology to the EPA's Cleveland Air Toxics Pilot case, to identify and explore aspects of community-based approaches to pollution reduction efforts that should be factored into decisions to engage in such initiatives. Key Findings: Some of the key dimensions of community-based initiatives such as the EPA Air Toxics Pilot include the level of funding and agency support, the quality of stakeholder convening, the process design, the decision rule, and the civic capacity of participants. Implications: USEPA intends to use the experience accumulated through the Cleveland pilot to initiate similar community-based projects nation-wide. Such initiatives are appealing for several reasons, but they are challenging to implement and sustain. Moreover, they give rise to concerns about governmental responsibilities, the relationship to enforcement efforts, and the tendency at all government levels to devolve services and enforcement of regulations to the private, non-profit and voluntary sectors.

19. Social Capital, Social Epidemiology, and Neighborhood Environmental Contexts

An Institutional Approach to Community Health Planning: The Case of Obesity, Tobacco Use, or Crime

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This presentation will explore a multi-level assessment approach to the study of urban environmental community health risk factors. The core rationale for the approach is based on the idea that many urban areas are populated by a mix of institutions that, taken together, constitute a toxic environment. This toxic environment is thought to lead to obesity, tobacco and alcohol use, and crime. This approach is needed because current prevention efforts are limited by low effectiveness and minimal public health impact. For instance, despite the substantial effort devoted to developing and implementing prevention/treatment programs over the last decade, the obesity epidemic has worsened and is reaching pandemic proportions worldwide. While there has been growing interest in addressing obesity using policy-oriented approaches, such as taxing or limiting accessibility to high-fat and fast-foods or subsidizing the use of recreational facilities or healthy foods such as fruits and vegetables, little systematic research has been conducted on which environmental factors are contributors to the current obesity pandemic, while a little more work of this sort has been done on tobacco, alcohol use and crime. It is critical that systematic urban environmental studies be conducted at multiple levels that include both individual and area-level data before urban planners, urban designers, health researchers and policy experts attempt environmental interventions. Our presentation will describe a multi-level assessment approach and present pilot data. The institution assessment, the Density of Social Institutions (DSI), is a neighborhood and community-level observational protocol that catalogs institutional mix, particularly those institutions related to consumption of food, tobacco and alcohol. We will also a describe property condition assessment scheme, detailed in-store observations, and household assessment methods. Lastly, we present data from a pilot study in Kansas City, combining the use of these tools, that support the link between institutions and obesity, tobacco and alcohol use, and crime.

Land Use Impacts on Resident Perceptions of Problems, Place Attachment, and Social Capital

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The concepts of place attachment, social capital, and

collective efficacy, or empowerment, have received a wealth of research attention, but there has been less empirical research focusing on their respective predictors, and even less probing of the physical environment as a potential predictor. Place attachment has been shown to be linked with low perceived neighborhood problems (Brown, et al., 2003) and high neighborhood participation (Perkins, et al., 1996). Social capital has been thought to be largely a function of civic participation (Putnam, 1996) and the bridging and bonding of social networks (Saegert, et al., 2001). We favor a slightly different conceptualization of social capital at the individual level, in which it is a function of collective efficacy, sense of community, neighboring, and formal participation (Perkins, et al., 2002). In the present study place attachment and perceived block physical problems are viewed as mediating the relationship between proximity to different land uses and social capital. Hierarchical linear regressions are used to look at how geographic proximity to different nonresidential land uses, such as parks, schools, churches, and retail, contribute to social capital, collective efficacy, and place attachment. Survey data were collected in 1998-99 on 618 households clustered on 59 street blocks in a working-class section of Salt Lake City, UT, and are part of an NIJ-funded longitudinal multi-method study evaluating the impact of a HUD-sponsored neighborhood revitalization project. GIS was used to calculate the distance between participant residence and each of the different land uses. We expect to see that, controlling for demographics, proximity to these different land uses predicts levels of place attachment and perceived problems, which in turn will predict individual engagement in social capital. This study has implications for urban planning and zoning policy as it illustrates the impact of different land uses on nearby residents.

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Production and Social Capital

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Nonprofit organizations are increasingly responsible for designing and implementing a wide range of housing and community development programs. Reduced federal funding, combined with a loss of lower-cost housing units and a diminishing land supply, has been particularly problematic for the provision of affordable housing for low and very low-income households. To achieve program goals in such a turbulent environment, local organizations have been encouraged by policy makers and funders to build networks and form partnerships as a means to share information, reduce service duplication, and increase efficiency. Despite unclear empirical support for the role of social capital, the concept has been used as a framework both to understand how these organizational relationships support a wide range of programmatic objectives and to justify investment in social network enhancement. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to measure the relationship between social capital and affordable housing production. The research is based on a mixed-methodology consisting of semi-structured interviews and quantitative network analysis of 60 nonprofit and for-profit developers, lenders, and city and county housing and community development departments in Orange County. Semi-structured interviews are used to assess an organization's history of production and to describe partnership arrangements. To measure the role of social capital, each participant is given a complete list of organizations involved in affordable housing production and is asked to identify its particular information and financial sub-networks and to assess the degree to which four components of social capital – informal and formal trust, reciprocity, and shared vision – can be used to describe these relationships. Network analysis is employed to compare network attributes, including social capital, between developers, and regression analysis is used to assess the extent to which a developer's access to social capital is associated with its level of production.

Community Stewardship Motivation of Urban Residents in the Wake of Acute and Chronic Urban Stressors

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The Ecosystem Approach to policy, research and planning has grown in importance as practitioners begin to recognize the interconnectedness of social, economic and environmental systems. This session treats human-dominated environments, particularly large urban areas,

as ecological systems. New techniques for social and site assessments and model sharing will be presented and encouraged for use in both regional and community planning. The Living Memorial Project (www.livingmemorialsproject.net) is an initiative of the USDA Forest Service and non-profit partners. The 2-year project is aimed at understanding the role of social networks and public space in the aftermath of disaster or loss. Specifically, this research explores stewardship motivations of urban residents and the impact of community-based ecosystem management, in the wake of acute and chronic urban stressors. Erika Svendsen and Lindsay Campbell, community planners from the Northeaster Research Station, coordinate the social and site assessment team. Findings from the study will include a photo-narrative inventory of community-based memorial initiatives - hundreds of national sites as well as international projects created in the aftermath of loss. Svendsen and Campbell's research includes a spectrum of community interventions and opportunities aimed at strengthening social cohesion and reducing socio-ecological fragmentation, starting from the street corner to the forest. Their typology is being shared through the Urban Ecology Collaborative (www.urbanecologycollaborative.org), a newly formed concept for model sharing and information exchange among cities across the northeast. The UEC will be discussed as collaborative of non-profit and public agencies in Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Washington D.C with a common aim of creating healthy urban ecosystems in service to urban neighborhoods.

20. Colloquy: Urban America's Poster Child Revisited: A Colloquy on Newark, New Jersey

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Marion Orr, Brown University
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Newark, the largest city in New Jersey, America's most urbanized state, has long been a bellwether. Its long socioeconomic decline, signified in the media and the popular imagination by the riots of 1967, made Newark a national symbol of what is wrong with America's cities. This colloquy assesses the Newark case from the per-

spectives of scholars who are based in, and doing research on, the city. Each participant will discuss both his/her specific research and general area of interest. Daniel Schulgasser will assess Newark in terms of regime theory and then address civic and political leadership in the city. Kathe Newman will outline her continuing field research in Newark's West Side neighborhood, and the effectiveness of communal forces, in general, on the city's political and economic systems. Elizabeth Strom will analyze the role of educational and cultural institutions in Newark's revitalization and the state of the city's economic development. Jeffery Togman will discuss his research on homeownership for moderate-income families and the city's housing landscape in general. Finally, Dennis Gale will review his survey research on local and statewide attitudes about Newark's efforts to pursue economic development through "tourist bubble" projects, and put the case in a regional context. Following the five presentations, Marion Orr, a noted scholar whose research is not connected to Newark or the Newark case, will provide some reactions and reflections for the edification of the audience and participants.

Thursday, 11:00-12:25

21. The Impacts of Immigration on Urban Places I

The Impact of Immigration on Urban Economies

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This paper examines the impact of immigration on employment at the three-digit SIC code level of industrial detail. It is an econometric analysis that models categories of immigrants from 1990 to 2000 and the impact that each group has had on employment in the apparel, computer assembly, and electronic components industries. From the results of this model, we estimate the number of jobs that have been retained in the U.S. because of immigration and we examine the impacts on select metropolitan areas.

Immigration and Incomes in New York City

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Immigration is one of the most direct ways in which the global is interjected into the local urban context, and the large-scale immigration into the US during the 1990s heightens the need for a better understanding of this

process. One prevailing argument cites immigration as the reason for an unexpected drop in household income in many US cities. Drawing on census data for New York City, this study employs statistical analysis to test the hypothesis that immigration causes income decline. Because of the socioeconomic diversity of the city's immigrants, separate models are analyzed for racial/ethnic immigrant subgroups. In addition, immigration is evaluated relative to other explanatory variables involving broader processes of economic restructuring and middle-class decline. While the data verify a relationship between immigration and income, they also reveal a complex phenomenon by which diverse immigrant groups engage differently in a context of urban restructuring.

The New Zone of Transition: Global Immigration's Revitalization of Inner Ring Suburbs

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Since the 1920s urbanists have explored the relationships among inner-ring suburbs and their central cities. The Chicago School's socio-biological models examined the emergence of early trolley car and auto oriented suburbs. Through federal programs, such as the GI Bill and 1956 Interstate Highway Act, coupled with demographic trends, these inner-ring suburbs flourished in the 1950s. By the 1970s newer suburban developments and enforcement of civil rights legislation, caused major demographic shifts in many inner-ring suburbs. In the metropolitan Atlanta area, the Buford Highway corridor between Chamblee and Doraville experienced this transition. White, middle class residents and blue-collar workers from the General Motors and other adjacent manufacturing plants, relocated to newer suburbs. Nearby national chain stores in some of Atlanta's first strip malls closed. Local apartment complexes deteriorated as rents declined. While Atlanta's population exploded in its northern suburbs with new subdivisions and regional malls, few notice a growing concentration of immigrants relocating to Dekalb County. By the 1990s about twenty ethnic groups (primarily Latino and Asian) lived within the five-mile, Buford Highway corridor. Beginning with small scale local entrepreneurs catering to these immigrant populations, revitalized strip malls with grocery, clothing, and video stores attracted the attention of international banking interests who are pursuing large-scale mixed-use developments. Working with state and local officials, immigrant community leaders developed social service agencies and community centers. The Dekalb Chamber of Commerce noticed these revitalization efforts. Working through a community task force, the Chamber unveiled its proposal for global metropolis, the project capitalizes

on the ethnic cultures of the corridor. The International Village project seeks to increase economic development, create unified landscape and design plans, and improve community development and understanding. My presentation examines the emergence of the International Village projects in which local elites view global immigration as a key component in the economic redevelopment of these inner-ring suburbs.

Metropolitan Housing Burden Inequality

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In the past decade, the distribution of housing burdens within many housing markets has widened. This has been explained primarily by the distribution of income of the metropolitan area, which has also become more unequal in the past several decades. However, the inequality of housing burden is also affected by the pattern of consumption of the household as it ages. These patterns vary also by ethnic and immigrant status within age cohorts, as well as by the length of time an immigrant household has been in the United States. Given the uneven pattern of immigration and ethnic composition by metropolitan area in the U.S., it is reasonable to hypothesize that age cohort plays an important role in the distribution of housing burdens within a metropolitan area. Research Questions: This paper will explore the extent to which differential patterns of housing consumption by age cohort within ethnic, racial and immigrant groups are responsible for the distinct metropolitan differences in housing inequality in the United States? Methodology: This paper uses American Housing Survey national data from 1985 through 2003 at the national level to produce gini coefficients and high-low quintile ratios of housing burden to measure inequality. These indicators are by age cohort disaggregated by U.S. Region, by Ethnic/Racial status, and by central city, suburban and rural status. Housing burden ginis by immigrant status are developed for the 2003 AHS data. REFERENCES 1. Elmer, V. and J.D. Landis, Castles and Cottages: Housing Inequality in America. 2002, Paper presented at the November meeting of the ACSP Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, November 2002. 2. Myers, D., I. Megbolugbe, and S.W. Lee, Cohort Estimation of Homeownership Attainment Among Native-Born and Immigrant Populations. Journal of Housing Research, 1998. 9(2): p. 237-69. 3. Myers, D., Cohort Longitudinal Estimation of Housing Careers. Housing Studies, 1999. 14(4): p. 473-90.

22. Community Participation and Neighborhood

Governance—International Perspectives

Citizen Participation and Power in four Neighborhoods of the Montréal Metropolitan Region

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Citizen participation through local associations takes place within a broader metropolitan context. This context is increasingly at the forefront of urban problems (Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom, 2001; Bassand, Kaufmann et Joye, 2001). For example, for issues related to the environment, transport or economic development, the metropolitan level has become more active in defining orientations. Consequently, municipalities and their citizens are confronted with problems that go beyond the traditional limits of local governmental processes. Further, neighbourhoods become eclipsed by the shifting of power to higher levels of government institutions. What role do local organizations play in these shifting urban relations? These changes are a reflection of the processes of globalization and the consequent re-arrangement of power at both the national and local levels. The term 'rescaling' describes the emergence of a new articulation of the local and the global (Swyngedouw, 2000). But it is also local restructuring which is at stake, because the nation state has revised its traditional role and functions. Consequently, the regulation function of the state is re-defined, relying on market competition and related values. New roles and relationships between local organizations and citizens have accompanied this shift. Community organizations have begun to play a prominent role in shaping social life through a variety of practices. Some of these have a direct control function such as carrying out workfare and related programs. The rise of a neo-liberal hegemony in economic matters has also had an impact of the role and functions of community as they absorb the implementation of policy defined by public agencies, despite the rhetoric and practices of partnership and consensus elaborated in the 1990s. It is this hypothesis that we would like to examine in this paper. We will review the initiatives of community groups in four different neighbourhoods of the Montréal metropolitan region, their definition of local development, their relationships with public agencies and with citizens. In what terms are the power relationships defined for these groups? What is their margin of manoeuvre? To what extent do their actions remain meaningful for local democracy and citizen participation or have they become points of implementation of state regulatory policies? The paper is based on a series of interviews that we have conducted

with leaders and employees of these community groups over a one-year period. We have taken into account the diversity of community groups in terms of activity and location in selecting our case studies.

Turning on the Neighborhood: Social Infrastructure and Participation in Neighborhood Improvement Programs

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In June 2001 the Dutch Minister of Urban Policy launched the 'It's our neighbourhood's turn'-project and devoted 40 million euros to improving the living conditions of the 25 worst-off neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. The initiative was remarkable because contrary to all his other urban policy projects thus far, primary importance was attached to letting citizens themselves have a say in determining the problems that should be solved, while at the same time requiring them to be actively involved in implementing policies. This paper examines the program's implementation in three neighborhoods in the city of Enschede. Although the neighborhoods were canvassed in exactly the same way to ensure the active involvement of its residents, there is a remarkable variation in the extent to which citizens in the three neighborhoods actually took part in formulating proposals and voted upon them. I argue that individual level factors such as problem-perception and resources can not completely account for these differences, and examine how the neighborhood's associational infrastructure has affected the reception of the programs. The analysis will be based on a detailed study of the participatory process (including the results of the different rounds of voting), surveys both among residents of the three neighborhoods and among associations that are active in the neighborhood, and interviews with civil servants and neighborhood activists.

Neighborhood Governance - Capacity for Social Integration

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The key hypothesis in this paper is that resources allocated to disadvantaged neighbourhoods are often used ineffectively and not necessarily in response to the residents' needs. Structural change has created a major disjunction between the needs of residents and the formal structures which deliver services to them. This disjunction calls for an evaluation of present governance structures and processes. Ultimately, the challenge lies in developing governance mechanisms and structures

which recognise the specific nature of all stakeholders with interests in a neighbourhood and, thus, to reform and/or create adequate forums for communication, negotiation, decision making and implementation. Empirically, the paper is based on a study undertaken through a network of ten partners in nine European countries within the territory of the EU. The aim of this empirical work is to provide a deeper understanding of how local governance mechanisms and structures are perceived, used and assessed by residents, professionals and other stakeholders in the neighbourhood. The objective of the paper is to analyze and discuss possible new governance structures and mechanisms to combat social exclusion. Recognising the interdependencies and the interaction between local residents, social groups, public agencies and local businesses, new methods and tools for the effective use of available resources for socio-economic development will be discussed.

23. The New Regionalism

The Borough System: Both the Third Pillar and the Achilles' Heel of the On-going Montréal's Municipal Reform

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In early 2000, following Ontario, government of the Province of Québec engaged in a large-scale reform of municipal institutions in metropolitan areas. The question of the large number of local municipalities was set at the center of debates and legislative interventions as the provincial government decided to focus on amalgamation. For instance, on the Island of Montréal, the 28 local municipalities and the second-tier Montréal Urban Community (MUC) were replaced by a new greater City of Montréal. Yet, the reform introduced a few institutional innovations. Notably, the metropolitan scene was first transformed with the implementation of a Montréal Metropolitan Community for Greater Montréal. A few months later, while amalgamating local municipalities and MUC, 27 boroughs (arrondissements) were created on the ground of, on the one hand, existing suburban cities and towns and, on the other hand, deconcentrated ward structures already in place for the daily administration of the City of Montréal. Introduced without advance warning to save a largely contested and vacillating amalgamation venture, the implementation of boroughs with responsibility for neighbourhood services and local regulation is unquestionably the third pillar of the reform. However, it engaged the municipal reform into a singular direction, sensitive to the wide diversity of boroughs. Boroughs

have since been placed at the center of Montréal's municipal reform. But, in actual practice, the borough system turns out as a Pandore Box. All the more so since it take a part in all major issues of the reform: those of adhesion to the new city government, of efficiency and decentralization, of equity, of efficacy and of democracy. In our paper, after an overview of the noteworthy spatial, demographic, political, urbanistic, social-economic, linguistic and cultural diversity of boroughs, we will examine how cohabitation of the two reforms –amalgamation and the borough system (not to consider the Montréal Metropolitan Community and its numerous pitfalls) turns out more and more delicate and nourishes the "counter-reform" movement driven by advocates of the de-mergers movement as well as it could emerges as an opportunity to save the whole reform.

Municipal Amalgamation: The Levels of Decision-making

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This presentation will look at the examples of the recent municipal amalgamations in Ottawa and Gatineau, the two cities now making up the Canadian national Capital. The objective of the presentation is to understand the roles, and the importance, of the local, provincial, and regional levels of decision-making in the amalgamations and in policy-making in the post-amalgamation period. By examining both the amalgamation processes and at a number of issues in the post-amalgamation period (representation, planning, budgetary processes), our conclusion is that, despite the importance of the role of the provincial government, the municipal level matters.

Plan B: A Practical Toolkit for Achieving the New Regionalism

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"New Regionalism" efforts are typically viewed in zero-sum terms: Either a regiuon has put in place city-county consolidation (ie., Kansas City-Wyandotte County, Kansas; Indianapolis-Marion County, Indiana); a full-scale regional governance structure (ie., Minneapolis, Portland or Toronto) or not. If not, the conventional wisdom among urbanists is that - absent such conditions - "regionalism" is not taking place. This paper examines

several regionalist activities in the West, arguing for a new, more inclusive "Plan A" & "Plan B" view of New Regionalism.

A War of Words: The Heresthetics of Creating Regional Government

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Heresthetics is a term created by William H. Riker (1984, 1986, 1990) to refer to a political strategy that involves winning because the situation has been defined in ways that people want to join in (on the side of those defining the situation). Heresthetics differs from rhetoric in important ways. Rhetoric is intended to persuade, while the objective of heresthetics is to structure the decision-making situation to the respondent's advantage (Riker, 1990). "[T]he distinguishing feature of a heresthetic is that voters are induced to change sides, not by persuasion, but by reinterpretation of the issue" (p. 49). Whereas rhetorical arguments use language to persuade people of the rightness or wrongness of a position, heresthetical devices seek to change people's choices through a strategic reframing of an issue. In other words, rhetoric involves relocating people's ideal points on a parameter, whereas "[h]eresthetics may involve displaying the relevance of a dimension, recalling it from latent storage to the center of psychic attention" (Riker, 1990: 54). That is, heresthetical devices take advantage of existing attitudes. These maneuvers do not seek to change attitudes, but instead to exploit existing ones for use in this decision. The most controversial avenue to regional government is the consolidation of the county and one or more city governments. Consolidation is the most controversial because it is the most comprehensive, involving the creation of an entirely new government and in the process, the rewriting of two or more local government constitutions (Fleischmann, 2000; Johnson, 2000). Consolidation may not result in a single metropolitan-wide government, but it can move the community substantially down the path toward regional government in a single large step. Regional governance may also be achieved by a variety of smaller steps, such as entering into interlocal agreements, creating regional planning districts, and selectively consolidating services with significant scale economies or external effects (Savitch and Vogel, 1996). This study offers a new perspective on city-county consolidation and the other myriad of ways to "reform" governmental arrangements. Instead of focusing on the presence of an "accelerating event" as decisive, this approach highlights the role

played by the efforts of participants to exploit latent altitudes in the community for use in the debate over the issue. We think extant research has focused too much on identifying accelerating events and not enough on the ways that participants use heresthetical maneuvers to define city-county consolidation in ways that bring a majority to their side. We propose there are at least three broad categories of heresthetical strategies seen in consolidation campaigns. The first approach (used by both sides) is to strategically introduce a number of dimensions to disrupt support for the proposed change or the status quo. The second strategy (typically used by opponents to consolidation) is to offer alternative proposals that may split the supporting forces. A third strategy (used by both sides) is to seek to win by controlling the decision-making process. We illustrate this process with an empirical analysis of the heresthetical maneuvers utilized in the consolidation campaigns in 33 communities. The analysis is based on data from a survey of 33 communities holding consolidation referenda from 1987 and 1999 (Carr and Feiock, 2002). These survey data offer a unique opportunity for comparative analysis in an area of the local government reform literature that has relied almost exclusively on case studies. This paper will examine the use of three different types of heresthetical strategies in city-county consolidation: the use of arguments used by supporters and opponents to strategically frame the debate over consolidation, introductions of alternative proposals to split existing coalitions, and manipulation of the decision rules governing the production of the city-county charter and the referendum.

The Place of Social Capital in Municipal Incorporations

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Thirty-Something or More Introduction Cities are making a comeback while other levels of government are experiencing budget woes. Little more than ten years ago, Miami-Dade looked like it did when the 1957 Charter began. The first consolidated government in the U.S. passed because it allowed existing cities to maintain their powers. It started an era known as metro government. While the unincorporated area within the County is getting smaller, new cities are on the rise. Since several incorporation efforts are at various stages, it is more accurate to say that there are thirty-something cities in Miami-Dade. The Miami-Dade County Charter provides an underpinning for analysis, namely rules emerging cities must go by. This local version of federalism demonstrates that the swinging pendulum of power is on the side of cities. While this paper focuses on Miami, Florida

and the newly emerging municipalities in Miami-Dade County, it allows us to learn about local political behavior, the politics of place, and the growing importance of local decision making. Today there are thirty-four cities within the County. When Metro formed, two-thirds of the population lived in the existing 26 municipalities. Today population structure has a majority living outside of cities and opting to create cities. The referee for all the boundary changes is the Board of county Commissioners for Miami-Dade County. All other counties go through the state legislature for boundary change petitions. Miami-Dade County has the powers to create, abolish, merge or consolidate municipal governments within its borders. If the trend were stoppable, those with a stake in the outcome and a power to guide the process would have done it. Miami-Dade County is not unlike other counties during this time period. From World War II to the present, county governments have emerged from a traditional rural orientation to a full service government that not only serves as an agent of the state but also as a municipal service provider. The broad powers granted to Miami-Dade allow the county to operate as a general government, except when another government already exists to provide services. In effect, this type of government structure precluded the need for residents in unincorporated areas to create a new city or join an existing one. In theory cities do not need to form but in practice citizens are leading movements for municipal incorporation, learning government finance and proving that a viable city government is possible, organizing referendum campaigns for city governments and preparing for leadership. The setting is particularly interesting because municipal incorporations have not followed a consistent pattern. From the inception of the county charter to 1992 only one city formed and another dissolved. The dormancy ended in 1992 with the successful incorporation initiative of Key Biscayne. In a decades time eight cities have incorporated and several more are following suit. What is puzzling is why the flurry of incorporations began in 1992. This requires explanation. News articles provide a historical perspective. Certainly the lure of lower taxes, increased governmental responsiveness, improved services and control over zoning offer an impetus to create a more local form of government than a regional government already provided by the county. A quick review of literature shows that suburban cities shaping the political landscape. Miami-Dade County is an excellent site for study because it represents one of the most diverse populations in the nation. Growth pressures, along with a varied set of political, economic and political conditions provide an impetus to change the local governmental structure. Quality of life issues related to traffic, environmental issues, disappearing green space offer citizens reasons to form their own government. They want self government, responsiveness, a voice in land use deci-

sions and input on other amenities. The context of local government matters. Citizens want taxation with representation. Once they form cities, they are no longer an aggregate of the various suburban places cropping up around central cities. This distinction is an important one because of the complex issues facing municipalities today. These issues require some kind of interlocal agreement or agreements, particularly in the areas of environmental protection, transportation planning, economic development, macroeconomic policy efforts and disaster preparedness. In the face of these issues, one would think that regionalism would prevail. Since cities form despite the need to resolve issues that have become concerns of the global community, it is necessary to examine the context that produces these new governments. This paper assesses the occurrence of multiple processes. We identify all of the cities, villages, and towns within Miami-Dade County as local governments. We search for models that offer more explaining power than the outmoded city/suburb framework. We draw from our own research and from studies that treat all governments as full fledged governments or as an independent decision making units. Thus, the city of Aventura does not bear a hierarchical relationship with the City of Miami. We recognize that these cities are not the same. Within Miami-Dade County there are 34 units of government. None of these governments are the same. We also search for the meaning of suburbia. The differences between cities are greater than the differences within them. It is no longer useful to call them suburban governments. Perhaps all the discussion of the homogeneity of suburban places has precluded a celebration of the diversity between them. The 21st Century brings in a new twist. Leaders of one city are helping another. The process links one city to another, creates a form of social capital and calls for the incorporation of the entire county. The movement is significant because there have been no municipal incorporations from the creation of a Metro County government in 1947 to 1992. Eight cities have formed within the last decade and more than ten areas are considering the viability of incorporation for themselves. All have come together in a way that reflects increased political participation and a sharing of resources. Until the incorporation of Miami-Gardens in the spring of 2003, few have celebrated this phenomenon because of a concern that the formation of suburban cities also means the exclusion of minorities. Miami Gardens, Miami-Dade's third largest city, includes a population of more than 70 percent African-Americans that elected African-Americans to serve in every seat. The newspaper accounts are celebratory: Congresswoman Carrie P. Meek stated, "To now have a city that was pretty much begun by African-American people, its redemptive because it shows what unity can achieve." (Miami Herald, July 27 2003, p. 3N). The cities within urban regions

each have their own decision making contexts. It is time to assess them in terms of competition, cooperation, social capital and representation. The competition of interests' within cities may be more applicable between cities. This deserves further exploration as does the pluralist model. The context that produced the pluralist model, no longer exists. The pluralist model may or may not hold within suburban governments but it may still hold between them. Since cities are forming interlocal coalitions to change the political structure, we focus on the increasing power of social capital as well as the local nature of incorporation campaigns. Many are forming and joining forces with other cities to limit the power of county government. It is what we refer to as place based politics. Our study will contribute to the place of local government actors in regional, national and global politics.

24. Poverty Deconcentration: The Promise and The Reality

Stratified Experiences with Quasi-Market Rent Vouchers: Public Housing Relocation and Household Differences in Chicago

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Research Question: A central goal of HUD's public housing redevelopment and relocation efforts is to use quasi-market, tenant-based Section 8 vouchers (Housing Choice Vouchers) to decrease the racial and economic isolation of public housing tenants – particularly families with children and those making the transition from welfare to work – by leveraging market opportunities for them to move to racially-integrated and mixed-income neighborhoods. Unfortunately, there has been little empirical exploration of the potential differences in mobility outcomes for a) households with different characteristics (different sizes, presence of children of different ages, different life-course positions, different sources of income, etc.), or between b) households in the regular (voluntary) Section 8 program, and those who have used Section 8 as a part of a mandatory public housing relocation process. This paper looks at levels of racial (black) concentration and household poverty rates in the neighborhoods where Section 8 households live to determine if there are any clear patterns that reflect differences in households' characteristics, or differences between public-housing relocatees and those who chose to participate in the traditional section 8. The paper concludes with a detailed cautionary discussion of assumptions about household's choices and constraints explicit in any single interpretation of the results. Methodology:

The paper uses ANOVA and OLS regression analysis of household-level administrative data for Chicago's Section 8 programs, and 2000 census data. The analyses include: 1) comparisons of tract means (%blk, %poverty) between discreet groups (by household characteristics) within, as well as across, the relocation and mobility outcomes, including interaction variables to determine whether the effects of these characteristics are different for different program populations; and 3) a separate regression analysis of the relocation population different for different program populations; and 3) a separate regression analysis of the relocation population incorporating controls for the public housing developments they moved from and the distance they moved.

Making Choices, Creating Opportunity: The Neighborhood Preferences of Voucher Holders

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Policy makers and researchers hope that encouraging low-income households to move to higher-income areas will increase their access to opportunities and lead to improvements in their socio-economic status. A number of studies have found that moving to lower-poverty neighborhoods may have some real benefits for low-income families, particularly in terms of reduced exposure to crime and improved mental and physical health. To date, there has been no systematic examination of what factors increase the probability a household participating in the Housing Choice Voucher program will voluntarily move to a lower-poverty neighborhood. The only evidence comes from a small study in Washington D.C., which found that length of time on the program, public housing relocatee status, and pre-program poverty level may influence where voucher holders move. The authors use multivariate analysis to examine the characteristics that predict moves to low-poverty neighborhoods. Specifically testing the hypothesis that housing voucher movers make incremental moves toward low-poverty neighborhoods and testing the efficacy of mobility programs aimed at increasing moves to low-poverty neighborhoods. To identify the predictors of moving to a low-poverty neighborhood, the paper draws on data from two datasets: CHAC Inc.'s Housing Opportunity Program (HOP) database and the Urban Institute's Neighborhood Change Database.

Analysis of Alternative Housing Assistance Programs in

terms of Deconcentrating Low-Income and Minority Households

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Concentrations of poor and minorities have been recognized as one of the greatest problems confronting cities across the nation. The federal government attempts to reduce these concentrations through the implementation of its many housing initiatives—both for low-income renters and homebuyers—guiding recipients toward neighborhoods offering opportunities to live in racially and economically integrated settings. Integrating HMDA, HUD and GSE data with the Census 2000 data, this research assesses the extent to which the government's housing programs have helped to deconcentrate racial and ethnic minorities and the poor. The research finds that the expected benefits of various forms of housing assistance have not fully materialized. The efforts to direct home purchase loans to low-income and minority homebuyers are helping these households move into racially and economically integrated neighborhoods but the movement toward this racial and economic integration has fallen short of distributing these homebuyers in a manner that parallels the available housing in the market. Similarly, the freedom of the rental assistance recipient to choose a neighborhood has not translated into a significant reduction in the level of spatial segregation of these poor and minority renter households. These results are relatively consistent across several metropolitan areas, and the tightness of the housing market appears to have only limited impact.

Why do They Concentrate or Deconcentrate? The Importance of Local Context for Housing Voucher Holders

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Federal policy encourages deconcentration of poverty. As a result, local housing authorities, as administrators of the federally funded housing voucher program, are expected to facilitate deconcentration. However, voucher recipients choose their housing and neighborhoods within the constraint of housing availability in their community. This research examines the spatial patterns of voucher holders and investigates explanations, at the individual and neighborhood levels, for the locational choices made by these individuals. To do so, the research uses primary data collected from a sample of housing voucher holders in Orange County, California, combined with local housing authority client data and U.S. Census data. The findings from this research will

contribute to our understanding of the individual and contextual mechanisms affecting locational choices of voucher holders, and thus, shed light on factors that may present obstacles to deconcentration policies.

"No More 'Bois Ball'": The Impact of Relocation from Public Housing on Adolescents

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Introduction and Research Question: Housing mobility programs that move low-income families out of neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and into lower poverty neighborhoods aim to change children's opportunity structure for the better. How well children and their parents are able to tap into social relations with their new neighbors and institutions may determine what kind of impact the new opportunity structure can have on children's individual outcomes. Methods: I interviewed a random sample of forty-one adults and twenty-two teens from families who were relocated from their public housing high rise development in Philadelphia. Prior studies on housing mobility initiatives have mainly used quantitative methods to study the outcomes of families. In this paper, I use qualitative methods to explore how the neighborhood environment in terms of social networks and institutions changed for young people after their relocation. I consider my findings in relation to three of the transmission mechanisms often cited in neighborhood effects research: collective socialization, social networks, and quality of institutions. Key findings: The data from the interviews reveal that although the young people in the sample may be living in less poor neighborhoods, on average, neither they nor their parents have forged strong ties with their neighbors. Furthermore, young people report being less involved with extracurricular activities in their new neighborhoods. This lack of participation is related to the weaker ties of their parents to individuals and institutions in their new neighborhoods. Implications: The findings on transmission mechanisms in this paper suggest that there is not going to be a clear-cut influence of neighborhoods on outcomes for adolescents who move from public housing. Most of the neighborhood transmission mechanisms rely on social ties actually being in place in order for there to be a transfer of resources and norms. If these ties in the new, less poor neighborhoods are not in place, then the policy assumptions about moving to less poor neighborhoods may not be accurate.

25. Urban Tourism

The Emergence of Community Tourism - Trends and Examples from New York City's Neighborhoods

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Over the last decade an extensive amount of research has been dedicated to the growth of urban tourism and the motivations of travellers to visit an urban destination. More recently many scholars emphasized a diversification of tourism patterns, Dennis Judd for example argues that a growing proportion of tourists in fact deliberately seeks to explore urban settings beyond the controlled, standardized, kitschy, and at the end predictable experiences of the tourist enclaves. While tourists as a matter of course always transcended the sphere exclusively created for them, local politicians, businessmen, and other community leaders only recently began to attach importance to the desire of tourists to explore their cities "off the beaten path". Today tourism on the neighborhood level - often denoted as "community tourism" - is increasingly viewed as a promising niche market. Widely employed, the term "community tourism" lacks definitorial clarity as it is used in order to describe a phenomenon - that is tourism in communities of various kind - as well as a concept that attaches community goals and (re-)developmental strategies to the fostering of tourism. In the case of many New York City's neighborhoods community tourism is currently being promoted as an engine for economic revitalization and a vehicle to enhance the cultural life of visitors, locals as well as the public sphere. Community tourism appears to be a magic word - but is it truly a panacea? Building upon the work of Lily Hoffman in examining the rise and impact of tourism in the low-income, minority community of Harlem, my paper aims to present the main trends and connoting academic insights regarding the increasing diversification of tourism patterns and the promotion of community tourism in New York City's neighbourhoods such as Harlem, and the Lower East Side. It focuses on the differing concepts of community tourism and the question whether the existing approaches can live up to the

Hotel Socialism and the New Urban Politics

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Hundreds of cities around the nation have adopted a tourism and visitor-oriented strategy as a local economic development direction. The result has been an enormous increase in convention center space--up 42.6 percent

nationally from 1990 to 2002--and related investments in sports facilities, cultural centers, halls of fame, and other attractions. But as local competition for visitors has increased, the supposed "key" to success in the conventions and meetings business has changed. Industry consultants now argue that cities need more and more top quality hotel rooms, preferably connected to a convention center in the heart of a downtown, in order to compete. The result has been a new hotel development rush in cities from Austin to Omaha, St. Louis, and Sacramento. But these new hotels are quite different from their privately-financed predecessors, or even the public-private partnerships common from the Urban Development Action Grant days of the 1980s. New downtown hotel development is now increasingly purely public, with city government providing the capital through municipal bonds and assuming the risk of hotel finance and cash flow. These new "socialized" hotels with pure public ownership constitute a very new form of economic development investment, as Houston and Overland Park, Kansas now bet that they can lure new visitors and make money in the hotel business. The willingness of these cities to bet on hotel success is a striking development. No less striking is the changed world of local politics that has sustained this new public capital and economic development role where private capital clearly fears to tread. Downtown interests face what is a disastrous economic situation, and appear willing to support public capital investment in hotels as a last ditch effort at revival. And public officials have been willing to promote and invest in this new effort.

Distinctive Places in the Reconfiguration of London Tourism

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The paper reports the findings of surveys of visitors to two areas on the fringe of central London that in recent years have developed as new destinations for tourists. Visitors to these areas form a distinctive group among visitors to London. To some extent they reflect a general trend since the late 1990s that sees fewer 'holiday' visits and more visits to friends and relations or on business. They tend to be well-travelled urban tourists that are drawn to areas beyond the main attractions and which offer a distinctive urban experience. The areas they are visiting are at the same time undergoing substantial change in their residential and commercial property markets. We discuss the implications of the development of these new tourism areas for our understanding of trends in urban tourism and the management and development

of urban destinations. Encouraging tourists away from the congested central area is a policy objective for the Mayor of London. The paper also examines lessons for policy in the development of these fringe areas.

Ecuador's Tourist Cities: New Regimes for Old?

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This paper utilizes urban regime theory to explore how several cities in Ecuador are redeveloping for the tourism industry. Tourist arrivals have been steadily growing over the past decade and the industry is held up as a promising one for the economic development of the country. At the local (and specifically, urban) level, a case is made that a better understanding of policy development is gained through a political economy approach. This paper begins to address several gaps in the literature. Considerable work has emerged in the cities of high-income countries around growth coalitions and regimes with the tourism industry being prominent among the sectors acting as catalysts for growth. Less well understood is the establishment of regimes in cities of middle or low income countries as they too aspire to develop sustainable urban tourism industries. Secondly, with recent decentralization of tourism planning functions to the cantonal level, local regimes take on a new significance for analysis. This context clearly matters as regimes at the more local level now coalesce to a greater degree with key global actors in the tourism sector. I examine the large highland cities of Quito and Cuenca, both with historic cores declared by UNESCO to be world heritage sites and I also examine the smaller coastal town of Bahia de Caraquez, a self-declared "eco-city" with growing links with international eco-tourist NGOs and operators. In becoming/aspiring to become, "tourist cities" these cases demonstrate a number of contestations to such redevelopment and visioning. In undertaking this examination of the urban regimes, particular emphasis is placed on those regimes which influenced urban policy prior to the tourism and how tourism sector elites/actors are differently embedded in their communities from those they are replacing.

Contested Tourism in Key West

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Key West is a tourist economy. No one doubts that it will remain one for the indefinite future. Still, conflicts over the direction of tourism and over some issues associated

with the tourist economy have surfaced in Key West over the past decades. I am exploring the conflicts over development, cruise ships, Key West's "uniquesness," and affordable housing. Regarding each of these issues, I am exploring the groups involved, the coaltions that have formed, and the extent to which compromises have been reached.

26. Building Social Indicator Systems: How Does Purpose Influence Design?

Designing Social Indicators to serve Multiple Users

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This paper will offer a historical survey of the social indicators movement, and then dicuss the role of academic institutions in building a "policy neutral" capacity to serve multiple users in the community. To what extent did the earlier social indicators work of the 1960s and 1970s falter because it failed to consider the institutional and political cinditions that policymakers' use information and their translation of information into policy? Should we expect these social indicator projects to fare better now? How have computing advances, economic trends, and governmental devolution affected the fortunes of indicators projects? Drawing on Temple University's experience creating its foundation-funded "Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project," David Elesh will address the inherent advantages and drawbacks which universities face (compared with other urban institutions) as they try to build and maintain large-scale civic databases.

Building Databases to Inform the Work of Neighborhood Organizations

G. Thomas Kingsley, The Urban Institute
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Using his experience directing the National Neighborhood ndicators Partnership, Tom Kingsley will focus on how databases and indicators are used by community based organziations, especially in poor inner city neighborhoods. Most such organizations lack the resources to create data systems for themselves, so NNIP partners in cities around the US have assumed responsibility for this task. Kingsly will address such questions as: how effectively have NNIP organizations balanced the needs of activist CBOs to gain rapid results from data analysis, weighed against the researchers' pursuit of comprehensiveness in data systems? How does the NNIP model of "democratizing" data analysis for commu-

nity based clients? What design issues emerge as important in building a data system that is intended to be used by under-resourced, heavily - volunteer organizations?

