

# Redevelopment in Seven Cities Comparable to Detroit

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# REDEVELOPMENT IN SEVEN CITIES

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# Redevelopment in Seven Cities Comparable to Detroit

## Overall Context

Of major concern to a number of parties is the need to create a focused set of initiatives that have the opportunity to assist redevelopment and economic development efforts in the city of Detroit. This study was requested as a way to look at key factors which other states and cities have used in order to help support the economic viability of older central cities. Over a six month period, the researchers reviewed an exhaustive set of literature concerning several key cities, with a focus on finding key lessons.

Several cities located in the Midwest and Northeast have benefited from strategies that appear to work at some level. For example, Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and that portion of New York City known as the South Bronx have experienced market changes in neighborhood and central business district vitality over the last few years. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh also have had several initiatives which are noteworthy, and Indianapolis is known as a growing destination point for tourism. We chose to look at cities somewhat comparable to Detroit because of regional location, manufacturing history, and size, although other comparable cities could have included Milwaukee, Boston, and Baltimore. As is evident from Table 1, which lists the seven cities that we chose, Detroit has unique characteristics that are not evident in all of the cities. However, it does have:

- Comparable median income for the central city, in 2000, compared with Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh;
- Comparable levels of families below poverty for the metropolitan area, compared with Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh;
- An unusually high percentage of metropolitan employment in the manufacturing occupations, at 23%, but other metropolitan areas with at least 15% manufacturing employment include Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis.
- Like all of these cities, with the exception of Indianapolis, which is a unique metropolitan area because of consolidation, the percentage of central-city income compared to metropolitan income is no higher than 0.78. Although Detroit's relative income compared to its metropolitan income is lower than the other cities, at 0.64, this factor is not that different than the ratio in Cleveland and Philadelphia.
- In terms of Richard Florida's creativity index, as calculated in 2004 for all regions, Detroit's ranking of 113 is low but better than that of Cleveland. It is not that far behind Pittsburgh and Indianapolis, which rank no higher than 90. As noted in the Detroit section of this report, however, the creativity index relies on economic performance data which may unfairly place older industrial centers such as Detroit at a disadvantage.

TABLE 1	Eight Metro Areas							
	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Indianapolis	Minneapolis	New York (5. Bronx)	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh
Population of MSA (2000)	9,157,540	2,945,831	5,456,428	1,607,486	2,968,806	21,199,865 (South Bronx: 522,412)	6,188,463	2,358,695
Median Income of Central City (2000)	\$39,743	\$28,989	\$31,504	\$39,442	\$38,317	\$38,379	\$30,985	\$28,588
Proportion of Cent. City Income/MSA Median Income (2000)	0.779	0.687	0.641	0.866	0.706	0.756	0.652	0.763
MSA Percentage of families below poverty (2000)	7.9%	8.0%	7.7%	11.9%	4.2%	10.2% (S Bronx: 39% in 1989)	7.9%	7.8%
Percentage of MSA in Manufacturing Occupations	15.9%	19.4%	22.8%	15.8%	15.9%	9.6%	11.9%	12.3%
Rank on Florida's 2004 Creativity Index all regions	39	118	113	98	10	20	35	90
Rank on Florida's 2002 Creativity Index for regions over 1 million	15	30	39	20	10	9	17	36

Source: U.S. Census, and Florida (2004)

Detroit has a number of challenges, explained in the first section of this report. All of the news from Detroit is not bad, however. The 2000 census revealed most notably a marked decline in high – poverty neighborhoods in Detroit, and some researchers have found that Detroit actually made greater gains between 1990 and 2000 than some other cities. Detroit also has in place several assets, including a major research university, a major medical center, an active strategy for redevelopment of the riverfront, and the basic structure of central business development and community-based organization in place.

In this context, it is important to note that quite a few other cities have experienced major challenges in the last few decades. The exciting thing to consider is that not everything has been tried that could work to create improvements within a city such as Detroit. The literature is filled with several case studies and research projects that demonstrate specific strategies that have been tried and found to be successful in other places. The purpose of this project is to get some sense of the major possibilities for action which could help to bring about change.