Parsing Local Context: Evaluation Perspectives on a Comprehensive Community Initiative

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The Annie E. Casey Foundation is supporting a comprehensive neighborhood focused initiative – Making Connections. The 10 year program intends to strengthen families through local, resident driven, cross sector strategies in small target neighborhoods in 10 cities. The sponsor of "Kids Count" a long term indicator project, the Casey foundation has stressed the importance of data to guide local decisions and evaluation. Making Connections Milwaukee has been struggling to create a viable information model to serve a broad set of program strategies. This effort illuminates the variety of perspectives that can be brought to the same setting. The national foundation, institutional partners such as the Milwaukee Public Schools and Milwaukee Health Department, local community based organizations, advocacy organizations and residents all bring different points of view and value different frameworks. Models themselves tend to be too encompassing – attempting to fit all evaluation options. There are a number of frameworks – different levels of evaluation – results, outcomes, accountability the difference between administrative data sources and more qualitative perspectives view points by different constituencies – in this case African American, Hmong and young white families competing frameworks within and across domains – for example, those who would value property appreciation and those who focus on affordable housing social/ demographic perspectives or administrative program efficiency/ effectiveness focus on families as holistic systems or on classes of persons – such as unemployed, students, elderly, etc. short term – quality of community life issues or longer term - sustainable communities assessment This presentation will suggest a series of frameworks for deriving a data/ evaluation agenda and link these models to practical sets of indicators. The challenge to deciding on an indicator agenda is apparent when a broad unresolved set of options are identified. The Making Connections Initiative encourages neighborhoods to struggle with these questions rather than settling on a simple set of measures that may not reflect diverse perspectives and may particularly not be responsive to resident viewpoints.

27. Colloquy: Urban Food Systems: A Research and

Action Agenda for Engaged Universities and Communities

Moderator: Maureen Hellwig, Loyola University Chicago
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Joanne Kouba, Loyola University Chicago
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Join members of the Chicago Food Systems Collaborative, a Food and Society Initiative and Community/Higher Education Partnership grantee of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation for a Colloquy with the following central question: In the absence of a major supermarket, how do low and moderate income African American communities secure the essentials for a healthy diet and a healthy local economy? Related questions include: How can GIS research facilitate the discussion? How can surveys of small grocery stores be successful without being intrusive? What can we learn and teach through a school-based nutrition research and educational intervention engaging students, teachers, and parents? What food-related enterprises can contribute to both the health and wealth of an urban community? How can small farmers and urban communities of color work together? How do Farmers Markets help, or not? Is Cuba's success with small-scale sustainable agriculture a model? Is urban agriculture an option? Is a cooperatively owned grocery store the answer? Is a university-generated business plan for a community venture helpful? What is the role of CDFI's, venture capital, new market tax credits?

Thursday, 2:05-3:30pm

28. Community Development Corporations (CDCs)

Beyond Housing as Usual: Alternatives for Community Development

Randy Stoecker, University of Toledo
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Tim Mungavan, West Bank Community Development Corporation

This paper reports on three recent alternative housing development strategies in the Cedar-Riverside or West Bank neighborhood of Minneapolis implemented by the West Bank Community Development Corporation. First, they refinanced over 200 units of lease-hold co-op hous-

ing, dramatically reducing the mortgage interest rates, providing funds for badly needed maintenance, and preserving community control. Second, as a partner in a local apartment complex, they were able to exercise an option to buy clause, wresting future control over the complex from a private for-profit corporation. Third, they created a unique home ownership program called "Transition Homes" that slowly transitioned some homes out of the co-op ownership structure to private home ownership while still protecting their affordability. The paper discusses the challenges presented by the political economic context to each of these programs, including the contradiction of affordability and control, the lack of a strong community organizing infrastructure, shifting political seas, and problems of responding to contradictory community demands and a changing political context through a CDC. The paper also explores the strategies used by the CDC to meet those challenges, including detail work, using process, choosing sides, legal strategies, and community organization and confrontation.

The Evolution of the CDC: Same Time, Different Path

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In the last ten years there has been a remarkable development in many inner city communities, reversing a downward decline that had crippled these communities for decades. The linchpin in many of these successful urban development efforts is the community – or more specifically the community development corporation. The paper that I propose will consider the evolution of community development corporations in several northeast cities, including Newark, Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the late 1960s. The paper will focus on the emergence of the dominant, or first generation, CDC's in these cities. In particular, it will look at CDCs as a way of understanding the role of national, state and local politics in shaping new ideas about urban revitalization and minority political and economic incorporation. The paper will illustrate how these CDCs shaped future development initiatives and opportunities in these communities, including limiting the agendas or evolution of other organized community interests. This paper will contribute to an understanding of the intersection of agency and structure in the evolutionary path of these early CDCs, including the role of national political movements, local regime politics, grass-roots activities and community and private elites. This research will contribute to the following questions: Why have some

of these original CDCs survived and are still the domi-

nant player in town while others have faltered? and Why have some CDCs been more successful than others in fostering sustainable social and economic development?

Lessons Drawn from the Past: Using CDC Histories to Develop New Models of Evaluation

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This paper proposes a new model for evaluating the performance of community development corporations (CDCs). After a review and critique of current models of CDC evaluation, this paper argues that the following factors: changing beliefs in community empowerment and participation, management capacity, and political opportunity structure are key in explaining the performance of CDCs over long periods of time. The paper uses a structured, case study approach, with evidence drawn from three New York City CDCs: Banana Kelly Community Improvement Association, the Harlem Urban Development Corporation, and the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation. By focusing on a specific place -- New York City, and on specific time -- the "first wave" of CDC creation, I hope to tease out important similarities and differences in CDC evolution. This paper argues that we have much to learn from this "first wave" of CDCs. In particular, this paper suggests that unlike private organizations, CDCs powerfully reflect the times that create them, and rarely have the innate ability to quickly adapt to changing conditions. This is important lesson that not only advocates of CDC led community change should be cognizant of, but also those who study processes of community development. Note: I would be very interested in being placed on a panel with Prof. Deborah Ward, Seton Hall University, who is also submitting a proposal to UAA. We are researching a similar topic, but different cities. Her paper is titled, "The Evolution of the CDC: Same Time, Different Path." Her paper studies the evolution of first generation CDCs in Newark, Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the late 1960s.

Formulating a Methodology to Measure the Effects of Community Development Corporations on Inner-City

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Research Question: How can researchers measure and compare the effectiveness of community development corporations, given the fact they vary widely in size and function?
Methodology: This paper presents a valid and reliable

methodology to measure the effects of community development corporations on inner city neighborhoods. This paper will describe the five steps used to formulate this methodology. The first step was to compile all of the published quantitative studies on the effects of CDCs. The next step was to isolate those variables (key indicators) and research methods that have demonstrated the ability to provide valid and reliable results in the past. The third step was to determine which key indicators are shared by every CDC and can be collected in every case. The next step was to conduct a cost-benefit analysis to determine which key indicators are feasible, practical, and cost effective enough to collect in every case. The final step was to combine the isolated research methods with the isolated variables (key indicators) to formulate the methodology. Learning Objectives: 1. This paper will demonstrate the need for a standard methodology to measure the effects of community development corporations on inner city neighborhoods. 2. This paper will demonstrate the systematic steps used to formulate such a methodology. 3. This paper will present a methodology with can be used by urban planning practitioners and scholars for the purpose of both theory development and policy evaluation. Implications: A standard methodology for measuring the effectiveness of CDCs is especially relevant in the current climate of reduced federal resources for urban programs. Policymakers are demanding accountability and proof that a program is effective before they commit scarce dollars. A standard methodology would allow CDCs to provide this proof. This paper provides such a standard methodology. This methodology would also allow CDCs to evaluate their own programs and manage them in the most efficient manner. Finally, a standard measure would allow academic researchers to generalize, compare results, and develop theory across the disciplines.

29. Urban Governance in Comparative Perspective – Robin Hambleton, University of Illinois at Chicago, moderator

Research on Comparative Urban Governance: Networks, the Poor and Policy Innovation

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In our recent edited book, Governance on the Ground: Innovations and Discontinuities in Cities of Developing World (Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins Press, 2003) we discuss eight case studies of local governance reforms – in Chile, Brazil, Mexico and Columbia, the Middle East, Southern Africa, India, Bangladesh, and

the Philippines. The case studies reveal innovative examples of the organization of civil society, new institutional frameworks, and the process of political and social engagement. We highlight two critical disjunctures in these studies: the disjuncture between global competitiveness and local needs; and the disjuncture between formal state structures and civil society. The paper takes these analyses one step further, with some retrospective conclusions on the overall research, and with some suggestions for future research in the area of comparative local governance. These suggestions relate to three themes: the role of urban poor in local governance; the possibilities and limits of network research on local issues; and the relative importance of politics in local innovation.

City Leadership: Joining Up Politics, Management, and Democratic Renewal

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Just about everyone wants good city leadership but there is widespread disagreement about what constitutes 'good leadership'. By drawing on recent research on urban leadership in Europe, the USA and elsewhere this paper will map the broad contours of the current local leadership debate. It will be suggested that established models of leadership need to be rethought to meet new challenges - urban governance is more complex than it was. Leadership in partnership requires a transformational rather than a transactional approach. Likewise the established literature on public management is also flawed - it is weak on issues relating to public accountabilty and democratic influence. The paper will offer a critique of the 'reinventing government' movement in the USA and the parallel shift towards 'new public management' in Europe. The paper will suggest that new ways of framing the democratic challenge facing cities are needed - ones which value effective leadership and seek to blend managerial innovation with democratic revitalization. Examples to illustrate the argument will be drawn from a current nine country study of 'combinations of urban leadership and community involvement' (CULCI)known as the PLUS project (www.eura-plus.org). An attempt will be made to explore the implications of the analysis for urban affairs education on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Limit to Local Governance – Cross-National Per-

spectives

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In recent years the 'shift from local government to local governance' has apparently become a pervasive phenomenon across the 'advanced' world and beyond. This shift is frequently associated with the tendential convergence of local policy paradigms around neoliberal principles in the context of globalisation. This paper will draw on cross-national research and evidence from the UK, the EU and other countries including Australia and South Africa to argue: · That the shift towards local governance is indeed a pervasive phenomenon, but one which is taking place to different degrees, at different speeds and in somewhat different ways in different countries. · That these differences indicate that space still exists for policy alternatives, albeit within the constraining context of neoliberalism. The paper will discuss some of the key policy issues where alternative approaches seem to be possible. · But that some of the key elements of the local governance model (partnership arrangements between the public, private, voluntary and community sectors; 'modernisation' of the structures and processes of local government and local democracy, 'joined up' working between national, regional and local tiers of governance) are encountering serious limitations. These cast doubt on the 'fitness for purpose' and stability of the governance model.

30. Innovative Approaches to Economic Development

Providing Access or Constructing Barriers? Analysis of Barriers, Costs, and Constraints for Consumers

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Research Question: Services and products that are ostensibly accessible may be effectively rationed with intended beneficiaries "priced out" via financial and opportunity costs as well as barriers, constraints and other factors. Microlending, the lending of small amounts of capital to the smallest businesses, exemplifies a quasi-public good in the U.S. Initially, advocates presumed that the lack of access to capital was the primary impediment to the capacity for the self-employed reaching self-sufficiency. Today, capital is chasing low-income entrepreneurs. This is the impetus for research to explore the range of barriers, costs and constraints incurred and the barriers to participation. Methodology: The framework developed via microloan research is applied broadly. The

paper includes quantitative and qualitative analysis of data collected through written surveys of customers and programs; customer, prospect, staff, and key informant interviews; document reviews, and literature. It includes cases of an urban, credit led program and a rural, training led program. Key Findings: I develop a framework incorporating financial and opportunity costs as well as a range of other factors, barriers and constraints specifically applied to microloans. I test the framework in two programs. Results indicate that financial costs are significantly outweighed by other factors and that programs may become too costly for potential consumers due to requirements that outweigh the perceived benefits. Implications: Without incorporating the costs and as well as the required skills and knowledge, the costs of consumption are seriously underestimated. There are implications for policy makers and practitioners. Barriers such as risk of benefit loss and inadequate savings and credit can be addressed through policy and programs. Programs have created a series of steps for potential customers that may effectively serve as barriers to access. By identifying these barriers and attributing costs to them, programs may understand the challenges created and pursue alternate strategies.

The Spatial Relationship between Traditional and Alternative Financial Services

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Recent research has focused on the growth of check cashers, payday lenders, rent to own stores and pawn shops-- together referred to as alternative financial service providers. The fees and rates charged in this alternative market, even though its customers are disproportionately lower income and minority households, are typically much higher than those charged by mainstream financial institutions for similar services. It is well established that minority and lower income families are more likely than other families to use alternative financial institutions. What is not so clear is how much of this is simply because these institutions are disproportionately located in poorer neighborhoods (and conventional banks disproportionately absent). This study analyzes the locations of alternative financial services, relating their location to traditional financial services such as retail banks and thrifts. For eight American cities, street addresses for traditional and alternative financial services were geocoded to identify business locations. A nearest neighbor hierarchical clustering technique was applied to identify areas with statistically significant concentrations of both

types of financial institutions. This information was then linked with data from the 2000 census to identify demographic differences between the locations of traditional and alternative financial services as well as the areas with clusters of these services. The second part of our study analyzed the geocoded data to determine if there is a spatial relationship between the locations of alternative and traditional financial service providers. Does the presence of a retail bank in a neighborhood mean that there will be fewer alternative financial services in the surrounding area and vice versa? This study uses several different two-population spatial analysis techniques to determine whether traditional and non-traditional financial service providers have an attractive or repulsive relationship to each other.

A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to New Markets: Implementing & Managing the New Markets Initiatives

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Over the last four decades, the federal government has implemented a series of community economic development programs designed to counter urban and rural poverty. The most recent examples of such programs are the New Markets Venture Capital and New Markets Tax Credit initiatives, signed into law in December 2000. President Clinton described these as the "most significant effort ever" by the federal government to channel public and private capital to distressed communities. The programs were expected to leverage up to $15 billion in new investments through a combination of loans, grants, and tax credits. Shortly after their passage, however, both the economic and political environments changed dramatically. The economy went into recession, while a new administration took over the task of implementing the initiatives. This paper examines the enactment, implementation, and management of the New Markets initiatives. It relies on interview data with key actors and stakeholders, including the experience of one of the authors, who was involved in the planning, passage, and early implementation of the initiatives. The paper also includes an analysis of the programs' first round of allocations. Key Findings and Recommendations The paper finds that the New Market programs' objectives exhibited a tension between the pursuit of broad economic growth and a focus on more targeted poverty alleviation. This tension has led to unintended consequences for both initiatives. In the case of the New Markets Tax Credit program, for example, the credits may be used to fund projects that would have occurred even without the extra

financial incentives or to fund more profitable projects, rather than those with the greatest ability to reduce poverty. The authors conclude by recommending program modifications in order to target future rounds of allocations towards more effective community economic development.

Suburban Renewal? Coping with Greyfields and Disinvestment

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The decline of suburban shopping centers poses several dilemmas for cities still struggling to cope with urban decline. Greyfields are inefficient generators of jobs and taxes, and detract from the quality of life in neighborhoods that harbor them. The redevelopment of greyfields into productive community assets is usually left to market forces. In many cases, this is an inadequate response because the market forces that contributed to the decline of greyfields in the first place have not been altered.

Greenburg and Popper (1991) coined the term TOADS (Temporarily Obsolete, Abandoned, Derelict Sites) to describe a type of disinvestment. The concept of TOADS is broad and lacks the specificity of greyfields. Recently, contaminated "brownfields" have been the subject of thoroughly analyzed. The challenges of greyfields development, though, have not been adequately studied.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the negative impacts of greyfields on local communities. The property valuation impacts of various sized greyfields will be examined. Greyfields owners will be surveyed to determine their responses to market changes. Finally, a number of best practices in greyfields redevelopment will be identified.

Methodology: A review of economic development and real estate literature will be performed. Census data will be analyzed to determine the impacts of greyfields on nearby property values, and the demographic changes occurring in affected neighborhoods. A survey of greyfields owners will be used to better understand the obstacles facing greyfields redevelopers.

Key Findings: This research will provide valuable data to communities struggling with suburban decline. Often times, greyfields owners focus on marketing strategies (e.g., façade investments) rather than community needs in evaluating the best use of the property. Successful greyfields redevelopments will shed light on best practices in the field that address the changing needs of suburbia rather than continuing a failed business plan.

Implications: Communities need to explore new uses for

old facilities. Older malls and strip malls were built to meet the consumer needs of a largely white, middle-income community. As suburbia has evolved, new uses must be considered that meets the needs of multiple clienteles.

31. Demography, Development, and Governance: Western Cities on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown?

Municipal Power Systems: Asset or Liability—An Exploration Using Wasatch Front Communities

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Urban and suburban communities have faced many significant challenges in the last several years. One of the most critical challenges has been the need for additional revenue. As the national economy has slowed, many states have withdrawn targeted funding that previously went to local governments. Even as this occurred, citizens continue to demonstrate a strong demand for local government services. This demand for services coupled with shifting resource availability has increasingly strained municipal budgets. Consequently, municipalities must deal with hard economic "realities" as a result of these fiscal pressures. How do municipalities react to these pressures? This paper will focus on one major policy alternative, the delivery of municipal owned power. How this policy affects a city's bottom line may shape their ability to respond to other urban policy issues, such as crime and poverty now and in the future.
Municipal power systems vary in the amount of economic benefit they bring to a city. Historically, municipal power systems were seen as a significant economic advantage, generating excess revenues which would in turn be used to reduce the reliance on property and other local taxes. This paper explores the financial benefits or drawbacks of owning and operating a city power system during times of significant fiscal pressures. Using a case study approach, we explore the context of this policy issue by examining the management strategy, organizational structure, revenues, and expenditures of several Utah cities along the urban Wasatch Front.

Fixing It Up: Urban Redevelopment Strategy in Pasa-

dena, California

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Research Question: As cities in the United States became concerned with preserving the viability of their downtowns in the late 20th century, successful redevelopment of central cities has been a difficult goal to achieve. While government action is an important factor in successful redevelopment, community support and private capital investment is crucial. During the 1970s and 1980s Pasadena California embarked on a program of redevelopment that has gained national attention for its level of success, which included highly organized local activists, and high levels of private investment. How was Pasadena California able to achieve a renewed and financially thriving downtown when other cities have failed in this effort?

Methodology: This paper is based on a summary of quantitative data provided by the city of Pasadena as well as interviews with individuals at the city, Pasadena Heritage, and the Junior League as well as public documents and related research material. This case study details the numerous elements that were part of this highly successful project.

Key Findings: During a period of "scorched earth" urban renewal projects in the U.S., a backlash against this type of activity emerged in Pasadena. Local activists who gained experience in organizing protests during the 1960s used their skills to challenge planned urban renewal projects. Latching onto a small but growing national Historic Preservation movement in the 1970s, they formed a coalition of local residents, business people, property owners and artists to challenge the city and promote the saving and restoration of existing historic structures.

Implications: Without an organized, broad coalition of voices protesting the city, and an outstanding stock of historic structures in the old central business district, it is unlikely that the initial efforts would have been successful, or that private capital would have been willing to invest heavily in the district. Other locations should consider these issues when attempting their own redevelopment projects.

Local Context for Understanding Poverty and Segrega-

tion

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This paper examines the importance of local contexts in understanding poverty and segregation. Though a number of publications in recent years have attempted to connect poverty to racial/ethnic/economic segregation, little attention has been paid to urban examples such as Los Angeles, where such common constructs can be empirically challenged.

Using 1990 and 2000 census data for Los Angeles and Chicago, cities that represent two distinct North American urban models, we will assess the changing nature of segregation and integration patterns and their relation to the geography of poverty. Our findings will suggest that the two cities differ significantly, not only in their levels of segregation, integration, and poverty, but also in how well these social indicators are correlated. In the case of Los Angeles, we will suggest that the local historical and structural context may provide a better explanation of poverty than segregation measurements alone.

Migra Mouse: The Startling New Demographics of Disneyland

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Disneyland has long been recognized as an ideal of urban planning, a tightly organized and smoothly controlled urban space that for many seems to offer the antidote to the ethnically diverse, economically impoverished, crime-laden places that have constituted real North American cities for decades. Yet as demographic patterns change dramatically in Southern California, and especially Orange County where Disneyland is located, the cultural terrain of Disneyland itself once the symbolic home of "white America" is also changing. This paper first tracks the demographic changes in Southern California using GIS technology and census data, and then examines how Disney space is used by new populations of visitors and how this is indicative of broader shifts in urban culture. New forms of participatory resistance to the middle-class white image call into question the validity of postmodern urban theory that criticizes the monolithically diabolical nature of contemporary commodified urban space.

California's Perfect Political Storm?: An Analysis

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Leadership vacuums and citizen disconnects! Where is California's political leadership? Where are its voters and tuned-in citizenry?

This manuscript will explore political leadership crises in state and local public policy environments. The state budgetary crisis, perpetual rookie legislatures, restricted legislative staffs, increased policy –related reliance on lobbyists, increasing partisan polarity, career and personal ambitions above public service ambitions, etc., are among the elements that have conspired to disconnect the average citizen from government, public policy environments, and elected officials.

There is a "twain of connection" (or, perhaps, disconnection) here in that these are questions whose demand for answers has come into sharp focus. The vast majority of Californians believe there is a crucial political leadership crisis in the state they used to call "Golden," while fewer and fewer of us are going to the polls to weigh in on who should lead.

In fact, the gubernatorial recall election perhaps notwithstanding, voters in the United States and in California appear to be vanishing. The past four decades have been witness to a decline in electoral participation in the nation and in the state, the longest slide in our history. This signals to us a longer slide in citizen views of and trust in politics, government, elected officials and political engagement—ruinous for democracy and of a civil society.

Some have called California's political crisis a "perfect storm" of united combustible elements. I will contend that this "storm" is actually a historical confluence of "Five D's" imperiling democracy in California—disengagement, dualism, dependency, disarticulation, and dysfunction. They also have meaning for the larger nation.

32. Issues in Urban and Regional Planning

Revisiting the Link Between Regional Planning and Prosperity

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The literatures on urban economic development and regional governance and advocacy have long suggested that regional-level coordination of development policies and strategies should lead to better regional economic performance. The bases for this conclusion vary by author, but they include reductions in interjurisdictional

competition (Dolan 1990, Lewis 1996, Blair & Kumar 1997, Nelson & Foster 1999), coordination of sectoral recruitment efforts and promotion of agglomeration economies (Jacobs 1984, Mills 1992, Beeson 1992, Kresl 1995, Clement 1995), improved environmental quality (Dodge 1996, May et al. 1996, Hamilton 1999), more efficient and effective provision of major amenities (Segedy 1997, Calthorpe & Fulton 2001), reduced social and economic inequities (Downs 1994, Rusk 1995, Cisneros 1996, Orfield 1997, Pastor et al. 2000, Dreier et al. 2001), and more efficient and effective use of limited resources available for economic development (So, Hand & McDowell 1986, Kanter 1995, Barnes & Ledebur 1998). At the UAA Conference in 2000, I presented findings from an empirical study of 245 MSAs and PMSAs exploring the link between metropolitan planning and prosperity. The independent variable used was "level of metropolitan planning effort" as self-reported by the metropolitan planning organization (MPO) for each of the metropolitan areas. The dependent variables were both measures of income change between 1980 and 1990. Although no effect was found when all 245 units were included, tantalizing evidence of an effect appeared, first, when the metro areas were split according to income and growth rate, respectively, and the two halves compared; and second, when a two-stage least-squares analysis was conducted. This paper will revisit the earlier study, using the same independent variable but applying the regression model to evidence of change between 1990 and 2000. Greater congruence between the independent and dependent variables produces a clearer picture of the relationship than was possible in 2000. A finding of a significant effect of planning upon metropolitan income growth would support the case for elevating economic development efforts from the local to the regional level, and would strengthen the case for regional cooperation as a means of improving regional competitiveness and equity.

Constructing Regional Equity: Affordable Housing and Economic Development

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Metropolitan Portland is cited as a model of regional planning and growth management, providing an example of the compact city as a viable urban form. Home to Metro, the nation's only elected regional government, it is lauded as responsive to protecting the environment through open space preservation and promoting the economy through focusing development on viable urban centers. However, how has it defined and acted on issues of social and economic equity? There are conflict-

ing descriptions of Portland in the literature with implications for how equity claims are raised and addressed. Are its regional planning process sustained at the grassroots as Fishman (2000) describes? Or are these processes managed by elites that Lewis (1996) and Leo (1998) identify? The paper will consider both the nature and the capacity of the region's governing institutions through their approaches to affordable housing and economic development policy, which are articulated in two specific policy documents (Metro, 2000; Otak, 2001). Exploring construction of multiple political realities in these two policy domains, how have problems been defined and incorporated into the larger regional framework? How have participants in the policy process responded to the emergence of their issues on a regional agenda? Conducted primarily through qualitative analysis of public documents and interviews with key informants, this paper provides those interested in Portland's regional planning with an understanding of equity conflicts stemming from the region's compact city vision. The paper identifies specific challenges facing such a place-based system in addressing problems of equity defined on individual terms. Equity claims increasingly appear at issue as the region responds to the pressures of increased growth and diversity, as well a concern with increasingly global economic competition. This is significant, as while the system has been studied at length, very little has been written with respect to equity.

The Regional City – Clarence Stein's Forgotten Manuscript and Early Post-World War II Regionalism

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Clarence Stein's founding of the Regional Planning Association of America is a familiar mile-stone to planning historians as is the series of articles that appeared in the Survey Graphic in 1925 outlining his and his colleagues' call for a new regional planning approach as a means to address the perceived crises in the "dinosaur cities." Stein clearly advocated the establishment of distinct communities as a balanced means to accommodate population growth, an approach evident in his further contributions to projects such as the greenbelt towns of the 1930s. Rather than turning inward to focus on individual projects, as many in the design fields did, the community architect continued to adapt his arguments to the challenges of the post-World War II era, advocating for consideration of the "regional city" in federal and state policies and programs and demonstrating his skills as an architect, planner and coalition-builder. In his manuscript, The Regional City, he outlined his vision for distinct satellite communities, which he diagrammed as an interlock-

ing system of group, neighborhood, district, town, and, ultimately, regional city. While regional science gained ascendancy shortly after the war, Stein's communitarian regionalism resonates with post-modernists today. Analyzing archival material and primary sources that document these post-war activities within the broader context of urban policy, planning, development, and growth from the mid-1940s through the 1950s, I will address Stein's advocacy of the Regional City during this critical period and his influence on the current post-modern movement in planning.

Jane Jacobs Reconsidered: Towards a Literary Theory Critique

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This paper examines Jane Jacobs classic book "The Life and Death of Great American Cities" from the perspective of literary theory. Literary theory, or more appropriately literary theories, are according to Wolfreys (1999, p. x) are the "range of disparate critical practices and approaches … used by members of the humanities in the exploration of literary texts, films and aspects of contemporary and past cultures." The range of methods include, among others: structuralism and post structuralism, postmodernism, Marxism, feminism, reader-response and psychoanalytic criticism, new historicism and postcolonial theory, queer theory, and cultural studies. The collection of critical approaches is ultimately directed at theoretical aspects of reading that instruct us "how to read" (Newton, 1997). The paper proceeds as follows. After an introduction that establishes the appropriateness of applying approaches developed for the novel to urban, non-fiction, literature, the first part of the paper develops a rubric for reading.

Key elements, beyond the simple first order descriptors such as race, gender, national identity, etc., from the alternative approaches that encompass the magpie of literary theory are components of the rubric. For example, Barthes (1970) five codes for reading a text could be a piece of this rubric representing structuralism. The second part describes my [critical] reading of the Jacobs book (as it turns out, it doesn't matter if this is my first or nth reading). The third part records my reading against the analytical rubric. The final section will be a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of applying literary theories to urban, non-fiction, literature. References: Barthes, R. 1970. S/Z. Paris. Newton, K.M. 1997. Twentieth-Century Literary Theory: A Reader. Macmillan. Wolfreys, J. (ed.). 1999. Literary Theories. A Reader and Guide. Trowbridge, UK: Cromwell Press.

33. Colloquy: Author Meets Critics: Douglas Rae: <u>City: Urbanism and Its End</u> (Yale University Press, 2003) – Clarence Stone, George Washington University, moderator

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34. Colloquy: Urban Scholars as Policymakers and Politicians—Views From the Front Lines – Judith Martin, University of Minnesota, moderator – Theresa Daniel, University of Minnesota, moderator

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Many urbanists have dual lives as scholars and as activists in their home communities. Activism sometimes morphs into policy-making. This colloquy will consider the ways in which a scholarly background adds to policy making at the local level, and the unique talents that we bring to these processes. We will specifically focus on Planning Commission experiences.

April 2

Friday, 7:00-8:00am

Breakfast Roundtables:

6. Western Chapter Roundtable
Moderator: Ali Modarres, California State University – Los Angeles
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This roundtable will allow various institutional and individual members to meet and engage in conversation about the future of the Western Chapter of the Urban Affairs Association. Since this is the first founding year of the W-UAA, we will meet to consider some initiatives to expand membership in the UAA and increase the profile of the chapter at the upcoming conference in Utah.

7. Best Urban Books
Moderator: David Ames, University of Delaware
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Colleagues are invited to compare notes on what they think are the best urban books of the last year and what makes them useful as texts or as scholarship.

8. Converting Grant Reports into Publishable Articles
Moderator: Scott Cummings, St. Louis University
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9. CyberHood: Urban Affairs on the Web
Moderator: Robert Silverman, SUNY – Buffalo
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This roundtable will discuss the development of the CyberHood website (www.cyberhood.net). It will give UAA members opportunities to explore the possibilities of this medium for the development of an ongoing dialogue in the urban community. The roundtable will also give UAA members an opportunity to exchange ideas with the web moderator for the website and members of the website's editorial board.

35. National Housing Policies

Public Housing's Cinderella: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002

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Congress created what became known as the HOPE VI program in 1992 to revitalize severely distressed public housing developments. To date, HOPE VI has constituted the most strenuous governmental endeavor ever undertaken to salvage public housing in the U.S. Over the past decade, after several transformations in its goals and foci, the program has evolved from a modest attempt to remedy the ills of troubled projects into an ambitious plan to reinvent the public housing system by engaging the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Public Housing Authorities in a new way of doing business. HOPE VI's legendary transformation from a "Plain Jane" policy of a new dress for public housing into a "Cinderella" program begs a largely unexplored public policy question that needs real attention. This paper aims to understand how and why HOPE VI policy evolved when it did between 1992 and 2002. Recognizing the ambiguity and serendipity in the policymaking process, I apply and extend John Kingdon's "Multiple Streams" theory to the federal rule-making process of HUD. Positioning the politics of the stability and change in HOPE VI within a temporal and institutional context, this study examines how policy entrepreneurs inside and outside the government (at both federal and local levels), working with the external and internal insitutitional constraints, captured and created windows of opportunity for policy change. This paper promises much needed insight into the dynamic interactions among ideas, interests, and institutions involved in contemporary federal housing policymaking. It is hoped that the enhanced understanding will suggest the ways to deploy strategic political advocacy and facilitate genuine policy learning in the domain of housing and urban development in general. The study is qualitative in approach, relying on extensive document reviews and in-depth interviews with key policy makers and practitioners involved in the program.

Urban Governing Regimes as Federal Policy Tools: Evidence from the HOPE VI Program

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Can a federal grant program serve as an effective policy tool to achieve community revitalization by creating new urban governing coalitions and/or expanding the membership of established coalitions? The HOPE VI program seeks to use project-based, competitively awarded grants to local public housing authorities (PHAs) as both incentives and resources for the organization of inclusive community governing coalitions, in order to achieve the social as well as physical reconstruction of distressed public housing developments and their surrounding communities. The program design reflects both a longstanding tradition of using indirect policy tools to effect federal goals at the local level and a more recent awareness by implementation researchers and policy designers of the extent to which local context and configurations of political and material resources – urban governing regimes – influence urban governance decisions and practices. It also incorporates a presumption that effective and lasting community development requires building local capacity and requiring the commitment of significant local resources and participation. Using urban regime theory as an organizing framework for analysis, we compare three HOPE VI implementations. The widely varying processes and results in the three cases lead to several key findings. The extent to which federal officials consistently communicate programmatic goals to local participants significantly influences local implementation processes and outcomes. In spite of fairly generous program funding, the level of incentives and resources provided by the HOPE VI grants and administrative oversight is not always sufficient to overcome local contexts of mistrust and miscommunication, competing visions and goals for revitalization, and deficits of institutional and community resources. These findings do not call into question the basic premises that informed the overall program design, but do lead to some recommendations for more effective implementation by federal and local participants based on those very premises concerning the significance of context, the importance and difficulty of mobilizing multiple resources through the assembly of stable governance coalitions, and the necessity of building local institutional and political capacity.

Public Housing Revitalization or a New Case of Urban Renewal: An Examination of HOPE IV

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Research Question: The passing of HOPE IV into law in 1993, with its ambitious agenda of eradicating severely distressed public housing by year 2000, and an accompanying $3.6 billion budget for 1993-1999, provided evidence of a new direction for HUD's public housing policy. It manifested a serious commitment to addressing the physical, social, and economic deterioration of public housing communities during the last 60 years. However, initial evidence of the application of the program in public communities from Washington D.C., to Baltimore, Chicago, and Seattle have raised serious questions regarding the real motives of the program and the terms under which HOPE VI has been implemented in many communities. Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative and quantitative analysis of data and information collected via interviews and surveys of pubic housing officials, site visits, and other research. One of four case studies in process, this paper showcases the implementation of HOPE IV in the New Holly Community in Seattle, WA. Major Findings: Findings document the dramatic physical improvement of the communities, the resourcefulness and creativity of public housing official, local governments and of private developers regarding formation of public-private partnerships and the successful implementation of the mixed-income mixed-use development concept. At the same time some additional findings provide evidence of: a. Displacement of several thousand public housing residents without appropriate relocation assistance and without much chance of returning to the renovated communities; and b. A discrepancy between the number of units demolished, and replacement units which, when considered in the context of the lack of affordable housing. Implications: The findings of this research parallel earlier findings regarding the effects of Urban Renewal, thus, suggesting the need to reevaluate the implications of housing policies and programs, especially when displacement is involved, and to a reassess community revitalization approaches. Related Published Research: National Housing Law Project (2002), False Hope: A critical Assessment of the HOPE IV Public Redevelopment Program,: California: NHLP John Bauman, Roger Niles and Kristin Szylvian, Eds. (2000). From Tenements

Low Income Homeownership: American Dream or Delusion

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Homeownership is a complex and highly ideologically charged topic. Policies designed to promote homeownership, particularly low-income homeownership are viewed by many as common sense and have not been subject to substantial critical analysis. Policy makers portray low-income homeownership as a silver bullet solution to complex social, political and economic problems. This paper provides a critical analysis of low-income homeownership. It evaluates several aspects of the low-income homeownership (LIH) conundrum. First, it examines the policy goals of LIH including economic, political, social and neighborhood expectations. Second, it reviews the historical transformation of LIH policy as a result of mortgage innovation, social movements around reinvestment, collapse of the financial services industry, and policy making during the Clinton years. Third, it examines prospects for low-income homeownership given the current economic situation of renters and the supply of affordable housing stocks. Fourth, it examines research looking at the effects of homeownership in general and low income homeownership in particular focusing on what we know and do not know about the effects of low-income homeownership. Last, it raises a series of questions about who benefits from low-income homeownership and what is driving the policies supporting it. The argument of this paper is that low-income homeownership may be economically risky for families. It puts the burden of urban revitalization on poor families and serves the interests of housing market institutions more than poor families. It deflects political attention way from policies for affordable housing. Low-income homeownership creates false expectations of potential gains accrued from it and does not produce anywhere near the effects posed by its political rhetoric.

Housing Policy and Residential Choice

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American housing policy to assist low-income renters has historically given subsidy recipients limited choice of neighborhood residence, as they are able to use their subsidy in only a limited number of place communities (usually racially segregated, impoverished neighborhoods of central cities). Constrained choice is most extreme in traditional publicly owned housing projects, most of which were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. Over

61 percent of these public housing units are located in central cities, while only about 19 percent in suburbs; almost 70 percent are located in poorer areas (census tracts with median household incomes below $20,000), with over 53 percent located in areas of concentrated poverty (tracts with 30 percent or more poor) (Dreier et al., Place Matters, 2001: 117). Subsequent low-income rental housing built or rehabilitated with federal subsidy – such as the Section 8 new construction program in the 1970s and 1980s, or after 1986, the smaller Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program – is also dispropor-tionately located in "low-income areas, minority areas, areas that already have a concentration of subsidized housing, and cities" (Dreier et al, 2001: 117). In re-sponse, most housing policy scholars, as well as federal policymakers, have wedded their hopes of enhanced residential choice to tenant-based (rather than project based) housing assistance. Yet, these tenant-based vouchers also are plagued by their inability to offer sub-stantial residential choice to recipients. This paper will do two major things: First, it will provide a comprehensive overview of the problem of limited residential choice in American low-income housing policy (both in project-based and tenant-based programs). Second, it will out-line and discuss a variety of possible changes in housing policy to enhance this residential choice. A conclusion will discuss the political prospects of these policy changes, as well as the broader normative case for ex-panding residential choice.

36. Local and Regional Economic Development

Industry Clusters and Urban Economic Development: The Role of the Local Socio-Institutional Context

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Research Question: The literature on new industrial dis-tricts and industry clusters highlights certain key factors that are thought to facilitate the success of clusters and enhance their ability to influence local economic perform-ance. Increasingly, researchers argue that the most criti-cal of these are the "soft" and often "invisible" factors such as institutional thickness, untraded interdependen-cies, trust, social capital, and inter-organizational link-ages. Many of these concepts are captured within the notion of the local milieu. The local milieu is "the socio-economic environment of an area resulting from the in-teraction of firms, institutions and labor, which leads to a common way of perceiving economic and technical prob-lems and finding respective solutions" (Raco, 1999, p. 956; Todtling, 1995). The basic research question is: how does the socio-institutional context of a metropolitan

region contribute to its ability to utilize its key industry clusters to achieve economic development? Analytical Framework: I use the social network model of industry clusters to guide my inquiry into how metropolitan regions attempt to leverage the economic development potential of target industry clusters (see Gordon and McCann 2000). The social network perspective on clusters downplays relations based on the trade of physical goods and services. It focuses instead on "formal and informal flows of information or knowledge, the role of social ties or trust in governing transactions within clusters, and the importance of local pools of specialized labor" (Feser, Sweeney, and Renski, 2001, p. 2). The social network model of industry clusters: goes beyond standard agglomeration and transaction cost reasoning by emphasizing the qualitative social and institutional factors which facilitate quantitative external economies of co-location. Quantitative and qualitative economies are intertwined, and they are both embedded within specific contexts of space and time (Staber, 1996, p. 8). The qualitative process of regional clustering around a particular set of industries and its potential for achieving economic development in a given region can be understood in the context of the local milieu (Malmberg 1996). The paper examines three dimensions of the local milieu or socio-institutional context that might be expected to influence the process of industry cluster-based economic development: 1) inter-organizational networking and collaboration; 2) local governance; and 3) cluster linkages to the inner city 1. Inter-organizational Networking and Collaboration According to the social network model, the institutional context of a region is thought to influence the process of industrial clustering and how clusters might be used for economic development (McDonald and Vertova 2001). Regions with a strong network of local institutions (institutional thickness) are better able to facilitate the localized networks and inter-organizational relations needed to support the process of regional clustering. Moreover, these collaborative organizational relations are likely a precursor for enhanced regional economic performance (Raco 1999). 2. Local Governance and Cluster-Based Economic Development A key component of local governance with respect to the clustering process is what Van den Berg et al. (2001) refer to as "organizing capacity", which is defined as: The ability of the urban region to enlist all actors involved in the growth cluster and with their help, to generate new ideas and develop and implement policy designed to respond to developments and create conditions for sustainable development of the cluster (Van den Berg et al., 2001, p. 190). Local organizing capacity is manifested in: 1) the existence of a local/regional vision and strategy for the cluster; 2) involvement of cluster actors in cluster policy-making; and 3) the level of societal/political support for cluster development (Van den Berg et al. 2001). Another

aspect of governance that contributes to a region's support for a particular industry cluster is the role of public intervention by government. Differences among metropolitan regions in terms of their levels of organizing capacity and governmental and policy support for regional clusters are expected to have implications for cluster-based economic development. 3. Cluster Linkages to the Inner City Michael Porter (1997) has been the most ardent proponent of using the industry cluster approach to achieve inner city economic development. He argues that inner city economic development efforts should focus on integrating the inner city with regional industry clusters. The cluster concept is only a piece of Porter's much broader model for inner city competitiveness. His model received a great deal of attention and criticism in the late 1990s for overstating the role of the private sector and market-driven business development in revitalizing the inner city. Others emphasize the importance of linking the inner city to the wider regional economy but see a larger role for government, community-based organizations, and educational institutions in that process (Harrison and Glasmeier 1997; Fainstein and Gray 1995; Rist and Sahay 1996; Harrison and Weiss 1998). The social network model of industry clusters accentuates the deliberate linkage efforts required to more fully integrate the inner city with the competitive regional clusters that drive metropolitan economies. It underscores the role of community-based organizations and education and training providers as intermediaries for connecting inner city residents to better job opportunities in regional business clusters. Methodology: This paper will explore the process by which clusters form, develop, and are supported by the "local milieu" and how they are used in economic development, particularly to connect inner city residents to opportunities available in the broader regional economy. Qualitative research methods are used to address these cluster process questions. The paper focuses on the clustering process with respect to the transportation, distribution, logistics industries in three metropolitan regions: Memphis, Tennessee, Louisville, Kentucky, and Indianapolis, Indiana. Drawing from the social network model of industry clusters, the qualitative research examines the role of social and institutional factors such as inter-organizational networks, local governance, and linkages to the inner city in the process of cluster-based economic development. The research for this paper is based on a series of semi-structured interviews with 10 to 12 local experts in each study region, including representatives from local governments, cluster firms, chambers of commerce, education and training providers, and community-based groups that serve the inner city. Implications: The findings will shed light on how the socio-institutional dimensions of the local context influence the process of cluster-based economic development in metropolitan regions. By comparing and contrasting this

process in the three regions, we are able to identify the factors that enhance or inhibit the connection between industry clusters and economic development. The paper also identifies some of the common barriers across the three study regions that hinder a more effective use of the transportation, distribution, and logistics cluster, in particular, for connecting inner city residents to job opportunities in the regional economy. The regions are compared with respect to the respective actions taken to address these barriers.