This study looks at issues related to redevelopment and economic development of central cities. Although regional strategies were often a part of the literature concerning metropolitan areas that we looked at, regional strategies were not the major line of inquiry here. Furthermore, we looked mostly at literature that did not address such fundamental areas of needed reform as growth management. We assume that a statewide context of focused infrastructure investments and sensible land use would go a long way toward helping the city of Detroit and comparable distressed cities in the state. The fact that the Detroit metropolitan area in particular continues to spread and expand spatially even though the metropolitan population is not growing is a firm indication of the power of unfettered sprawl to affect the viability of the central city. Therefore this study is limited largely to strategies used within boundaries that, according to some authors, should be expanded at least in terms of fiscal cooperation.

## **Overall Findings**

This report is organized with a section for Detroit and each of the seven other cities which we looked at in some detail. The first page of each section summarizes the key findings for that particular city. In addition we have assembled a collection of articles, along with a carefully annotated bibliography, that can provide more detail for each area studied; these are not attached because of the large volume involved. However, here are some overall findings, grouped according to three headings: political/organizational, infrastructures/amenities, and other economic development.

### **Political/ Organizational**

The most surprising finding is the important role played by political and other organizational factors in central-city improvement. The emphasis on politicians is surprising because in some quarters the importance of political organization had faded from view in the literature on central-city redevelopment. For example, one line of

thinking is that the city is ungovernable, whereas another is that decisions are controlled largely by the “growth coalition” for its own benefit. The literature we reviewed, however, came back to the factor of mayors, and their ability to lead, for several cities. For example, certain mayors of Chicago, New York City, and Philadelphia are widely credited with leading their cities through difficult times, creating strategies that led to huge benefits for the cause of development. In some cases mayors are unnamed, but relative stability has led to positive effects as well, as was the case with Pittsburgh. But having a Mayor in place who is willing to make the organizational changes necessary for City Hall is a huge issue, and the case of Philadelphia under Rendell perhaps illustrates this best. (To repeat, this by no means buys into the popular notion of some Detroit-watchers that the city’s problems are due to its mayors.)

Not as surprising is the strong role of community-based development work. A huge literature exists on this line of action and the state of Michigan is well poised to move forward with this. The degree of selective organizational mentoring, however, that has taken place in cities such as Cleveland and the south Bronx is unprecedented in Michigan. The city of Detroit has some of the basic components in place, such as a consortium of community development corporations (CDC) and some intermediary organizational presence, but this is an area that could be developed further. Another key factor seems to be the organization of the corporate sector. Again, Detroit has basic components, particularly with Detroit Renaissance, but other opportunities exist for looking at models such as exist in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland. Another strategy has been a stronger effort to create regional governance and regional cooperation, as with Pittsburgh, but here too several groups are actively involved in this effort in Michigan.

### **Infrastructure/ Amenities**

It is under this topical area that the literature review revealed several strategies which relate to the development of the central business district, stadiums, neighborhoods, etc. The overall tone of this literature is that a focused redevelopment strategy that takes place over several carefully-planned years and that focuses on synergy allows investments to go the furthest. Two primary examples are South Bronx, New York City, and Indianapolis, but several of the other cities provided interesting lessons here as well.

The most stunning example is the south Bronx, and it is one that we provide only for illustrative purposes, since it would most likely be the most difficult to replicate. That strategy was enabled because of New York City’s emergence from a severe financial crisis. Although many sources list the strong CDC community as instrumental in the turnaround of south Bronx, it was really the role of the city government itself that also made a huge difference in this situation. Mayor Koch issued a ten-year plan that anticipated the investment of \$1.3 billion in the south Bronx and that he largely succeeded in carrying out. It was this investment that worked with an existing CDC community – a community reinforced by a focused organizational effort by the groups themselves – that led to the huge turnaround there. This redevelopment also maintained a

mix of incomes and deconcentrated poverty. Although the strategy is best known for housing it also included community building and retail and commercial developments.

Another interesting example is Indianapolis, where the city invested in almost nothing but sports – related facilities for a number of years. This gave a focus to its efforts that had the potential to make a major impact on tourism in that city. Although empirical studies cannot document economic growth because of this sports stadium strategy, that literature also indicates that intangible benefits such as a cohesive area of reception for tourists was a definite benefit. Recently the focus has shifted from primarily sports crowds to a combination of retail, entertainment, and hospitality efforts.

Other examples include several efforts that relate to light rail transportation, which helped to either enhance or protect a critical mass of commuters in Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Pittsburgh. Also notable have been the efforts by Mayor Rendell in Philadelphia to change from an office development to an arts, culture, and entertainment development strategy in the 1990s. This city also decided to focus on creating a place to attract young professionals, and concentrated on downtown areas such as the twelve – block Avenue of the Arts. Pittsburgh has also focused on a strategy that focused on the riverfront and new hotels. Minneapolis/Saint Paul has a neighborhood revitalization program, but actually little has been written about that in the academic literature. Minneapolis did have an older program that focus specifically on creating housing for local artists, however. Chicago has maintained economic diversity very well, but it has also carried out a few interesting strategies that Detroit is already trying but could build upon to greater effect, such as the magnificent Millennium Park.

### **Other economic development**

The efforts of the cities to undertake initiatives such as attraction of high-talent employment is just beginning to be written about in the literature. Some of these cities are rated fairly high according to these criteria, such as Chicago and New York. We were able to uncover mention of a number of specific programs, including focus on neighborhoods which are considered to be hip or especially attractive to young professionals, as is the case in Chicago, and the major effort being carried out in Pittsburgh to become a national leader in the green building movement. That particular effort is to attract jobs, incubate start-ups, and provide research and development for moving into a new economy. Another interesting description concerns Philadelphia, which has not had major problems with the attraction, but which was pursuing strategies which did not build on the potential benefits of medical and educational institutions. One of our sources describes it some length the efforts of the state to step in and remedy this weak area.

Another set of strategies have related to fiscal policies, and one that is written about fairly specifically is the restructuring of the tax system in Pittsburgh. Although this appeared to be a fruitful line of inquiry, since it is fairly simple in that it merely taxes vacant land at a higher rate, research suggests that this strategy is in fact neutral in terms of encouraging redevelopment. Tax-increment financing has continued to be a strategy that is mentioned



in several key studies. In particular it has been used in Minneapolis Saint Paul in very creative ways.

An allied research project, which is looking at issues such as talent, is yielding findings which will be considered as well. For present purposes, we can state that the literature continues to support the importance of highly educated people in allowing for the kind of human capital needed to make major changes. It is for this reason that several of the cities and we looked at saw the attraction of young professionals and of high-tech industries as important strategies. An education strategy is also critical, as is well understood in the state of Michigan.

## **Conclusions**

A number of very good ideas have been tried in other cities that could be applied to the city of Detroit, even in difficult times. Next steps might be to:

### *Political/ Organizational*

- Await election of the existing or a new Mayor and work to support capacity – building and organizational skills in city government;
- Revisit the overall structure of support for community-based organizations, especially CDCs, both in terms of their internal dynamics and in terms of the readiness of the City and State to facilitate their efforts
- Revisit the consortium organizations and their capacity to help implement change; consider ways of enhancing organizational support.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- Consider current development efforts, but analyze these particularly in terms of synergy and proximity, key components of the Philadelphia and Indianapolis strategies. The Detroit east river front in general reveals such synergy, several other decisions may not.
- Keep in mind the South Bronx strategy in case the opportunity arises, but in case it does not been continued to focus fairly narrowly even within the city of Detroit in terms of geographic area.
- Support for key areas of potential will continue to be an important effort, particularly as these support amenities, but these will have to be identified and nurtured very carefully.
- An advisory body that looks at just these issues for Detroit or for places such as Detroit might be very valuable.
- Support smart growth, and continue to support strategies such as land bank reform.

### *Other Economic Development*

- It is obvious that an educational strategy is key.
- High tech efforts such as Tech Town deserve major support, as do ongoing efforts to support small businesses.
- As Chicago illustrates, it is important to consider such strategies as workforce development, tax increment financing, and industrial districts.
- As the supplemental talent literature reveals, however, it is particularly useful to develop a strategy unique to local conditions.

# Detroit

## A Few Recent Trends

Detroit faces unusual challenges. Although population has declined in several major metropolitan areas, and in several key central cities, Detroit's rate of population decline is higher than average for comparable cities. Furthermore, as is well documented in several studies and publications, Detroit suffers from population loss and from an unusually high level of racial segregation, especially for African Americans. As is obvious in Figure 1, the drop-off in population is in large part racially determined. Figure 1 also demonstrates another concern: immigration has declined remarkably, an issue of major concern when one considers the findings of other studies that suggest that immigration is key for economic growth and development. On the other hand, a close examination of conditions suggests several areas of limited progress and several venues for possible intervention. This section will summarize some of this information.