Local Development in the New Economy

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The "new economy" brings many challenges to cities of all sizes, from global cities to rural towns. This work unravels the political economy of local governments seeking economic growth and development in the new economy. I explain how the economy and business have undergone a transformation in the past two decades. The permeation of information technologies has altered how we view high-tech industry and other business. I discuss what telecommunications requirements mean for business and government, and how this relates to cities in terms of size, location, and specific areas of the city like the downtown. The focus of this paper is on how local government competition for business occurs in the new economy. I discuss what the role of local government officials is in integrating telecommunications as a component of the city's economy, what are the spillover effects of this integration on education, public safety, and other government services, and how is telecommunications a leverage point for cities? I use data from nationwide survey and interviews of local economic development officials to help answer these questions.

A Cure for What's Ailing America's Central Cities? Health Services and Economic Development

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The suburbanization of employment combined with discrimination and a lack of affordable housing in the suburbs has created a 'spatial mismatch' of jobs and workers in recent decades. Job growth in industries more likely to employ lower-income central-city residents is occurring in areas of the metropolis least accessible to the poor. The result has been the increasing poverty and marginalization of inner-city populations. While urban job losses in manufacturing and other traditional 'blue collar' industries

continued unabated during the 1990s, central cities have retained a competitive advantage in health services, which constitute a large and growing base of central-city employment and are projected to enjoy substantial future growth. Broadly defined, health services include those establishments that provide people with medical, surgical and other health services. Unlike other service industries that are highly concentrated in central cities, namely producer services and tourism, health services can provide low-skilled workers with employment opportunities that enable them to advance toward jobs with more responsibility, skill, and compensation. Despite their rapid growth, prominence in many urban areas, and economic and workforce development potential, health-services industries have attracted little attention from investigators of central-city economic development. In this paper we attempt to fill the gap by answering three key questions: · Do health services cluster in central cities? · Are central-city residents disproportionately employed in health-services establishments? · Do health services offer low-skilled, central-city residents better job opportunities than other service industries located in the central city? Our findings will foster a better understanding of urban economies and aid policymakers in devising economic and workforce development strategies that promote central-city growth and create good jobs for low-income, entry-level workers.

The Effects of Scale in the Revitalization of the Hudson Valley

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Like many areas in America's Rustbelt, the Hudson Valley suffered greatly during the transition from a Fordist to a post-Fordist economy. The classic pattern of industries leaving, cities hollowing out, and increasing irrelevance to the larger economy all played out in the economy of the Hudson Valley. Recent attempts to restructure the economy of the region have shown signs of success but much of this is dependent upon the scale at which one chooses to look. Regional planning initiatives have attracted businesses, added to new home construction, and seen increasing numbers of tourists in the region. However, the decaying urban centers of the Hudson Valley have lagged behind and recent attempts at urban revitalization have experienced only limited success. This paper examines why some policies have been successful at the regional level but not at the urban level and explores what might be done to put urban revitalization on equal footing with the region.

*Centered, Edge or Edgeless? Exploring and Explaining
Growth in the Boston Urban Region*

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In his study of office space development, Edgeless Cities, Exploring the Elusive Metropolis, Robert E. Lang argues that local local specificities are critical to spatial outcomes: Metropolitan form represents in part a compromise between forces that centralize and those that decentralize.... Many of these variables differ dramatically from region to region producing a nation of different contexts, different compromise, and correspondingly different metropolitan forms (Lang 2003:26). Lang's own study is largely descriptive; he maps variations in office space location among different regions over time but does not delineate the centralizing and decentralizing factors in different regions in any detailed manner. Drawing on Lang's study as well as new regionalist scholarship in political and geography, this paper will examine and explain changing patterns of employment and office space construction in the Boston urban region during the 1990s. In Lang's account and others (Glaeser, Kahn and Chu 2001), the Boston region demonstrates both centered and decentered patterns relative to other metropolitan areas. These studies do not attempt to explain why these patterns exist. Is Boston best thought of as a centralizing and decentralizing urban region? What factors explain the region's metropolitan form? To what extent do local conditions matter and why? What are the policy implications? The paper will utilize federal and state employment data, office market data, government and other planning analyses, newspaper articles as well as interviews to establish the patterns of change and to explain them.

37. Philadelphia and the Political Economy of Social Capital in the "City of Neighborhoods"

Credit Unions, Community, and the Urban Crisis in Philadelphia

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Credit unions have tied together declining neighborhoods in post-industrial Philadelphia by providing much needed financial resources while maintaining precious stocks of social capital. De-industrialization and suburbinization were coincidental with the rise of the credit union movement in Philadelphia during the 20th century. City credit unions have grown to encompass one in three Philadelphians while the industrial base of the city has

disappeared and over 700,000 citizens have been lost. In the 1930s, working class issues, particularly income stability, fueled a credit union movement that was based in factories. The avoidance of blight and neighborhood decline came to be the focus by the 1970s in the form of community development credit unions. Today, a hybrid model predominates with a focus on both social stability and financial convenience while incorporating many distinct communities of interest into one credit union.

Increasing numbers of city residents have sought locally based financial services out of necessity and out of a desire to rebuild communities based upon a sense of mutual reciprocity. De-industrialization and suburbinizaiton have spurred and shaped the development of credit unions in the city of Philadelphia. Moreover, credit unions have played an integral role in the life and death of many Philadelphia neighborhoods as residents have struggled with massive economic flux and social disintegration.

Social Capital, Main Streets, and Neighborhood Development

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Neighborhood business corridors have received little attention in the urban studies literature, largely because they have been viewed as inconsequential to larger economic, political, and social processes at work in American cities and beyond. However, more recent research and practices have indicated that business corridors can act as places for the production and reproduction of social capital through serving a range of functions, from locations of public interaction, to anchors stabilizing economically marginalized communities.

This paper discusses the role of urban business corridors based on the experience of several neighborhoods in Philadelphia. In particular, it examines the correlation between levels of social capital and economic prosperity by paying close attention to three arguments. First, urban business corridors play an important role in the social, cultural and political fabric of neighborhoods. Because business corridors, shopping districts, or main streets hold a significant place in the collective memory of American cities, redeveloping them can be central to redeveloping community. Secondly, healthy business corridors can help to retain and circulate financial capital benefiting residents in the form of retail and commercial services, stable land values, and employment. Moreover, viable business corridors make the neighborhoods contiguous to shopping areas attractive and may account for one significant reason of increased residential activity, homeownership, and the production of social capital in many neighborhoods. Finally, the lack of redevelopment

of neighborhood business corridors is not simply due to lack of private business activity (as some of the arguments in urban studies suggest), but rather the result of shortsighted public policy and limited public-private relationships. Therefore, an argument could be made for redirecting more public funds toward business corridor redevelopment with the goal of creating places for social and financial capital development.

Whose Social Capital? How Economic Development Projects Disrupt Local Social Relations

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By asking "Whose social capital?" we suggest that, in actual social practice, what constitutes social capital and who possesses it are both contested. The state constructs communities as geographically-bounded spaces of consumption, speculation, and administration and assumes ahistoric, generic social networks within them that actors mobilize to create power. This directly conflicts with residents' more conventional notions of social capital, seen as networks of trust and mutual support shaped within a context of shared history and culture through which they reproduce community as a socially-constituted space.

We demonstrate that these conflicts are intrinsically tied to viewing the community in terms of either its exchange or use values. Using ethnographic data collected in Kensington, one of Philadelphia's poorest neighborhoods, we will demonstrate a long-standing tradition of community building (use value) which has created strong local networks of trust and support which make it possible to survive and to make cultural sense out of the daily conditions of impoverishment.. However, since the 1970s, some community groups have developed strong links to powerful institutions which see the community in terms of exchange value – as a site of public/private partnerships in which the state makes the community attractive to capital investment. Recent development projects and activities of state agents focus on preparing the area for development that is expected to produce benefits for community residents. Yet, impending gentrification and displacement means that current residents may not see these benefits. Residents see pending displacement and the creation of large non-residential zones as forces destructive of social capital.

We analyze the ways this conflict has engendered several contradictory local identities and processes which are reshaping relations within and beyond the community.

38. Quality of Life Issues – Patricia Pollak, Cornell University, moderator

Making Quality-of-Life Measurements Matter

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For some time, governments have been urged to evaluate the results of their efforts. As local governments have become concerned about maintaining and improving the quality of life within their jurisdictions, community indicators have become a widely used tool to measure the status of and progress in improving municipal quality-of-life. Indicators provide a vehicle for understanding and addressing community issues from a variety of perspectives. They are useful, within the context of an overall community-improvement process, both as a planning tool and as an evaluation tool to measure progress on steps taken toward improvement. Their usefulness is maximized when they are both directly tied to public-policy and budget decision making and when the community feels a sense of ownership of the indicators through direct citizen involvement either in their development or in their application. This paper reviews major approaches to community-indicators work, and illustrates one of the approaches with research conducted for and the resulting development of an instrument designed to measure, compare, and induce improvements in municipal quality-of-life.

Satisfaction with Municipal Services and Quality of Life in Urban Areas

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Research Question Sirgy, et al. suggest that satisfaction with government services at the neighborhood and city levels is an important indicator of residents' quality of life. They posit a conceptual model in which overall (global) resident satisfaction is determined, in part, by spillover from neighborhood and community satisfaction with service outcomes. This research expands on the Sirgy et al. model by examining the relationship between neighborhood and global (citywide) quality of life indicators. Neighborhood quality of life is measured as satisfaction with government services provided at the neighborhood level, resident assessment of neighborhood conditions, and resident perceptions of neighborhood-level government. Global quality of life is measured using similar indicators. Methodology Data from the 1997, 1999, 2001,

and 2003 Dayton Ohio Citizen Perception surveys are used to test two hypotheses. First, neighborhood quality of life is, in part, a function of satisfaction with the bundle of government services (safety, public works, and recreation services). Evaluation of each of those components varies by income, race and geography. Second, global quality of life (operationalized here as overall satisfaction, satisfaction with citywide services and perceptions of city government responsiveness) is correlated with neighborhood quality of life. Implications Local administrators often use citizen perception survey data to gauge service outcomes and inform decisions regarding budgetary and service adjustments. We argue that these data are also indicators of neighborhood and global quality of life and that a better understanding of the links between service satisfaction and neighborhood and global quality of life will help managers make better decisions about municipal services.

Quality of Life Indicators within Measurements of the Urban Capacity for Innovation-Based Development

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Research Question: In this new century, cities face intense competition for investment capital and growth. Increasingly cities are focusing on ways of measuring and developing the prerequisite conditions for innovation to occur. Florida 2002 for example, claims that innovative cities come about from the "creative class." A multivariate analysis of urban capacity is one such approach to measuring these conditions. Within such an analysis, what is the best measure of quality of life? Methodology: This paper tests various indicators of quality of life, including property values, demographic migration and culture activity within a set of urban capacity measurements for two sets of locations: cities with business incubators and a set of medium size cities in the American urban system. Possible indicators are evaluated for both theoretical consistency and the ability to produce meaningful results. Key Findings: We find that quality of life is in the eye of the researcher. Indicators used by other researchers reveal underlying assumptions about quality of life and the collective sources of innovation in a city. Monetary indicators such as property values carry with them unspoken assumptions about race, class and power. Cultural indicators and indicators of social capital assume, perhaps rightly, that social processes of creation and interaction lead to innovation. However, there are still aspects of the quality of life that are greater than the level of cultural activity and the amount of social interac-

tion. We find that the migration of the demographic co-hort of 25-44 best captures relatively intangible aspects of the quality of life. Related Published Research: An-drews, C. 2001 "Analyzing quality-of-place." Environment and Planning B, 27(2): 201-217, March. Florida, R. 2002. The Rise of the Creative Class. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Determinants of Neighborhood Satisfaction in Central Cities

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Determinants of Neighborhood Satisfaction in Central Cities: An Analysis of the 2001 American Housing Survey Neighborhoods represent a critical component of central cities. Central city neighborhoods unable to ade-quetely satisfy the perceived needs of its residents are susceptible to the migration of such residents to neighborhoods either within the municipal boundaries or outside the central city that better address such needs. This paper presents the results of the 2001 American Housing Survey using a neighborhood satisfaction model derived from previous research that considers the socio-demographic characteristics of the survey respondents and resident responses to factors reflecting neighbor-hood quality characteristics. Results generated from the use of the derived model and logistic regression indicate that the rating of the housing unit by the respondent and the perception of crime are highly significant and are the two strongest determinants of neighborhood satisfaction. This paper discusses the implications of these findings on urban policy to preserve and strengthen neighbor-hoods in central cities.

Living the Good Life: Predictors of Residential Satisfac-tion and Environmental Theory in an Older Adult Popula-tion

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Research Question: Environmental press theory was used to aid in a better understanding of residential satisfaction of older adults living in an older, urban and decaying central city. Older adults in the central city often lack resources to move or adapt as successfully to negative environmental conditions and are twice as likely to live in poverty. What variables will predict residential satisfaction among an older, impoverished special population and what affect does the environment play on physical and mental health? Methodology: This study used 400 randomly selected older adults in Detroit, Michigan to determine factors of residential satisfaction using both personal competencies and environment interactions. Key Findings: The logistic regression model produced the following variables as predictors of residential satisfaction in the sample: home hazards, neighborhood hazards, geographic location and interaction press measures. Respondents who reported the lowest physical and mental competency levels also reported the lowest levels of residential satisfaction and encountered the most severe environmental challenges. The results underscore the importance of understanding person/environment behavior interactions and detrimental sociopolitical and economic policies that systematically disadvantage segments of the urban population across lifespan development. Implications: The study findings showed that negative environmental conditions have adverse affects on personal competencies of older adults. These social and external forces reinforce the importance of environmental press theory in public policy and community problem solving. The context of an urban environment can affect the way an individual constructs a behavioral relationship with the environment. Indeed housing, neighborhood, and person-environment interaction variables suggest that the neighborhood has an overwhelming effect on the older adult's ability to live the "good life."

39. Global Issues in Urban Revitalization

The Changing Faces of Buenos Aires: An Examination of Argentina's Relationship with the IMF and its Impact on the Capital City's Water Service

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Under the reign of former President Carlos Menem during the 1990s, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) held up Argentina as the poster child for privatization and economic liberalization among emerging market economies. However, more recently, the country's well-publicized and unprecedented resistance to the IMF's call for fiscal austerity measures in a time of economic and financial difficulty has created a new image of Argen-

tina on the international front. This change from student to rebel has had an enormous effect on municipal policy in Buenos Aires. In this paper, I explore the impact of this shift through the lens of water provision services and its politics in Buenos Aires. More specifically, water services in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires were privatized in 1993, with reasoning largely based on the structural adjustment recommendations of the IMF. Indeed, the IMF held up the city's experience as a development model – cheaper user fees, more reliable service, and a more efficient operation were all claimed as testament to Buenos Aires' successful privatization experience. Today, however, the government adamantly refuses to allow service user fees to be increased, one of the IMF's stipulations in its recent negotiations for the refinancing of the country's debt. The unearthing of both the international and domestic social bases of Buenos Aires' water provision policy change, in the face of the IMF, is the central challenge my paper addresses.

Local Developmental State and Order in China's Urban Development During Transition

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Rules and order in urban construction, and thus relationship between the market and the state, has been a fundamental issue for urban development. In China, a transition economy, marketization has been actively promoted to replace central-planning by the economic reforms, and it has contributed significantly to the dynamic urban growth subsequently. However, the role of the state in defining an institutional framework for the market is lagging behind. Fiscal deficiency against the pro-growth position undermines the capacity of the local developmental state in exercising effective developmental controls. Without effective state enforcement of rules, market order does not emerge when uncertainty is pervasive in the marketplace. The cases of Urban Villages and Luohu redevelopment show clearly that absence of the state in constructing the market and absence of the state as the third-party give rise to the commons or quasi-commons in the land development market. Inferior and suboptimal developments ensue.

Linking Innovation Policy to Local and Global Context in Developing Countries

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Interactive view of the innovation process has brought renewed interest in agglomeration economies. Innovative milieu, industrial districts, and regional innovation sys-

tems are the most common regional industrial development models based on agglomeration economies. While various viewpoints fluctuate, these models emphasize the dynamic advantages arise from interaction between firms and supporting institutions within the local area of which they are a part. However, the global context, which recognizes the role of international networks, is not integrated into these models. The nature of such models often results in discrepancy in the use of conceptual tools across different regions in different countries. This paper aims to bridge this gap by identifying the main structural components of innovation networks of two regions in Turkey. It is based on qualitative analysis of data and information gathered through semi-structured interviews with manufacturing firms in two regions. This paper argues that we need to understand the interactions between contexts and consequences. When discussing regional innovation policy formulation and implementation in developing countries, two basic context arenas needs to be considered: 1) the international arena where regional and global competition, organizations pressure firms to change their practices; 2) the local arena where local economic circumstances, historical trends and socio-political dynamics can combine to change outcomes. The study findings show that these two context arenas influence the processes that can be used to formulate policy – without contextual sensitivity, effective policies may never be developed. Related Published Research: ·Amin, A., Cohendet, P. (1999). Learning and Adaptation in Decentralized Business Networks. Environment and Planning D: Soceity and Space, 17, 87-104. ·Maskell, P., and Malmberg, A. (1999b). Localized Learning and Industrial Competitiveness. Cambridge Journal of Economics, 23, 167-185.

The World Bank's Cultural Capital: Policy Issues of Urban Heritage in International Development

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Four urban case studies of projects financed by the World Bank (in Salvador, Brazil; Bethlehem, West Bank/Gaza; Tbilisi, Georgia; and Petra, Jordan) reveal the consequences of development in historic cities and sites of intangible value that are also inhabited by the poor. The relationship between economic development and cultural heritage in developing countries is relatively unexplored in urban policy literature. The World Bank's experience in historic cities raises many questions about the changing value, uses, and occupancy of cultural properties and spaces and the roles of the various stakeholders in the development process. The market-oriented emphasis of development can limit the choices of project

type and the identification of stakeholders and participants in that process. Policies for property rights, local stakeholder participation, and innovative financial mechanisms that protect these people and places, while promoting economic development, require further elaboration and analysis. The World Bank's policy of protecting cultural property is a part of the mandatory environmental review process for all Bank projects and has been undergoing revision for the last decade. Nevertheless, its guidelines still do not sufficiently consider the consequences of development on historic cities and sites. For example, most of these projects attempt to stimulate tourism revenues, but a typical result is the displacement of the local population because of rising property values. Yet the policy does not address this potential outcome. In the last decade, the development discourse at the World Bank has focused on three issues that are significant in the relationship between economic development and cultural heritage: privatization, participation, and governance. This study examines the role of the donor/lender in supporting these three areas while protecting the public interest and public goods such as cultural heritage. It concludes with recommendations for integrating cultural property policy more fully into the current development agenda.

40. Colloquy: Low Wage Work, Labor and Welfare Policy –

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Seven years after the enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), the issues associated with welfare are now inextricably woven into the problems of low wage work. Given that PRWORA sets forth life-time 60 month time limits for benefits and mandates that welfare recipients work in exchange for cash assistance, problems of welfare cannot be separated from problems of work, politics,

organizing and other questions of social and economic policy. At the same time, the labor movement is facing the problem of how to increase its membership and where to focus organizing efforts. The growth of the low-wage workforce thus offers opportunities and challenges for labor, and it now includes many former welfare recipients. The purpose of this colloquy is to examine various dimensions of post-welfare reform/early twenty-first century poverty and discuss the intersections of welfare policy, the low wage work labor market and the labor movement. The colloquy participants have been involved in research and analysis in relevant areas and recently collaborated in several projects for publication. Issues that will be addressed include: the relationship of welfare policy to corporate restructuring, the patterns of earnings for low wage workers, the role of unions in addressing the problems encountered in the low wage workforce, the experiences of workers in the welfare state and in recently privatized human services, and the role of labor in the Workforce Investment system. Additionally, the re-framing of questions of poverty and welfare into a human rights framework will be discussed. Colloquy participants have been involved in work relevant to these themes that appeared either in the Winter 2002/2003 WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society issue (Vol. 6, No. 3), and/or will appear in the forthcoming book, Welfare, the Working Poor and Labor edited by Louise Simmons (M.E.Sharpe Publisher, 2004).

41. Colloquy: Teaching Comparative Local Politics

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We propose a colloquy to discuss teaching an upper level undergraduate/introductory graduate level course on Comparative Local/Urban Politics. The roundtable derives from a Fulbright Alumni Award to Clarence Stone to participate with colleagues at the University of Southern Denmark in creating a "model" curriculum for a comparative local politics course. With increasing research on comparative local politics, such courses are beginning to make their way into class schedules. This would ap-

pear to be a good time to share ideas and consider alternative approaches and foci. The colloquy will discuss possible ways for organizing such a course, themes that might be covered, suggested readings and course organization. It will also seek to identify areas where little has been written and areas where additional research is needed.

42. Colloquy: Brownfield Reclamation: Community, Not Just Economic, Development

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The shifting shape and focus of research into the reclamation of previously developed lands in the US has followed the patterns exhibited by public policy. First, there was the concern for separating out the sites that suffered from environmental sigma or minimal pollution problems from the massive contamination problems posed by Superfund sites. Then came concerns for the availability of any form of finance for environmentally- suspect loans, given some court decisions on lender liability. When that issue cleared, broader recognition of the brownfields problem as an economic development issue, emerged with policy designed to attract investment in much the same manner as was tradition for other property-led economic development. Studies of the environmental insurance industry and public support for forms of insurance pools and bulk purchases has been tied to characterization of the brownfield problem as one of risk management and risk transfer. Now, with more funds available, market shifts enhancing the values of inner-city lands, and many of the purer economic development barriers declining in importance, there seems to be more room and support for examination of environmental justice issues and, more generally, of brownfield reclamation as a community development, not just economic development, issue. This colloquy will examine emerging issues in examination of the community development issues – social welfare shifts and distributional aspects of economic and environmental improvements – associated with reclamation of brownfield sites and the rezoning and area-wide economic restructuring that such regeneration efforts routinely involve. The participants will be researchers with long experience examining urban economic change in general, and brownfields redevelopment in particular.

43. Public Transit vs. the Automobile: Perspectives on an Urban Dilemma – Joe Grengs, University of Michigan, moderator

Public Transit and the Isolation of Poverty Neighborhoods in Detroit and Flint in the 1990s

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Problem: The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) was intended to create more equity in the distribution of transportation resources. Despite these equity goals, however, changes in some provisions appear to contribute to worsened access to jobs for transit-dependent people who live in high-poverty neighborhoods of central cities. This project evaluates whether federal transportation provisions unintentionally contribute to worsened isolation of people living in inner-city neighborhoods by hindering local transit agencies from adapting to spreading urban land-use patterns. Questions: (1) To what extent have jobs shifted away from the central city and beyond the reach of the geographic coverage of the transit network? (2) Did transit-dependent poor people who live in inner-city neighborhoods lose the capacity to access jobs by transit during the 1990s? (3) Is the hypothesized loss in accessibility caused in part by changes in transit service rather than purely a result of land-use dispersion?
Method: The study uses special Census Bureau microdata, available through the University of Michigan Census Research Data Center, to examine job change at very small geographic scales. Through focused analysis of entry-level jobs and transit routes serving inner-city neighborhoods in Detroit and Flint, the analysis is based on a gravity model using GIS. The model estimates an index of accessibility at two times during the 1990s at the census tract level, and then by holding relevant variables constant to a base year, disaggregates the accessibility change into components of land use and transit service change. Findings: I expect to find that high-poverty neighborhoods are losing access to opportunities not only because of land-use dispersion but because transit service has diminished in central city neighborhoods disproportionately relative to outlying municipalities. Selected References: Blumenberg, Evelyn, and Shiki, Kimiko. (2003). How Welfare Recipients Travel on Public Transit, and Their Accessibility to Employment Outside Large Urban Centers. Transportation Quarterly, 57(2), 25-38.. O'Regan, Katherine O., and Quigley, John M. (1998). Where Youth Live: Economic Effects of Urban Space on Employment Prospects. Urban Studies, 35(7),

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Stalking the Wild Automobile – Traffic Congestion and Management on a University Campus

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Most of the work on urban traffic congestion and management has been conducted in situations where traffic "peaks" at two times of the day – morning and late afternoon – all year long. Yet this does not reflect the reality for many communities. For instance, of the largest college and university campuses – those with over 14,000 students – about half are found in towns with fewer than 50,000 residents. The mix of trip purposes varies considerably in this context, with the majority of trips related to student movement to and from classes. The university itself becomes a major traffic generator, but in a complex way. Campuses are large, and they contain places to work, learn, socialize, and live – each with its own trip purpose. Universities also seek to balance transportation improvements with efforts to create a pedestrian friendly environment – rather than becoming a facility with a parking lot attached. There is a great deal of opportunity for innovative approaches within a university setting – given the range of professional talent, the willingness of university "stakeholders" to try new ideas, and the ability of a university to impose policies in a unified manner. This presentation reports on 1) how congestion in a university setting differs from that of a non-university setting, 2) what are the components driving this congestion and 3) how best to ameliorate this congestion while observing a balance that reduces traffic congestion while staying within overall university planning objectives. The information presented here applies beyond the campus setting into any community that contains non-traditional traffic generators. It indeed shows why, when it comes to analyzing and managing traffic, context does matter.

"Commuters on the Roads" – "Gendered" Spatial Assessment of Labor Market Boundaries in Urban Areas

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This paper presents a comprehensive explanatory model of commuting, incorporating a boundary–activity perspective in which labor market perceptions are a crucial element. Such perceptions reflect a pre-commuting spatial assessment of labor market and residential boundaries that affects commuting behavior. Employing a representative Israeli national labor force sample of 723 employees, we preformed regression analyses on labor market perceptions (subjective determinants) and traditional commuting-related variables (objective determinants) to determine their effects on men's and women's commuting behaviors, within the larger framework of gender and labor market opportunities. The results show that gender-based labor market boundary perceptions play a unique role in men's commuting behavior, while they do not affect women's commuting behavior, for which only traditional commuting variables are of crucial explanatory value. By incorporating macro and micro determinants the regression results revealed that it was only regional and transportation variables that were found to influence women's commuting patterns. The presence in the home of children aged under 5 years old and residence in regional centers significantly negatively affected (i.e. shortened) women's commuting times, while the availability of transportation and working in regional centers significantly positively affected (i.e. lengthened) women's commuting times By contrast, men's commuting patterns were affected by market boundaries perceived in terms of their occupational, segmented and general market content. In addition, familial income and the availability of transportation significantly and positively affected men's commuting times. Overall, the main contribution of this study has been in highlighting the involvement of 'gendered' labor market perceptions as a latent but major contributor explaining men and women's commuting behaviors. By adding perceptions of market boundaries into the equation by which men and women make commuting decisions, a more comprehensive explanatory model of commuting behavior can be developed.

Car-less Youth in Urban America: Sixteen, Beautiful, and Trapped

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This study investigates the pre-driver license years of 80 college students in the years just before they could drive. Our interest is in their range of personal movement as expression of spatial accessibility and its influence on

personal growth. The findings reveal a strong correlation between residential design, social class and personal geographic experiences. The students' narratives illustrate boundaries of movement and socio-spatial acculturation determined by the physical layout of neighborhoods, parental attitude toward social diversity, and the availability and reliability of public transit. Alone or in combination, these three factors encourage or diminish opportunities to explore a wide range of urban places from downtowns and industrial areas to different kinds of neighborhoods. The life-path of most urban teenagers appears to be constraint by their inability to travel on their own to locations beyond the local neighborhood. In addition, their exposure to a variety of social environments is directly related to their parents' degree of fear of and prejudice toward "the others," who they might, for example, meet on a bus. The location and availability of friends and playmates tends to be limited by the range of a bike ride. Since nearly every trip beyond the immediate neighborhood requires being driven by a parent, neighbor or older sibling, geographic experiences are always filtered and pre-directed. In this paper, we ponder the implications of such restricted spatial experiences on the growth of personal geographic knowledge.

Light Rail Transit in U.S. Cities: A Blessing or a Curse?

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While streetcars were an important component in the development of U.S. cities a century ago, a newer version called light rail transit (LRT) has emerged over the past 25 years. Since 1980, 13 U.S. metropolitan areas have added LRT to their landscape; other cities are currently constructing new lines or considering LRT for their community. Many have applauded LRT as an effective transit mode that responds to urban sprawl and traffic congestion, helps revitalize CBD's, and contributes to the livability of their communities. Critics assail LRT as a costly, ineffective and/or inefficient transit mode that was "oversold" to communities by its supporters. Thus, a question emerges from this argument between critics and supporters of LRT: Is this mode an effective added benefit to the community (a "blessing") or an ineffective and inefficient waste of time and money (a "curse")? This paper is part of a larger study (doctoral dissertation) that examines the costs, benefits, and ridership of newer LRT systems in the United States. The results of the study are expected to explain variations in ridership among LRT systems as this variable is often used to defend or malign LRT. The implication of this study is that a number of metropolitan areas are considering LRT (including Louisville, where the author resides, to Washington, D.C., the

location of the Annual Meeting); this study attempts to shed light not only on LRT ridership but the costs and benefits of this transit mode.

44. Changing Patterns of Urban Governance

Rethinking Urban Governance in the 21st Century

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The freeing of world markets and vastly increased mobility of people, ideas and money has had the effect of weakening the position of national states, while thrusting urban regions, perhaps more obviously than at any time since the Hanseatic League, into the centre of economic development. It is clearer today than ever before that the economic health of nations rests in large part on the prosperity of their urban-centred regions. However, each region requires an economic strategy appropriate to its particular mix of natural, locational and human attributes and that mix in turn calls for a unique set of social measures. Thus nationally centralized economic strategies and social policies are losing much of the salience they once had. These changing circumstances are bound to require a re-orientation of the relations among levels of government, though the specifics of the reorientation will be different in different countries. Thus it is best to begin a re-thinking one country at a time. In Canada, a variety of evidence suggests both long-standing and recently growing dissatisfaction with the ability of local governments to respond effectively to their constituents. As deficient city governments face growing challenges, some political leaders and commentators are arguing that cities must be given autonomy and constitutional status in order to come to terms with these realities. This paper – the starting point for a new research project - explores an alternate approach, involving the provision of central government support for policies that are largely generated at the local level. To conclude my discussion, I undertake a preliminary exploration and evaluation of three attempts to work toward such an arrangement in the areas of inner-city housing renewal, immigration and welfare.

Shaping Urban Agendas: An Examination of State Intervention in Local Policy Arenas

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It is well recognized that almost everything cities do are affected by external decisions made in their state capital

or in Washington, D.C. Scholars have documented that the interplay between the federal, state, and local institutions has a major impact on ultimate policy formation and implementation. A long-term trend of decentralization in the American federal system has provided state legislatures with greater powers and responsibility. As a result states have taken a greater interest and role in shaping local affairs. While a great deal of work has been done in looking at intergovernmental relations between the federal and both state and local governments, we hope to expand on this work by examining the policy link between cities and states. Specifically we will explore efforts by state actors to explicitly restructure and modify local urban policy agendas. States influence local policy agendas in a variety of ways often depending on the specific policy arena involved. To explore this relationship we will focus on two key policy areas: education and environmental policy. These arenas have been selected because in recent years almost all states have become much more interested in promoting local action to support state priorities in these areas. Often specific state policy is not simply mandated, but rather implemented through a complex series of partnerships with both private sector actors and local governments. The goal of such policy, however, is to fundamentally alter traditional local preferences. For example, many states have attempted to restructure local education through the promotion of charter school. Environmental policy, particularly toxic waste cleanup efforts, has become much more aligned with strategies to promote economic development goals. Using Michigan as a case study, we will consider how state actors have intervened and modified the local policy agenda with these two areas.

Tiebout or Not Tiebout? Framing the Question

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Research Question: Since Tiebout (1956), scholars have debated the relative merits of fragmented versus consolidated local governance structures. Early debates focused on the accountability and efficiency dimensions of local governance. During the 1990s, several new works appeared which suggest new issues to bring to the fragmentation-consolidation debate. This paper reexamines the fragmentation-consolidation debate in light of these new works and asks: How should metropolitan areas be governed? Methodology: Recent theoretical and empirical literature on the impacts of local government fragmentation and residential segregation are reviewed. Findings: Recent literature suggests several new issues worthy of consideration in the fragmentation-consolidation debate. First, the emergence of the new

regionalism brought social equity considerations to the forefront. Second, in contrast to earlier studies which tended to emphasize the costs of fragmented versus consolidated local governance structures, recent empirical works emphasize the quality dimensions of alternative forms of local governance. Third, several recent works provide evidence on the link between local government fragmentation and residential segregation by race and income. This linkage implies a need to consider the impacts of segregation when evaluating local governance structures. Fourth, dimensions of governance other than simply the number of local political entities are becoming increasingly more relevant. Implications: Nearly 50 years after Tiebout's (1956) seminal article, urban and regional scholars are still debating the pros and cons of fragmented versus consolidated local governance structures. The recent works examined in this paper suggest that the dimensions of this debate are shifting from a narrow concern for cost-reduction to a broader emphasis on social equity and regional economic growth. Related Published Research: Cutler, D. M. and E. L. Glaeser. (1997). Are ghettos good or bad? Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112 (3), 827 – 872. Hoxby, C.M. (2000). Does competition among public schools benefit students and taxpayers? American Economic Review, 90 (5), 1209 – 1238. Kremer, M. (1997). How much does sorting increase inequality? Quarterly Journal of Economics, (February), 115 – 139. Tiebout, C. (1956). A pure theory of local public expenditures. Journal of Political Economy, 64, 416 – 424.

The Determinants of Cooperation Among Local Governments in Metropolitan Areas

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It is widely recognized that there are likely to be benefits from cooperation among local governments in metropolitan areas. This study explores what accounts for variation in cooperation among such governments. To this end, the main research goals of this dissertation are to define and create a typology of metropolitan area intergovernmental cooperation; develop a measure of intergovernmental cooperation, and examine, in a systematic way, factors suggested by the literature, both theoretic and empirical, to affect cooperation. In discussing the factors that affect cooperation, I explore them from both the Public Choice and Regionalist schools of thought. These two paradigms view the need for and motivations leading to cooperation differently. This analysis explores how the factors that actually affect cooperation relate to both of these paradigms and their views of the world. In measuring interlocal cooperation, this study uses metro-

politan area per capita interlocal expenditures. This measure of fiscal cooperation varied considerably by metropolitan area. Among the major findings from this study are that contrary to much of the literature, fragmentation has a very limited impact on cooperation. This study also finds that the single most important factor affecting interlocal cooperation is the state institutional and policy environment. This study also strongly supports the extant literature that suggests that cooperation is more likely to occur in the provision of System Maintenance services than Lifestyle services. This study concludes there is not definitive support for either the Public Choice or Regionalist school of thought perspectives on interlocal cooperation.

Scale and the Comparative Politics of Urban Governance

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Critical reviews of US theories of urban politics have emphasized the 'localist' nature of growth coalition and urban regime frameworks (Ward, 1996; Jessop et al, 1999). Critics argue that a parochial focus on the urban scale neglects the ways in which political and economic actors, institutions and urban areas more generally, are inserted into wider political and economic structures and processes. The growing literature on scale and the 'politics of scale' provides an opportunity to re-examine the 'localist' critique and assess whether the reformulation of US frameworks in more scale sensitive terms might provide a more robust framework for examining urban politics both in the US and beyond. The paper argues that the localist critique tends to conflate two analytically distinct sets of issues. The first – and "strong" version – focuses on the absence of a clear link between the concepts central to US urban research, notably the growth coalition and the urban regime, and more abstract concepts such as the state, capital and competition. The second relates more explicitly to questions of geographical scale. Here the 'localism' of US accounts is seen to reflect a specific national context of a decentralized and fragmented territorial state form on the one hand, and the historical significance of politically mobilized local economic elites on the other. According to this "weak" version a careful unpacking of the context-specific nature of US accounts and explicit attention to the scalar dimensions of US frameworks promises a more rigorous and productive application both within and beyond the US context. However, in order to maintain a privileged position in research on urban politics US frameworks will also need to confront the strong version of the critique. This is likely to present a more substantial challenge.

45. Culture, Preservation and Urban Vitality – Jane Brooks, University of New Orleans, moderator

Measuring Cultural Vitality in Communities: A New Framework and Indicators

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Does art and culture contribute to community building and community development? The proposed paper examines the relationship between art and culture and community building, suggests possible indicators, and discusses policy implications. The paper extends the research published by the co-presenters Jackson and Herranz (2002) in their monograph "Culture Counts in Community: A Framework For Measurement" that explores the relationship between community-based arts and cultural activities and community development processes such as social capital formation and neighborhood revitalization. The paper argues that narrow definitions of art and culture, limited data, and underdeveloped community development theories have contributed to an under-emphasis of cultural dynamics in explaining urban processes. At the same time, while some analysts argue that creativity is increasingly important to cities' quality of life and economic competitiveness (Florida 2002; Landry 2000), the authors suggest that creative and cultural activities in neighborhoods has been neglected by researchers. The paper contributes to community development theory and practice by providing a framework for conceptualizing and measuring the relationship between arts and culture and community development. In particular, the paper extends the notions of "creative city" (Landry 2000) and "community cultural development" (Adams and Goldbard 2001) to include the often neglected neighborhood-specific dimensions of cultural activity. Of particular interest to conference attendees is the paper's description of individual and organizational networks connecting issue areas such as public housing, crime prevention, youth development, community development, and artistic/cultural activities. Based on their findings, the authors suggest new indicators to include in quality-of-life measurements of communities and cities and discuss the challenges of documenting the role and value of arts, culture, and creativity within the conventional cultural sector and across other community-related policy areas. Findings are drawn from a 6-year study by The Urban Institute with the purpose of developing indicators of arts and culture in community building in United States. Methods included field interviews and focus

groups that involved 300 people, and participatory research pilot projects to develop neighborhood indicators in seven cities (Los Angeles, Boston, Providence, Chicago, Oakland, Denver, Washington DC). The paper also draws on two other Urban Institute studies: 1) an exploration of support systems for artists in 6 cities; and 2) a telephone survey of 4000 residents in four cities about participation in art/culture activities and in civic activities.

Jazz Tourism Planning and South Rampart Street: Reviving a Cultural Context in New Orleans

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Tourism management in New Orleans requires the careful balancing of many facets of the city's unique culture and historic morphology to help maintain this most important industry. While the culture and architecture of the city are the central draws of tourists to the city, recent efforts to plan for tourism have not effectively managed these key resources. This paper will examine the role one of the most important draws for tourists to New Orleans: music heritage. It utilizes a case study of efforts to turn the forgotten South Rampart Street corridor into a revitalized multi-use district anchored by a jazz museum. The New Orleans effort is analyzed in light of other cities' efforts to utilize culture as a revitalization tool, particularly Kansas City's Jazz Museum district. The New Orleans case highlights both the significance of culture to the tourism sector of the economy as well as the delicate balance of conditions that help to maintain this cultural product.

Urban Historic Preservation Methods in the U.S.A. and Germany-A Comparative Analysis of Selected Cities

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The creation of historic districts in the U.S.A. is very common practice. In 1931, Charleston established its first urban historic district in order to protect its unique and priceless historic fabric. Over the next few decades, many cities followed Charleston's example. Specific motivations, different rules and regulations and varying levels of preservation, combined with a large variety of conservation methods and surveys are at the heart of research into this field. Since the 1950s, the urban historic preservation movement has become more widely accepted, especially by urban planners, in whose interest it

is to ensure the economic revitalization of urban areas . Today, historic districts within cities are often situated within inhabited and habitable areas. In Germany, this U.S. concept of establishing geographically-defined areas (historic districts) is not widely applied by urban planners in order to protect the urban fabric. This paper discusses the differences and similarities that became evident in the course of a comparative study of different urban historic perservation methods. Here, the focus will be in evaluating weather different levels of shaping history (local, national or international) are been used by planning officials. Field work in Philadelphia and Boston (U.S.A.) and in Hamburg and Nürnberg (Germany) will be incorporated to support the main points and arguments. Similarities and differences will be highlighted, both between urban preservation methods and the historic districts concept. This involves a detailed comparison of U.S. American and German cities, with their specific regional geographical features and historic urban fabric, and also provides a comparison of property rights in both countries. Finally, historic preservation in the U.S.A. and Germany will be compared und evaluated. The role of revitalization and the conflicts inherent in the desire to plan historic and yet modern and habitable cities are key factors for an effective evaluation.

Redevelopment of Pontchartrain Beach, New Orleans: Local Policy Analysis Within a Restoration Context

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After more than twenty years of closure, the only white sand beach in Orleans Parish was once again open to the public in March 2003. The University of New Orleans recently designated this historic site, originally constructed as storm surge and flood control for the City of New Orleans, as the Pontchartrain Beach Environmental Reserve. With proper management and restoration, this site has the potential to become one of the most widely used public parks in the city. The public could be attracted not only for the pleasant natural aesthetics, but also by the amenities, concessions and special events, such as concerts and weekly markets. Several efforts to establish a highly coveted recreational park at Pontchartrain Beach have been initiated. Environmental aspects such as wetland restoration and education outreach opportunities have been put forward by several local organizations. Recreational design plans that attempt to recapture the historic context have been explored. However, all these efforts lack of comprehensive vision that analyzes the overall role of this public space to enhance quality of life. Pontchartrain Beach requires a major effort, based on stakeholder involvement, to become the

distinctive and multi-faceted park planned. Stakeholder involvement should include public, private, cultural and institutional organizations to revitalize the cultural and historical significance as well as beauty of this important recreation destination. This research focused on the aesthetics and function of Pontchartrain Beach as a historical development, using site inventories and comparing different usage perspectives to propose recommendations and guidelines within a "placemaking" framework. The results of this analysis showed, however, that the implementation of restoration plans requires a transparent public policy; that instead of centralized objectives, an expanded emphasis on public participation is required to fulfill the original objectives of developing Pontchartrain Beach as a modern public space.

46. The Impacts of Immigration on Urban Places II

Comparative Analysis of Immigrant Clusters in Global Cities: N Y, LA, San Francisco, and DC

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The hypothesis of this paper is that cities are becoming increasingly heterogeneous as a result of international migration and that different forms of ethnic clustering are emerging. Research shows that ethnic clusters are emerging even in suburbs where some immigrants follow networks of kin and friends along migration chains and bypass inner cities altogether. Overall, the ethnic geography of major metropolitan areas connected to the global economy—where the immigrant population is most pronounced—is exhibiting increasing complexity. To address the question of "what forms do contemporary ethnic clusters take" this paper will apply a typology of ethnic clusters (e.g., ethnic enclaves, ethnic communities) to characterize the distribution of major immigrant groups (Chinese, Mexicans, Filipinos and other large foreign-born groups) in four global cities: New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. using 2000 census data. Building on past research by Logan, Alba, and Zhang (2002) on Los Angeles and New York, an ethnic cluster is operationalized as follows: areas with high concentrations of an immigrant group and areas with a slightly lower concentration that are contiguous to it. The unit of analysis is the census tract. The paper will use a spatial analysis tool (GIS) to identify clusters of Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos, and other large immigrant groups and compare them along several spatial dimensions (e.g., cluster size, density, distance from CBD). Selected housing and socio-economic characteristics in immigrant clusters and nonimmigrant clusters will be compared. The paper will contribute to our under-

standing of residential clustering patterns of immigrants in global city housing markets. References Logan, John R., Richard D. Alba, and Wenquan Zhang (2002) "Immigrant Enclaves and Ethnic Communities in New York and Los Angeles" American Sociological Review Vol 67: 299-322 Massey, Denton (1985) Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical and Empirical Review. Sociology and Social Research 69: 315-50. Myers, D. (1999) "Demographic Dynamism and Metropolitan Change: Comparing Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Washington, DC. Housing Policy Debate. 10(4): 919-954. Schill, M. H., S. Friedman, E. Rosenbaum (1998) "The Housing Condition of Immigrants in New York City" Journal of Housing Research 9(2): 201-235.

Findings and Application of Research on Immigrant and Refugee Acculturation

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This paper focuses on the findings and application of data from a 2000 study of eight immigrant and refugee communities representing 7 different language groups and more than 40 countries in Fairfax County. The paper will also address how this research as well as similar studies on immigrant acculturation have influenced public policy, intervention, and planning efforts. Little research exists on the application or use of acculturation research on immigrants and refugees. Given that the impact of immigration on communities is only likely to grow, it is imperative that community leaders facing limited resources understand issues confronting them. Specific issues raised include: • Social and economic challenges experienced by immigrants during acculturation; • Effective supports in assisting and fostering community attachment and contribution; • Individual, family, and community goals in the immigrant community; • Community response to research findings. Results suggest that an improved understanding of immigrants' values, experiences, and aspirations is critical to informing policy, program, and service delivery choices.

Networking For Resource Development: The Case of the Hmong Suicide Prevention Task Force

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Research Questions Ethnic organizations are often formed to provide services that are not offered to members of specific ethnic communities by mainstream social service organizations. However, very little is known about the social, economic, and political context in which ethnic organizations respond to emerging social problems. How do such organizations obtain resources and establish the networks they need to survive? What strategies and tactics should be used by organizers to establish effective alliances and coalitions among organizations serving the same ethnic community? Methodology A critical incidence approach is used to examine the case of the Hmong Suicide Prevention Task Force, a group formed to respond to an adolescent suicide epidemic in a small city. This approach requires that the organizers act as participant observers to identify critical components that contributed to the success or failure of the organizing effort. Organization documents, meeting minutes, and personal interviews with task force participants were also used to supplement the analysis. Key Findings The findings indicate that the task force was successful in informing the community about the suicide crisis and preventing additional suicides. However, competition among established Hmong organizations made collaborative partnerships with these agencies difficult. It was much easier for the Task Force to enter into alliances with government agencies that were able to exchange resources in return for access to the Task Force's expertise and cultural knowledge. Implications The implications of these findings are that organizers need to be aware that alliances among organizations developed to serve the interests of specific ethnic populations are difficult to orchestrate due to competition within the community for scarce resources. In contrast, emerging ethnic organizations may have an easier time establishing linkages with larger, established institutions that are eager to exchange resources for access to the ethnic community. However, such linkages may require that ethnic organizations adapt services to conform to institutional expectations.

Multiculturalism in the City: A Comparative Analysis of Municipal Responsiveness to Immigration in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)

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Immigrants comprise between 30 and 50 percent of many urban and suburban municipalities in Canada's largest city-regions. In addition, changes in the source countries of immigrants have resulted in municipal populations which are increasingly both ethically and racially diverse. However, since immigration is outside their jurisdiction, and because Canadian municipalities have been viewed by many 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, the budding empirical literature indicates that the way in which municipalities respond to immigration varies. 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 preferences. The paper presents the initial findings of a one-year research project. Given the newness of the empirical terrain, it will begin by asking: In precisely what ways do Canadian municipalities vary in their responsiveness to immigrants? Essentially, it will describe and evaluate the types of policy responses that exist at the municipal level in Canada. Second, the paper will explore the ability of the American urban politics literature to shed light on why Canadian municipalities vary in their responsiveness to immigrants. [Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data collected on municipal websites, in public documents and through interviews with key policy actors at the municipal level including municipal officials, civil servants, and leaders of immigrant serving organizations. It will compare responsiveness to immigration within and across two city regions: Vancouver, Richmond, Surrey and Coquitlam in the GVRD and Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the GTA. Five policy areas will be examined in each municipality: Policing, Planning, Public Health, Parks and Recreation and Libraries].

47. Urban Revitalization: The Long View

Cities: Was the Comeback of the Past Decade Real?

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The decade of the 1990s was heralded as the decade of city comeback in the popular press (see, for example, Grogan and Proscio, Comeback Cities). Utilizing data we assembled for a project funded by the Fannie Mae Foundation on "Evaluating the Success of Urban Success Stories: Take Two," we assess the extent to which cities

can be said to have "come back." We take cities that were distressed in 1980, according to an index of distress that we construct, and compare their performance during the 1980s and 1990s to that of the nation as a whole and to cities that were not distressed at the beginning of the 1980s. Did "distressed" cities come back? To what extent were cities that were the most distressed in 1980 continue to be distressed in 2000? In an extension of the work in "Take Two" we then examine the performance of all cities over 125,000 in population and ask, which cities did perform above the national average during the decade and what were the characteristics of these cities? We utilize regression analysis to separate out city performance from national and regional trends affecting the entire economy. Finally, we examine cities that performed better and worse than expected given our regression model and speculate on why their actual performance exceeded what the model predicted.

Economic Development in Texas Cities: 10 Years After

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Economic development is still one of the fastest growing activities in city government. The standard textbook on city government in the 1960s did not even mention economic development, but it is now one of the dominating subjects. Trends based on recent surveys indicate that economic development will continue to be an important policy arena in city government. The purpose of this paper is not to resolve the discussion over the inherent values of economic development, but to note that as economic development functions become more established, the debate will become more intense. To accomplish the end of describing what is happening in Texas cities over time, a survey was sent to all cites with population greater than 25,000 in 1993, 1997, and 2000, with the 2003 survey increasing the pool to cities greater than 10,000. The survey focused on structure and organization of municipal economic development programs, policy and accountability, strategies used in the programs, and the impact of those efforts. The results of the survey affirm that the economic development programs in Texas cities continue to grow although economic tight times may cause shifts in how the specified sales tax is spent or which strategies are used to improve competitive economic position. Over time the cities have shaped their economic development plans to mold their particular program to the people and situations unique to their city. The responses of the smaller cities included in the latest survey add to the discussion by indicating that their ef-

forts are understandably smaller but rely more heavily on the sales tax and use different strategies than the larger cities. All respondents indicated that their cities are performing well in attaining their objectives even as they adapt to shifting municipal needs. The value of the research is to provide additional data points to the response of cities first to a highly competitive reality then to fluctuating economic conditions.

Bringing Back Downtown: A Study of Urban Revitalizations in Early America and Examining Current Results in Two Iowa Towns

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No matter what next evolution may be, the life of a city always starts downtown. While the downtown may in fact never be the largest – much less the only – commercial district in the community, its role in terms of image alone requires that local government support efforts to keep that image healthy and appealing. It is reasonable to assume that the plans for current urban revitalization projects could avoid pitfalls of previous attempts, learning from past efforts in local areas and other vicinities, and build a roadmap for others to follow when planning future revitalization projects. Cities as large as New York, or as small as Mason City, Iowa can look to these historical examples when addressing downtown revitalization issues. When examining the history of urban America, there is an early trend of decentralization. Suburbanization, although it greatly accelerated in the Twentieth Century, is a trend in American urban development that extends back at least a hundred years. The "sink hole" effect of the downtown area is nothing new to the American city, no matter what the size. Most of America's cities are not large population centers. Therefore, smaller towns –especially in the Midwest, can learn much about what to do, and what not to do, when examining the history of American cities. The same basic principles seem to apply today. No two cities are alike, so each one may adopt a unique urban revitalization program. Mistakes made and challenges that crept up on organizations in the past are likely to occur for groups today as well. The best lesson is to learn from those who were successful in meeting these challenges.

The Public Policy Behind Riverfront Reclamation

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Over the past 3 decades, the Minneapolis riverfront, as in many other cities, has been transformed from a derelict industrial backwater into a vibrant post-industrial landscape. An example of great policy success, this effort depended on massive public investment, followed by even more massive private investment. The complex planning activities, funding strategies, disparate actors and ambitions hold lessons for planning, and for those interested in the intersection between policy-making and physical change.

48. Welfare Reform: Challenges for Service Providers

Service Gatekeepers in Multicultural Cities: Examples from Washington, DC, Philadelphia, and Kenosha

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Scholars of marginalized populations have long recognized that front line workers like caseworkers, intake staff, and receptionists serve as gatekeepers to social welfare services. Large urban service systems prove particularly challenging for immigrants and some native born people of color (Kingfisher 1996, Lipsky 1980, Stack 1972 and 1996). Recognizing that limited access to social welfare services contributes to social inequities, municipal planners have tried various strategies to improve access for these groups. Contracting services to agencies targeted toward particular populations remains a popular solution. Simultaneously, racial, immigrant, and ethnic communities have created alternative services and advocates for their members. However, few strategies to resolve service delivery problems take into account critical interactions with these gatekeepers. Using data from interview and ethnographic studies in nonprofit organizations in Washington DC, Philadelphia, and Kenosha, Wisconsin, the proposed paper would examine front line worker behaviors and agency strategies to ensure service access for immigrants and native born people of color. The paper first explores the interplay between four factors in service access: 1) agency mission and identified target population, 2) the power dynamics between front line workers and the people they serve, 3) social capital ties among front line workers, agency, communities, and city-wide service systems, and 4) cultural interactions with gatekeepers. Using case examples, this section would examine ways that these factors influence

front line worker behavior. Interactions in agencies are placed within the context of the metropolitan socio-economic system. The three city comparison provides insights into the role of local culture, regional economic systems, regional demographics, and local service delivery strategies on service access. The paper contrasts the cosmopolitan Washington DC metropolitan area with Philadelphia, a transitioning rust belt city with limited immigration and Kenosha, a small, largely homogenous mid-west city. Conclusions address policy strategies to improve service provision amidst increasing diversity.

The Impact of Welfare Reform on Nonprofits and the People They Serve in Delaware

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Research Questions: As nonprofits become increasingly involved in providing welfare reform services, questions about sector capacity, accountability, and advocacy are raised. What are the effects of welfare reform on non-profits' ability to respond to client and community needs? Have there been any changes in the missions of nonprofits, their organizational structures and administrative processes, or their staffing patterns as a result of changes in government funding associated with welfare reform? In what ways have nonprofits engaged in collaborative efforts to influence state (or federal) welfare reform policies and practices? How do nonprofits link advocacy with other social service responsibilities and relationships? Methodology: This paper is based on quantitative analysis of data and information gathered through a survey of social service providers, focus groups, in-depth interviews with current and former welfare reform contractors, agency documents, and related research literature. Key Findings: Study findings include: accounting and reporting requirements have become more complicated and burdensome, some of these requirements harm recipients, competitions with for-profit providers (and between larger and smaller nonprofits) has surfaced, and questions about the role of nonprofit organizations as advocates in the policy making process have emerged. Implications: As intermediaries between government bureaucracies and people who receive public assistance, nonprofit organizations are critical but often invisible players in welfare reform. Attention typically centers either on policy and administrative changes that result from welfare reform, or the effects of these changes on low-income women and children. The mechanisms for delivering services are neglected in the rush to measure and assess the outcomes of welfare reform on government programs and welfare recipients. Getting an accurate picture of the government-nonprofit

relationship at the state and local levels will be an important component of understanding the strengths and weaknesses of this policy devolution.

Networking Self-Sufficiency Among Regional Housing Organizations

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Research Question: The value of inter-organizational collaboration to programs that promote economic self-sufficiency among low-income families is well established. Thus local organizations with extensive ties within their communities are often the preferred vehicles for implementation. An equally prominent strategy encourages families to locate beyond the inner-city to tap regional resources and diverse social networks. Regional service delivery systems also exploit economies of scale to promote efficiency. This paper explores how inter-organizational collaboration works with geographically dispersed clients and social service systems extending over multiple localities. Case Selection and Methodology: HUD's Family Self-Sufficiency program as implemented by eight regional non-profit housing agencies in Massachusetts embraces this combined approach; practitioners connect housing voucher recipients with services throughout their regions. Comparative analysis of network data from interviews, group discussions, and administrative data on each region informs the analysis. Key Findings: Findings suggest that practitioners in tenant-based self-sufficiency programs do indeed cultivate relationships on the regional level, yet they do so to varying extents. Two regional factors help explain the number of interorganizational ties per agency and the ways these ties add value for clients and the program overall: density, the dispersion of providers in relation to one another and to participants' residences and cohesion, the availability of forums where providers convene to exchange information, coordinate activities, and collaborate on programs. The degree of home agency support for the self-sufficiency agenda is an additional explanatory factor. Implications: Findings extend theories about the interplay of geographic and organizational conditions fostering inter-agency networks and offer practical lessons for policy and practice about linking housing and social services in a regional context.

*Critical Choices: Workplace Skills for At-Risk Popula-
tions*

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Critical Choices in an on-line workplace success skills
curriculum developed by a partnership of Northern Illinois
University, the YMCA Alliance of the YMCA of Metropoli-
tan Chicago, and Training, Inc. National Association. The
curriculum has been designed for low-
income/economically disadvantaged persons who seek
to enter or return to the workforce. The paper discusses
the strategies for putting together a partnership to de-
velop such a curriculum, some of the unique challenges
of developing an on-line curriculum for the target popula-
tion, and the results from current national beta tests of
the curriculum.

49. Globalization and Urban Development

African Cities in the Era of Globalization

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Sub-Saharan African Cities in the Era of Globalization
Discussions of the effects of globalization typically focus
on the experiences of countries in the developed world
and the orient. Countries in the sub-Saharan African re-
gion are often ignored. Yet, there is hardly any question
that these countries have been, and continue to be, sig-
nificantly affected by globalization. The exact nature and
magnitude of globalization's impact on the region remain
largely unknown. This is particularly because there is a
dearth of empirical studies on the globalization phenome-
non in the region. The largely theoretical and descriptive
works on the subject suggest a lack of consensus on the
effect of this phenomenon on socio-economic conditions
in the region. On the one hand, it is conceivable that
globalization can have negative consequences for the
vulnerable people of the region, who have few or no pub-
lic and private resources at their disposal and virtually no
access to economic and political redress. On the other
hand, it can be argued that sub-Saharan Africans stand
to benefit, and have in fact benefited, from globalization.
This point of view is easy to appreciate once one exam-
ines historical economic data. These data show that over
the past 50 years, trade, a critical component of global-
ization, has been the force driving economic growth. In
this connection, global trade expansion has consistently
surpassed global GDP. How have major cities in sub-
Saharan Africa faired in the process?

Second Cities: Defining a Global Identity, with Evidence from Manchester and Philadelphia, 1800-2000

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In this paper I detail how Manchester (UK) and Philadelphia (US) have (a) developed internationally distinctive identities for themselves as "second" rather than "global," and (b) tried to preserve and reinforce that position via large planning projects. By tracing and comparing their experiences, I elaborate a concept of the second city as a specific type of place in a globalized or globalizing society. Though a great deal of research has detailed the characteristics and international connections of global cities, not all cities relate to globalization in the same way. Global or world cities - like New York, London, and Hong Kong – are centers for international finance and business, mass media and cultural production, and vast streams of international migration. Scholars know less about how manufacturing cities and provincial centers engage with globalization – places such as Birmingham, Lyon, Manchester, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Dortmund, Seattle, and perhaps even cities in developing countries like Guadalajara and Bangalore. The study is comparative and historical, drawing on planning documents, censuses and business directories, secondary research, and archival sources. It discusses the developmental trajectories and patterns of identity formation for both cities during the past two centuries. Five transportation planning projects and four cultural projects in the two cities are examined: railroad, canal and port development, airports, world exhibitions, Olympics bids, and a cultural district. Comparisons across the projects explain how each project was planned and executed with global concerns in mind, and describe the impacts on local identity and political culture, economic well-being, and political coalitions. Comparison of the two cities as wholes allows the paper to suggest the existence of a distinctive second city pattern of global engagement.

Transportation Capacity of Metropolitan Regions and the Global System of Cities

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This paper will explore the relationship between transportation capacity and a metropolitan region's place in the global system of cities. This paper builds on the work of Timberlake and Smith, who examined international aviation passenger flows as an indicator of network centrality. By restricting the analysis to international flows, however, the U.S. domestic aviation market is ignored.

Given that more U.S. domestic air passengers fly each year than all international air travelers from all regions combined, this omission inadvertently downplays the centrality of key U.S. airports, such as Chicago and Atlanta. A second dimension covered in the paper is the importance of freight transportation. The flow of goods between metropolitan regions should be considered as important, if not even more important, than the flow of people, yet this dimension has often been overlooked in global city research. Global cities will be ranked in terms of their centrality along different modes of freight transportation. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the transportation investment strategies metropolitan regions might employ to remain competitive in the global system of cities.

50. Public Housing Relocation—Moving to a Better Place

Forced Relocation of Public Housing Residents: Results from Year 2

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Between March of 2002 and October 2002, residents of a public housing development in Fort Worth, Texas, moved out -- some to other public housing developments in the city, most 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 second 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 (2003), for most, this will be 12 to 18 months since their move. The findings from this survey will be compared with results from an initial survey done before residents moved and in-person interviews conducted six months after the move. 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.

The Effects of HOPE VI Relocation for Public Housing Residents in Newark, NJ

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In 2002, the Newark Housing Authority demolished Stella Wright Homes, one of the largest public housing projects in the city, under the HOPE VI program. This research tracks approximately 570 households displaced by that action to assess their subsequnent housing and employment situation. Items tracked include demographic characteristics, income and housing tenure (including whether they are vouchered or in public housing). We also assess several variables before and after relocation, including housing quality, access to services before, and neighborhood satisfaction.

Relocation and Housing Stability: The Impact of HOPE VI in Portland, Oregon

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Research Question: How does relocation out of public housing impact the housing stability of residents? Methodology: Mail survey to 382 households relocated from the Columbia Villa public housing site. Key Findings: The survey will be conducted in November, 2003; the following pertains to relevance of findings. In 2003, The Housing Authority of Portland relocated 382 households from Columbia Villa, the largest public housing development in the state of Oregon, in just six months. This paper will relate the findings of a mail survey that probes residents about their satisfaction with relocation services, their adjustment to their new home and neighborhood, and their housing stability. There is a concern on the part of the Housing Authority that some residents may have difficulty with the transition from public housing to Section 8 housing in the private market. This may impose costs (rent and utilities) that they are not prepared for and require them to communicate with private sector landlords who have more stringent requirements than those in public housing. The survey will also reveal how satisfied the residents are with their new housing and neighborhoods. For some residents the opportunity to move out of Columbia Villa is seen as very positive, for others, there is lingering resentment about having to move. The survey

also probes the level of satisfaction with the relocation services and the residents' interests in returning to the newly built development, "New Columbia". Implications: HOPE VI relocation projects across the nation have received mixed reviews, at best. Many residents are "lost" during the relocation period, and may lose access to housing assistance. These findings will add to our knowledge about the issues concerning large-scale relocation of public housing residents.

HOPE VI and Resident Involvement in Relocation Services: A Case Study in Washington, DC

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The purpose of this case study is to examine the formation and on-going activities of the East Capitol View Community Development Corporation (ECV). ECV was formed by residents in conjunction with the HOPE VI grant received by the District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) for demolition and revitalization of three developments. Its primary activities are to provide a range of services to the original residents from these developments, including job training, education about good credit, and case management. (Another organization provides the housing relocation services.) Resident involvement in relocation is an issue at other HOPE VI sites around the country, and resident-run CDCs have become more prevalent. The information from this case study highlights how the CDC was formed and the strengths and challenges of its structure and activities. For this project, we interview resident and non-resident staff at the CDC, residents who are served by the CDC's services, and housing authority staff who oversee the CDC's activities. In addition to documenting the formation and current activities of this CDC, we consider the structure of this CDC in relation to other CDCs with active resident involvement affiliated with other HOPE VI developments.

Mixed-Income Housing: A Study of Residential Satisfaction and Quality of Life

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Does HUD's HOPE VI program enhance the quality of life of public housing residences. How satisfied are the

residents with HUD's Revitalization project? Research implies that HOPE VI enhances the lives of twenty-five percent of the public housing residents involved; while leaving three-fourths of the population without new program housing. HOPE VI's public housing revitalization program, better serves the needs of the non-public housing market, than public housing. The small percentage of public housing residents that reside in HOPE VI homes, state that they have greater satisfaction with: their new housing, neighborhood, schools, safety, public transportation, and cleanliness of area when compared to their pervious environment. High levels of satisfaction were consistent for both public and non-public housing residents. Residents were concerned with the lack of child and adult recreational opportunities.

51. Different Perspectives on Social Capital

Urban Policing and Social Capital Formation: A Study of Prospects and Contradictions

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As policing agencies around the US continue their move to develop and implement community oriented policing strategies, the traditional role of the police has shifted from narrow law enforcement operations to one defined with broader political and social goals that revolve around a community development ethic. To this end, policing agencies have become more involved in both the political rhetoric and operational reality of community and social programming. This charge has typically taken the form of localized accountability schemes for officers and commanders; an evaluation system that is focused on crime reduction outcomes; the advent and use of integrative systems for problem solving (in concert with other public or non-profit agencies); and the promotion and utilization of community resources (extant institutions, associations; businesses; activists; and individual community voices) to foster increased levels of information sharing and strategic planning. Operationally, these strategies involve the police identifying and patrolling defined neighborhoods (on foot or bike); community organization through leadership and resource extension; and politically, through the embedding of community policing ideals throughout the political and service orientations of the local state.
 Evident in this short description of community policing is its often unstated goal of increasing community social capital. The idea being that robust social networks at the community level will reduce crime and disorder by in-

creasing informal social control activities (such as increasing adult supervision of youth and creating additional employment opportunities for adult members of the community) as well as adding an element of strategic information that flows to the police for the sake of criminal apprehension (thus reducing fear and adding to the use of common space). Moreover, it is presupposed that these networks could also act as a conduit for the expression of social expectations for behavior that might not be interpreted as heavy handed or judgmental. In a word, more legitimate.

As community policing has progressed, its use has raised many important questions-- especially when related to underprivileged neighborhoods—about its effectiveness in fomenting positive community development outcomes (in this case, social capital). Perhaps just as important, however, are questions relating to the whether the police as an institution can achieve such a goal given their law enforcement orientation and historically antagonistic and distrustful relationship with these communities.

In sum, this paper will examine the relationships between social capital and trust in the police using data derived from a national study of social capital and related social and community phenomena.

Truly Disadvantaged? An Exploratory Analysis of Social Institutions in Urban Neighborhoods

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Urban scholars have hypothesized that inner-city neighborhoods suffer from a dearth of social institutions, yet they have failed to provide convincing empirical support for their claims. In this paper, we test their hypothesis using comprehensive inventories of Philadelphia's nonprofit organizations compiled from IRS listings, city cultural and activities fund grant applications, telephone directories and newspaper listings in 1997 and 2003. We integrate these data with demographic information from the 2000 decennial census to explore the size, scope and spatial patterns of Philadelphia's neighborhood nonprofit sectors. Preliminary results indicate that Philadelphia neighborhoods appear to have extensive nonprofit sectors, but have suffered a net loss of organizations over the past six years. While this lends some support to urban researchers' hypothesis that urban neighborhoods are lacking institutions, but does not fully confirm their claim, as most neighborhoods still had over 100 institutions per 1000 residents in 2003. Moreover, in direct contradiction with many urban scholars' claims, ethnically diverse neighborhoods and neighborhoods with over 40% of residents living in poverty had the largest nonprofit sectors. Neighborhoods that had the most institu-

tions in 1997 and 2003 also gained the most new organizations, which suggests that certain neighborhoods are home to extensive activity in their nonprofit sectors. Finally, neighborhoods with the most institutions were concentrated in Center City, and neighborhoods with similarly-sized nonprofit sectors tended to be located in close proximity to each other. Because neighborhood revitalization policies often involve the development or rebuilding of neighborhood social institutions, these results could a have profound impact for urban policy initiatives. Implications for policy and suggestions for further research in this area are discussed.

Democracy and Civil Ethics: The Case of Gay and Lesbian Equality

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This paper makes use of the Adiscourse model@ of society to examine the roles of discussion, participation, and deliberation in the movement for gay and lesbian equality in the United States, culminating in the U. S. Supreme Courts decision in Lawrence v. Texas, on June 26, 2003. That decision struck down as unconstitutional a Texas sodomy law and overturned the Supreme Court=s earlier decision in Bowers v. Hardwick in 1986, which held that states could constitutionally pass laws against sodomy. The decision in Lawrence is important not only because the Supreme Court used the 14th Amendment to argue that the Texas statute violated lesbian and gay citizens= right to equal protection under the law, but perhaps more importantly, that the 14th Amendment also guaranteed to gays and lesbians the full right to due process, signaling a more affirmative zone of integration into the societal fabric. This paper will look at the history of groups excluded from the U. S. polity, the role of the Progressive Movement in promoting a civic republicanism that sought to provide a place for affirmative moral values in the political ethos, the emergence, from about 1940 to the present, of a liberal procedural ethos that focused on individual rights freed from value constraints, and the discussion, participation, and deliberation over lesbian and gay equality in that same period. The paper will then examine the need to develop a realm of civil ethics in modern industrialized societies, such as the United States, that focuses on principles which not only passively promote diversity, but more affirmatively build respect for individuals in our own society and those of other nations, promotes the goal of a sustainable environment, and supports an ethic of co-operation with the other nations of the world in dealing with emerging global problems.

Cultural Change, Economic Restructuring, and Progressive Politics: Explaining Local Policy Choices

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One of the most interesting debates in the social sciences today involves attempts to define the precise relationship between values, beliefs, and various forms of solidarity on the one hand and economic growth processes on the other. While some have argued that the strength of networks and associational ties together with attitudes of social trust is crucial to economic growth and administrative effectiveness, others imply that loose ties and the prevalence of a taste for cultural diversity, non-traditional beliefs and lifestyles, and numerous entertainment options is essential for economic growth. Moreover, the process may operate in the reverse order; that is, changing economic conditions may lead to revised beliefs, values and cultural practices. One largely unexplored facet of this debate concerns the joint impact of economic growth processes and values or cultural practices on government efforts to shape the economic and social environment. Accordingly, this paper investigates how religious practices, cultural and value change, and economic globalization are implicated in the use of new policy approaches to solve urban problems. In particular, it examines why some cities are more likely to adopt progressive solutions to emerging conditions in postindustrial society. Progressives typically expect government to address a variety of primarily noneconomic concerns, including helping the socially disadvantaged, affirming the identities of emerging minorities (gays, women, disabled, transgendered), preserving the visual appeal of the built environment, strengthening community bonds, and ensuring ecological sustainability. I will examine the contributions of several factors, including traditional religious practices, classical versions of political culture as well as the appearance of unconventional subcultures, and traditional and postindustrial forms of economic security to the adoption of two types of progressive policies (gay rights and ecological sustainability measures). The analysis relies in part on a large sample of US cities with more than 100,000 residents.

52. Urban Education: Issues Affecting Student Achievement and Engagement

The Effects of Lead Poisoning on School and School District Performance

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The under performance of school children in America's inner city has provided impetus to a range of reforms from vouchers and charter schools and takeovers of urban districts by states and governors. Most of these reforms operate on the assumption that there is something problematic with the teaching in or with the administration of urban schools. It is possible, however, that there are other sources of under performance in schools located in older neighborhoods. This paper argues that one source of under performance emanates from the housing and, specifically, the lead-based paint on the housing built prior to 1978. Lead-based paint poisons urban children in vast numbers each year. Increasingly, the medical evidence shows that lead has consequences for intelligence, behavior and health. The numbers of children poisoned and the extent of their poisoning are far more substantial than have been realized until recent improvements in testing and counting. This paper uses evidence from Detroit, Grand Rapids and the State of Michigan to identify a substantial and significant impact of lead poisoning on the performance of school children on achievement tests. These effects tend to be concentrated in urban areas with older housing. The paper considers the implications of this finding and discusses additional tests that could be conducted to confirm or challenge these results.

Inner City Students and Suburban Schools: "The Choice is Yours" in Minneapolis

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This paper examines a program involving the Minneapolis schools called "The Choice is Yours." The program was created as a result of a law suit filed by the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP against the state of Minnesota alleging that the state had not properly monitored the Minneapolis schools. As a result, the suit maintained, students in lower-income areas of Minneapolis were not receiving an adequate education. After approximately five years of litigation, a settlement was reached which created the program. "The Choice is Yours," a four year program, involves busing lower-income students attending under-performing city schools to one of several suburban schools. This paper will examine the politics and implementation of this program, and discuss the implications within the context of recent research on the politics

of urban schools. Preliminary findings regarding student achievement will also be addressed, and any lessons for other metropolitan areas explored. The paper is based mainly on an analysis of documents and interviews with individuals involved in the suit, as well as secondary sources.

Addressing Student Mobility in the Columbus Public Schools: Strategies for Schools and the Community

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Research Question: In Columbus, Ohio, only half of all elementary school students are in the same school at the beginning of their third school year. As is the case in other cities, there is a strong relationship between school change and residential instability. Because current education policy encourages school choice, it is important to understand the impacts of school change on students, families, schools and the community. The research question is: what are incidence, impact and causes of student mobility in Columbus Public Schools (CPS)?

Methodology: The research included: 1) qualitative analysis of data gathered through document review; interviews with parents, school building and district staff and housing and social service providers; 2) quantitative analysis of data from the CPS Student Information System; and 3) analysis of demographic data for school building populations and school assignment zones. Key

Findings: Most families change schools as a result of a residential change, and stable housing may increase school stability for at-risk populations. Students who move two or more times are more likely to have school absences, school discipline incidents and lower proficiency test scores. Some school administrative policies may increase mobility, while others are barriers to effectively managing mobility. School staff generally sees mobility as a family and community problem outside of their control, while community service providers often don't believe that mobility impacts their work. Implications: The paper includes strategies and recommendations for schools and the community (housing, social services, funders and parents). They have implications for communities interested in increasing the stability of at-risk populations and improving the performance of schools that serve these students. Related Published Research: Family Housing Fund (1998). Kids Mobility Project Report. Minneapolis, MN. Kerbow, D. (1996) Patterns of urban student mobility and local school report: A technical report. CRESPAR Report No. 5.

Rethinking Civic Competence in Metropolitan Space: Results From an Evaluation of the Youth Urban Agenda at Wayne State University

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Problematic: The polycentric model of multiple jurisdictions within the metropolitan region has been criticized for reinforcing inequality of mobility and political power and the production of negative externalities. Although metro-wide environmental, social, and economic problems require across-unit policy approaches, there are few institutions or networks that can support across-jurisdictional consciousness and action. Indeed, the mismatch between across-unit problems and within-unit civic action mechanisms may increase political frustration and cynicism on the part of citizens. The YUA is a civic education model designed to create opportunities for youth to cross the social and spatial boundaries that fragment all urbanized regions and to develop the civic competencies appropriate to citizenship in metropolitan space.

Research Questions: Do young people from the Detroit metropolitan area aged 12-24 see the problems of cities and suburban areas as interdependent? Do youth civic attitudes differ across different types of jurisdictions? Does participation in an experiential civic education project (YUA) that brings student together from across metro space foster positive civic outcomes? Do students value this type of educational experience?

Methodology: This quantitative study is based on a sample of 601 high school and middle students drawn from 19 sites across the Detroit metropolitan area. A quasi-experimental research strategy with matched same-site comparison groups, a pre-test, and hierarchical linear statistical modeling is employed estimate treatment effects.

Key Findings: Youth from across the Detroit metropolitan area suggest that urban and sub-urban issues are interdependent, and value the opportunity to meet each other and discuss important civic issues. Furthermore, this method of teaching civics is demonstrated to have small to moderate effects over and above other civic education methods.

Implications: Schools can be a site for the development of new forms of civic competency that are more appropriate to the problems of urbanized regions.

53. Sprawl vs. Smart Growth

The Role of Inner-Ring Suburbs in Metropolitan Smart Growth Strategies

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Inner ring suburbs are the "space in between" the central city, new suburbs and exurbia. They were once new suburbs that became old with the continued expansion of metropolitan areas. In the extensive literature of the 1990s on urban sprawl and the need for smart growth strategies, relatively little has been written about the role that inner ring suburbs play in the evolution of metropolitan areas. Existing metropolitan trends of spatial decentralization, however, may serve to maximize the economic vulnerability of skipped-over inner-ring suburbs since they have neither the centrality and attraction of the central cities, nor the attractive residential environments of the new suburbs at the metropolitan fringe. Yet, inner-ring suburbs, with their excellent access to centers and subcenters within metropolitan areas, and existing economic, social and physical infrastructure, present significant opportunities for a more efficient allocation of metropolitan resources. In this paper, we propose to review the literature on metropolitan formation to critically assess how well it characterizes and explains the evolution of inner ring suburbs. We review the classic models of urban formation and then present a hybrid model of our own creation that we believe more accurately describes the evolution of, and, reasons for inner ring suburbs. We next characterize the literature specifically focused on inner ring suburbs in terms of what it has to offer on defining such areas, and describing the socio-economic issues as well as policy prescriptions for such areas. After identifying the gaps in the literature, we offer a methodology for accurately defining inner ring suburbs and a suggested program of research that can help planners and policy makers more effectively address the socio-economic needs of the inner ring suburbs, as well as, the broader goals of metropolitan smart growth.

Does Sprawl Hinder Citizenship? The Impact of Local Socio-Spatial Characteristics on Nonelectoral Political Participation

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Political Participation, New Urbanists and other critics of suburban sprawl frequently charge that sprawl is damag-

ing to community and citizenship. This paper tests that claim by examining the impact of zip-code level spatial characteristics such as commuting time, density, neighborhood age and transit patterns upon several measures of nonelectoral participation, including petition signing, protest activity, membership in political and reform organizations, partisan political activity, and public meeting attendance, while controlling for a variety of individual and community characteristics. Secondary attention is given to the impact of metropolitan-level indicators of sprawl developed by Reid Ewing et al. Data is drawn from the restricted use version of the Saguaro Seminar Community Benchmark Survey of over 29,000 Americans conducted in 2000, as well as the 2000 U.S. Census. Preliminary analyses based on two-level hierarchical modeling indicate that commuting time, identified by Putnam (Bowling Alone, 2000) as a key predictor of reduced social capital, has only a limited impact upon political participation; other factors such as central city (as opposed to suburban) residence and density have only inconsistent effects. The strongest and most consistent sprawl-related predictor of political participation are local transit patterns; residence in a local area strongly dependent on automobiles is a predictor of reduced nonelectoral participation. The paper uses simulation analysis to provide estimates of the substantive impact of local spatial characteristics on individual political engagement, then goes on to discuss the relevance of these findings for the overall public debate on suburban sprawl in the United States.

An early assesment of State-Led Smart Growth Efforts

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This essay explores the meaning of the term "smart growth" as used across a variety of contexts. The paper systematically breaks down the myriad of inclusive and exclusive meanings that the term has been purported to have. The essay concludes with a discussion of the implications and utility of the use of ambiguous terms such as smart growth in planning discourse.

Developing Typologies of Urban Sprawl

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It is now commonly believed that urban sprawl creates a variety of social, economic, environmental, and other types of problems. But, sprawl is a poorly understood and measured concept, so these relationships have only rarely been demonstrated in a rigorous statistical fashion. Our earlier work has shown that sprawl has many distinct dimensions, and sprawled development does not necessarily occur in the same fashion from one urban area to the next. Thus, urban areas might evince varying consequences depending on what dimensions of sprawled development are present. This study will investigate whether different dimensions of sprawl tend to correlate in such a way that distinct types of sprawl can be identified. Our central research questions are two-fold. Can U.S. urban areas be categorized into a few typologies of sprawl? Are there any empirical regularities concerning which urban areas fall into which categories? We will analyze a regionally stratified random sample of fifty of the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S., for which we construct measures for multiple dimensions of sprawl. The dimensions include density, continuity, concentration, centrality, proximity, and mixed use. We will utilize these indices in the employment of principal components (factor) analysis and cluster analysis to discern common patterns of variation across sprawl dimensions that may prove suggestive of particular typologies of sprawl-ness. We will then ascertain the degree to which certain types are associated with particular qualities of urban areas such as population sizes, growth rates, region, economic function, or geographic context (e.g. water or topographical constraints). Related Published Research: Galster, George, Royce Hanson, Michael R. Ratcliffe, Harold Wolman, Stephen Coleman, and Jason Freihage (2001). "Wrestling Sprawl to the Ground: Defining an Elusive Concept." Housing Policy Debate, 12(4): 681-717.

54. Colloquy: Equitable Development: An Alternative to Gentrification

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The focus of the colloquy is to have CED and Community Organizing practitioners who work in the District to discuss their experiences in trying to mitigate gentrification

in "contested neighborhoods" in D. C.; to learn what their policy recommendations are concerning equitable development; to understand what their roles have been in trying to mitigate gentrification (community education, policy advocacy, development linkages between their organizations and private sector entities); to learn if any of these CBDOs are aware of the Policy Link policy tools relative to equitable development ; to learn if any of these organizations are using any of those tools; and, to obtain their assessment of the effectiveness of those tools. Each discussant will identify their organization's experiences in their interactions with government, philanthropy and the private sector in trying to keep land and housing affordable for low-to-moderate wealth D. C. residents and families. Each of the discussants lead organizations that are engaged in affordable housing development, job creation, business enterprise development, land acquisition, asset management, neighborhood leadership development, a housing production trust fund, community organizing and commercial real estate development.

Friday, 11:00-12:25

55. Globalizing Tampa Bay, Florida – Robert Kerstein, University of Tampa, moderator

Embedded Ethnicity?: Local Color in a Globalizing World

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As many have observed, "globalization" is not just a political-economic phenomenon, but one which inherently involves new socio-spatial cultural emergences. New and wider socio-cultural relations are being created on a global scale, yet these necessarily manifest themselves in particular ways in particular places. This paper argues that such "glocal" cultural emergences are most transparent in today's globalizing city-states such as Tampa-Bay. Unlike other south Florida city-states, Tampa Bay has a long and rich and often quite tense history of place-based ethnic relations amongst Latinos, African-Americans, and Euro-Americans. The paper explores this history with an eye toward determining the ways in which the social, cultural, and economic processes of globalization may be affecting relations amongst more embedded, local ethnic groups.

The Metropolitan Dilemma: Global Localities and the Struggle for Social and Economic Space in the Tampa

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In this paper I will use several related empirical examples from the Tampa Bay Region of Florida to argue that economic and cultural globalization are contradictory processes – intensified integration on the global scale is associated with processes of fragmentation and disintegration within major cities or metropolitan regions. The empirical cases from Tampa Bay will illustrate that it is not cities or metropolitan regions as a whole that become part of the global political economy, but certain sites and citadels, clearly demarcated social, economic, and spatial fragments of them. In these sites and citadels, the global economy with its informational cyberspaces, its electronic landscapes, infoscapes and mediascapes reign supreme and dominate the physical as well as the social image of a city or metropolitan region. This image entails, however, 'the eviction of a whole array of activities and types of workers from the account about the process of globalization which are as much a part of it as is international finance' (Sassen 1994: 9). This paper will demonstrate that whilst the global political economy of a city or metropolitan region is predicated on and articulated with non-corporate, local processes and practices, these processes and practices are increasingly represented as backward and marginal. The increasing social and spatial polarization of the Tampa Bay Region that results from this globalizing dynamic is what is referred to as the 'metropolitan dilemma.'