### General Trends

As noted in the introduction to context, Detroit has comparable median income for the central city compared to other cities, as well as comparable levels of families below poverty for the metropolitan area. It has, however, suffered from declining and increasingly segregated populations, as well as economic distress.

The first issue we will discuss qualifies the "overall context" section's findings concerning metropolitan Detroit's ranking of economic performance. We will begin by noting that some data may be misleading, such as ratings of "creativity indices." Although Richard Florida's analysis (2004) rates metropolitan Detroit's economic viability as low according to the "creativity index," other authors suggest that common definitions of high tech as a proxy for economic performance give an unfair disadvantage to places such as Detroit (Chapple, Markusen, et al 2004). Here is a summary of this criticism of Florida's use of the Milken tech pole index to rate metro areas. Different organizations define high – technology employment differently, and some definitions used by various parties overemphasize certain professions and underemphasize others.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, Chapple et al. feel that high tech is "best captured by looking at the scientific and technical composition of the workforce in an industry, a practice used in previous studies." The authors further explore which precise occupations should be used which

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<sup>1</sup> The Progressive Policy Institute used data from the 1997 county business patterns to define high-tech as jobs in electronics and high-tech electronics manufacturing, computer related services, telecommunications, etc. A second definition comes from the AEA [American Electronics Association] and NASDAQ, which defined high-tech as electronics manufacturing, plus communications services and software services, in a fairly narrow definition. A 2001 study published by the Brookings Institute corresponded very closely to the AEA's definition, with the exception of telecommunications services. And in 1999 the Milken Institute used the work of researcher Ross De Vol to rate metropolitan areas on a tech pole scale, which included a broader definition of categories but the use of output rather than employment, which these other authors find problematic as an approach, since some industries use high levels of components imports and so output does not accurately measure local jobs.

are less glamorous and yet still high-tech, such as petroleum and automotive engineers. Their approach is to avoid defining high-tech as the same as those occupations associated simply with computers, electronics, and telecommunications. They separately explore what they call I-tech, which is employment in industries that do exhibit high information technology, and they asked various parties about specific job functions in order to ferret out use of technology in occupations that may not appear, at first glance, to be oriented to high-tech.

According to their work, ranking metro areas by high tech jobs, absolute job growth, and high-tech job share, Detroit metropolitan area ranks fairly high in the first two of these categories. In terms of the total number of I-tech industry jobs, Detroit also ranks fairly highly. They conclude that older more established industrial cities such as Detroit look pretty good when absolute rather than relative job performance is used to assess high-tech dominance. Table 1, for example, shows the ranking of “job-adding metros,” including metropolitan Detroit, according to their definition of “high-tech specialization.” Detroit ranks highly here but also in their overall index of 30 metropolitan areas, in which Detroit ranks thirteenth. In comparison, the tech pole index ranked Detroit metro at 38<sup>th</sup> among 315 metropolitan areas, and AEA/NASDAQ ranked Detroit 22<sup>nd</sup> overall among 60 areas (Chapple et al. 2004, p. 24). This data concerns the metropolitan area, rather than the city, but suggests that the region may be performing economically in ways that are not greatly out of line with other metropolitan areas.

It is important to consider the regional context when discussing Detroit. The city is economically distressed but so too are parts of the region, as is demonstrated by GIS maps developed by Myron Orfield, which are available through the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (Orfield, 2002).

Here are some basic facts about the city of Detroit, using 2000 census data, as compared with other cities. This information comes from a report by the Brookings Institution Center for Urban and Metropolitan Policy, as part of their series on Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. The report cited is “Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000.” Brookings (2003) identified 23 of the 100 largest cities as “living cities” in which significant community development efforts are taking place by a number of partners, including several foundations and the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. All illustrations listed below come from that study and are included our appendix; page numbers refer to pages in the Brookings study. Those findings with particular policy implications for this discussion are highlighted:

#### Population/ Immigration

1. Detroit lost a fifth of its population between 1980 and 2000. This loss was a total of 20.9% over twenty years, the highest of the 23 “living cities.” However the rate of decline in the 1980s (14.6%) was twice that of the 1990s (7.5%). **This suggests that population loss is high but slowing down.** (Table A-1 in Appendix A, p. 11 of Brookings 2003).