Fragmented Governance in a Borderless World

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The governance of over three million people who live in the Tampa Bay Area occurs within a web of formal government. Competition among seven county and multiple city governments has been a long-standing tradition that fragments the region's citizens. This "failure of democracy" has worsened in the face of emerging globalizing forces with which the region must now contend. The purpose of this paper is to offer an analysis of the widening "democratic deficit" in the Tampa Bay area on two fronts. In the first part of the paper, I consider how both formal governmental relations and policies at the federal, state, and local levels and informal governance processes at the local level have led to local growth policies that simultaneously skirt traditional democratic processes and lock the region into global networks. In the second part of the

paper, I assess a similar process and outcome by considering formal and informal governance responses to new, growth-induced issues related to globalization (e.g., tourism, immigration, and the global economy).

Heritage Recreated: The Hidalgo-Clearwater Connection

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This paper examines the transformation of Mexican and U.S. communities brought about by international migration. In particular, it analyzes the impact of migration on civic participation in both home and host communities as a systemic whole that creates responses and processes that cannot be understood in isolation from each other, nor outside of the current context of globalization and social, cultural, and economic integration. Focusing on Ixmiquilpan, (State of Hidalgo), Mexico and Clearwater, Florida the study illustrates ways in which transnational communities emerge, flourish and transform civic life including local economies, governments, and cultures. Our Clearwater-Ixmiquilpan research focuses then on the migrants themselves as agents of change in both their communities of origin and destination. We see this agency as the result of two interrelated factors: 1) migrants' understandings and perceptions of the roles (and obligations) they have played and continue to play in their home communities; and 2) the opportunities migrants identify and seize upon to become active citizensin their own terms in the communities that host them. Our research stresses the fact that migrants' civic experiences, their sense of belonging, their perceptions of their economic and social opportunities, and the understandings of their rights and obligations as members of an ethnic community that cultural, social, and economic capital that migrants bring with them are shaped by their experiences in their communities of origin. Once engaged in a migratory process, migrants bring this capital with them and while rebuilding their lives in a new locale, they call on those understandings to create a context that makes cultural sense to them.

56. Poverty Concentration and Social Exclusion

Evidence of Concentrated Poverty and White Flight in Winnipeg

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Research Question: At first glance, the problems of concentrated poverty and white flight do not seem applicable

to Canadian cities, where the dominant trope has been gentrification and revitalization. However, we know relatively little about the impact of these long-term trends in other, less dynamic, cities within Canada. Winnipeg is demographically stagnant, with a large and growing poverty population that is heavily non-White and seemingly concentrated in the core area. Given this context, is there systematic evidence of concentrated poverty and white flight within Winnipeg? Methodology: The paper followed a mixed-methodology. In the first stage, GIS was used to map concentrated poverty (over 40% low income in a census tract) in four census years -1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001. Areas of temporally overlapping concentrated poverty were identified, and their intensity measured through the presence of deprivations (rates of male unemployment, low education, female-headed households and public assistance that are twice the CMA median). Within these impacted areas, evidence of white flight will be measured. In the second stage, open-ended interviews will be conducted of key informants in these impacted areas -school principals, city planners and community activists to flesh out the census analysis. Key Findings: Preliminary findings suggest that the core area of Winnipeg does indeed contain contiguous areas of concentrated poverty, that the number of concentrated poverty census tracts doubled between 1986 and 1996, and that ten tracts in the Downtown and North End consistently experienced concentrated poverty between 1986 and 2001. These impacted census tracts were found to have multiple overlapping deprivations. By March 2004, data on White flight in these impacted areas, as well as the interview material, will be available for analysis. Implications: By examining the case of Winnipeg, this research will shed light on the broader applicability of 'American-style' poverty patterns within smaller, less dynamic Canadian cities.

Neighborhood Poverty: The Dynamics of Change

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In the 1990, the concentration of poverty in America's metropolitan diminished notably whereas it had generally worsened in the 1980s. But the patterns of change that produced these net effects were much more complex than the conventional wisdom implies. In both decades, a sizeable number of neighborhoods (census tracts) saw significant increases in poverty while poverty rates dropped significantly in many others. Many that saw significant deterioration (or improvement) in the 1980s saw directions reverse in the 1990s. This paper will examine

these patterns using census data from the Neighborhood Change Database (which employs constant tract boundaries). It will begin by measuring these changes. How many tracts (and with what populations) were in each change-category in each period and how did these patterns vary and shift by region and type of metropolis? Next it will examine the characteristics of tracts that were on different trajectories. What kinds of neighborhoods (and where) had a consistent experience from 1980 through the end of the century: deteriorating, improving, or remaining relatively stable? More interestingly, what are the characteristics (and locations) of neighborhoods that experienced a reversal of fortunes over this period? The authors will also offer views on how these data and characterizations might help local agencies identify neighborhoods that most deserve their attention; e.g., stable neighborhoods most prone to decline, or to gentrification.

The Changing Geography of Urban and Suburban Poverty

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The issues of the concentrated poverty and neighborhood distress have been the focus of urban scholars, planners and policy makers for several decades. In contrast, the issues of suburban poverty and need for strategic policy have only recently begun to receive significant recognition. According to the recently released Census 2000, poverty became notably less concentrated in central cities while poverty in suburbs increased in the 1990s. Over the past decades, a few urban scholars have identified the process of poverty expansion from central city to suburbs. They argue that the process of poverty expansion is reinforced with subsequent central city disinvestments and middle class flight that ultimately spreads to the adjacent inner-ring suburbs. Further, recent "back to the downtown" or gentrification trends, in reaction to negative externalities associated with extreme sprawl, are also displacing traditional poverty populations and newly arriving immigrant populations from the central city. Despite increasing recognition of its importance for metropolitan growth policies, there are few fine-grained empirical studies to address the changing geography of urban poverty within a metropolitan region. In this paper, with advanced GIS techniques and statistical analysis, we will examine the spatial changes of urban and suburban poverty in the Atlanta metropolitan area. The primary sources of data are from the decennial census of 2000 and 1990. Through extensive literature reviews and empirical case study, the four objectives of this paper are to: (1) develop a methodology to differentiate suburbs such

as inner-ring suburbs and outer-ring suburbs; (2) describe geographic and temporal distributions and changes of population under poverty; (3) examine and explain spatial and socio-economic factors affecting poverty concentrations; and (4) explore the planning and policy implications. Adelman, Robert M. and Charles Jaret. 1999. Poverty, Race, and US Metropolitan Social and Economic Structure. Journal of Urban Affairs, 21, 1:35-56 Jargowsky, Paul A. 2003. Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems: The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution. Orfield, Myron. 1997. Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community Stability. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution

Social Exclusion: What is it? Why we do not use the concept in the United States? And what would it mean if we did?

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As an American working in Europe for the last couple of years, I have been struck by the European use of the concept of social exclusion to characterize deprivation. Although the term has yet to be definitively defined, there is general agreement that social exclusion refers to a condition in which people are excluded from participation in the social, economic, and political institutions of the society in which they live. As such, social exclusion is a much broader conceptualization of deprivation than that used in the United States where the tendency is to conceptualize deprivation in terms of money income or income poverty. In this paper, I will present a general description of the social exclusion concept, contrast it with the main U.S. conceptualization of deprivation, and discuss some of the possible reasons why Americans have not imported it. Among some of those reasons might include the political and budgetary implications of creating a broader pool of groups deserving of state assistance; the lack of an institutional framework to implement the implied corrective public policy; and perhaps, the lack of need owing to the existence of established public policy that, in effect, addresses the needs of socially excluded groups.

57. The Organizational Context of Community Power and Social Capital

Evaluating Community Building Initiatives: Lessons from New York

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The Housing Environments Research Group of the CUNY Center for Human Environments has, for 20 years, collaborated with hundreds of community organizations, coalitions, technical assistance organizations, and tenant groups to evaluate the working of programs designed to improve inner city housing and neighborhoods. Within a participatory research approach, we have helped communities survey over 7,000 inner city residents, mapped census and observational data, as well as employed ethnographic methods. We have pursued two goals often thought to be mutually exclusive: 1) to conduct rigorous quantitative and qualitative assessment using advanced statistical analysis and Geographic Information Systems approaches and 2) assist those we work with in seeking social change. Inspired by Gramsci and Freire, we take an approach to community evaluation that engages communities and us as researchers and citizens in a process of problematization and conscientization of our separate and shared realities. These authors frame social capital in terms of the activities people engage in and the group processes that help to create a collectivity that works toward a significant transformation of society. We reflect on the different stages of our community evaluations and try to understand the following questions: whose story gets told? how relationship among all parties contribute or interfere during the evaluation process? And how the nature of the relationship constrains and enables what can be learned? The answer to these questions are not fixed, but rather unfold over time, giving rise to each other, and lead to reinterpretations of reality and of interests and desires that fold back on one another. We characterize these moments as including: 1) moments of meeting; 2) moments of surprise and consolidation; 3) moments of constrained conversations; 4) moments of reflection and interpretation; 5) moments of formal representation of reality; and 6) moments of challenge for future action. In each section we discuss the interplay of conversation and quantititative and qualitative research methods.

Ecology of Community Organizational Learning: Contexts, Levels, Dynamics and Orders of Social Capital

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The learning and other psychological bases for social capital (SC) remain largely untested, and "learning organization" processes and outcomes in small non-profit and voluntary organizations have not been well established. Values, norms, beliefs, and aspirations of civic responsibility and political consciousness are learned through child socialization and adult learning in communities. The learning communities idea is closely linked to the concept of SC. At a 1998 international conference on "Learning communities, regional sustainability and the learning society," scholars and professionals analyzed learning-based policies and programs to produce SC, organizational capacity, and economic development. One conclusion was that existing models of learning communities and SC lack a multi-level framework for understanding how individual-level community-focused motivations, cognitions and behaviors relate to group, organizational, and community network-level SC. At the network level, SC must be more clearly related to empowerment (including political access), capacity (including learning of skills and political process), and resources (including economic and other material outcomes). We use a mixed-method study of community organizations as vehicles of learning and change to explore SC levels of analysis, change over time, organizational contexts, and systemic orders of change. SC is conceived at the individual, organizational, and community network levels. Dynamic change is monitored through participant observation, retrospective interviews with organizational leaders and members/volunteers, and student reflection. The organizational contexts of the study include school, neighborhood, youth, faith-based, advocacy, human service, immigrant, civic planning, and labor organizations. We explore the differences across these contexts in what leads to "1st-order" (ameliorative) and "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.

Leveraging Social Capital to Address Local Economic and Political Concerns

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This paper will describe the efforts of five urban coalitions organizing to address locally specific political and economic concerns. It will also describe the process employed by these coalitions in developing social capital, utilizing political leverage and strengthening and protecting economic interests of local residents. Similarities and differences across the five different community organizing sites will be discussed and the efficacy of local efforts will be assessed in three ways. First, the longevity of the collaborative efforts will be described with an eye toward the sustainability of the urban coalitions. Second, the judgment of local participants, obtained through interviews, will describe perceptions regarding the effectiveness of the collaborative process. Third, the current conditions regarding success or failure of local efforts toward creative political leverage and capacity of strengthening economic interests of local residents will be assessed. Key among the implications is the means by which community organizations may come together to create locally unique collaborations that effectively leverage social capital and achieve sustainable political and economic gains.

Civic Engagement from the Inside Out: Community Activists' Perceptions of the Citizenship Role

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Declining rates of voting and of citizen involvement of all kinds in the United States have generated a raging de-

bate concerning the nature of civic engagement and how to get citizens to re-engage meaningfully in the political process. Disengagement threatens to undermine the legitimacy and responsiveness of government at all levels. However, it is of particular concern to urban scholars because local participation is often viewed as the most effective way that citizens can get involved and as a starting point for other involvement. This debate has stimulated a burgeoning literature, some focused on participation through voting and some focused on participation in local communities and voluntary groups. However, much of this literature has focused on the outward, behavioral manifestations of citizen involvement and on the proximate attitudes that lead to that involvement. Also, many of its conclusions are based on survey research, which necessarily utilizes brief, somewhat superficial questions to test attitudes. The proposed paper will examine the more depth how citizen activists view themselves in relation to the political process, so that their participation can be understood from their own points of view. Rather than focus on the reasons why citizens do not get involved, it will focus on citizens that are involved and explore the world views that support such involvement. Several attitudinal dimensions will be examined: · How do local citizen activists view the obligations of a citizen? That is, are they driven to participate by clear moral imperatives and, if so, what are they? · What are the sources of their commitment to active citizenship? What role did political socialization by family, peers, education, or voluntary associations play in forming them into active participants? · Did their involvement initially grow from a concern for a particular issue or from a general civic interest encompassing a variety of issues? What role did external events, such as, for example, a community crisis directly affecting them, play in their recruitment into activism?

58. Issues in Urban Revitalization

Obstructionism or Civic Participation? The Causes of the NIMBY Syndrome

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The NIMBY syndrome ("not in my backyard") is sometimes used as evidence that direct citizen involvement in policy making is not desirable: citizens, being self-interested and protective of their communities, will use their democratic prerogatives to block facilities and projects that have social benefits. In this paper, I question this reasoning by exploring the reasons why locally unwanted land uses (LULUs) generate so much participation. Rather than simply assuming that citizens partici-

pate to defend their "interests," I explore why LULUs are seen as being more relevant to their interests than other issues. Using evidence from a mid-sized city (Santa Ana, CA), I argue that citizens engage in NIMBY behavior because LULUs present direct and clear policy choices that are easily understood, prompting citizens to see them as being more important than other issues. LULUs generate so much attention because their impact is direct and clear, not because citizens care more about protecting their personal interests than those of the community as a whole. I conclude that the prevalence of NIMBY behavior does not undermine arguments favoring enhanced citizen participation: while NIMBY behavior will always exist, enhancing opportunities for citizens to participate in local policy making may promote more constructive participation.

Residential Private Governments and Property Values

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The number of private governments is growing in the United States. Residential private governments possess full legal rights with the purpose of protecting member property values and are becoming a more common and popular development vehicle. Residential private governments can take different forms and a variety of names, such as homeowner associations, gated communities, and Common Interest Developments. Research has not sufficiently examined the effect of these types of organizations on residential property values. Yet, in theory, private governments should have a positive influence on land value. Private governments might influence land value by (1) using Covenants, Conditions & Restrictions that contain strict provisions on property maintenance and the right of homeowner associations to "fix" deficiencies, or (2) creating privatized public space that contains amenities for the sole use of private government members, creating a desirable commodity that is priced into the community properties. Municipalities generally rely heavily on property tax revenue. The extent to which private governments help to maintain property values becomes a very interesting policy issue. This paper begins to analyze these issues by first examining the rise in residential private governments, and then using empirical data to examine the effect of private governments on property values.

Does Tax Increment Financing (TIF) Cause Gentrification?

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Tax increment financing (TIF) is an increasingly popular economic development device that allocates property tax revenue derived from increases in real estate values for use exclusively in the designated TIF district. We study the impact of TIF districts on residential real estate values in Chicago, which by 1999 was home to 100 TIF districts that covered over 10 percent of the property tax base and 15,000 acres of land. TIF districts are most often used to encourage industrial or commercial development. Typically, revenue generated by TIF provides subsidies for land assembly, demolition or infrastructure development. Development stimulated by TIF also may have important "spillover" effects on nearby residential properties. In some areas TIF has been politically contentious because some believe it encourages gentrification, i.e. rapid appreciation of residential property and results in the displacement of low-income groups. We investigate the hypothesis that, all else equal, residential appreciation varies with proximity to a TIF district. We use econometric analyses to investigate whether the rate of residential appreciation varies with the characteristics of the TIF district (e.g. commercial or industrial), property (e.g. low-quality versus high quality housing) and neighborhood (e.g. residential versus commercial). The principal data for this research are single-family residential properties within the city of Chicago that sold more than once during the period 1993 to 1999. Data have been derived from mandatory filings of real estate transfer forms and Multiple Listing Service (MLS) records.

What Communities Want: Results from Massachusetts' Community Preservation Act

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What do communities want—lower taxes, better schools, more open space, affordable (to them) housing, protection of cultural and natural resources? Clearly, all of these, despite their inherent conflicts. This research uses narrative analysis of multiple interviews in 18 communities in Massachusetts to identify the ways activists argued about these priorities and community futures. We then compare those arguments across municipalities,

and against the ways moneys have actually been spent in the applicable communities and the overall state. The communities studied were all debating adopting the Community Preservation Act (CPA). The CPA, signed into law on September 14, 2000, allows communities to vote on whether to tax themselves at up to a 3% surcharge on local property taxes. The money raised can be used for open space, historic preservation, and low and moderate housing, and amounts are matched by state funds. To date, about 1/3 of Massachusetts' 351 municipalities have voted on the CPA, and 61 of those have passed it, giving a 56% pass rate. Interviews suggest, not surprisingly, that affordable housing was viewed as a political nightmare by most activists, and was used by opponents along with no-tax arguments to prevent passage of the local ballot. The interesting finding is towns and cities where the opposite prevailed, and affordable housing was the driver for passage of the CPA. Despite the prevalence of open space in arguments for the CPA, fully 42% of actual CPA funds are being spent on developing new affordable housing units. The differing contexts of these municipalities and the rhetorical construction of their futures are explored in the research, as well as how those narratives affected the political outcome and its implementation through actual funding allocations.

59. Black Church and Black College Community Development Corporations (CDCs): Going Against the Grain

The Theory and History of Black Church/College Community Development

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This paper summarizes the context, comprised of a complex set of elements that represents the theoretical framework for the discussion of black church and college community development.
Starting broadly, the paper examines the definitions of community development and looks at various efforts, e.g., CDCs in general and university community partnerships, to revive poor neighborhoods in urban areas. Discussion then turns to the history of the black church and college as way to define the nature of their struggle and legacy of social mission to improve quality of life for African-Americans. For example, the paper posits that many black colleges founded by philanthropic associations and churches served a collective cultural purpose. They allowed the black community to benefit from educational resources, technical assistance and cultural knowledge.
The latter portion of the paper focuses on how the black

church and college have created CDCs that have played important roles in the struggle to renew neighborhoods thought to be hopelessly beyond salvation. The author points that while some writing has been completed about black church CDCs, very little, if any, has been done about the CDCs that the black colleges have started and sponsored. The scant amount of available information is reviewed and validates the need for more research, which has been the goal of the Black Church/College CDC project and the purpose of the papers comprising this panel.

Learning from Examples: Case Studies of Two Black Church CDCs

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African-American colleges have created CDCs that renewed many disadvantaged black communities. This paper focuses on two examples or case studies that are based on data collected as a part of the Black Church/College CDC Project. The case studies will demonstrate how black colleges can serve as energetic and pivotal agents of change. Their experiences represent important examples that can be used to shape community development policies and initiatives.

The case studies will examine this type of CDC in terms of their activities, institutional commitment, organizational capacity, and citizen participation. The cases are based on interviews from a diversity of respondents: clergy, college administrators, CDC staff/executives, and local residents. The two cases will be compared to point out strengths/weaknesses and lessons/best practices association with the functioning of these types of CDCs and CDCs in general. The information that will be provided will add texture and depth to our understanding of community development.

The Black Church-Affiliated CDC: Continuing the Legacy of Social Mission

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Along with the symptoms and legacy of racism, the structural issues of globalization of capital and lean federal spending also pose a threat to the quality of life in black communities.

Historically, the Black church has been pivotal to the goal of meeting the needs of the urban poor when macro-level structures, such as those mentioned above, have exacerbated their plight. The author posits that the Black

church vision of the providing assistance can be attributed to a strong sense of cooperative economics fostered by a legacy of West African culture and a Judeo-Christian call for justice and the righteousness of all people.

This paper hones in on the role of Black church-CDCs as a latter manifestation of this historic mission to discern if they are adhering to a path toward mere service delivery or fulfilling a vision of structurally transformed society that honors justice, equality, and freedom, i.e., are they going against the grain? Is this being done, asks the author, through a continued homage to cooperative work of the church congregation? The two cases, that comprise the paper and evaluate these premises, are about an urban, somewhat emerging CDC and a rural, relatively mature CDC that are affiliated with black churches.

Dual Sex Systems and Black Megachurch Community Development: Women Making a Difference

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Women occupy a peculiar position in black churches. Although they consistently make up the majority of the members, they also consistently lack the access to formal positions in ministerial and lay leadership. However women have gained organizing and leadership skills through the parallel and auxiliary organization that they formed as a result of their exclusion from full participation in black church life. Women have organized for social change, done advocacy work and provided social services to their communities. This paper explores the "dual sex system" in black megachurches. Black megachurches are predominately black churches with at least two thousand people attending Sunday services each week. The "dual sex system" refers to the gendered spheres of leadership, labor and authority in these black megachurches. I argue that although women lack equal access to formalized positions of ministerial leadership in black megachurches, they are leading the community development efforts of black megachurches. Furthermore, by looking specifically at megachurch affiliated community development corporations, I show that there is a "womanist" influence on megachurch-based community development. Black megachurch-affiliated CDCs are likely to espouse and practice an integrative approach to community development similar to that of women-led CDCs. This indicates that it makes a difference in the community development agenda and programmatic thrusts that women are leading these community development efforts.

Black Church/College CDCs: Quantifying the Perceptions of Local Citizens

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The paper focuses on the quantitative aspects of the Black Church/College Project. The discussion begins with a general overview that describes the conceptual framework, research design, and survey methodology. Next, the author discusses the data gathered from the closed-ended project questionnaires that sought to define perceptions—that is perceptions held by local residents about the impact that the black church or college CDC has had on the neighborhood. In particular, the author examines the result from the "on-the-street" interview survey instrument. These surveys gave local residents the chance to register their preferences about ways to improve their neighborhood. The objective was to define how the work of the CDC reflects the stated needs of the target group it serves. The quantitative analysis has been designed as a way to add rigor to the qualitative and anecdotal information collected as a part of the Black Church/College CDC project.

60. Cities and the New Era of Terrorism

The American City in the Age of Terror: A Preliminary Assessment of the Effects of 9/11

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Although few would deny that the events of 9/11 have had a profound and enduring effect on the American psyche, their impact on American cities and city life is less clear. Some scholars were quick to predict the widespread emergence of the fortress city and the acceleration of urban out-migration by businesses and households. Others, however, have suggested that cities in a democratic society are resistant to the strictures of a surveillance regime and that they would return to some sort of pre-9/11 state. Whatever the predictions, these have been first and necessarily preliminary assessments of the impacts of terror on domestic urban soil. The effort to explore the implications for cities continues to unfold. This paper offers another step in this on-going process. Using a variety of surveys, reports, and other archival material, the paper examines effects of the World Trade Center attacks on American cities in four different areas: government and policy, economy, society, and architecture and planning. The impact on government has come mainly in form of increased security demands and costs that, at least in the first two years since 9/11, have

largely been borne at the local level. The paper explores these burdens, as well as emerging new patterns in the local-federal relationship. The impacts on the urban economy are less evident. Although it is difficult to control for the effects of the economic recession in the last two years, few cities seem to have experienced permanent negative economic effects of the 9/11 attacks. The effects on urban society seem largely psychological: a significant minority of urban dwellers remain afraid to go out in public places or use public transportation. Finally, the paper examines the physical effects of the requirements of the security state such as surveillance of public spaces, fortification, and hardening. The paper concludes that American cities are highly resilient and that early predictions of profound changes in urban life were probably exaggerated.

Applying Defensible Space Theory to the Mitigation of Terrorist Attack Against Urban Critical Infrastructure

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The events of September 11th, 2001 have proven the vulnerability of American cities to acts of terrorism, and given rise to myriad proactive solutions for mitigating future attacks. Billions of dollars have been spent on these strategies with little evaluation of their effectiveness and minimal understanding of how and why terrorists select their targets. Indeed, many feel that our cities remain highly vulnerable to attacks from terrorists. In the early 1960's, cities were also seen as highly vulnerable and unsafe places. Then, fear of crime, not terrorism, was seen as the cause. Billions were spent to hire more law enforcement professionals, modernize equipment, link criminal databases and enhance communications. Yet constrained budgets, then as now, caused urban policymakers to look elsewhere for solutions. A "police officer on every corner" was not a sustainable solution. Several urban scholars urged the implementation of more passive measures of "designing out vulnerability." This paper will expand upon the theories presented by such pioneers as Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman, who suggested that no city could adequately protect itself against criminal acts by proactive measures alone. Yet the measures of mitigating crime that resulted from these early theorists were heavily based upon criminal behavior and routine activity theories. Little research on the applicability of crime patterning and behavior to terrorism has emerged. The author will examine the relationship of defensible space theories and subsequent philosophies such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) to the protection of cities' critical infrastructure from acts of terrorism through sustainable, passive actions.

Cities As Agents of Anti-Terrorism Policy

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Discussions of national and global security, and above all of border enforcement, are typically directed towards the nation-state. But the actions that countries are taking to seal their borders against terrorism, to seal them more tightly, and to seal them selectively have begun to involve cities in significant ways. This shift is obviously true in the US, but it is also evident in Canada and Europe, for policing and control of space are quintessentially local functions in many countries. This paper concerns how local governments are increasingly helping national governments to prevent terrorism and secure borders. First, some cities are actively and even eagerly helping to erect, maintain, and protect borders. In particular, local police forces are shifting their priorities and resources to anti-terrorism activities such as intelligence-gathering and surveillance of public spaces, in conjuction with various resources offered by security agencies, national and foreign law enforcement agencies, and the military. In certain cases, local police forces have taken the lead in incorporating anti-terrorist activities into the militarized policing adopted in recent decades in reaction to gangs, drugs, and street crime generally. Second, some cities are being subjected unwillingly to various, broad costs of border security. The push for nationalization of immigration policy, and thus for uniform city borders, is widely evident and often resisted. Notably, there is a move in the US to require local police to enforce immigration laws, which they have previously neither wanted nor been authorized to do. Cities at the Canada-US and US-Mexico borders have not only been burdened economically by border closures and slow-downs, but they are now formally enmeshed in identifying, detaining, or providing services to people not permitted to cross the border. I point out that the violations of civil liberties accompanying the "war on terrorism" have drawn our attention away from the range of measures--fiat, coercion, bribery, political pressure, etc.--that national governments use to ensure local participation in anti-terrorism efforts. I also contend that widespread local policing of the border helps normalize counter-terrorism (and anti-immigrant) activities. Finally, I argue that the integration of cities into border security regimes undermines the promise of pluralistic, public, democratic cities.

An Anatomy of Urban Terror: Lessons from Jerusalem

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Urban terror is aimed at high density, diversified, concentrated environments that hold some importance—either as hubs for business, finance, politics, religion, media or as places of strategic value. Cities have been both objects and sites for production of terror. This paper uses Jerusalem as a case study for analyzing and explaining this phenomenon and draws general propositions. Foremost, is the linkage between cities as targets of terrorist attack and sources for its production. I claim that where terror strikes has a great deal to do with how terror is organized. Second I suggest that urban terror seeks to shrink urban space, constrain people who use it and paralyze the city. Given the nature of urban terror I identify patterns of attack and demonstrate its impact through maps and tables. Most likely targets are densely packed urban centers or transportation junctures. Third I demonstrate that the local response to attack entails a decision to enclose urban space and undertake its surveillance. This includes establishing permanent partitions (walls, fences) temporary obstructions (police barriers) human surveillance (stationary troops, uniformed patrols) and electronic surveillance (cameras). Fourth I suggest that policies of enclosure and surveillance have a paradoxical effect. They both protect citizens from terror by making it difficult for terrorists to penetrate crowds but they also fulfill terrorist objectives by hindering city life. Last I suggest the analysis of urban terror can be translated into planning or policy recommendations. Techniques of "defensible space", whereby ordinary citizens serve as the eyes and ears of a community can be adapted to vulnerable sites These techniques can help cities balance the need for security with the necessity of a freer flowing, open urban environment.

61. Colloquy: Central City Revitalization and Sustainability: Paradox or Reality?

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Central city revitalization has been a concern for academic researchers, policy researchers and makers and governmental officials for many years. With suburban sprawl many older cities have had a difficult time in coping with problems that been borne by the exodus of people and their capital. Significant problems have resulted and skeptics believe there is little future in sustaining many older central cities in the US. The National Center for the Revitalization of Central Cities has for many years been concerned about this problem and has conducted pertinent research on this topic. Center affiliates will present their latest research findings on this topic.

Friday, 2:05--3:30pm

62. Challenges in Urban Economic (Re)Development

When Boeing Landed in Chicago: Lessons for Regional Economic Development

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Research Question: This paper is a case study of the relocation of the Boeing Co. corporate headquarters from Seattle to Chicago in 2001. In March 2001, Boeing announced that it had short-listed three regions—Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Denver—for its new headquarters location and planned to finalize its site selection process in a matter of weeks. This paper examines how each of the three regions responded to Boeing's announcement, focusing in particular on questions of regional cohesion. We address three principal questions: How effectively did regions coordinate their recruitment efforts? What explains variations in the cohesiveness of regional recruitment efforts? What kind of "regional learning" took place in each city as a result of the recruitment process? Methodology: The paper relies principally on two data sources. First, semi-structured personal interviews were conducted with economic development practitioners active in the Boeing recruitment effort in each of the three cities. In addition, newspaper articles covering the recruitment process in each city were reviewed. Content analysis was used to determine how media sources in each city portrayed the cohesiveness of recruitment efforts, both in their home cities and in the other two locations. Key Findings: We found considerable variation in the culture of cooperation around economic development in the three regions. We conclude that regional recruitment efforts were most cohesive where regional coop-

eration around economic development was institutionalized and where the civic sector played a leadership role in fostering cooperation. Recruitment efforts were more fragmented where cooperation was largely ad-hoc and overseen principally by the public sector. Implications: The study contributes to the literatures on new regionalism and business location. It suggests that regional institution building and strong civic sector participation are important in facilitating regional cooperation around corporate recruitment efforts.

Understanding Corporate-Led Urban Renewal: The Case of New Brunswick, New Jersey

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By the mid-1970s, New Brunswick, New Jersey had undergone several decades of decline, mirroring that experienced by so many U.S. cities. A dramatic increase in the minority population had resulted in both residential and commercial white flight. The redlining that was so ubiquitous in majority-minority communities had led to a deterioration of the housing base. The city also was confronting a significant rise in poverty and crime. Twenty-seven years later, New Brunswick is experiencing dramatic renovation and new construction and is the recipient of almost two billion dollars in new investments. Much of this is the result of a 1976 decision by Johnson & Johnson to build its world headquarters in New Brunswick and to make a long-term commitment to redeveloping the city. Critics of the redevelopment contend that the New Brunswick community has largely been left out of the subsequent process. They further claim that the redevelopment has come at the expense of local residents and small business owners, whom it has both displaced and disenfranchised. This paper utilizes a case study approach to analyze the redevelopment of New Brunswick, examining it from the perspectives of the multiple stakeholders involved. These include municipal and state governments and members of the business, nonprofit, and university communities. The paper argues that New Brunswick represents an unusual example of urban revitalization, which appears to challenge much of the existing literature on urban regimes, corporate-led urban renewal, university-community partnerships, and public-private partnerships.

Moving Railroad Tracks, Rivers and Highways: Redefining Downtown and Its Connections to Neighborhoods

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Using the case study approach, this paper will examine the Providence renaissance and the transformation of its physical fabric in the last two decades. By moving railroad tracks, rivers and a highway, Providence is striving to redefine its downtown and to reconnect it to its surrounding neighborhoods and the waterfront. Providence is the second largest city in the New England region. Beginning in the 1950s, like other cities in the U.S., Providence witnessed significant changes in its physical form and land use pattern. The interstate highway systems and the railroad tracks divided the compact and walkable downtown and isolated the city's core from its surrounding neighborhoods and the waterfront. In the process, downtown Providence was given over to the automobile. Large tracts of land in the center of the city were devoted to parking lots, and the rivers that ran into and through downtown were decked over to provide additional surface parking. Beginning in the early 1980s, Providence initiated a bold plan to reconstruct and transform the physical fabric of its downtown in an attempt to promote economic development in the city. Providence moved railroad tracks and train station and re-routed and uncovered two rivers to create a new downtown district (Capital Center) adjacent to its historic commercial core (Downcity). The new downtown replaced railroad tracks, freight yards and a huge surface parking area. To promote the redevelopment of the downtown, new buildings, including a mall, a convention center, two hotels, two office buildings, and a new train station, were built. Also, the city placed an emphasis on the development of new public space along its riverfront. New roads and pedestrian bridges were constructed to link the new and existing downtowns to each other and to a surrounding neighborhood on the east side of the downtown. Lastly, efforts are underway to link downtown to the city's waterfront by relocating a part of the Interstate 195 Highway. Public parks and private development will replace the old section of the highway and its ramps. The study concludes that the physical transformation of the downtown and its physical connections to neighborhoods should be accompanied by major initiatives that would expand and share the benefits of downtown improvements with the residents of the surrounding neighborhoods with diverse population composition and varied income levels.

Troost Revival: Breathing new life into neighborhood commercial corridors

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U.S. cities have many examples of commercial corridors that have declined to the point of extinction in the second half of the 20th century. Blighted buildings and empty storefronts are common in inner-city neighborhoods. Economic development theory provides guidance on business and development activity and community development theory addresses the needs of neighborhoods. Examining the intersection of these two areas yields prescriptive guidance for community economic development that centers on commercial revitalization. This is an important area of urban development because it contributes to land improvement, property value stabilization, job opportunities and quality of life for neighborhood residents through nearby services and shopping, and focus on a sense of place. This paper examines neighborhood commercial corridor revitalization with an emphasis on commercial redevelopment. Policy directions from cities nationwide are classified by their focus on and attention to1) land development concerns; 2) business retention and creation; 3) institutional partnerships to leverage revitalization; 4) place-based assets such as cultural and heritage landmarks; 5) associations and relationships such as business improvement districts and; 6) intermediary assistance from organizations such as the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and Small Business Administration. The Troost Avenue commercial corridor in Kansas City, Missouri is highlighted because this corridor is the historical racial dividing line for this city. As such, it is imbued with racial identity, presuppositions about economic value and the likelihood of success, and lingering institutional boundaries that allocate insurance coverage, lending, and school boundary lines. Questions in this paper include: Can an inner-city neighborhood overcome economic decline and historical baggage to revitalize a commercial corridor? Can public policy overcome the economic conditions that inhibit revitalization? Can marketing strategies and business assistance service provide a support system for tenuous small business development practices and conditions that lead to continual storefront and building vacancies?

All Growth Politics is Local (Even in the Nation's Capital Region): The Federal Government and Metropolitan Development

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Washington, D.C. is a place that is literally an invention of the national government. It is improbable that a major metropolis would have emerged on the swampy banks of the Potomac if the site were not designated the seat of national power shortly after the founding of the country. Washington's location and L'Enfant's master plan for the city were the direct result of federal action. As the urbanizing environs breached the District's boundaries in the mid 20th Century, the national government began to seriously consider its strategic responsibility in determining how the capital region it gave birth to might grow in the coming decades. The Greenbelt plans put forth under Roosevelt, the comprehensive planning of the Kennedy era, and even Carter's inner city reinvestment approach (which was nationwide in scope) all sought to deliberately inject the central government's hand into molding growth patterns in the D.C. metropolitan area. Over the past two decades, however, the federal government has abandoned any public vision or acknowledgement of itself having a major role, let alone primary responsibility, in planning for the way its actions would impact regional expansion in the Capital Area. In its role as the de facto driving force behind urban expansion in the metropolis, one could argue that the federal government should be more compelled here than anywhere else in the country to promote rational planning. This paper argues that rather than guiding growth, the national government has over a twenty year period left the Capital Region's future expansion in the hands of competing local and sub-regional regimes, or "growth machines", which advocate narrow, mid-range objectives as opposed to a long-term vision for the free world's center of power. When the national government has involved itself in development issues, this paper argues, it has typically been in highly symbolic debates rather than in those controversies that are associated with pivotal growth-shaping decisions. A valuable opportunity has consequently been lost. Rather than Washington serving as a model region to emulate in pursuing innovative policies for solving the costly problems associated with sprawl and ill-conceived metropolitan development, the Capital Area has come to resemble every other region experiencing the pressures associated with rapid growth.

63. Fighting Poverty Through People-based and Community-based Policy

From Marginalization to Attachment: Neighborhood Entrepreneurship and Community Transformation

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This paper intends to contribute to research and policy related to neighborhood revitalization by giving prominence to an under explored approach for strengthening communities. More specifically, drawing on an extended case study of the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn, NY, I explore the role that neighborhood entrepreneurship plays in strengthening the social, cultural and economic fabric of a community. At first glance, there is nothing particularly new about small business development as a strategy for urban revitalization. However, illuminating the ways entrepreneurs exercise agency and invest in the revitalization process, by remaining or moving back to marginalized neighborhoods, contributes to our understanding of neighborhood change. Additionally, articulating the individual and collective strategies neighborhood entrepreneurs employ to sustain their enterprises and contribute to community building suggests an expanded role for these actors. This paper argues that exploring the meaning of entrepreneurship to neighborhood change is more than surveying aggregate business activity, job creation, and mapping growth in the local economy. The criteria for assessing neighborhood entrepreneurship should not be solely economic because these institutions carry both symbolic and material meanings that are not fully discernible through cash flow or income statement analyses. Accordingly, this paper asserts that local economies, particularly small retail establishments, significantly contribute to shaping neighborhood identity and creating community attachment. Therefore, unraveling the contours of neighborhood entrepreneurship requires examining the formal and informal institutional practices and public policies designed to develop and support community enterprises. It also requires exploring the personal and cultural group experiences that push and pull social actors into self-employment and the ways these experiences impact community transformation.

Integrating Savings and Credit: Promoting Asset Development Among Entrepreneurs

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Research Question: U.S. policy approaches to poverty alleviation primarily focus on maintaining or supplementing income. One additional approach builds assets with income. Federal policy includes support of asset accumulation through matched savings instruments, supported by the Department of Health and Human Services' Offices of Refugee Resettlement and Community Services. Other programs support the development of business assets by through training, consulting and small loans. One question to be explored is how to integrate savings and credit instruments to enhance asset development among entrepreneurs for community development. Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative and quantitative analysis of data gathered through surveys of Individual Development Account (IDA) and microenterprise development (MED) program staff; interviews with a programs that are linking savings and credit instruments; focus groups; public documents, and a review of existing research. IDAs are matched savings accounts with proceeds targeted to assets, including housing, education, and small business development. MED services and products support businesses with five or fewer employees that have capital needs under $35,000. Several cases are highlighted to illustrate the spectrum of integrated savings-credit approaches to enterprise development. Key Findings: We develop a framework that translates IDA outcomes, increased human and financial capital, into customer benefits. A continuum of options for linkages is then identified and data is presented regarding programs studied. Analysis of the data indicates that IDAs can serve as credit enhancements for microloans to create substantial leveraging of assets. Implications: Study findings suggest that making explicit connections between savings and credit for microentrepreneurs may provide increased opportunities for the poor to build and leverage existing assets. They also suggest that additional work is needed to better understand the financial and training needs of the poor as they pertain to entrepreneurship, and that additional analysis of performance of programs pursuing integrated approaches is warranted.

The Neighborhood Impact of People-Based Policy: The Unintended Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Poor Neighborhoods of Los Angeles

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The Neighborhood Impact of People-Based Policy: The Unintended Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Poor Neighborhoods of Los Angeles Abstract: This paper explores the utility of the People-place dichotomy in policy approaches to concentrated poverty. While most policy analysis on spatially concentrated poverty tends to

examine the extent to which specific policies achieve their intended employment, business development or income support goals, this paper examines some of the unintended consequences and benefits. In particular, it examines the impact that the people-based Earned Income Tax Credit had on poor neighborhoods of Los Angeles in the late 1990s. First, it documents the magnitude of this individual wage subsidy as an investment in poor neighborhoods and compares it to other forms of anti-poverty policy that focus more directly on "places." Establishing that the EITC does channel significant amounts of extra income into poor neighborhoods, the paper tests the hypothesis that this investment improves the neighborhood economy. Using a consumer purchasing model, the study uses IRS and Economic Census data by Zipcode to answer the question of whether this EITC neighborhood investment is translated into greater neighborhood purchasing. Findings from the study suggest that even though large amounts of EITC dollars are invested each year in the poor areas of Los Angeles, this form of investment may actually facilitate greater mobility of low-income consumers, thereby undermining the neighborhood economy. Although preliminary, this study does suggest that people-based programs may have an effect on the neighborhood economic base. Further research should pursue a set of questions exploring the interaction of people- and place-based antipoverty programs in poor neighborhoods of Los Angeles and elsewhere.

From Black Bottom to Baghdad: Shared Ownership for Addressing Urban Poverty

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Poverty theory is impoverished. An enriched understanding of poverty places issues of wealth creation and distribution at center stage, without eclipsing the significant, traditional liberal/left concern for income security. Ownership matters. Contemporary discourse about inequality nearly always focuses on income, and we are all the poorer for it. Inequality may be experienced, on a daily basis, as a lack of income. So, understandably, most people conceptualize inequality as income-based. This confusion results, in part, from the consumption-oriented nature of contemporary capitalist economy—where consumption, not production, is what we see when we look around. Inequality, which most definitely is income-related, is not income-based. Fundamentally, inequality is wealth-based. An engaged scholarship and a progressive politics must recognize the difference. At the present moment, opportunities for wealth creation by poor and working people in the United States are endan-

gered, with the rise of predatory lending, weakening enforcement of key federal laws (e.g., Community Reinvestment Act, the defunding of public programs (e.g., CDFI Fund for community development financial institutions; affordable housing programs), and waning foundation support for the asset-building initiatives of the past decade. Simultaneously, successful models for shared ownership exist in one state and in several cities in the United States and elsewhere. These are explored to enrich our theory and practice. This paper provides: (a) a critical analysis and typology of: urban poverty theory and research, official governmental definitions of poverty, media content on racial and gender inequality, and popular discourse on poverty; (b) a literal reading of U.S. President George Bush's statement—"The oil of Iraq belongs to the people of Iraq;" and, (c) a summary of wealth creation models and possibilities in the United States (Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, and Anchorage), Peru (Lima), Spain (Mondragon), Italy (Bologna), and Iraq (Baghdad).

64. Community Organizing and Community Building

Community Organizations and Local Development in a Metropolitan Region: Multi-level Strategies and Networks

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Research Questions: The new economic order that has accompanied globalization has had two main consequences on urban agglomerations in Northern America. First, metropolitan regions must compete more and more within the international market, trying to attract investments. At this level, new forms of collaboration between public authorities and business are taking place, giving birth to what is called metropolitan governance. Secondly, unemployment and poverty are increasing in many old neighbourhoods of the central cities and in some districts of the old suburbs. At this level, a diversity of community organizations try to promote local development in order to improve living conditions of people. These organizations are linked to a variety of associations and agencies. Which are these associations and agencies? What kind of relations do these community organizations maintain with them? What is the impact of these relations on the mission and the action of these community organizations? 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 the associations and agencies, which these community organizations are linked to. Key Findings: Even they are promoting local development, community organizations have to keep relationships with associations and agencies intervening at many levels: neighbourhood, municipality, region, nation. Community organizations build multi-levels networks in order to negotiate their recognition and their resources, to get resources, and to implement projects based on partnership. These networks provide them the means to achieve their mission, but they also limit their autonomy. The way these networks influence community organizations' action depends more on their domain of intervention (youth, employment, etc.), than on their localization (central city or suburb). Implications: The study findings suggest that community organizations cannot achieve their mission alone. They are embedded in an multi-levels context that matters. The way they deal with this context appears to be a key-element of their strategy of local development.

Who (Can) Build and Maintain Their Neighborhood Association?: Residents' Differential External Resources

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Research Question: We know the importance of resident-based local organizations in enhancing individual experiences as acts of citizenship and engaging residents with common values of local community life. Yet differences in residents' abilities to build local organizations are thought secondary to communities' common aspirations and concerns. Do residents of the same neighborhood have differential capabilities for building and maintaining grassroots neighborhood associations? If yes, how are these differences shaped by political economic structure of the city, local institutional networks, and policies related to neighborhood associations? Methodology: I develop this research as a case study in a diverse inner-city neighborhood, City of Los Angeles. I use qualitative analysis of data gathered through interviews with members of neighborhood associations, leaders of local churches, and staffs of community development corporations, and archival research of census data and newspaper articles. Key Findings: Institutions such as local governments and community organizations, and urban settings such as neighborhoods mediate social

processes that shape individuals' and organizations' access to political activity. I explain the mediating roles of neighborhoods around the issues of homeownership, historic preservation, urban redevelopment projects, and networks of local institutions and organizations. An examination of relevant public policies and local population characteristics suggests the ways in which these capabilities are structurally differentiated along class and racial divides in urban space. Implications: The study findings show that the economic dimensions are important for building and maintaining grassroots organizations. Also these dimensions are mediated by the public policies related to homeownership and these organizations. Yet some of these policies reflect institutional discrimination for certain urban areas and groups of working class people of color. References: Berry, Jeffrey M., Kent E. Portney and Ken Thompson. 1993. The Rebirth of Urban Democracy. The Bookings Institution: Washington, D.C. Fisher, Robert and Joseph Kling (eds.). 1993. Mobilizing the Community: Local Politics in the Era of the Global City. Sage Publications: Newbury Park, London, New Delhi. Gittell, Marilyn. 1980. Limits to Citizen Participation: The Decline of Community Organizations. Sage Publications: London. Logan, J. R. and J. Molotch. (1987) Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Embedded Politics: How place matters in community organizing

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This paper uses quantitative and qualitative data on community organizing by ten Massachusetts CDCs, to explore the ways that constructions of place "matter" for organizing outcomes. Within the layered organizational terrain of cities -- the local universe in which community organizations find themselves embedded -- I study the choices made by groups over time, as they attempt to alter the systems in which they take part. In particular, I find that 1) the character of claims made by CDCs about their communities, and 2) the response of other local organizations to these claims, hold important consequences for the scope of a campaign's success or its failure. This understanding of "embedded politics" requires consideration not just of locally-distinct, place-based networks, but also the terms of interaction within these networks, and the ways that a group's aspirations for change plays out among these relationships over time. Combining these two levels of "embedded politics" – the structural perspective associated with network analysis, and defined by inter-organizational community

linkage; and the agentic perspective focused on planning, deliberation, and conscious strategization by community residents – I elaborate tentative theory about community organizing and its outcomes. This theory elaborates how contextually-informed, purposive mobilization emerges within different community settings, or, stated another way, the impact that different forms of organizing have in different types of neighborhoods.

The Future of Grassroots America: Local Perspectives on Current and Emerging Issues

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Through a cooperative research project completed by the Loyola University Center for Urban Research and Learning and the National Neighborhood Coalition, we conducted a national survey and focus groups in five cities to determine what neighborhood groups see as most important issues now, and what issues are emerging for urban, suburban and rural communities in the United States. The majority of organizational leaders in all communities identified three key issues that were facing their communities: job creation, lack of affordable housing, and health care. In other issue areas the responses of leaders in central cities and metro areas differed significantly from those of suburban and rural leaders. There was less consensus among community groups regarding emerging issues. A moderate percentage--between one-fourth and one-third of community leaders–saw community development issues, government issues, and civic engagement issues as emerging issues. In general, emerging issues in the suburbs are already current issues facing cities and metropolitan areas. This reflects the changing character of suburbs– particularly inner ring suburbs– that are experiencing race, ethnicity, age, and income changes as well as economic challenges related to aging housing stock, job retention, and economic development. Local leaders provided a number of challenges facing their communities and community organizations in their work to bring about positive social change: *building organizational and community capacity *leadership development, particularly youth leadership development *getting the attention of national policy makers. *funding for local initiatives *juggling scarce resources both to meet immediate needs and organize the community to give it more voice and influence *fostering an understanding of local issues among national decision-makers and advocates Among the suggestions that local leaders made in meeting these challenges were: a) creating stronger ties with national

organizations; b) establishing more effective community-anchored policy research; c) building local and regional coalitions; d) building a popular movement able to mobilize larger segments of the population; e) developing strategies to encourage residents engagement in community institutions and decision-making; and f) recognizing differences in the political cultures of cities, suburbs, and rural communities and adapting grassroots organizing strategies accordingly.

65. Growth Policies and Demographic Change

Urban and Suburban Open Space Preservation: A Contextual Analysis

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Research Question: Public acquisition of land to preserve its undeveloped character has become an important policy objective in many municipalities across the United States. Previous, small-scale empirical studies have observed a correlation between high growth rates and the adoption of growth controls. May open space preservation be considered another form of growth control? Is it possible to model the process by which a municipal region decides to buck the "growth machine" through the public acquisition and preservation of undeveloped land? Methodology: The paper employs quantitative analyses of data measuring the socio-economic, political, and land use characteristics of the single-state metropolitan regions in the United States. The Census Bureau is the source for the socio-economic data, and the National Resource Inventory provides the data on land use. The political variables, which capture the political and legal context of the municipalities in the metropolitan regions, are generated by the author. A short case study is included to elucidate the policy implications of the findings. Key Findings: The analyses demonstrate that public acquisition of land for open space preservation, like other types of growth control policies, is linked to high growth rates and increasing density of population. Wealth shows a more modest correlation to open space preservation. Of great significance is the finding that the state-level political and legal context plays an important role in influencing municipal open space policies. Implications: The paper argues that open space preservation should be considered a form of growth control. As such, open space preservation raises a number of normative concerns, such as its contribution to sprawl and its unequal distribution of benefits across society. Given the finding that state-level context is highly relevant, the paper concludes with a short case study of how New Jersey has succeeded in some regards but failed in others in its attempt to address these concerns.

Why do Cities Adopt Slow Growth Policies at the Ballot Box? A Test of Four Hypotheses

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Why do cities adopt slow growth policies at the ballot box? A test of four In 2000, there were an estimated 553 growth management state and local ballot measures throughout the United States, with California garnering the highest percentage of overall ballot measures, with 14% (Myers and Puentes, 2001). It is no surprise that California has the largest proportion of ballot measures relating to growth in 2000, since California localities throughout history have used the ballot box for growth related measures more often than any other state. The central focus of this study is to determine why California cities choose to use the ballot-box to manage growth. Specifically, this study examines why some cities are more likely to propose and adopt slow growth measures at the ballot-box. A review of the literature reveals that there are four prevailing hypotheses as to why cities choose to slow (or control) growth. The first hypothesis involves exclusionary tendencies of higher status communities. The "exclusionary" hypothesis states that cities with populations of higher status residents attempt to slow growth in order to keep out "undesirable" types of growth or residents from entering their community. The second hypothesis asserts that cities who adopt slow growth policies are experiencing real growth pressures (e.g. increased population, traffic congestion, and travel time; housing shortages; housing unaffordability, ect.). The third hypothesis contends that cities are in competition with one another and therefore will impose slow growth policies if nearby cities have implemented slow growth policies so that they do not receive unwanted growth that spill over from growth restrictive cities. Finally, the last hypotheses centers on a city's position within the metropolitan hierarchy. Cities that rank higher in socioeconomic status within a metropolitan area will promote growth policies that enable them to maintain status position. This study will test the relative merit of which hypothesis best explains why California cities propose and adopt slow growth ballot measures using logistic regression.

The Penns Neck EIS: Lessons From Two Suburbs Implementing Government Planning Regulations

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Federal policy is enacted in specific places. A road building project by the New Jersey Department of Transportation in the Penns Neck area of US 1 involves environmental policy (National Environmental Policy Act) as well as Federal transportation acts (ISTEA and TEA-21) How such a project is implemented depends on the local environment. A case study of the Penns Neck Area Environmental Impact Statement process involving two different suburbs—West Windsor Township and Princeton Borough/Township—shows how the social and economic background of a community affects its approach to planning. Grounded in growth machine theory, the case illustrates the differences between a middle class suburb and an affluent university community as community leaders deal with the proposed NJDOT project. Standard demographic data and a brief history of each suburb will provide background to the case study. The story of the EIS process as it unfolds provides the characters and events for analysis. There is, for example, behind-the-scenes brokering by both powerful Princeton University and the Sarnoff Research Labs. Expertise and resources used by the affluent, university community involve extensive networking activity. The case can be made that if we are to successfully implement Federal policy at the local level in middle class suburbs, the social, economic and political climate need to be taken into account. This analysis makes the case that not unlike disadvantages communities where issues such as environmental justice are part of the implementation of Federal policy, the characteristics of middle class suburbs need to be addressed for successful policy implementation.

Demographic Change in Small Cities, 1990-2000

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Census 2000 figures reveal broad demographic change and growth trends in America's cities. While considerable analysis has been devoted to the largest cities, the trends of smaller cities, which comprise some 97 percent of cities nationwide, have received little attention. Using Census data, we analyze demographic changes in small cities (population under 50,000) between 1990 and 2000 across categories of region, metropolitan area status and race/ethnicity. This analysis also draws upon research on demographic trends in larger and medium sized cities. Findings reveal that growth is occurring faster in cities under 50,000 than any other population category. Within small cities, growth is occurring fastest in the West and Midwest and within metropolitan areas and is being

spurred by large increases in Hispanic, Black and Asian populations. It is important that smaller cities are examined because by not examining them the body of research on growth trends in the U.S. is missing a significant part of the story, and as such policy decisions are less informed. Since most cities fewer than 50,000 are on the suburban fringe, understanding how change is occurring in these cities and comparing this change across city sizes can help determine overall population trends in regions. We have seen urban centers pushing out and expanding metropolitan areas to include smaller communities. These small cities also have the potential to grow to sizes comparable to metropolitan centers. Demographic change in these cities will affect and potentially restructure the dynamics of the entire metropolitan area. This research broadens the understanding of how growth is shaping this nation, as well as provides a solid base for future efforts on this topic.

Concentric Zones, Satellites and Networks: Discourses and Rhetorics of Urban Development

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 Much have been said about the manner in which cities grow, expand and develop. Since ours seems to be an urban future, the growth and expansion of cities and the shape of these changes, are relevant components to an understanding of urban development. Through an examination of urban growth patterns, this presentation seeks to account for: 1) the most relevant elements taken into consideration in the study of growth processes in cities, 2) the visual representations of this growth, 3) how these representations allude to the social and historical moments in which particular characteristics of city growth developed, and 4) the discourses utilized to frame these representations, located within larger narratives of space, technology and society. When studying urban growth, the Chicago School emphasize aspects such as population density, land use and other demographic characteristics in the United States. Visual representations of these models include concentric zones, sectoral and multiple nuclei. In other kinds of development models, the Marshallian industrial district, the hub and spoke, and the satellite platform also provide visual representations of more recent urban development based on the type of industries predominant in specific areas of the world, including both advanced and developing countries. As such, the models developed by the Chicago School correspond to the industrialization process occurring in US cities. While other, most recent developments and their visual representations analyze emerging patterns that have been facilitated by globalization. The changes

brought about by industrialization and those brought about by globalization are framed by discourses and rhetorics of modernity and post-modernity. It is my contention that the visual representations and analysis of urban development by the models addressed previously are symbolic representations. The modern and post-modern discourses from which they emerge are embedded in the social, historical and economic context of industrialization and globalization. This presentation seeks to unmask these contextual aspects by reading into the spatial, technological and economic changes from which the analysis and visual representations of urban development models evolved.

66. Washington D.C., as the New Metropolis – Heike Mayer, Virginia Tech, moderator

"Next Generation" High Technology Employment in Washington DC: The Case of Arlington County

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This paper presents an analysis of "next generation" high technology employment possibilities for Arlington County. The study examines the County's high technology economic assets, its technological competencies, and the linkages between economic actors such as federal government agencies and high technology contractors. We identify core high technology strengths and assess the suitability and economic growth potential of emerging technology sectors for Arlington County. The study is divided into two research approaches. The first provides an assessment of the County's high technology economic foundation; the second assesses the suitability and growth potential for "next generation" technology sectors.

Arlington County and the Washington D.C. metropolitan area are well known as centers for advanced producer services such as database and Internet services. The proximity to federal government agencies has provided the region's high technology firms with important competitive advantages. While research on high technology region has shown that each metropolitan area specializes into certain technology areas (Cortright & Mayer, 2001), there is a gap in the literature regarding the assessment of "next generation" high technology employment opportunities. Thus, this paper will provide new

insights into emerging technology areas that provide economic development benefits to Washington D.C. as the "new metropolis."

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The Effectiveness of Urban Containment Regimes in Reducing Exurban Sprawl

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The exurban landscape grew faster and added more people than urban, suburban, and rural landscapes during the 1990s. In many respects, exurbanization is the quintessential representation of urban sprawl and the problems it poses. More than 100 metropolitan areas across the nation attempt to manage exurbanization through various forms of urban containment at regional or subregional scales. In this paper, we assess the extent to which urban containment is effective in managing exurban sprawl in the 35 largest metropolitan areas.

Through simple cross-section analysis, we find that relative to metropolitan areas without urban containment, those pursuing "strong" containment efforts performed best in reducing exurbanization. Strong containment programs are those that direct urban development into areas defined by urban containment boundaries and restrict development outside the boundaries. Metropolitan areas with "natural" containment where development is constrained because of oceans, mountains, public ownership, and water supply did not perform as well but saw less exurbanization than noncontained metropolitan areas. Least effective relative to other forms of containment were metropolitan areas with weak containment efforts, principally because such approaches do not substantially restrict development outside containment boundaries. Strong urban containment appears to be effective in reigning in exurban sprawl but without apparently dampending population growth generally.

Washington as A World City

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This paper analyzes Washington's role as a world city based on the Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech's (MI)

"US World City Rankings." The US World City Rankings is a unique database that measures the degree to which an American city is connected to a global network of high-end services in accounting, advertising, banking/finance, insurance, law, and management consulting. The method works by looking at how branch offices of big producer service firms in these categories are distributed worldwide.

MI's world city analysis shows that Washington ranks 7th as a "US World City," falling behind such places as New York (1st), Chicago (2nd) and Los Angeles (3rd). More surprising, the Washington region ranks below Miami (5th) and Atlanta (6th). Washington also falls below many other world capitals in our international world city index, ranking as the 37th world city behind not just London (1st), Tokyo (3rd) and Paris (4th), but Madrid (11th) Brussels (15th) and even Dublin (30th).

We explore why Washington is only moderately connected to the global service network despite being the political capital of the world's largest economy. The paper includes an in depth analysis of the specific ways that the Washington network is plugged into the world specific to business type. We also consider Washington's other and perhaps more significant network on diplomatic, trade and NGO links to the world.

67. Residential Segregation

Evidence on the Intergenerational Persistence of Residential Segregation by Race

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Research Questions: Despite the large literature devoted to examining the causes of residential segregation by race, few studies have examined whether racial differences in neighborhood choices persist over generations. In this research, I examine the following two questions: Do households choose neighborhoods with racial compositions that resemble the neighborhoods inhabited by the household head as a child? Is the intergenerational persistence of residential segregation more consistent with an explanation based on the intergenerational transfer of racial prejudice or an explanation based on the impacts of childhood interracial contact on future levels of racial tolerance? Methodology: In the empirical work, I rely on household-level data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) matched to the racial composition of the household's census tract of residence to estimate locational attainment models (Alba and Logan 1992), where the dependent variables are measures of census tract racial composition in 1980 and 1990 for each household head in the sample, and the independ-

ent variables include various personal and household characteristics, MSA fixed effects, and the lagged 1970 neighborhood racial compositions of the household head's childhood residence. All regression models are estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS). Findings: Results from several models suggest that households choose to reside in neighborhoods with racial compositions that resemble the household head's childhood neighborhood. These effects remain after controlling for attitudinal variables that proxy for parental racial prejudice. Implications: The finding that the racial composition of a child's neighborhood affects their future decision to reside in a segregated neighborhood, controlling for parental racial prejudice, suggests that interracial contact as a child may play a role in the child's future willingness to live in a segregated neighborhood. This has important implications for the likely success of pro-integrative policies over time. Pro-integrative policies designed to reduce current levels of residential segregation may have multiplier effects over time as children exposed to other races eventually move on to establish their own households in more integrated neighborhoods. Related Published Research: Alba, R. D. and J. R. Logan. (1992). Analyzing locational attainments: Constructing individual-level regression models using aggregate data. Sociological Methods and Research, 20, 367 – 397. Borjas, G. J. (1998). To ghetto or not to ghetto: Ethnicity and residential segregation. Journal of Urban Economics, 44, 228 – 253. Ihlanfeldt, K. R. and B. P. Scafidi. (2002). The neighborhood contact hypothesis: Evidence from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality. Urban Studies, 39 (4), 619-641.

Holding the Line: Housing Turnover and the Persistence of Racial/ethnic Segregation in New York City

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The residential segregation of blacks, whether measured vis a vis whites or all non-blacks, rose steadily throughout the twentieth century, peaking in 1970 (Glaeser and Vigdor 2003; Massey and Denton 1993). In many metropolitan areas, levels of white/black segregation in 2000 remain above 60 when measured with the Index of Dissimilarity (D) (Lewis Mumford Center 2001), a level considered extreme (Massey and Denton 1993). In contrast, levels of Hispanic and Asian segregation in 2000 tend to be more moderate, rarely – if ever – exceeding 60 (Lewis Mumford Center 2001). New York is one metropolitan area where the segregation of blacks remains stubbornly high, barely changing in value since 1990. A similar situation holds in New York City, where in 2000 the black/white D stood at 83.9, a slight increase of .4 points

since 1990. Hispanic/white and Asian/white levels of segregation also rose during the period, moving from 65.5 and 47.7, respectively, in 1990 to 67.1 and 49.6 in 2000. The larger gains in Hispanic/white and Asian/white segregation likely arise from immigration, as new arrivals settle in areas where co-ethnics already live, building and consolidating the ethnic character of these destination neighborhoods. Despite these larger gains, however, the segregation of blacks remains far more extreme than that of Hispanics and Asians. Differences in the extent to which blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are segregated from whites have been attributed largely to variation in the experience of housing market discrimination and to varying preferences for neighborhood racial/ethnic composition. The argument concerning the importance of housing market discrimination is backed by a long history of audit studies documenting that black (and Hispanic) home seekers are treated less favorably by realtors than are white home seekers (Turner 1993; Yinger 1995; Turner et al. 2002). Persistent discrimination has created and maintained a segmented housing market that limits the housing choices of minority, and particularly black, households to units in mixed or predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods and to units of lower quality than those available to comparable white households (Turner and Wienk 1993; Yinger 2001). The goal of this paper is to use housing turnover analysis to document (1) the persistence of constraints on minority housing choices, and (2) how these constraints impact upon mobility incidence and destination choice to shore up long-standing patterns of segregation. The analysis of racial/ethnic housing turnover, or the extent to which in-moving households replace out-moving households of differing race/ethnicity, is conducted with micro-data from panel surveys of housing units. When complemented by an analysis of mobility incidence (i.e., the likelihood that a household of a given race/ethnicity moves out of a unit), housing turnover is the appropriate dynamic to study when considering questions concerning areal change. Given that individual housing units constitute the "building blocks" of an area's racial/ethnic composition, turnover in individual housing units follows the "stock and flow" perspective of areal change (Galster 1998) and thus provides a dynamic view of the micro-level social processes that cause the stasis or change in areal composition and aggregate levels of segregation evident at each census date. The analysis relies on matched observations of housing units from the 1991, 1993, 1996, and 1999 panels of the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS). The HVS is a multistage probability sample of over 18,000 housing units located throughout the five counties, or boroughs, that make up New York. Like the American Housing Survey (AHS), the HVS follows the "careers" of housing units, rather than persons, over time. The actual analytical data set consists of over 35,000 observations of occupied

housing units matched across successive pairs of HVS panels (i.e., 1991-1993, 1993-1996, and 1996-1999). The analyses will consist of four sets of multinomial logistic regression models predicting the race/ethnicity (and mobility status) of resident households at time 2. Specifically, each model will be estimated specific to the race/ethnicity of the householder present at time 1, and the dependent variable will consist of five categories. The first category is the householder at time 1 remains in place (no out-movement), while the remaining four are contingent on the householder at time 1 having moved and indicate the race/ethnicity of the in-moving household (i.e., that present at time 2). For example, for the model pertaining to whites at time 1, the five outcomes will be: no out-movement, in-movement of another white household, in-movement by a black household, in-movement by an Hispanic household, and in-movement by an Asian household. Specifically, the following model will be estimated: $\log (P_i/P_j) = B_iX$ where X is the vector of predictors, including racial/ethnic composition of the neighborhood, housing, and household characteristics for a given housing unit, P_i the odds that the in-moving household at time 2 belongs to racial/ethnic group i, and P_j the odds that the household present at time 1 (and belonging to a particular racial/ethnic group) remains in place at time 2. The outcome j is used as a baseline for comparison (Aldrich and Nelson 1984). The set of predictors is drawn from residential mobility theory. Neighborhood and housing characteristics will be measured at time 1 (given that they are part of the "bundle" of housing amenities evaluated by households thinking about moving and those who are looking for a new home) while household characteristics are measured at time 2 (since they influence preferences for and ability to purchase new housing). While household characteristics are used mainly as controls, neighborhood racial/ethnic composition is the key independent variable. That is, the impact of location in a particular kind of neighborhood (predominantly white, predominantly black, etc.) on the incidence of out-movement of households of differing race/ethnicity and on the race/ethnicity of in-moving households is what will indicate the course of change in neighborhood composition over the intercensal period. For example, we expect that location in a predominantly white area will decrease the odds of out-movement among whites and likely Asians, but will increase the odds of out-movement among blacks and Hispanics. Contingent on a change in occupancy, location in predominantly white areas will reduce the odds of white-to-black and white-to-Hispanic turnovers, relative to white same-group turnover, but will likely not differentiate significantly between white-to-white and white-to-Asian turnovers. In contrast, location in predominantly black areas will increase the odds of white, Hispanic, and Asian out-movement, and conditional on a move occurring, will

increase the odds of black same group turnover relative to the odds of turnover from black to white, or black to Hispanic, or black to Asian occupancy. The occurrence of constraints on minority, but particular black, housing choices will be evident statistically from the magnitude (and significance) of the relative odds of turnover to black (Hispanic, Asian) occupancy associated with location in a particular kind of neighborhood, as well as differing patterns of access to white-vacated housing units.

The Changing Face of Gwinnett County: Will Residential Patterns Reflect Gwinnett's New Racial and Ethnic Diversity?

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Gwinnett County, Georgia led the Atlanta Region in population growth for almost ten years during the 1990s. The population grew from less than 75,000 in 1970 to more than half a million in 2000. Many of the newcomers to Gwinnett are minority groups settling into the overwhelmingly white County. This research explored the residential locations of these new minorities: where they settled and how integrated they are into the majority population. Research Question: The research question posed is: Are the new racial/ethnic groups dispersed throughout and well integrated into the county so that they reside in racially/ethnically mixed neighborhoods, or, are they concentrated in racially and ethnically homogenous enclaves? Methodology: A mixed-method approach was employed, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data. Countywide, census tract, and block group data were collected from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses. These data were analyzed, and dissimilarity indices were calculated to examine the extent to which racial/ethnic integration or segregation occurred in residential locations. GIS mapping was used to highlight demographic changes. Key findings: The research findings support the stated premise that, despite increases in minority racial and ethnic groups within the county, most of these groups reside in racially and ethnically segregated neighborhoods. GIS mapping indicates that racial and ethnic enclaves have developed, and additional residential segregation is emerging in other parts of the county Implications: Results indicate that although Gwinnett County experienced an increase in racial/ethnic diversity, that diversity did not translate into highly integrated residential communities. These findings indicate the need for additional research to examine the methods used by racial and ethnic minorities to locate residential housing – through social ties, realtors, or housing referral services.

Suburban Sprawl and Racial Segregation

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The residential segregation of whites and blacks has been declining, albeit slowly, in most metropolitan areas since 1970. However, the levels of segregation remain very high, especially in the Northeast and Midwest regions. This paper explores the contribution of suburban sprawl to the maintenance of racial segregation in several ways. First, because there is no one accepted definition of sprawl, we calculate several different measures of sprawl for 331 metropolitan areas, drawing on measures proposed in the literature. We calculate these measures, as well as measures of racial segregation, for 1990 and 2000 using the 2000 metropolitan area boundaries. While the metropolitan areas boundaries are adjusted, we use contemporaneous census tract definitions, in order to reduce any bias stemming from the modifiable areal unit problem. Then we explore the effect of sprawl on segregation using a variety of specifications, including fixed-effect models. Finally, we focus on sub-sample of metropolitan areas with high levels of suburban sprawl, and simulate what the change in racial segregation would have been between 1990 and 2000 under different suburban development regimes. This research is important to understanding the impact of current development patterns on the national goal of a more integrated society.

68. Colloquy: Wag the Dog?: TV News and Local-Global Public Agendas – Danilo Yanich, University of Delaware, moderator

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69. Urban Governance: International Contexts
Urban Partnership: A Challenge to New Labor's Hegemonic Project?

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Drawing on research into current partnership initiatives in UK urban policy, this paper argues that growing tensions within partnerships are contributing to a weakening in New Labour's hegemonic project. New Labour followed the Conservatives in its commitment to the market and deregulation. However, unlike the Conservatives, it prioritised investment in learning and skills as a central plank in its strategy for competitiveness. Human capital therefore distinguishes it from Thatcherism as a hegemonic project. Urban partnerships are important delivery mechanisms for these projects. However, they are also becoming important vehicles for recruiting elements of civil society in support of this renewal agenda. Residents in deprived areas and community groups are expected to take an active role in regeneration and skilling themselves for a changing labour market. Partnerships are thus crucial institutions for the implementation of the hegemonic project. However, evidence from current initiatives, such as New Deal for Communities, suggests that the partnership model is suffering a crisis of implementation. Partnerships are not stable institutions based on common values, as they must be if they are to succeed. If anything, they appear to intensify inter-sector antagonisms, undermining delivery. These findings may help to explain an evident tendency in many literatures on central-local relations; the belief that we are in an era, notwithstanding the claims of the New Governance, of political centralisation unparalleled in recent UK history. Arguably, centralisation is a consequence of the fragility of New Labour's hegemonic project, a fragility of which it seems well aware. Witnessing opposition and unwanted policy outcomes in many arenas, including urban regeneration and partnerships, New Labour authoritarianism is displacing earlier commitments to democratic renewal and local political autonomy.

Top-down Versus Bottom-up: Is the Creation of Local Partnerships the Answer to Community Involvement?

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Partnership and community involvement has been the two tenets of recent British urban policy. British urban policy, with the aim of revitalising and regenerating cities and neighbourhoods which suffer from a multitude of economic, social and physical problems, has put partnership as its key vehicle for successful regeneration. The partnership approach has evolved into several forms: the central-local government partnership, public-private partnership and local partnership which includes all major local stakeholders. The tenet running through local partnership is community involvement. From the early 1990s onwards, community involvement has become one of the qualifying criterion linked to the availability of central government funding. In 2000, the British government went one step further and created the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP) as the vehicle for formulating local regeneration strategy for local districts. The underlying assumption was that by creating a strategic partnership at the local district, local communities would have a better chance to participate in the process of regenerating their district. The paper challenges this assumption and argues that a top-down central government initiative to create an overarching local partnership does not necessarily improve the level of community involvement. The creation of Local Strategic Partnership could become a bureaucratic exercise responding to the central government requirements for accreditation, rather than a genuine attempt to actively involve the local communities.

Multi-level Urban Policies: A Useful Model for Public Action?

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The main findings of the debate, in the European context, on recent changes in urban policies are, on one hand, the acknowledgment of a growing diversification of initiatives and programmes of intervention and, on the other hand, the identification of several elements of innovation of practices and models. These changes involve different levels – local, national and European -of urban policies and different ways of articulating them strategically. Evaluation of these processes is twofold. On one hand, the diversification of initiatives and programmes can enable the development of new possibilities of ac-

tion. But, at the same time, there is a clear risk of fragmentation and of simple juxtaposition of meanings, priorities and models of action. At the moment, the balance between these two trends is not clear, depending on the ways they relate to the overall capacity of public (re-)organization. The paper addresses this debate, with reference to the Portuguese context, which is characterized by the absence of an articulated set of programmes, at national level, directed to urban areas. The first part of the paper presents the case of Oporto. It describes several programmes of intervention, providing details on the contents of the programmes and the main dimensions that were privileged, on the definition of their spatial context and on the technical and political organisation of the processes of intervention. Both similarities and differences between those experiences are outlined, and a preliminary account of their results and difficulties– as they are perceived by the main agents involved – is presented. The second part of the paper discusses more systematically the possible roles of these experiences in urban policies. Three lines of research are developed: i) the ways they represent innovations in both the approach and the practice of urban regeneration interventions; ii) the ways they interact – or they do not interact - with other programmes and mechanisms of action (for instance, the urban planning tradition and the several sectoral programmes that exist, at present); iii) and, finally, the ways new structures of power can emerge, in the context of different relations between local, national and European dimensions. It is argued that the main themes raised by the experiences analysed are: the "territorialisation" of policies and administration; the development of "integrated" and multi-level forms of intervention, and the possible institutionalisation of new forms of urban governance.

Decentralization and Local Policy Innovation: A Comparative Exploration

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By the early years of the present millennium, a large number of major countries in the developing world had adopted, and were continuing to pursue, policies of decentralization. Although the prevailing "neo-liberal" development approach (sometimes called the "Washington Consensus") supported by major Western powers and international development agencies gave support to such policies in theory, in a great number of cases decentralization policies were undertaken for distinctive and uniquely local reasons. (This finding is contrasted with suggestions in the development literature that imply that developing countries had no choice but to submit to pow-

erful global influences, especially through the operation of structural adjustment policies and the support for "social funds" in the 1980s and 1990s.) In addition, most countries deciding to decentralize made a point of strengthening their major municipalities administratively, politically and even fiscally. In defending the argument for endogenously-initiated change in the context of what appeared to be powerful international influences, the paper looks at the effects of such policies on municipal institution innovation. Following an overview of municipal reform and innovation in the comparative literature, the paper uses the examples of three major countries – Brazil, South Africa and the Philippines – to discuss urban policy reform during the 1990s and to consider the question of how the absence of global influences fostered local change. It concludes with some questions about the implications of these findings for policy assistance in poor countries.

The European Union Structural Funds in the United Kingdom 2000-2006 Emerging lessons from the Mid Term Evaluations in 2003

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The United Kingdom has been a recipient of Structural Funds (SFs) since the 1980s. The present 2000 programme ends in 2006 and may well be the last of the major European tranches of regional funding. At the moment the debate on the next budgetary period (2007-2013) is balanced between the needs of the central and Eastern European countries joining the European Union (EU) in May 2004 and those of the current EU nations. A better understanding of the achievements and shortcomings in the current programming period in the United Kingdom is important. The progress of the seven year programme period is monitored and assessed through ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post evaluations. In 2003, all UK SF Programme, are in the process of being assessed through the mid term evaluation (MTE) process. This reviews financial targets and programme outputs and impacts and is designed to generate solutions to delivery issues at this mid-term point.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown and the Treasury have set out UK views on the future of EU policy in March 2003. The results of the mid-term evaluations are coming through at the same time as debates are proceeding on the future of European regional policy and their impact on regional economic development as well as fresh assessments on the future of local eco-

nomic development programmes in the UK (see Audit Commission 2003).

This paper begins to examine the findings from the Objective 1 and Objective 2 MTEs conducted in England. It seeks out the lessons for local authorities and regional actors within a fast changing policy and institutional arena. The briefing concludes with a review of the possible future shape of the EU Regional Policy and its implications for the UK's regions.

70. Faith-based and Secular Organizations as Social Service Providers – Nancy Snyder, Wichita State University, moderator

Local Government Collaboration with Faith-Based and Secular Community-Based Organizations: Insurmountable Barriers or Unlimited Opportunity

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A weak national economy and growing budgetary crisis in state and local government make it increasingly difficult to address the needs of low-income and at-risk populations. This paper uses input from more than 140 urban city and county governments throughout the United States to better understand how economic downturn has impacted low-income and at-risk populations including assessments of anticipated change in need over the next 2 years. This research then asks human services representatives to assess the extent to which their unit of local government actively supports community-based organizations through investments and partnerships designed to address the growing needs of low-income and at-risk populations. More specifically, this research assesses the extent to which urban city and county governments collaborate or contract with faith-affiliated nonprofits, secular community-based organizations, and houses of worship. These assessments of collaboration also ask human services representatives to speculate on the extent to which key management and elected leadership is concerned about the well-being of low-income and at-risk populations and support collaboration with community-based organizations to address these concerns. One of the central themes of this research focuses on concerns associated with the separation of church and state and the extent to which these concerns dampen support for collaboration between local government and faith-based organizations. Initial evi-

dence based on the responses from more than 140 human services agents inside local government indicate that concerns surrounding the separation of church and state are not a formidable barrier to collaborative ventures between local government and these organizations. This research merges secondary data from the 2000 Census with primary data collected through survey research sponsored by Fairfax County, Virginia to better understand the relationship between the population characteristics of the jurisdiction served and propensity to reach out to community-based organizations to coproduce quality of life improvements.

Social Welfare 'Ministries' in Public housing Neighborhoods: Policy Implications of Community Outreach by Churches

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Since many assume that congregations physically proximate to the poor and present in the heart of poor places may most matter to people- and place-based initiatives to reduce poverty and foster self-sufficiency, this article interrogates the significance of presence and proximity to social welfare delivery by congregations. Its focus is on congregations located in geographic areas of great socioeconomic need. Specifically, this article details the existence and considers the determinants of congregation-based social welfare ministries proximate to public housing complexes. Relying on data from a four-city survey of congregations in public housing neighborhoods, it answers three questions: 1. What proportion of congregations near public housing communities provides social welfare ministries? 2. What factors may explain why some congregations near public housing communities engage in community outreach? 3. What may determine the number of programs that congregations near public housing communities provide? Our findings suggest that congregations, while a significant institutional presence in poor urban communities, and an important spiritual and social resource for some low-income families, may have a limited effect on the lives of families living in the poorest inner-city neighborhoods. Our conclusions invite policymakers to revisit their arguments for looking to congregations as reliable partners of government in aid of the poor, and encourage scholars to reconsider their own research and understanding about the place of congregations in American social welfare.

An Exploration of Faith-Based Service Delivery

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A large body of research has explored the impact and role of religion in the political sphere. However, documentation on the role of religious institutions in the provision of public services is fragmented and inconclusive. Faith-based organizations are involved in the provision of several services including, housing, education, childcare, job training and health care services. To the extent that the provision of these services involves public funding, faith-based service delivery may substitute for the public provision of good and services. This implies decisions about who gets what services and how services are allocated; and thus constitute an inherently political role of religious bodies. Further, because many faith-based organizations involved in social service delivery are located in urban areas or serve urban populations, their potential role in developing "community" and supporting needy populations is of practical political and policy importance. The paper will review existing literature on service delivery by faith-based organizations, and identify key areas for future research. Specific issues of interest include: · What types of social service activities have faith-based institutions conducted? · What clienteles are served by the social and community development services of religious institutions? · How do the activities of faith-based and governmental organizations compare? · How are faith-based service activities financed and organized? What is the extent of public sector funding? What types of programs and religious institutions are most likely to receive governmental funding? · What is the extent of cooperation between faith-based and local governmental institutions in service provision? · What role does governmental funding play in the nature and extent of faith-based efforts? · What does the element of "faith" contribute to faith-based efforts in comparison with the service efforts of secular organizations? · Are there distinctive aspects to faith-based economic development efforts or are boundaries between secular and religious efforts becoming increasingly blurred?

The Context of Service Delivery: The Relative Performance of Faith-based and Secular Organizations

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Over the last twenty years, the federal government has gradually increased its role in child welfare policy. Still, child welfare is one of the last human service policy areas that is primarily controlled at the state and local level. Historically, states and localities have purchased foster care and other services from nonprofit organization. In 1996 the state of Kansas moved from purchase of service contracts to a fully privatized system in which foster care, adoption and family preservation were contracted on a regional competitive basis under a managed care, outcome-based model with no-eject/no-reject provisions. Nonprofit social welfare agencies assumed all risk for fluctuations in caseloads, service costs, judicial decisions and client characteristics. The proposed paper will examine the relative performance of the six winning contractors, three of which were faith-based and three of which were not. The lessons should prove instructive as the Bush administration pursues its faith-based initiative and as the federal government expands its funding and control of child welfare policy.

71. New Perspectives on Gentrification

The Role of Community Organizations in Responding to Gentrification: Findings and Suggestions from Atlanta

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Research on gentrification over the past 30 years has taught us much about the causes and consequences of this form of neighborhood change. Recently the literature within the academy and among policy practitioners has turned to addressing how gentrification can be "managed," through governmental policies such as freezing property tax rates for elderly homeowners. Such policies may encounter stumbling blocks in convincing the general public that escalating property taxes are a severe enough problem for a portion of the population to warrant government intervention. This is a difficult task in many areas, as municipalities welcome increases in the tax base accompanying gentrification. Another challenge is enacting city-level remedies stringent enough to maintain long-time residents in their homes, presumably the goal of such measures. Neighborhood-level efforts, driven by neighborhood associations or community development corporations, may bypass some of these political problems, and may be uniquely able to target particular residents who need assistance staying in their homes and in the community. Under what conditions do neighborhood organizations take a position on the issue of gentrification and act to protect the interests of long-time residents? What explains the relative effectiveness of these efforts? This paper draws from a study of four

gentrifying neighborhoods in Atlanta, GA. Qualitative interviews of 41 neighborhood stakeholders, observations at neighborhood meetings, and data from local newspapers are used to develop case studies of responses to gentrification. Each of the four neighborhoods studied demonstrates a different reaction to gentrification. Pre-existing organizations of long-time residents and strong social ties among long-time residents prior to the onslaught of gentrification made organized community response to gentrification more likely. Community organizations responded to different perceived threats posed by gentrification, and those that were able to achieve both internal and external legitimacy have been most effective in both keeping long-time residents in the neighborhood and in avoiding the political displacement of long-time residents.