2. The Brookings study compared Detroit, in several charts, with Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Minneapolis–St. Paul. Among these cities, only Cleveland and Detroit lost population in the 1990s while their suburbs also grew. (Fig. A-1, p. 13)

**Table 1**  
**Highest Job – Adding Metros Ranked by High – Tech Specialization, 1997**

MSA/ PMSA	High-tech Specialization Index
Seattle	2.23
Washington DC	2.19
Austin	1.98
Las Vegas	1.85
New York	1.85
Fort Worth	1.68
<b>Detroit</b>	<b>1.67</b>
Atlanta	1.64
San Antonio	1.64
Nashville	1.64
Orlando	1.61
Denver	1.61
Charlotte	1.56
San Jose	1.56
Dallas	1.54
Kansas City	1.50
Houston	1.49
Columbus, Ohio	1.48
Phoenix	1.46
Raleigh-Durham	1.44
Tampa – St. Petersburg	1.40
Portland OR	1.37
Boston	1.30
Philadelphia	1.26
Chicago	1.25
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1.22

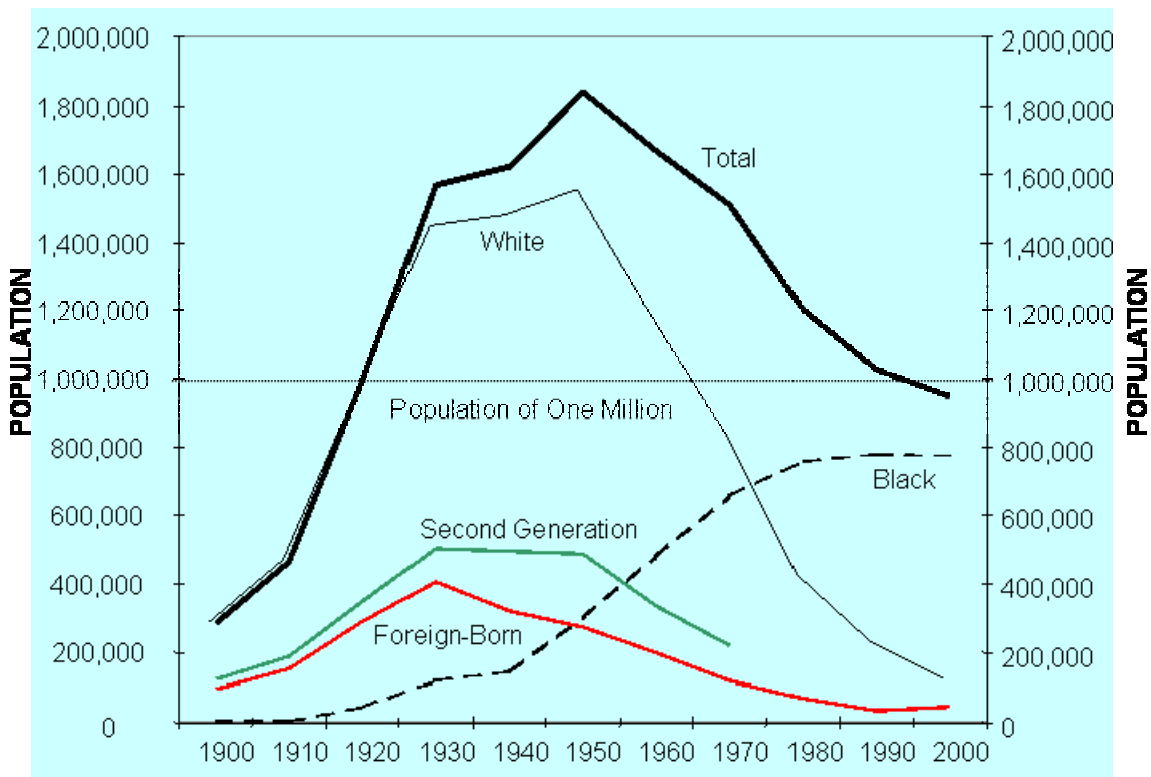
Source: Karen Chapple et al., “Gauging Metropolitan ‘High-Tech’ and ‘I-Tech’ Activity,” Economic Development Quarterly 18, number one (February, 2004), p. 22.