"Who's Zoomin Who?": African-Americans and Gentrification

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Since its inception, the literature on gentrification has focused on the behavior of whites, either as gentrifiers or economic elites producing patterns of investment and disinvestment. Very little attention has been paid to African-Americans or other minorities, except inasmuch as they are understood to be the victims of white gentrification. Given prevailing patterns of displacement, this analysis made sense in the past. However, in recent years, scholars from a variety of disciplines have noted the pattern of middle class blacks moving into poor, urban neighborhoods and initiating processes of neighborhood revitalization. Much of the emerging research on black gentrification highlights its symbolic meaning, and how it forms the terrain on which black identity is built. This article adds to the literature by analyzing the politics of black middle class gentrification in Douglas/Grand Boulevard, a community on Chicago's south side. Drawing from ongoing ethnographic and historical research, I argue that gentrification is a strategy being used by black middle class residents to secure positions of leadership in both the city-wide and neighborhood conflicts over community redevelopment.

There Goes the 'Hood': The Meaning of Gentrification to Long Term Residents

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Gentrification has emerged as the most controversial type of neighborhood change in America today, viewed

simultaneously as a savior of declining inner-city neighborhoods and a destroyer of the communities inhabited by the poor. This paper seeks to expand our understanding of how gentrification shapes the lives of long-term residents through a series of in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews of residents living in two gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City. The results of this research suggest the impacts of gentrification are multifaceted and dependent upon a resident's class and political ideology. The results also speak to the meaning of residential integration for black residents and the extent to which social ties cross class boundaries in gentrifying neighborhoods. More specifically, the results suggest many black residents are ambivalent about residential integration. Moreover, the notion that residents of differing classes will residing in proximity to one another will result in more heterogeneous social networks is challenged by the findings of this research.

Mitigating Gentrification Related Displacement: The Role of Timing in Strategy Selection and Implementation

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Research Question: Concern over gentrification has grown in communities across the country as housing prices have soared. As prices increase, lower-income households are at risk of being displaced from neighborhoods because of the prohibitive costs and limited household earnings. Among the challenges faced by organizations working to minimize the displacement are those of deciding when to begin to address displacement and how best to do so at different points in time. In this paper we address the following questions: What is the impact of timing on the selection and implementation of displacement mitigation strategies? Do certain approaches work better in areas where housing prices are just beginning to rise? In areas where costs are already high? Methodology: The paper is drawn from case studies of efforts to address resident displacement in six neighborhoods across the US. Findings stem from qualitative analysis of interviews conducted with city staff and elected officials, nonprofit and for-profit developers, nonprofit organizations, and local business owners. Key Findings: Different strategies to reduce displacement (housing production, housing retention, asset building) can be used at different stages of gentrification, though implementation of any particular approach is affected by timing. One example: housing production occurs during early and late stages of gentrification. However, once housing, and development, costs have started to rise, it

is often more financially feasible to develop mixed-income rather than solely affordable housing units. Implications: Though it can be difficult to build support for anti-displacement efforts prior to displacement occurring, acting early can help ensure opportunities for development at both early and later stages. Early actions can include banking land, addressing zoning issues, and establishing relationships with key players, including local government, so that they understand that neighborhood revitalization and displacement mitigation need to be planned for together. For areas in which costs have already increased, strategies might need to be reassessed in light of cost restrictions, though it is still possible to realize successful displacement mitigation efforts.

An Index of Gentrification and Socioeconomic Neighborhood Change

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While working with a community group in the West Town neighborhood of Chicago-a community that experienced significant gentrification and displacement of low-income Latino families during the 1990s-I developed a preliminary index of neighborhood change. This index was based on a literature review of the gentrification process, operationalized with 14 U.S. Census data factors. Applying the index to the city of Chicago for the period 1970-2000 showed that changes in the index scores of some community areas did indicate positive change but that a much larger group of community areas indicated negative change-putting gentrification into a larger context of decline. Using tract level census data, continued refinements to the index will be made in order to answer the questions: Can the index be used as a predictive tool? How well does it represent socioeconomic change over time? The analysis will also compare the index to other composite indexes that have been developed and used by others to measure phenomena such as: -urban distress and decline (e.g. HUD, see Burchell, et al 1981); -human development (United Nations, 1990-2000); -economic freedom (Johnson, Holmes, Kirkpatrick, 1998); -"livability," "goodness," moral character of cities or states (Angell, 1951; Hobbs, 1958; Angoff & Menken, 1931; Savageau and Loftus, 1997; Thorndike, 1939) and -social stratification and socioeconomic status (Coleman and Neugarten, 1971; Duncan in Reiss, 1961; Hollingshead, 1958; Nam & Powers, 1965; Warner et al, 1960). Particular aspects of these indexes may be applicable to changing neighborhoods. Although the notion of ranking people into strata is a questionable practice, it may be a useful "early warning" tool to aid those least

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able to afford the costs of displacement or disinvestment. references are included in an email attachment due to problems with submitting this proposal

72. Markets, Politics, and Urban Change

The Changing Institutional Landscape of Central City Mortgage Markets

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A number of developments over the last decade have affirmed the importance of 'historically underserved' mortgage markets as a research and public policy domain. First, a wave of mergers, acquisitions and 'financial modernization' has transformed the financial sector, raising concern that financial capital has become 'unrooted' and integrated into an increasingly global marketplace where investments are held to new standards of risk and liquidity (Dymski 1999). Second, a relative surge of lending in central cities through the 1990s promises a reversal of decades of disinvestment, following a transformation of lending practices from 'redlining' to 'tapping underserved markets' (Listokin and Wyly 2000). Addressing the 'social efficiency' of these changes requires researchers to sort out a variety of institutional processes unfolding at different scales, including financial modernization, community reinvestment politics and a complex and contradictory regulatory and policy environment.

This paper argues that the position of 'socially desirable' investments at the fringes of credit markets – lending for low-income homebuyers and affordable rental housing – is contingent upon the local resolution of the broader conflicting pressures of financial modernization and community reinvestment politics. Using evidence gathered from the author's dissertation research in Chicago and Philadelphia, this paper probes how different institutional arrangements and strategies – local financial structures – have contributed to the variability of credit market outcomes for historically underserved markets. The results of this research are suggestive of how the forces of financial modernization and community reinvestment politics have affected the collective assessment of those places as development sites. I believe this research has important implications for how we interpret the opportunity structures available to central city residents, the development paths open to neighborhoods, and the regulatory and policy environments necessary to expand credit access.

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Class-Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital, and the New Urban Revolution

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Research Question: Has the urban geography of housing finance changed since Harvey's pioneering work on the spatial segmentation of Baltimore in the 1970s? A broad stream of work in economics and urban studies documents sweeping changes in the institutional composition of mortgage flows (consolidation, subsidiaries and the erosion of depositories, the rise of subprime lenders, etc.) But much of this work ignores neighborhood variations, and fails to examine relations between capital investment and the reproduction of inequality. We extend Harvey's studies to analyze the changing spatiality of mortgage capital, new inequalities, and the role of housing capital in mediating adversarial class interests in a time of privatization and devolution.

Methodology: Each year since the 1989 HMDA amendments make historical evaluations more feasible, and the data include over four-fifths of the single-family purchase market. We undertake a spatial analysis of institutional variations in lending from 1993 to 2002 in the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan corridor. We use cluster analysis to identify spatial submarkets of mortgage, housing stock, and population characteristics. Then we use partial-decomposition logistic regressions to disentangle 'true' institutional segmentation from demand-side variations.

Findings: In traditional sectors (i.e., prime depositories) old spatial patterns have changed little despite policy and market transformations (Wyly, 2002). Institutional shifts explain the paradox, with the terms and institutional nature of credit becoming more important in housing class inequalities especially in aging inner-ring suburbs. Meanwhile, housing finance submarkets have been rescaled by metropolitan and secondary-market expansion.

Implications: Homeownership remains a central axis of individual, class, and neighborhood inequalities. This study documents how spatial and institutional change mediate these effects, and how these divisions have changed in a time when homeownership has been promoted as a means of reducing inequality.

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An Econometric Analysis of the Effect of Subprime Lending on Neighborhood Foreclosures

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In many cities, concern over the growth of subprime mortgage lending in the 1990s began after neighborhood groups began noticing increasing numbers of foreclosures and resulting abandoned buildings in their neighborhoods. Predatory lending and high-risk subprime lending thus became not just a consumer protection and fair lending issue but a community development issue. There is already substantial evidence that subprime lending has been associated with a simultaneous rise in foreclosures and that subprime loans lead to delinquency and foreclosure at relatively high rates, especially among the higher-risk segment of the industry. What is even more concerning is that problems among subprime loans worsened considerably beginning in 2000. Seriously delinquent rates for subprime loans (of all grades) increased from less than 5 percent in early 2000 to more than 8 percent in late 2001 (Crews-Cutts, 2003). Foreclosures – particularly those leading to abandonment and blight – can have negative spillover effects, or externalities, that can be a key source of market failure. Lenders may be able to tolerate foreclosure rates of 5 percent nationally and still be successful at raising capital, but have foreclosure rates of more than 10-15 percent in specific communities. At least three recent studies have explored the link between subprime lending and foreclosures (Greunstein and Herbert, 2000; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2000; National Training and Information Center, 1999). Unfortunately, none of the studies provide a very strong measure of the relationship between subprime lending and foreclosures, in part due to the data problems.

I intend to acquire one or two years of foreclosure data for the Chicago area and analyze it econometrically vis-à-vis loan activity for say the 3-5 preceding years. Right hand side variables would include subprime and prime lender volumes broken out by conventional vs. FHA/VA

type and loan purpose (purchase, refi, home improvement). The goal is to identify a quantitative relationship between subprime lending of different sorts (purchase/refi/home improvement) on foreclosures vis-a-vis prime lending.

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Access to Capital or Access for Capital? Predatory Practices in the Vailsburg Section of Newark

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After decades of battling the effects of redlining and disinvestment and participating in organizing campaigns designed to increase access to capital, community organizations are now acutely aware that capital has returned to their neighborhoods. The expansion of the subprime market has increased access to capital for those with less than perfect credit, but within the subprime market a niche of predatory lenders has emerged that threaten the stability of neighborhoods, the wealth building enterprise of the policy regime that favors homeownership, and the efforts of thousands of community development organizations.

The Unified Vailsburg Services Organization (UVSO), a more than thirty-year-old community organization located in the Vailsburg section of Newark, is one of those organizations. UVSO is concerned that predatory practices are threatening the stability of their predominantly African American neighborhood. Through its block club network and various activities and services, UVSO receives complaints about aggressive home loan marketing, home

improvement scams, problems related to loan refinancing, and other predatory lending practices; an initial study found skyrocketing foreclosure rates in the neighborhood. UVSO wanted to understand the problem to develop an informed intervention strategy.

To learn more about the practices and prevalence of predatory actors in Vailsburg, we worked collaboratively with UVSO and the New Jersey Institute for Social Justice (NJISJ) to design a survey to collect basic information on home loan marketing and resident experiences with lenders and home improvement contractors. To get a more nuanced understanding of the processes in Vailsburg, we conducted four focus groups with Vailsburg residents identified through the block club network. The surveys and focus groups produced some surprising and discouraging findings. Despite being savvy consumers, which includes knowing their credit scores and searching for competitive loans, residents related stories of predatory practices including loan terms that changed at or immediately prior to closing. Residents also expressed frustration with the volume of home improvement contractors who suggest unneeded repairs and whose foremost concern is whether the homeowners have access to financing. Residents cited window replacement as a particularly bad problem especially for elderly residents.

These interviews offer some insight into the practices of predatory actors in one Newark neighborhood. They also suggest some policy options that diverge from current discussions about policy solutions. Some alternative policy options could significantly improve and perhaps reduce the number of foreclosures in neighborhoods like Vailsburg. These include a renewed effort to expand funding for weatherization and home repair. Support for community organizations to facilitate networks of home improvement contractors, to provide training and assistance with licensing for local residents based on the model of groups like The Resurrection Project in Chicago would be helpful. And the GSEs and state finance agencies could be encouraged to develop new lending products targeted to home repair. Strategic, targeted intervention is critical to defend the wealth-accumulation potential often used to justify the aggressive promotion of homeownership as public policy at the local, state, and federal levels.

73. Regulating the Use of Urban Spaces

Neighbors as the Land Use Police

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Land use controls such as zoning are typically difficult to enforce over a large spatial area, such as cities or counties. Many zoning violations are only visible during certain seasons or under specific weather conditions. Runoff from a building site due to poor installation of a silt fence may only be visible after or during a rainstorm. Similarly, some violations may not be easily visible from the road, such as junk car in the backyard. Zoning inspectors are limited in their time and resources to inspect and enforce ordinance violations. Therefore, zoning enforcement typically comes as a result of citizen and neighbor complaints. Neighbors are ideally situated to monitor each others' land use. Neighbors have an economic incentive to limit zoning violations that reduce their property's value. On the other hand, neighbors incur social costs from the violator if their identity is revealed. Furthermore, the reporting neighbor incurs direct costs of time and effort to get zoning inspectors to investigate the violation. Since zoning enforcement typically occurs because of neighbor complaints, policymakers need to understand when neighbors will report each other. This paper investigates conditions under which zoning enforcement occurs via neighbor complaints through a game theoretic analysis.

Regulating the Public: The Municipal Government and Sidewalk Activities in Los Angeles, California

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In the 1990s, many urban scholars and critics turned their attention to public space regulation and control. During the previous decades, Los Angeles, like many cities, instituted numerous ordinances to restrict sidewalk activities such as vending, public protest, public sleeping and panhandling, among others. Sidewalk regulation is not new. Scholars of different periods have identified regulations spanning issues no longer common such as street ball playing to those cities still face such as vending and panhandling. Nonetheless, the local and global context has changed from earlier periods. This trend has been attributed to livability issues brought about by attempts to make cities attractive to "footloose" capital and middle class residents. While restricting various activities, cities simultaneously attempt to increase street life and create desirable public spaces. In this paper, I will examine municipal regulation in Los Angeles from the 1970s to 2003. I will draw upon the municipal code, the city ordinances, council meetings and other documentation, and articles in the Los Angeles Times to explore the breadth of issues regulated, the multiple purposes behind sidewalk regulation, and what is at stake with the specific issues involved. The paper will explore the regu-

lations in the context of contemporary economic trends and associated issues such as homelessness and immigration. In addition, it will place the current sidewalk regulatory trends in their twentieth century context to ask not only what issues are different but also what might be changing in the way in which the municipal government responds to the myriad issues that play out in public spaces. Municipal governments have actively regulated sidewalk use. Scholars and practitioners overwhelmingly approach the regulations as specific to particular issues. It is important to look across these issues to see broader trends and to understand the function of both the regulations and the sidewalk activities themselves.

Exploring Common Interest Communities

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According to the Community Association Institutes, approximately 250,000 residential condominium, cooperative, and homeowner associations exist in the United States. These associations provide private government services for those who choose to reside within the association boundary in exchange for mandatory lien-based assessments. The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature and scope of common interest communities (CICs) in the metropolitan setting of Virginia Beach, Virginia, a city with over 425,000 residents. Rigorous empirical research on CICs at the local level is lacking mainly due to due to data limitations. This paper uses GIS to link CIC organizations to neighborhood and census geography and examines CICs along broad economic, political, and social dimensions. Particular attention is given to understanding the characteristics of common property owned by these associations and the potential for public private conflicts that may arise when common property of private associations becomes a public issue through abandonment or neglect.

The Suburbanization of Statewide Growth Management

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Since the 1960s, measures to manage urban and suburban growth at the state and local level have spread across the United States. By 2002, although most states had adopted some manner of legislation to address urban growth, only 17 of the 50 state legislatures had passed statewide regulatory programs. This paper em-

ploys census and other statistics from 1960-2000 for all fifty states to explore the changing social and spatial contexts where this legislation has been adopted. Since 1990, the profile of states with statewide programs has shifted decisively away from smaller, more rural states. States with mainly suburban populations, with a single dominant metropolitan region, and in a few cases with rapid growth have predominated among more recent adopters. In the largest states, spatial divisions within and between the nation?s largest urban regions reinforce political divisions have continued to impede legislation. Existing trends suggest that the future prospects for effective statewide growth management will remain closely linked to metropolitan patterns within the states.

74. Human Capital Development and Urban Economic Growth – Shari Garmise, Cleveland State University, moderator

Cross-Cutting Communities: Urban Governance, Human Capital Development and Pragmatic Reforms

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Recent economic fluctuations highlight the need for greater human capital investment. Job training programs are significant channels through which human capital investments are made. These programs seek to promote social equity while meeting the needs of individuals and the local economy. As the workforce grows more diverse demographically and geographically, a wide range of considerations must be addressed in order to provide job-training programs that are flexible, innovative and that meet the needs of the local constituency. Locally adjusted training programs must also be coordinated with other social service programs that address related issues and regional circumstances. In light of the complexities involved in administering effective job training programs, new forms of administration are developing that respond to diverse and changing local conditions. These developing forms of administration reflect the growing need of agencies to continuously adapt to changing circumstances and provide innovative responses that are context specific, yet potentially applicable to a broad array of situations. Loosely termed "democratic experimentalism" and rooted in the philosophy of pragmatism, this type of administration combines local experimentation and learning with developments in organizational theory, such as simultaneous engineering, error detection, and learning by monitoring. Rethinking the standard administrative approach to efficiency, accountability, collaboration and

citizen participation are also key characteristics of this approach. Job training programs hold significant potential for developing human capital and increasing social equity in diverse communities when administered through democratic experimentalist means. In order to take the "high road" to economic development in urban areas, governance structures must be put in place that reflect the need for cooperative, deliberative governance. Recent reforms in the administration of job training programs show a move toward a more "experimentalist" approach. These reforms allow a more participatory form of training development and hold greater potential for improving social equity while meeting the needs of diverse communities. This paper will explore the importance between human capital development at the local level based on regional circumstances and how democratic experimentalism provides an effective means to administer these types of programs.

Private Interests, Public Benefit? The Role of Business in Workforce Development

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Many federal, state and local efforts aimed at improving the performance of education and training programs mandate business involvement as an essential requirement of change. Reformers view participation by businesses as the crucial variable to help educational institutions better prepare students to enter the workforce and improve failures in the labor market -- specifically a mismatch of publicly trained worker supply and private employer demand. Although a simple idea in theory, recruiting and retaining business involvement in practice has proven to be a major policy challenge to cities across the country. Additionally, injecting business interests adds layers of complexity to the already labyrinthine world of workforce development. This paper reviews the multifaceted ways in which businesses get involved in the complex workforce development system. Examples include articulating skill needs; providing resources for education and training; serving as training agents themselves; and acting as intermediaries within the workforce system. Using case study research and an analysis of secondary data, my goal is to develop a typology of business involvement in workforce development and identify the challenges and advantages the various categories of business participation bring to meeting workforce goals. Case studies include workforce initiatives such as workforce investment boards, industry sector approaches, and business-community organization partnerships. Finally, the paper will discuss strategies for recruiting and retaining business participation to support public and private goals for workforce development.

Strategies for Growth, Strategies for Equality: Investigating the Relationship between Local Economic Development Policy and Earnings Inequality

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It is well known that the distribution of earnings in the United States widened dramatically during the 1980s and early 1990s, producing levels of economic inequality not seen since the great depression. Even as the distribution of aggregate wages in the United States was widening, however, localities were responding to changes in the national and global economy very differently: for some metropolitan areas the early 1970s ushered in an era of dramatically heightened inequality that did not plateau until the early 1990s, while the wage structure in other areas was becoming more equal. Why did wage inequality increase in some labor markets in the 1970s and 1980s but decrease in others? This paper examines whether the divergence in metropolitan labor markets' wage structures can be explained by the type and intensity of economic development strategies pursued at the local level. In particular, did cities and regions that invested in workforce development and fostering local entrepreneurship develop more equal wage structures than those that relied mainly on traditional location incentives? Did development priorities and policies have any effect at all on the development of these local economies during this period of economic restructuring? These questions will be examined with a quantitative analysis of wage trends and economic development policies from 1970-2000 for a sample of 110 metropolitan areas. By demonstrating how economic restructuring was shaped by development policies and priorities at the local level, this analysis will provide state and local government officials, labor leaders and employers with a better understanding of effective strategies for designing more equitable local economies.

Success and Failure of Stable Employment Opportunities in Urban Areas

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In urban areas, there are an increasing percentage of single parent families. Research suggests that single-parent families are much more likely to live in poverty and to raise children that will live in poverty as adults. Upon election, President George W. Bush proposed allocation of government funds for the purpose of encouraging marriage among impoverished Americans, especially in urban areas. Bush believes that if a greater percent-

age of poor people marry, fewer people will live in poverty. Recently, Congress approved $1.5 billion for conducting marriage education classes in public schools. However, in order to decrease poverty, stable employment opportunities are required. Generally, people do not marry unless they will be self-sufficient at the beginning of marriage or soon after. Therefore, for the encouragement of marriage to be successful, employment opportunities must be available to permit married couples to be self-supporting. This paper will analyze the employment prospects for poor people in urban areas by evaluating economic development policies chosen in large urban areas throughout the United States. In addition, the wage levels and stability of employment opportunities will be analyzed. Cities with stable employment opportunities that pay self-supporting wages should be able to more effectively encourage marriage among poor people. Cities without employment opportunities in which workers can support themselves may be less effective in encouraging marriage among poor people.

75. Colloquy: The Role of Intermediaries in Increasing Organizational Capacity: Lessons from the Ford Foundation's – Barbara Ferman, Temple University, moderator

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The creation and support of intermediaries by large foundations has been an increasing trend in the area of community development for some time now (e.g. LISC, the Enterprise Foundation, the National Community Building Initiative, and community foundations). More recently, the Ford Foundation embarked on an intermediary strategy in the area of community organizing when they funded the Community Organizing Initiative in 2000. Initially funded for a three year period, and just renewed for an additional three years, The Ford Foundation Community Organizing Initiative has two primary objectives: 1. strengthen the capacity of grass roots community groups 2. increase the role and influence of these organizations in policy debate and decision making at the local, state and regional levels The Ford Foundation piloted this initiative using an intermediary strategy. Rather than fund individual organizations directly, the Foundation opted to fund local intermediaries who would re-grant the money to individual organizations while also providing them with technical assistance and other support services. After an RFP and proposal review process, three

sites were selected to receive three years of funding: Los Angeles, Chicago, and the Southern Region. The proposed colloquy, which is comprised of the evaluation team for the Ford initiative, will examine the impact of this intermediary strategy on increasing organizational capacity and, consequently, in strengthening the role of grass roots organizations in public policy making activities. Topics to be discussed include: the types and roles of technical assistance; the nature of intermediary-grantee relations; intermediary strategies for fostering collaboration among grantees; and funding strategies. The discussion will also include a comparative analysis of the impact of intermediary structures on the two desired outcomes. Each of the three sites has a different intermediary structure: In Los Angeles, the intermediary is a long term, well respected single entity (Liberty Hill Foundation) whereas Chicago and the Southern region both have newer, multi-group intermediaries.

76. Race, Politics, and Policy

Representation, Reform, and Race: The Restructuring of the Baltimore City Council

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In November of 2002, Baltimore City voters overwhelmingly voted to change the structure of their City Council from six three-member districts, to fourteen single-member districts. This paper examines the coalition that came together to get the issue (known as "Question P") on the ballot, and push for passage while virtually all of the city's elected leaders came out against the measure. The paper explores the arguments for restructuring (e.g. greater potential for responsive government) as well as the arguments of the opponents. Particularly interesting was the argument by some Black council members that the proposed plan would undermine Black political power – a clear attempt to locate the referendum within the historical context of Baltimore's racialized politics. As the early impact of the process becomes clear it seems that the struggle for reform is far from over. The power to draw the new districts gave the mayor an opportunity to solidify his power, as the new districts were crafted to the advantage of a majority of the council members. Furthermore, although incumbents were pitted against each other in three races, no incumbent lost to a new comer in the city's post-reform democratic primary - the most significant local election in a city with very few Republicans. The paper concludes with a consideration of why the forces that pushed for passage of Question P, were not successful in replacing any of the incumbents that sought re-election.

Urban Elections: Participation in Recent Mayoral Elections

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This paper looks at voter turnout in large U.S. cities over the last 20 years. With data gathered from the 38 cities which have had populations over 250,000, it compares the variation both within and across cities in mayoral elections. Key independent variables explored include aggregated individual factors, such as race, income and education; urban compositional characteristics including segregation by race and income; candidate characteristics; and political institutional factors, such as nonpartisan elections. After reviewing basic turnout data for cities, the analysis finds that campaigns that pit a white candidate versus a black candidate produce the highest participation races.

The Election of Minority Candidates in Local Government: The Case of Mississippi County Supervisors

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The percentage of blacks needed to assure the election of African Americans to public office has been one of the most fiercely debated questions in scholarly work on voting rights. Most of the analyses have focused on congressional or state legislative elections though some have also examined local contests. In this article, we examine the percentage of African Americans needed to elect a black candidate to the office of county supervisor in Mississippi in 1999. We further examine the implication of racial redistricting at the local level for black substantive representation as well as black descriptive representation.

77. A Neglected Context: Religion and the City

Religious Organizations and the City: A Research Agenda for Urban Scholars

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One area that has recently re-emerged as a focus of attention in the popular press and other media is religion. Whether the discussion concerns the relationship between church and state in the matter of the public display

of the Ten Commandments or the faith-based initiative supported by the Bush administration, religious issues are important matters of national interest. What has tended to be neglected in recent years is the examination of religion within an urban context. This panel proposes to contribute to a renewed scholarly interest focused on religion in cities. The panel will include four papers representing the diverse interests of urban scholars in matters of religion. First, Pamela Leland will examine the issues faith and spirituality as perceived by public administration students. This will be followed by Helene Slessarev-Jamir, who will look at immigrant faith institutions in urban areas. Next, Michael Tavesz and his colleagues in the Sacred Landmarks of Northeast Ohio program will explore the relationship between their partnership as Sacred Landmarks Research Centers and the use of GIS technology as resources for community empowerment and regional development. Finally, Harvey Newman will discuss the outline for a research agenda for urban scholars addressing the issue of religious organizations and the city.

Student Perspectives on the Incorporation of Faith and Spirituality into a Graduate Public Administration Program

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There is an increasing recognition within the academy that issues of faith and spirituality significantly impact the workplace and employee performance. There are now sections within academic professional associations (e.g., ASPA), special issues of academic journals (e.g., Journal of Management Education) and an expanding literature (see, e.g., the recently published edited volume, Handbook on Workplace Spirituality and Organizational Performance for a sense of the size and scope of academic inquiry).
In 2003, Denhardt and Leland(*) wrote of the lag in considering these issues in public administration/public policy programs (as compared to graduate programs in business and psychology). The paper being proposed here reports on research that further explores this issue. Specifically, the research considers to what extent students and alumni of MPA programs are similar to or different from graduate students in other disciplines in seeing the need for and value of, a consideration of faith and spirituality in their graduate programs. Through a series of focus groups with current and former students and pre-service and mid-career students, the research will consider the following questions:
How are matters of faith and spirituality understood by students?

How do students see these issues as impacting the workplace and their current/future role as managers/administrators?

To what extent do they think and/or want these issues to be considered in their academic program?

If covered, how and in what format or context should the issues be explored?

Creating Culturally Relevant Social Services: A Look at Immigrant Faith Institutions

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The paper will compare and contrast social service provision by Asian and Hispanic immigrant faith institutions. According to the 2000 census, new immigrants and their children now make up roughly 20 percent of the American population. A number of excellent sociological studies have provided a look at the unique ways in which immigrant faith institutions help in the process of resettlement by providing their co-ethnics with worship and fellowship opportunities in the context of their home country cultures. This paper will look at the social service activities of these faith institutions. The increased number of poor and disadvantaged immigrants who are living in metropolitan areas has led immigrant faith institutions to provide a wide variety of culturally contextualized services for their co-ethnics. Those aimed at the most recent arrivals are often designed to meet their most urgent, immediate resettlement needs, while those aimed at their children seek to reinforce traditional cultural norms, while encouraging economic upward mobility. However, there is significant variation in these efforts among different ethnic groups and faith traditions. The paper will draw on information compiled in the preparation of two studies on Asian and Hispanic immigrant faith institutions done for the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Sacred Landmarks, Research Centers & GIS Technology

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Houses of worship represent an enormously significant set of resources for their immediate neighborhoods, for their larger urban settings, and, collectively, for their regions. They represent focal points of social and cultural activities, social service delivery, and community economic development. These buildings and their congregations serve to anchor neighborhoods and serve as magnets that attract congregants from the suburbs to the inner city. The geographic importance of houses of worship is little understood. This is largely due to the difficulty of summarizing and describing the relationships between sites, structures, organizations, places, and social and cultural assets.

78. Data Issues in Urban Analysis

Reluctant Cities? Exploring Big Unincorporated Census Designated Places

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CDPs (Census Designated Places) are the statistical equivalent of incorporated cities, differing in that they are unincorporated, and therefore without legal and municipal powers. Yet, CDPs are recognized by their residents and others in the region as real places – not statistical artifacts. Although clearly viewed as actual places, these places are, and remain, unincorporated. This paper looks at 41 large CDPs, defined as those with more than 50,000 residents, and first examines the demographics of these reluctant cities, and second considers why these places remain unincorporated. The majority of big CDPs are in major metropolitan areas – Los Angeles, Washington-Baltimore, Atlanta, Miami, Houston and Denver. The demographics reveal a population more diverse than the United States, with varying rates of homeownership, home type, race and marital status. We speculate that other governing bodies substitute for traditional municipal governance in big CDPs. Twenty-two of these places are located in counties with strong governments, counties that provide most, if not all, local services. Seventeen are located in areas with strong private government, in master planned community dominated regions.

Meta-Analysis of Urban Indicators and Classification Systems: Same Reality, Different Perspectives?

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Over the past two decades, even before the 2000 Census was released, there has been a sense that profound changes have been occurring in urban communities. Yet while there may be agreement that real changes are occurring, there is less concurrence on the specific nature of those changes. As a result, there is a renewed interest in and a real need for understanding the new configurations and roles of cities and suburbs that have developed over the past decade. One avenue toward understanding socio-economic change in cities is through reviewing and analyzing city classification studies. In the past, classification systems and urban typologies have been used to simplify differences between cities by creating groupings that allow comparisons and generalizations. Current classification studies extend across a broad array of systems and measurements as they aim at explicating a wide range of issues that face metropolitan regions today. This research develops a meta-analysis of city classification by examining and combining recent typologies, categorizations, rankings and indicators to explore the different types of cities and metropolitan areas that are emerging in response to new social, economic, and political conditions. This research examined and compared several existing city classification studies to develop understandings of each system's assumptions and purposes while also looking at correlations and frequencies of measurements and indicators that were used. The correlations show connections across research areas and suggest further areas of study. As a meta-analysis, our study also developed a combined typology of cities using factor components and cluster analysis. The cluster analysis reveals patterns that reflect both existing understandings of cities, such as regional patterns, and more recent issues including sprawl indices and "new economy" measures. The research shows the benefits of an overview approach as a way of interpreting existing studies and developing new understandings.

Mapping the High Technology Economy

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The project conducts GIS spatial analysis on the spatial pattern of high technology industry in the U.S. metropoli-

tan areas. A range of GIS layers on educated-labor force, demographic characteristics, diversity and innovation, and venture capital are created to interpret the underlying factors contributing to the spatial concentration of high technology industry among the U.S. metropolitan areas.

Context Matters: The Social Realities of Urban Residential Blocks

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Research on urban neighborhoods typically uses units such as census tracts, but the social realities of urban residents are strongly influenced by their immediate neighbors. Systematic differences in the social realities at the micro-neighborhood level are lost when data are aggregated to a larger geographic unit. This paper examines the residential block as a fruitful unit for conducting research on urban neighborhoods. Research Questions: Are there differences in the social realities of urban block residents, as measured by their sense of community (SOC) compared to the social realities of larger urban neighborhoods? How do physical, demographic, and other factors influence the SOC of the block? Does SOC relate to quality of life factors of the residents? Methodology: This paper is based on the results of four studies that measured sense of community on urban residential blocks in Lansing, Michigan. SOC was measured by 23 Likert items that related to the connection, support, belonging, participation, empowerment and safety of the block residents. The unit of analysis was the block, definited as the residences on both sides of the street between two adjacent cross streets. Data were collected from over 1,800 residents who were surveyed at the door by an interviewer. Survey responses were aggregated to the block level. Additional data on the blocks included visual observations and archival data on assessed valuations, crime, and voting and recycling participation. Key Findings: There were systematic and highly significant differences in SOC from block to block within the same general neighborhood. Demographic factors were moderately related to SOC. High SOC blocks showed greater levels of civic engagement, safety, health, and quality of life. Implications: Micro-neighborhoods represent social realities that should not be ignored by researchers studying urban neighborhoods.

Mapping Residents' Views, Voices and Visions: A Pilot Study on the Use of High Tech Tools for Community Planning in Low Income Neighborhoods

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Research Question: How can residents' voices, views and visions for managing neighborhood change be incorporated into the planning process? How can planners learn from local communities, and work with them so "users" can more effectively shape their environment? These questions are considered in the context of local neighborhood revitalization activities in Philadelphia, through a participatory action research project, which explores the use of community-driven multimedia GIS. This project was supported by a HUD Early Doctoral Research grant, and is part of my dissertation, which seeks to make explicit the perceptual factors and environmental preferences that influence people at the ground level, to reinvest, disinvest or invest in older urban areas. This inquiry builds on ethnographic research in several post-industrial, historically white ethnic, working-class neighborhoods in Philadelphia. The entire city region is facing the effects of fifty years of mass out-migration and economic restructuring, and formerly stable, low and moderate-income areas are at significant risk. The city has launched a "Neighborhood Transformation Initiative" (NTI) to address blight and attract investment, but the NTI strategy is targeted toward demolition in extremely distressed areas, rather than stabilizing viable, but at-risk areas. The findings reveal how local knowledge can provide valuable data for strategies to manage neighborhood change and build investment in targeted areas. Community-participants are asked to describe 1) the condition of their neighborhood, 2) their explanations for neighborhood change and 3) their prescriptions for a better future. The study employs digital video, imaging and audio technology to convey the narratives, perceptions and qualitative values of residents. This qualitative data is incorporated into a GIS, along with relevant quantitative data, to represent a broad spectrum of values. Objectives for this tool are to display a range of values on the same spatial playing field and to explore it as an aid in community planning, education, discourse and decision-making. Related Published Research: Craig, William, Trevor Harris, and Daniel Weiner, ed. 2002. Community Participation and Geographic Information Systems. London, New York: Taylor and Francis. Hester, Jr, Randolph T. 1984. Planning Neighborhood Space with People. 2nd ed. Environmental Design Series, ed. Richard P. Dober. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. Myers, Dowell. 1988. Building knowledge about quality of life for urban planning. Journal of the American Planning Association. Summer. Vol. 54, No. 3:

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79. Colloquy: Sprawl and Suburbia: What Are They, And How Do We Measure Them

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"I can't define urban sprawl but I know it when I see it…" so the conversation goes. Further, suburbia has been given a black eye in the process because of the common conflation of sprawl and suburbia. Living in the suburbs once was, and in many cases still is the cultural and material ideal that people in the United States strive to achieve. More recently concerns about urban sprawl have brought that ideal into question. Sprawl remains a somewhat all-encompassing concept, including any growth that has a negative impact. The seemingly endless list of indicators used in sprawl research and policy frequently refers to the material reality of land use, physical morphology and service provision. Yet, considerable debate remains among sprawl researchers about the possibility of a unifying definition of urban sprawl or a consistent means of its valid measurement, leaving the non-material aspects of sprawl in a conceptual "black box". The question of when is a suburb not an indicator of sprawl remains contested. This is in contrast to the term suburbia which is considered to have specificity and clear measurement. This lack of specificity leaves the door open for proponents of sprawling suburbs to maintain that development patterns in cities and suburbs simply reflect public and cultural choices and demonstrate the free market at work. It allows proponents to disregard the real material impacts of accelerated growth on infra-

structure, public services, and the environment, in addition to hyper-individualization and breakdown of community. This colloquy will explore the variations in the debate and aims to develop a dialogue about the ways we might begin to converge on a more unifying theme within the literature on sprawl and suburbia. It is organized around the following themes: · Conceptualization and the operationalization of specific variables · Available data for measurement. What data is appropriate (for whom), what is out there (and to be collected by whom)? How should academics and practitioners use this data? · Case studies of what individuals in the colloquy have done in their own empirical research · The policy implications of current sprawl and suburban research

Saturday, 10:40am-12:10pm

80. Sports and Urban Development

Hosting Multiple Sporting Events and Civic Branding/Development Initiatives: An Exploratory Study

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Research Question: Sporting events have been identified as anchors for urban (re)development and growth. Some cities, such as Edmonton, Alberta, have focused on attracting events featuring a wide range of competitive levels, numbers of competitors, and infrastructure requirements. This paper seeks to explore the manner through which cities have justified and targeted events, and how such events fit into a city's broader development and branding strategies.

Methodology: This paper uses a single case study methodology to explore Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Data were obtained from public documents, archival sources from Economic Development Edmonton (EDE), and a series of semi-structured interviews with city of Edmonton officials, members of EDE, and leaders of local sport organizations involved in the hosting of events in Edmonton.

Key Findings: Analysis of the data reveals that the scope (i.e. local, regional, etc.), and scale (i.e. small, or large with many participants and spectators) of the events being hosted are determined by the scope (i.e. local, regional, international) and scale (i.e., small, medium, large) of the intended audience that the city has chosen to target. It is also reflects the degree to which

Economic Development Edmonton and the City of Edmonton have agreed on how the specific event is to be employed as either a branding (i.e. a large-scale, international event) or community development (i.e. a participant-driven, community-based event) initiative.

Implications: The study provides an initial look at the manner through which cities can use sporting events of varying sizes to achieve different and, at times, overlapping goals related to broader, regional branding initiatives and more local initiatives seeking to involve community citizens. This suggests that, by combining events of varying scales and scopes, the hosting of sporting events can provide an opportunity to both brand cities on a global scale, and respond to local community needs. Related Published Research: Burbank, M.J., Andranovich, G.D., & Heying, C.H. (2001). Olympic Dreams: The Impact of Mega-Events on Local Politics. (Boulder: Reinner Publishers), pp. 11-32. Hall, C.M. (1992). Hallmark Tourist Events: Impacts, Management and Planning. London: Bellhaven Press. Rosentraub, M. (1999). Major League Losers: The Real Cost of Sports and Who's Paying For it (2nd ed.). New York: Basic Books.

Political Leadership and Stadium Development in Chicago: Some Cautionary Notes on the Uses of Regime Analysis

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In the span of a few years between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Chicago witnessed the development of three major sports stadium projects—the construction of the new Comiskey Park (since renamed U.S. Cellular Field) and the United Center, the modernization of Wrigley Field via the addition of field lighting—projects that have contributed substantially to the upgrading of the city's Near West and mid-North Sides, as well as to more broadly refurbishing Chicago's image as a center for tourism and upscale urban leisure activities. Commentary on the leadership of Chicago's current mayor, Richard M. Daley, typically emphasizes his use of these and other physical development projects to recast the city's local economy and international reputation. Interestingly, while there is little reason to question the Daley administration's use of these projects to reshape Chicago's image, each, in fact, had its origins in the mid-1980s during the administration of populist Mayor Harold Washington. This paper aims to explain the paradox of conventionally-defined "pro-growth" initiatives originating during a populist urban administration, in part by reexamining the politics/policy debates that yielded these three pro-

jects, and in part, by critiquing some of the underlying features of regime theory as it has come to be applied by many urban political analysts. In particular, this paper argues that the "structural isomorphism" (linking regime aims, regime "membership," and patterns of incentive distribution) typical of regime analysis underestimates the opportunistic tendencies of urban leaders—who routinely choose objectives, fix partnerships, and distribute benefits with a mind to short- and medium-range political advantage as opposed to long-term regime coherence. Furthermore, the paper's case studies also underline a basic point sometimes forgotten by contemporary practitioners of regime analysis: that the coalitional sources of urban political "capital" formation tend to privilege the interests of key private sector actors over more broadly-defined definitions of public interest.

The European Soccer Championship EURO 2004 and Country Marketing in Portugal

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Sports championships are major events capable of changing the image of cities and countries. Countries use these mega-events to promote economic development, attract foreign investment, generate tourism revenues, regenerate parts of cities and increase population self-estime. But the major boost comes from their city marketing strategies. Host countries promote their image as modern, cosmopolitan and attractive places ideal to attract footloose capital. The EURO 2004 European Football Championship is one of such events. It will take place in Portugal during approximately one month. The country is constructing and renovating 10 stadiums for the championship. The argument of this paper is that the EURO 2004 is above all a country marketing strategy conducted by the government with benefits for the country has a whole. The research methods used include specialized literature review, media reviews and semi-structured interviews. The key finding of this paper is that the EURO 2004 belongs to the same category of events as the Expo'98 and the Porto 2001, which have the capacity to incrementaly change the image of Portugal at the international level.

The Economic Impact of Sports Teams and Facilities: Recasting the Analysis in Context

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While sports facilities are commonly promoted as economic development tools, independent economic analyses are often used to refute such assertions. The broad interpretation of such research is that empirical evidence cannot support a positive relationship between stadium construction and economic development.