3. Segregation between blacks and Hispanics in Detroit was second highest among the 23 “living cities.”
4. **Detroit had the fourth lowest proportion of foreign-born residents among the 23 “living cities.” It added 11,000 foreign-born residents in the 1990s, but this was a slower growth rate than the average city.** Detroit’s suburbs gained more than eight times as many immigrants as the central city in the 1990s, a wider disparity that in most other Midwest metropolitan areas. (Table A-2, p. 25)

5. **Mexico and Iraq are the most common countries of origin for Detroit’s foreign born residents. From Mexico the city gained 33% of its foreign-born residents, 15,228, while from the Iraq it gained 8% of such residents, 3705.** (Fig. A-2, A-3, p. 28-9)
6. Every 100 working age adults in Detroit support 71 children and seniors, which is the highest ratio among the 23 “living cities”.
7. **Detroit lost in just about every category of household types between 1990 and 2000, including married couples with and without children, but it did gain modestly in the number of “other family without children” and “other non family.”** (Fig. A-4, p. 38)

Some of this data can be summarized by charts. See Figure 1 for an overview of some of the key data.

**Figure 1**  
**Population Enumerated in the City of Detroit, 1900 to 2000**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Decennial Censuses: 1900 to 2000, chart created by Reynolds Farley.

A number of studies have explored in more detail different aspects of the above findings. For example, the work of Reynolds Farley and associates has given us much information about the causes and effects of residential segregation and job mismatch for minority populations. The book *Detroit Divided* is a key source for a critical analysis of the effects of racial prejudice in the workplace and in residential areas (Farley et al 2000, Farley 2001). Works such as that by Darden and Kamel (2000) show that the high levels of racial segregation between blacks and whites that take place in the metropolitan area are repeated in the suburbs. They found that segregation takes place even when black families are of equal social and economic status with white families.

The immigration data is key because, according to some theorists, those localities which are able to attract both domestic and international migrants are the ones best situated for economic growth. As noted above, the city of Detroit gained fewer international migrants than other cities, according to Brookings. However, as noted in a recent study (SEMCOG 2004), their seven-county metropolitan area also experienced a lower immigration rate from international sources than did the U.S. as an average. Also lagging behind the national average of international migration was each county in Southeast Michigan, except Washtenaw and Oakland. The data above on population/immigration does suggest several strategies. If immigration is considered to be one route to repopulating cities, then it would seem that encouraging further immigration from Mexico might be one route to attracting such migrants. If the goal is to gain additional families, moreover, it would seem that attracting higher income families has been a modestly successful strategy, as has the strategy of attracting families without children.

Here is another set of findings by Brookings, this time concerning various economic conditions. As before, page numbers refer to Brookings (2003), but tables are reproduced in the appendix to the present report.

#### Education/ Employment/ Income/Housing

1. Among the 23 “living cities”, **Detroit rates fourth lowest in terms of college degree attainment**, and the proportion of those with high school diplomas is relatively low but on the rise. (Table A-3, Brookings, p. 42) About 50,000 Detroit residents were enrolled in college in 2000, which is less than average for the “living cities”.
2. Among the largest cities in the countries, **Detroit ranks fairly low in the proportion of adults in the labor force**, just above Philadelphia, Newark, and Miami (Table A-4, p. 46).
3. **Detroit had the highest proportion of workers in the manufacturing industry** in the 23 cities (Table A-5, p. 49).
4. **Only half of employed residents in the city worked within the city**, which was the fourth lowest proportion among the 23 cities, just ahead of Miami, Newark, and Oakland (Table A-6, page 52). Only 8% of Detroit workers use public transportation.

5. **The number of low income households dropped dramatically in the 1990s, but so did the number of middle income households. The number of wealthiest families rose slightly.** (Fig. A-5, page 56)
6. **Child poverty rate fell dramatically in the 1990s,** to a level less than that of Miami, Newark, Cleveland, and Atlanta, (Table A-7, p. 59) but more than 42% of families with children lived below or near the poverty line.
7. **Among the 23 cities, Detroit had the highest percentage of its housing in one-to-four family homes,** with the lowest percentage in multifamily buildings. (Table A-8, p. 67).
8. **Detroit's homeownership rate is the seventh highest among the 23 cities,** and this rose during the 1990s to 55% (Table A-9, p. 64).