This study offers new evidence that contradicts the general conclusion that sports facilities have no significant positive impact on local economies. Criticisms of recent stadium investments are often based on cross-section time-series studies conducted with data that are now outdated. A 1990 study by Baade and Dye that has become a landmark reference is based on a time-series that ends in 1983. Many of the stadiums built in recent years are constructed with a very different purpose than the multi-use, utilitarian facilities of the 1960s and 1970s. Stadiums are now designed to serve as architectural symbols with tourist appeal, and are often built into the urban fabric to facilitate synergy. This is in contrast to facilities of the previous generation, which were located near interstate exchanges to facilitate a quicker exit after the game. To test the importance of the new context and character of stadium building, the frequently cited study of Baade and Dye is recast with current data. Nineteen metropolitan areas are included in the cross-section time-series analysis, representing every city that either experienced a change in the presence of an NFL or MLB team, or experienced a stadium construction for an NFL or MLB team between 1984 and 2001. These sports-related variables are found to have a significant positive impact on regional income share for eight of the nineteen sample cities. Stadiums built in downtown locations and those built to lure new teams are more likely to have a significant positive impact, suggesting that context matters. The findings of this research are supported by previously reported city-specific cases studies, which indicate that context plays a key role in determining the impact of sports development strategies.

81. Changes in City Governments

Gender Differences and the Exercise of Power

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Few studies exist of women executives in government, particularly at the local level. Those studies that do exist

found that mayors, whether male or female, agreed upon their top priorities - economic development, housing and education. This study examined 192 women mayors and 192 men mayors in cities over 30,000 to determine the extent to which women executives saw themselves having different policy priorities than men mayors, and approaching fiscal issues differently. Both men and women mayors thought three policy issues were important to extremely important - economic development, physical infrastructure, and public safety. Major differences were observed in the areas of childcare and social services. In terms of the budget process, women wanted to become more inclusive and broaden the participation of citizens in the budget process In the face of fiscal problems, women mayors were more willing to discuss changes in their goals than men mayors, or conversely men mayors were more willing to maintain their goals than women mayors. In terms of gender issues, far more women than men believe that women faced particular obstacles as mayor because they were women.

Nonincremental Change in an Urban Environment

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 Much political science and public administration literature has claimed that change, when it happens in policymaking and implementation, occurs slowly and incrementally. Urban policymaking especially is held to be slow and incremental. Yet under Mayor Giuliani New York City's Human Resources underwent several convolutions that in sum amounted to a nonincremental change. These changes included a sharp reduction in the public assistance caseload; the development of the largest welfare work program in the country; redefinition of the critical tasks of the organization's front line operators; introduction of a complex information management system, Job-Stat; and a greatly improved physical plant. The key factors that made this change possible were New York City's highly competitive political environment in the early 1990s; the development, both nationally and locally of a popular set of public ideas related to welfare reform and reciprocal obligations; a policy feedback effect of welfare policy of the Dinkins years, which left the public and policy elites skeptical of alternative approaches to welfare reform and the emergence of a skillful policy entrepreneur who was committed to institutional reform through executive power. Another crucial factor was the unforeseen impact of the 1989 City Charter revision, which eliminated the only institution that had historically been a counterbalance to the Mayor's power. The revision also placed the power of making authoritative revenue estimates in the hands of the Mayor, which al-

lowed a skillful executive to outmaneuver the legislature in the budgetary process, and thus undermined the legislature's power over the city bureaucracy. The paper concludes that under such conditions nonincremental change in an urban environment is possible.

Is Contracting Policy in New York City Meeting Its Objectives in Our Complex Urban Environment?

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Developing and managing the tools of governance in the public sector to assure accountability and performance are critical issues for today's public managers. This paper examines contracting in New York City during a time of significant change and complexity in the city's contracting rules and procedures. Contracting in New York City as well as other government entities has been the object of accusations of inefficiency, corruption and a lack of accountability. Fundamental reforms have been instituted on a regular basis to address these problems, the latest in New York City was in 1989 when the City adopted a new City Charter, which included restructuring the contracting process. The authors analyze New York City's contracting process both before and after the changes in the City Charter, and look at how the roles of different elected officials and administrators in city agencies were affected by the new City Charter in the context of governance, deterring corruption and promoting efficiency and accountability. Letters and memoranda from mayors and comptrollers were examined from the City's archives. The key figures that drafted the 1989 City Charter contracting provisions were interviewed as well as the key figures from the mayoral staff and staff from city agencies from the David Dinkins, Rudolf Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg administrations. The paper determines the extent the 1989 revisions to the New York City Charter met its objectives, and addresses several important questions: 1. How successful were the changes to the Charter in preventing corruption? 2. How successful were the changes to the Charter in promoting a more business like environment in which efficiency is prized? 3. How was governance and accountability of the contracting process affected by the Charter changes with respect to different elected officials and the administrators in city agencies? 4. How did the three mayors since 1989, David Dinkins, Rudolph Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg, implement the Charter? The authors integrate the findings into recommendations of how to improve the contracting process in New York City. The lessons learned from the New York City experience will be

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applicable to many other urban entities in their efforts to enhance their contracting process' efficiency, account- ability and deterrence of corruption.

Context Matter? Community and Organizational Factors Shaping Hate Crime Control Policy in Diverse Location Throughout California

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This study investigates how local context shapes public policy implementation in diverse urban and rural environ- ments. The empirical focus is on factors that determine if and how statewide hate crime law has been implanted in municipalities throughout the state of California. Drawing on multiple sources of data, including California police and sheriff department policies on hate crime law en- forcement, organizational data from the Law Enforce- ment Management and Administrative Statistics Associa- tion, official data from the U.S. Census Bureau and Cali- fornia Cities, Towns, and Counties (Horner 2000), and original interview data, the multivariate analyses pre- sented in this paper identify the ways in which a slew of community composition and demand factors, as well as the organizational structure and culture of local law en- forcement agencies, influence the adoption of hate crime policies in 397 municipal police and county sheriff's agencies in California. Moreover, the analyses presented in this work identify the ways in which the "community- organization" nexus (i.e. the intersection and interaction between community and organizational factors) plays a key role in determining whether state level crime control policies get implemented at the local level. In addition to contributing to the empirical literature on the develop- ment and implementation of crime control strategies across diverse municipalities, this study uses a concep- tual framework grounded in institutional and organiza- tional theory to address larger concerns about the forces that shape policy implementation in both urban and rural environments.

Employer Hiring Practices, Race, and the Spatial Mis- match Between Home and Work

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Racial inequality in the labor market remains a pervasive feature of American society. Blacks continue to experi-

ence higher rates of unemployment when compared with other groups, particularly whites. An increasing number of blacks, particularly young black men residing in inner-city communities, have dropped out of the labor market altogether. Two important lines of research have emerged since the 1980s to try to explain this problem. The first, often referred to as the "spatial mismatch" literature, attributes some of the employment problems experienced by blacks to the suburbanization of jobs and barriers to obtaining those jobs, such as housing market discrimination and a lack of transportation. Another line of research has focused on discriminatory employer hiring practices. Based on a methodology of personal interviews with employers, the studies have shown that some employers used discriminatory hiring practices and many hold negative racial stereotypes. The present study combines these approaches by examining variations in employer hiring practices over space or, more specifically, in relation to the residential patterns of blacks and other ethnic groups. Do employers, for example, specifically avoid advertising for jobs in mediums that will reach black job seekers? Do they favor certain ethnic or racial labor markets over others? What are the specific ways they screen and recruit workers and how do they vary over space? The study is qualitative and is based on a set of in-depth interviews with 50 firms in the electronics industry in Los Angeles County that were conducted in 1996. A methodology will be developed for geo-coding firms and their relative proximity to neighborhoods where blacks and other racial and ethnic groups reside. We will also develop demographic profiles from the 1990 and 2000 census, as well as some overall information on the distribution of electronic firms by area in 1996, as contextual background.

82. Community Organizations: From Civic Engagement to Political Legitimacy

The Virtual Republic: Local Community Networks and the Revitalization of the Public Sphere

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The concept of the virtual republic requires two key actors—the government and non-governmental, civic groups. Government at all levels has a presence on the Web. However, true "e-government" lags behind what Clift (2003) calls a "services first, democracy later approach." While government's online efforts are lagging, grassroots organizations are making significant strides in building civil society on the Web. As we saw in the Iraq

War, major world events generate huge bursts of activity on the Web. Online communities respond to these events, in part, by mobilizing their forces electronically—hoping to influence public policy. Government, however, is currently ill suited and unprepared to deal with these electronic expressions of the popular will. Over time, our rulers must adapt by engaging people in "virtual town halls" or the public will feel increasingly disconnected from government and will view the political process as unresponsive. We propose the OHM Theory to analyze the new communication technologies' impact on political discourse. We call this the OHM Theory because it is based on the work of scholars, Walter Ong, Eric Havelock, and Marshall McLuhan. We make some observations about building civic capacity online. In many ways, online activism faces a more challenging situation today than in the 1980s, the heyday of local community networks. The commercialization of computer networks, which started with the introduction of the Web in 1994, led to what Peter Levine (2000) calls a modern "enclosure movement." Just as ordinary people were forced off the medieval English commons by the upper classes, so were many FreeNets driven from the Web by commercial providers. Fortunately, not all community networks became extinct. We cite several examples of civic networks that thrive because they have managed to adapt to changing circumstances. Our paper concludes with a taxonomy of characteristics that enable local community networks to survive and prosper.

Villagers' Committees Versus Residents' Committees: A Study on Grassroots Self- Governance and Democratization in China

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For most countries in the world, the state needs to find effective grassroots mechanisms to engage with its large number of constituents. Meanwhile, citizens are tied with their neighborhoods for many reasons. Residents' Committees (RC) and Villager's committees (VC) are two dominant neighborhood institutions in China, through which the state interacts with urban and rural citizens respectively. Compared with the extensive coverage over VC, RC is relatively unknown to the literature. Chinese laws define both institutions as autonomous mass organizations that should practice democratic self-governance in the neighborhoods. This study attempts to 1) introduce RC into the field; and 2) compare RC with VC to identify their differences and similarities. First, this study takes historical approach to examine how the ideal of self-governance was adopted in urban China in the Communist China in 1949 and how RC proceeded in a

zigzag path from 1950s to today. Second, a comparison between VC and RC reveals distinctive patterns between the two types of institutions: rural residents actively participate in VC activities while urban residents are largely indifference to RC; VC is generated through direct election process while RC often holds indirect election; VC has a strained and somewhat conflictive relationship with the state while RC is more cooperative and mutually enhancing with the state; and VC emphasizes accountability in daily management while RC gives more emphasize on professionalism. These divergent patterns foresee potentially different roads towards grassroots democracy in China: VC would lead towards participatory (popular) democracy while RC towards representative (elite) democracy. However, despite the difference, the article also finds that the practices of both VC and RC can contribute to a vibrant civil society, democratic education, social order, and the rule of law, all of which are necessary for the impending democratic transition in China.

Wheat and Chaff: Neighborhood Organizations as Political Proving Grounds

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In recent years, there have been extensive discussions in cities across the nation about alternative means for delivering urban services. These discussions have been couched in terms of administrative reorganization as well as possible service devolution or privatization. Concurrent with this effort has been a growing concern with the disengagement of many Americans from civic life in its various forms. This was most forcefully illustrated by Putnam's "Bowling Alone" thesis. Many pundits and academics have warned of the dangers of such wide scale disengagement on our nation's and our communities' health. This research proposal will examine the nexus of these two trends in urban administration and social science by exploring the role of neighborhood organizations in service delivery activities in Indianapolis, Dayton, and Charlotte. Furthermore, the role of individual organizational leaders will be explored to determine how much effort they put into these community activities, why they do so, and what political aspirations they may have for which their neighborhood activities might be serving as a training ground. Should the data illustrate that such leaders are engaged and aspiring to higher office, then the current proliferation of such organizations can be said to be having a positive effect on the democratic process as a training ground for future urban political leaders, leaders that will have an abiding appreciation for community participation. The data come from organizational surveys of over 150 neighborhood leaders across the three cities.

The data are augmented with reflective information solicited from current city councilors and their opinions about the value of neighborhood action as preparation for public service.

Community Participation, Urban Politics, and the Question of Legitimacy

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The purpose this paper is to examine the grassroots institutions that facilitate collective participation in urban politics. This is a part of my dissertation research that will examine how organizations engage in urban planning by using lawyers and legal strategies. Of particular interest to my research is the issue of legitimacy for community organizations as they engage in urban politics and planning. In particular, I am interested in how community organizations (COs) create and maintain legitimacy in relation to city agencies and to their (the COs') constituents/members. I begin with an overview of my typology of community organizations, then move to a description of some models of community participation, and conclude with some important insights I have gleaned from organization theory on the issue of legitimacy. The important question left unanswered thus far, however, is what is the definition of legitimacy? The definition I am working with is my own: "legitimacy" is the tacit assent of constituents that allows an organization to act on their behalf with authority, as well as the tacit acknowledgement by others, including the government, that the organization is imbued with a degree of authority to speak on behalf of its constituents. This definition has been made inductively based upon work I have done in Oakland, California and Boston, Massachusetts. The academic literature is lacking persuasive definitions of the term. COs face legitimacy problems on at least two fronts: with the target lobbying agency (forward) and with their constituency (backward). COs frame the discourse about their legitimacy by choosing to claim either narrowly or broadly defined representativeness. This question of legitimacy is central to understanding how communities organize themselves to oppose the progrowth urban regimes. The way in which this happens is through participation, but effective participation is accomplished through attaining both forward and backward legitimacy.

83. From Regional Fragmentation to Cooperation

The Impact of Regional Governance on the Concentration and Supply of Affordable Housing

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The purpose of this research is to test the relationship between a metropolitan region's political fragmentation and the concentration and supply of affordable rental units for extremely low income renter households. Public choice theory provides a foundation from which to predict that a fragmented metropolitan governance structure provides incentives to local municipalities to limit their redistributive policies that shift resources from higher income households to households of limited resources. In this paper, the theory is extended to affordable rental housing units for extremely low income households. Given municipalities' desire to maintain an adequate tax base from which to provide a high level of services at minimal cost to the individual, housing for extremely low income households will be limited and segregated into weaker or less appealing neighborhoods. Using a measure of political fragmentation called the Metropolitan Power Diffusion Index (MPDI) and the 2000 census, two hypotheses concerning the concentration and supply of affordable rental housing units are tested. First, the research tests the hypothesis that greater power diffusion in a metropolitan region is associated with increased segregation of affordable rental housing. The second hypothesis is that there is a negative association between power diffusion and the relative supply of affordable rental units. Ordinary and Weighted Least Square regressions are utilized to test both hypotheses. The analyses show that power diffusion or political fragmentation does not adequately explain the segregation of affordable rental units. In addition, contrary to the hypothesis, power diffusion appears to be associated with an improvement in a region's relative supply of affordable housing. Currently, other theories are being explored to replace or to compliment public choice theory as potentially better understandings of the location and supply of affordable housing.

Metropolitan Mayors Caucus Political Fragmentation, Global Competition, and Regional Cooperation

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The Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, comprised of 270 municipalities in the Chicago region, is an example of an institutional arrangement by which politically fragmented metropolitan regions can overcome the constraints inher-

ent in their governance structure. In 1997 at a Northwest Municipal Conference meeting, Mayor Richard M. Daley proposed the formation of a Metropolitan Mayors Caucus comprised of officials from the city of Chicago and mayors from the region's councils of government. The operation and structure would be patterned after the consensual model of governance that made the councils of government in the region successful. The Caucus has proven successful in reaching consensus on specific regional issues in which the city and suburbs recognize their common objectives and has begun to develop solutions to region-wide problems through task forces and committees. The task forces include housing, education funding reform, emergency preparedness, freight rail, ground transportation and regional growth, and regional air capacity. Committees include economic development, critical infrastructure, clean air partners, and legislation. This cooperation is occurring in a region with a history of intense hostility between the city and the suburbs. The hostility and mutual suspicion between Chicago and its suburbs began over a century ago and culminated in acrimonious relations when Richard J. Daley was mayor. His son, Mayor Richard M. Daley, is one of the founders of the Caucus. The research will first examine the preconditions for the establishment of the Caucus, tracing the relationship between Chicago and its suburbs from 1900 to the present. The specific pre-conditions include (1) the weakness of the region's two planning agencies and the strength of the sub-regional councils of government; (2) the role that Cook County had in empowering the councils of government; and (3) the changing political balance within the region. Second, the research will examine the specific causative factors, including problems with Commonwealth Edison, regional non-compliance with the Clean Air Act, and the challenge of regional global competition. Third, the research will examine the major initiatives of the caucus and their potential for success. Regions in which there is a high degree of political fragmentation also have a strong political culture of local autonomy and self-government. The underlying research questions are: (1) why did the Chicago metropolitan region (with its specific locality-based political culture and institutional framework) adopt the Caucus as its governance structure? And (2) how successful will the Caucus be in finding a middle path between local autonomy and regional government? Research Methodology The research is a qualitative analysis of the establishment of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus. The basic data is from interviews with the key people who established the Caucus, including David Bennett, the executive director of the Caucus, Rita Athas, Mayor Daley's administrative liaison to the suburbs, and the mayors who are leading the task forces and committees. In addition, historical data sources, election data, current newspaper and magazine articles, and secondary material will be used.

The Rise of Charter Reform Movements in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of the Toronto and Vancouver Cases

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Canada is one of the most urbanized countries in the world with nearly 80% of its citizens living in urban areas. In fact, several provinces have dominant cities that contain up to half of the population of the entire provincial land mass, including Toronto and Vancouver. In recent years, a number of municipalities have come to view their subordinate political and constitutional status as unduly restrictive. As the future role of Canadian cities is debated, municipal charters are perceived by some as a way to respond to the sense of deprivation afoot in Canada that its larger cities need to have greater political and fiscal autonomy. Looking to the American experience with home-rule and city charters, many political, business, and civil society leaders in Canada argue that municipal charters, while still quite rare in the Canadian context, can serve as a "way out" for cities grappling to attain greater municipal autonomy. The paper presents the initial findings of a one-year research project that explores and evaluates the forces that are driving charter movements for municipal reform in Canada. The paper will ask: 1) who is involved in the movement for charter reform and why, and, 2) what factors explain the emergence of charter movements in Canada? It will also assess the ability of some of the urban politics literature, such as global cities, growth machines, and regime theory, to shed comparative light on how and why charter movements arise in Canada. [Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data and information obtained from government and civil society publications and policy documents, websites, local and national media sources, and through interviews with local political and business leaders, municipal officials and civil servants, relevant civil society actors, and local interest group advocates. The paper compares the key differences and similarities that exist behind the movements for political reform in Toronto and Vancouver].

84. Urban Housing: The Continuing Challenges

CDC Housing in New York City: An Analysis of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Portfolio

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Community Development Corporations (CDCs) have developed thousands of units of low-income housing in

the United States in the past 25 years. In many cities they are among the primary providers of affordable housing in inner city neighborhoods, working in close collaboration with city and state government. While some attention has been paid to the challenges CDCs face in financing and developing housing, there has been much less research on the long-term viability of this housing once it has been completed. This paper will examine the financial viability of one of the largest portfolios of CDC housing in the United States: Rental housing in New York City developed by CDCs and financed by the Low-Income Tax Credit. The study analyzes the financial performance of 246 rental developments containing nearly 16,000 units. The developments were syndicated by the New York Equity Fund, a partnership of the Enterprise Foundation and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation. The analysis several measures of financial performances in the most recent year for which data are available (2001) and over time. In addition to basic descriptive statistics, the paper also examines the relationship between selected indicators of financial performance and such variables as neighborhood characteristics, the size of the CDC's tax-credit portfolio, and development configuration. The analysis will gauge the financial health of the city's tax-credit housing under CDC stewardship and offer recommendations for ensuring the stock's long-term viability.

Running to Stand Still: The Fight to Save the Publicly-Subsidized Housing Stock in American Cities

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While the demolition of public housing has received the attention of academics and the popular press, the related processes of the erosion of the federally-subsidized but privately-owned housing stock has taken place almost completely off the public and scholarly radars. This is a significant omission. Between 1965 and 1983 (when President Reagan eliminated funding for project-based Section 8 housing) more than 1.4 million housing units were built or rehabbed with federal subsidies. Despite the vast investment of public dollars in these properties, they are privately owned and the programs under which they were constructed do not guarantee their permanent affordability to low-income households. In fact, these programs provide landlords with the opportunity, to opt-out of their subsidies ? and thus charge market rates for their rental units ? when their contracts expire, or, similarly, to pre-pay their subsidized mortgages after 20 years. While there have been several efforts to provide incentives to landlords to entice them to remain with the program, the size of this stock has shrunk dramatically

over the last decade. This paper will discuss the state of this housing stock and the efforts of tenant and community organizers to fight this erosion and increase the visibility of this vital, if under-discussed issue. Since this research emerged from work done as a staff member at the Community Service Society of New York, particular emphasis will be placed on the organizing efforts in New York City. Finally, the paper will also ask the prior questions of the relationships between public interests, and investment, and private capital and property in the American political economy.

Public Housing Transformation and the "Hard-to-House"

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During the 1990s, the federal government dramatically changed its policy for housing the poor. Under the new approach, embodied in the $5 billion HOPE VI program begun in 1992, the Department of Housing and Urban Development moved away from providing project-based assistance for poor families and started promoting mixed-income housing and the use of housing vouchers to prevent the concentration of troubled low-income households. This approach led to the demolition of many distressed properties, and the construction of new mixed-income developments. Research on outcomes for original residents indicates that many former residents have benefited from the transformation, with many now living in better housing in less poor neighborhoods. However, the evidence also points to problems-families who are struggling to find-and keep-private market housing and a substantial number who have multiple, complex problems and may not be able to make a transition to either private or new mixed-income housing. This paper describes potential strategies for serving hard-to-house public housing residents that draws on the Urban Institute's extensive research in several areas. These include public housing transformation, programs for homeless people, and solutions to chronic homelessness of disabled singles and families that involve housing subsidies accompanied by supportive services. The authors combine these different sources of information to frame a discussion of the characteristics and special needs of hard-to-house public housing residents, as well as assess strategies targeted to the homeless population that can serve as a model for how to address their needs. Finally, the authors suggest ways that housing authorities can incorporate strategies for serving the hard-to-

house into their plans for redeveloping their distressed public housing properties.

Spatial and Socio-economic Distribution of Community-Based Housing for the Persistently Mentally Ill

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Research question: Housing advocates have long voiced concerns that the locations of community-based residential housing for the persistently mentally ill may be concentrated in neighborhoods with higher poverty rates than those of the surrounding city or region. But there exists little current empirical information on the socioeconomic characteristics of the locations of such residences. Methodology: Interviews were conducted with 164 randomly selected mental health administrators who are responsible for siting community-based housing for the mentally ill for public or private non-profit mental health organizations in the states of Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Texas. These respondents provided information on the locational strategy used in their most recently established group housing development for the mentally ill, and the street and zip code locations of those residences. Socio-economic variables for each site were collected from the 2000 U.S. Census. Findings: The study reports spatial and socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhoods of these residences including poverty rates, median income, density, unemployment rates, housing values, education, racial composition, and the percentage of renters, and compares them to city and state averages. Implications: One of the purposes of policies that promote residential housing for the persistently mentally ill has been to integrate residents into the general community. The findings provide empirical information on whether or not this sample of recently established residences are concentrated in neighborhoods that have socio-economic characteristics that vary significantly from those of the surrounding cities or regions.

Homelessness and Households in City and Suburb

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Much homeless policy overlooks the important role that households play in preventing and ending homelessness. Current federal social policy mistakenly favors the formation of married couple households to improve the prosperity and autonomy of households so as to prevent poverty and homelessness. I suspect that household

prosperity and security depends more upon the quality of member ties to local labor and housing markets than marital status. The study compares the household composition for households the homeless left with households that the formerly homeless joined controlling for poor people who have avoided homelessness in the City of Chicago and surrounding suburban areas. Method: Drawing from interviews with 1,324 poor people using homeless services in the city and suburbs of Chicago, we will analyze the differences in composition for the households where currently homeless respondents last stayed and the households where never and ever respondents currently live. The survey data will be combined with household data culled from the survey with household information from the 2000 Census Public Use Micro-data Sample (5%) controlling for suburban and city location. We expect to find the composition of the households from which the homeless come will include a more diverse membership than households for either the general population or households whose members avoided homelessness. We suspect that those who come to homelessness from an institutional setting will exhibit greater vulnerability and hardship than those who remain housed and those homeless who come from households. We will also assess the impact of tenure, housing type, and demographic measures on these differences controlling for marital status and geographic location. Relevance: The effort to prevent and treat homelessness might include households as partners rather than problems. Instead of favoring married households, policy makers might focus on how to assist a more diverse assortment of households in preventing member loss, as well as absorbing new members. I discuss how these ideas would foster changes in supportive housing and other community based housing provision plans for the homeless in city and suburban settings.

85. Urban Redevelopment –International Perspectives

Community Recovery After Military Base Closing: A Comparative and Retrospective Perspective

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From the late 1980's through the mid 1990's a large number of military bases were closed in the United States. Although the base closure process predates the end of the Cold War, the post-Cold War environment saw a significant increase in the number of base closures. In a very different context, another U.S. base closure round will take place in 2005. Related developments took place in Western Europe, as both American and national mili-

tary bases were closed in a wide variety of countries. In both the U.S. and the European Union, assistance programs were developed for impacted communities. It has now been over a decade since some of these bases were closed. It is possible, therefore, to examine the community impact of closure with a longer time horizon. Based on empirical and on-site research in both the U.S. and Western Europe, this paper describes the variety of community outcomes which have occurred, and examines the impact of external assistance programs and local community efforts in producing these results. Data sources include: Department of Defense annual updates of job creation on closed bases; GAO studies of economic outcomes in base closure communities; national evaluation studies in several Western European countries, and European Union data on economic conditions in impacted communities. Data for this project was collected during a Research Leave from the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and was partially supported by a grant from the Swedish government to examine the impact of base closings in that country.

"Bangalore like Singapore": Visioning Through Public-Private Partnerships in Bangalore, India

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Research Question: Due to global influences as well as internal fiscal pressures, developing countries have seen the ascent of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) that cut across traditional boundaries between public and private and that herald a more dynamic, entrepreneurial form of governance based on stakeholder participation. How has this affected the nature of the vision constructed for the city and the policy focus associated with this vision, and how does it affect access to decision-making and resources by different groups within the city? Methodology: A detailed case study is developed of a PPP in Bangalore, India, based on qualitative and discourse analysis of information gathered through interviews with members of the PPP, participant observation at meetings, and documents and newspapers articles relating to the PPP. Key Findings: While the PPP includes a larger number of societal actors in spheres of local decision-making, the inclusion is selective, with some actors being bypassed (such as politicians) and some privileged (notably information technology firms). Through their control over decision making, setting the agenda, and molding public preferences regarding a desirable vision for the city, privileged actors within the PPP produce a particular imagination of the urban that aligns with their aspirations while that of excluded groups remain absent. The dominant discourse is one of growth- to build on Bangalore's com-

petitive advantage in the Information Technology industry. Implications: Despite a plethora of different agendas, PPPs signal a general shift from a hierarchical, representative form of governance to a stakeholder based governance. It promotes a discourse of modernization, competitiveness and efficiency, helps avoid debate on alternative strategies, and does not easily permit public scrutiny. Future research on PPPs needs to build on the findings of this study that throw light on the use of PPPs as a methodology by which cities are governed.

Seoul, Korea: Alternative Policy Solutions for Slum Eradication

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The UNDP has established a Millennium Development Goal of achieving "a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers" by 2020. This paper questions current slum eradication orthodoxy and seeks alternatives by exploring the techniques and policies that eradicated the omnipresent slums created in the wake of World War II and the Korean War by political refugees flooding in from the north and economic refugees pouring in from the countryside. Methodology: This paper utilizes a review of Korean housing and historical literature as well as a close examination of stated policies of government leaders at the urban and the national level. Key Findings: The push and pull factors that led to such rapid urbanization reflect ongoing processes in lower income countries today, establishing the relevance of the case study for contemporary policymaking. Despite the unique geopolitical conditions facing Korea, the policies and governance that have led to the virtual elimination of slums are seen to call into question many of the trade liberalization and democracy building solutions typically offered in neoliberal analyses. Alternatives are seen in the firm vision of benevolent autocracy; the protectionist, the export-led development strategy focused on the development of domestic heavy industry; and the public-private partnerships that overcame significant fiscal constraints to construct massive housing complexes, new towns, and satellite cities. Implications: This case study of Seoul indicates that slum eradication can be effectively handled by a coordinated battery of local, national, and international policies. It further suggests that full trade liberalization may be inappropriate in the development context. Finally, it identifies several techniques that may be employed to leverage domestic capital resources in upgrading living conditions. Related Published Research: Seoul Development Institute. Seoul, Twentieth Century: Growth & Change of the Last 100 Years. Seoul: Seoul Development Institute, 2001. UN-Habitat. Facing

the Slum Challenge: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003 (unpublished).

86. "Losing Propositions"? Urban Strategies for Fiscal Revitalization Revisited

As Valuable as Home Runs and Touchdowns: Alternate Means of Revenue Generation in Stadium Leases

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Sporting enthusiasts, and taxpayers in a number of cities will remember the decade of the 1990's as the era of the publicly financed stadium. The total public obligation for stadiums either built or considered over the course of this so-called stadium boom totals more than $7.8 billion. Despite the presence of seemingly overwhelming support for this new role, questions are now being asked in cities such as Detroit, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh, where new facilities have ultimately failed to bring positive results on the field and resulted in declining attendance. While much research has been conducted in an attempt to both identify and quantify any positive benefits accruing to the communities that host these professional sports franchises, and consequently bear a significant tax burden in supporting public participation in stadium developments, one common theme has emerged when discussing whether communities can recoup some tangible benefit from so significant a public investment. The common consensus between scholar and skeptics seems to suggest that communities and taxpayers are overwhelmingly left with the financing burden. In this paper, I will explore some of the trends that have resulted in a significant increase in public financial obligations throughout the stadium boom, as well as to assess the viability of a number of alternative means – such as the use of Tax Increment Financing, land sales, and payment in-lieu of taxes agreements as means that communities that may utilize in future lease agreements to maximize the obligation of the franchise, and peripheral development to support the debt obligation assumed to finance facility construction and infrastructure improvements. Using a retrospective analysis of examples in Milwaukee, Houston, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh, this paper intends to demonstrate that the utilization of these alternative development structures will greatly reduce the obligation of supporting what many have come to consider a "losing proposition."

Big Boxes and Fiscal Payoffs

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Municipalities and their consultants commonly believe that big box discount general retail stores (such as Wal-Mart, Target, Kmart, and Costco) have a positive influence on net sales tax receipts. Based on this belief, such stores are widely coveted and sometimes subsidized. Some researchers have pointed out that large retail stores, and general merchandise discounters in particular, likely cannibalize sales of existing retail stores within the city limits, depending on the particular size and geography of the municipality. There has been little empirical investigation of this question. Using longitudinal data from the California Board of Equalization and population data from the state Department of Finance for 116 cities in the San Francisco Bay Area, I used an empirical model to account for the separate roles of big box retailers, population growth, local household income, and other factors that may play a role in the amount of local retail sales in a community. The analysis confirms that very small cities can get a big payoff from a big box. However, for the vast majority of cities in the Bay Area, the presence of such stores is not independently correlated with high tax receipts. I discuss possible reasons for this result. Such stores may follow rather than create retail demand; the big box format itself may be irrelevant to the issue of fiscally-led planning decisions; and initial disparities in sales tax generation may have been reduced over time as retail development in the Bay Area has matured.

City Fiscal Conditions and Fend-for-Yourself Federalism

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Economic conditions that precipitated fiscal crises at the federal and state level are now placing cities in similarly precarious positions. What is the condition of city finances and how are cities coping with the concomitant decline in aid and support from state and federal governments? This paper examines this question using the 2003 National League of Cities annual survey of city fiscal conditions and a supplemental survey on the impacts of state budget cuts on cities. The results point to a city fiscal crisis that is deeper than anticipated and exacerbated by the depth and strength of the state fiscal crisis.

Big Ticket Investments and Fiscal Returns: Can Cities Ever Win?

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Strategies for redeveloping urban areas have frequently involved "big-ticket" items -- the sort associated with policies that emphasize tourism and entertainment – and includes such things as sports facilities, convention centers, theaters, retail complexes, and entertainment and restaurant centers. From New York to Los Angeles and from Miami to Seattle these facilities and in most instances a constellation of several have been built to redefine or redevelop
downtown and waterfront areas, train stations, and enhance a city's image as a regional if not national tourist and recreation center. Without exception, a goal for these projects has been to fill large office buildings with workers while also attracting homeowners and apartment dwellers to inner city and downtown areas and most have required substantial public investments. Do any of these projects ever produce positive fiscal returns for cities? Are there any guidelines
and lessons from successful investments that can be copied? Through a review of Cleveland's investments across 20 years and those of selected other communities, the returns and lessons learned are analyzed.

87. Follow the Money: Insuring and Lending in Urban Neighborhoods

Racial Profiteering: An Analysis of the Disproportionate Impact of Insurance Territory Base Rates on African American and Hispanic Homeowners in Cleveland, Ohio

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Previous reviews of policies and practices of the homeowners insurance industry and their impact on minorities have focused primarily on underwriting criteria. In the current study we examine the possible disparate impact on African American and Hispanic homeowners resulting from the common industry practice of assigning varying base rates, upon which final policy premiums are calculated, to geographical territories. Akin to the well-studied and now illegal practice of mortgage redlining, the historical practice of determining insurance rates based on territories is still prevalent today. Based on an examina-

tion of rate filing documents of companies writing home-owners insurance policies in the Greater Cleveland area, we find that the majority of companies continue to divide the metropolitan area into two separate territories - one defined as the central city, and the other defined as the remainder of the county or region. This common practice has a disproportionate and negative impact on African American and Hispanic homeowners in the City of Cleveland because higher concentrations of these two groups are found in the City relative to its suburban communities. The difference in rates results in racial and ethnic profiteering by the home insurance industry. Given that these spatial patterns of racial and ethnic concentrations exist in many urban areas, the results of this study have implications beyond the Cleveland area.

From Residential Segregation to Social Disorder: An Analysis of the Neighborhood Effects of Subprime Lending on Homeownership and Neighborhood Quality

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Research Question: Many scholars have studied racial disparities between denial rates for minorities and non-minorities. According to the racial disparity scholars, minorities have been closing the homeownership disparity gap. There is evidence, however, that this phenomenon is a result of subprime mortgage loans. Subprime mortgage loans are designed for borrowers who pose a higher credit risk. They usually include both higher closing costs and higher interest rates. While these types of loans provide homeownership opportunities to individuals who would otherwise be ineligible, some scholars have recognized that many of these mortgages default at a much higher rate. Studies have revealed that subprime loans default over 800 percent more than prime loans. If one were to account for the fact that many of these loans are concentrated in low income and minority communities, the issue becomes even more problematic. This is especially true in Chicago. While foreclosures have a devastating impact on the individuals and families who are forced to leave their homes, there is evidence that there are some very devastating impacts on communities and neighborhoods as well.
Methodology: The paper is based on both quantitative analysis using hierarchical linear modeling and qualitative analysis using an expert panel of community level lenders.
Key Findings: This study is a work in progress. I hope to show how the relationship between subprime lending and the homeownership rate varies by neighborhood characteristics.

Implications: The study findings will reveal some of the obstacles that impede homeownership policies. Related Published Research: Galster, George and Mincy, Ronald (1997), The disparate racial neighborhood impacts of metropolitan economic restructuring. Urban Affairs Review, Jul97, Vol. 32 Issue 6. Squires, Gregory D and Kim, Sunwoongv (1995), Does anybody who works here look like me: Mortgage lending, race, and lender employment. Social Science Quarterly Dec95, Vol. 76 Issue 4.

Redlining, HOLC and Pittsburgh's Housing Markets

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The role of government housing programs – and particularly the syncopated relationship between inner city public housing and suburban mortgage insurance – has become a comfortable theme in the narrative of late 20th century urban decline. The neighborhood appraisals of the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) are prominently featured in this tale of racial and ethnic biases in the allocation of mortgage credit. A significant debate has emerged, however, over the extent, degree and significance of HOLC in the post World War II segregation of America's cities. Left unexamined in this debate is yet another point: HOLC effectively functioned as a direct lender to homeowners and financial institutions and as a catalyst for change in the operation of the residential mortgage market. In addition to transforming the structure of residential mortgages, HOLC actually appraised over 200 cities in the late 1930s, using similar categories for neighborhoods, but local experts who were knowledgeable about housing market variations. This paper provides a direct comparison between work done previously on the appraisal patterns and market outcomes of Philadelphia and the city of Pittsburgh– a city as yet unexamined in the case studies of HOLC impacts. Additionally, this paper directly addresses the arguments developed by Beauregard and Hillier as part of the debate of HOLC and urban segregation through a more careful elaboration of the organizational history of HOLC as it related to the mortgage insurance programs of the FHA. Using detailed data from the 1940 Census of Housing, including patterns of mortgage loans, we argue the following: 1) Place matters – significant differences in the physical and social geographies of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia created both different approaches and patterns of appraisal, as well as differing predictors of downgraded neighborhoods; 2) Appraisal practices were not necessarily consistent from city to city, although the categories used to identify excellent, good, fair and poor ar-

eas were common across cities; and 3) It is not possible to divorce HOLC's mapping practices from forces re-shaping the real estate financing industry or the mortgage insurance sector of Federal housing programs.

Mortgage Lending Disparities in Metropolitan Buffalo: Policy Options and Implications for Grassroots

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Research Question: This paper compares patterns of mortgage lending in metropolitan Buffalo, NewYork. Comparisons are made between inner city neighborhood in the City of Buffalo and neighborhoods in the suburbs. Characteristics of communities and local housing markets are considered in relation to lending patterns. The implications of these factors for community reinvestment are discussed. The analysis is based on 1999-2001 HMDA data and 2000 Census data for metropolitan Buffalo, New York. Past research focusing on mortgage lending and redlining is examined to inform the recommendations that emerge from this study.

Methodology: The paper is based on an analysis of 1999-2001 HMDA data and 2000 Census data for metropolitan Buffalo, New York. Mortgage lending in inner city neighborhoods and suburban neighborhoods is compared using descriptive statistics and multiple regression controlling for the effects of neighborhood demographics and housing characteristics.

Key Findings: Existing research concerning community reinvestment is elaborated upon through the analysis of data from this case study. This analysis is used to examine the relationship between local context and potential strategies for community reinvestment.

Implications: The study expands existing research by identifying factors related to neighborhood demographics and local context that affect mortgage lending. Techniques to deal with the intercorrelation of socioeconomic variables are introduced. Policy recommendations and strategies for augmenting grassroots advocacy are developed in light of these findings.

88. Colloquy: Comparative Civic Culture

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The purpose of this roundtable is to present the initial
findings of the Comparative Civic Culture Project, an
effort to test a civic culture approach to understanding
local policy-making within major cities in the U.S. and
Canada. Using a uniform operational system, local civic
cultures are examined by separate research teams in 15
cities in the U.S. and Canada, the interconnections be-
tween various elements of local civic culture explored,
and the effect on several central local policy areas as-
sessed. The comparative civic culture project addresses
a number of research questions, revolving around the
nature of civic culture and the relationships between the
three systemic elements of civic culture--community
power system, community value system, and community
decision-making system--with the ultimate goal of refin-
ing and applying a theory of urban policy-making that
addresses the following types of questions: · What types
of local civic culture are present in cities in the U.S. and
Canada? · Do cultural types cross national boundaries? ·
Do cities have a single local civic culture that permeates
all policy arenas or are there variations depending on
policy type? · Is there a unified local perspective on civic
culture among government officials, business leaders,
and citizens? · Do large central cities with demographic,
racial, and ethnic diversity evidence a single local civic
culture? · How do particular local cultures affect public
policies? The roundtable will consist of approximately six
scholars drawn from the larger comparative research
team to discuss the initial findings of their respective
case studies. The moderator will both organize the dis-
cussion and provide the conceptual framework and sum-
mary implications of findings across cities. While the final
participants will be determined closer to the meeting, the
list below identifies the members of the Comparative
Civic Culture Project research team and their respective
case cities.

Index of Authors, Moderators, and Conveners

The numbers without prefixes after each person's name refer to a panel or colloquy on which he or she is a participant or moderator; breakfast roundtable (BRT), plenaries, and luncheons are proceeded by the abbreviation for the day (Thurs., Fri. or Sat.)

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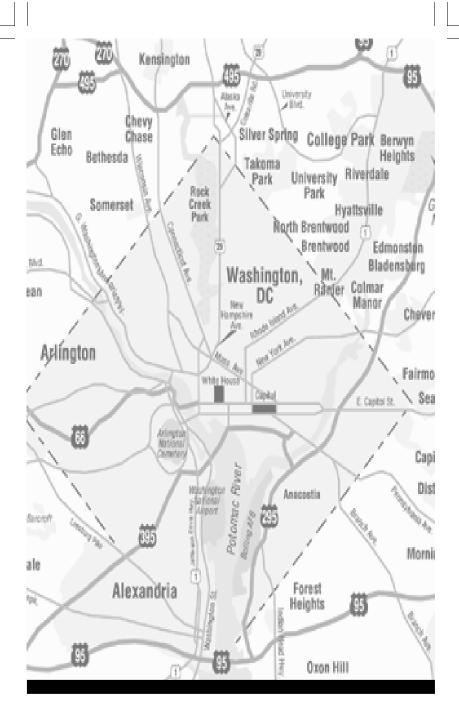   Susan   24

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