The findings on education confirm the importance of pursuing an educational strategy, not just for K-12 but also for retaining and attracting college graduates and, quite possibly, college enrollees. The findings on employment include continuing reliance on manufacturing in 2000, a fact which must be acknowledged if not changed.

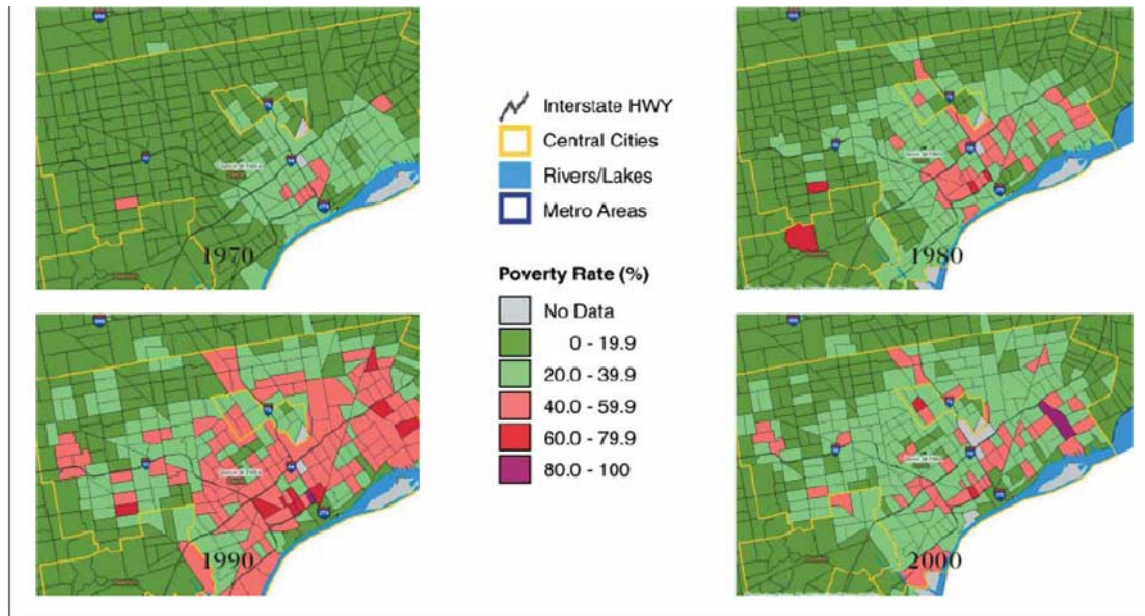
Concerning poverty, apparently the news is mixed. The number of children in poverty dropped, for example, but the proportion of families, with children, which were in poverty remained high. Other data does show that the proportion of high-poverty neighborhoods in the city of Detroit did drop dramatically from 1990 to 2000. Note the dramatic change from 1990 to 2000, according to Jargowsky 2003, as noted in Figure 2, which shows a large drop in the number of neighborhoods with more than 40 percent of the population in poverty. This improvement came after a steep incline in such neighborhoods between 1980 and 1990. As with all economic data, it is important to note that the economy was doing quite well in 2000, and conditions have declined since then.

Other studies explore such issues as why people in the city of Detroit have a difficult time getting employment. For example, a study by Allard et al (2003) using a simple series of questions asked of welfare recipients in order to determine why suburban residents and why central-city residents experienced barriers to employment. They determined that welfare recipients in the suburbs were likely to have experienced mental health, substance abuse, and domestic violence barriers to employment. These were not such big factors for unemployed welfare recipients in the central city of Detroit, however. There people were less likely to have access of jobs because of structural factors, such as lack of access to an automobile, or the lack of accessibility to local jobs. Such findings as these deserve to be explored in order to ensure appropriate policy response; they suggest, for example, that the spatial distribution of jobs and of transportation have great effects, even if overnight it is not possible to multiply the number of college graduates or other qualified employees in center city locations.



**Figure 2**

**High-Poverty Neighborhoods in Detroit, 1970-2000**



Source: Paul Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems: The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s," Brookings Institution Policy Brief, May 2003. Available on web at [www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/jargowskypoverty.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/jargowskypoverty.htm)

Areas of Comparison

Although we have provided several qualifications and areas of improvement, it is important to note that major barriers exist for those who would carry out focused redevelopment activities for the city of Detroit. In the following pages we offer comments on several cities according to three major categories: political/governmental, infrastructure/amenities, and general economic development. Here is a brief summary of these issues related to Detroit.

*Political/ Organizational*

A number of concerns have been expressed concerning issues related to politics and organization in Detroit. You will briefly summarize three of these: concerns about the Mayor and council, as well as the city's development bureaucracy; concerns about the ability of community-based organizations to carry out a meaningful role in city redevelopment; and concerns about the effectiveness of collaboration between these two branches of government and with other intermediaries and community development interests, such as foundations. We will briefly review these issues with the reference for further study by those who are interested.

A study of a number of cities suggests that the capacity and respect with which a Mayor is held has a lot to do with the chances for effective redevelopment strategies. Whether or not the Mayor of Detroit is capable has been a source of discussion for some time. At one point citizens of metropolitan Detroit tended to blame Mayor Coleman Young for many of the difficulties facing the city. This was in many ways inaccurate because many trends have been showing decline in areas long before Coleman Young was elected to his first four year term in 1973. In addition, Young carried out quite a few high-profile redevelopment efforts, particularly concerning industrial development and the central business district. When Mayor Dennis Archer, elected in 1993, came to office, some corporate and suburban interests indicated that a welcome change was taking place, however, and Archer was fairly widely respected as a capable leader during his eight years of office (Thomas 1997, Lawless 2002). As of the writing of this report, Archer's successor, Kwame Kilpatrick, has served most of one term, but fall elections may actually yield a new Mayor. Although with each of these three mayors has certain good qualities, they came to office during a time of marked crisis for the city, and none was able to engineer a permanent turnaround.

One of the characteristics of city government in Detroit has been the conflict which has often taken place between the Mayor and the City Council, as well as continued charges of bureaucratic ineptitude (Lawless 2002). The Council itself is elected on an at-large basis, and some previous research has pointed out that this fact alone could be a major barrier to neighborhood redevelopment (Thomas 1999). In addition, the city's bureaucratic structure for handling issues related to economic development is fairly fragmented, with some functions taking place under the legislative branch, the council, and other functions taking place under the executive branch, the Department Of Planning And Economic Development. This bifurcated structure is fairly unusual among major American cities (Thomas 1997).

The city has several fine community based organizations, some of which are community development corporations. These too have had major challenges, however. Detroit is not known as one of the areas of strongest CDC presence, and some research has suggested that the CDC's that do exist are very constrained by lack of financial resources and by poor access to the policymaking process (Silverman 2003a, 2003b). Some comparative research has shown limited strategy – making among CDC's in Detroit (Chaskin et al. 1997), although great strides have been made in recent years in part because of organizational efforts taking place among the groups themselves, as with Community Development Advocates of Detroit, and because of intermediaries such as LISC. In addition, several large churches have undertaken major development initiatives (Reese and Shields 2000).

In terms of all of these groups working together, however, much progress remains to be made. Certainly ten years ago the lack of distrust between community-based organizations and city government was marked and self defeating (Bockmeyer 2001). More recent interviews by Lawless (2002) reveal a number of concerns about how well the various organizations are working together. A simple illustration of this fact, according to Lawless, is the simple diversity of organizations which exist, to the

confusion of outsiders and possibly to the detriment of action that is coordinated and focused: an Economic Growth Corporation, a Downtown Detroit Partnership [formerly Greater Detroit Partnership], Detroit Renaissance, New Detroit, etc.. We have already mentioned the two planning divisions, one serving the City Council and the other serving the Mayor. One focused study based on extensive interviews of economic development practitioners in the Detroit region characterized efforts as marked by “competitive separatism and apathetic avoidance,” in contrast to the collaborative approach of municipalities in the Tokai region of Japan (Jacobs 2004).

This suggests that much room exists for improvement in efforts to enhance political effectiveness and interagency cooperation. So too would the strategy of strengthening community-based initiatives probably yield great results.

### *Infrastructure/amenities*

In the midst of this situation, the city has indeed made progress in certain efforts to develop the infrastructure/ amenities necessary to serve as a context for redevelopment. We have already mentioned some of the efforts of Coleman Young, and should note that quite a few projects have been built in the downtown area, most recently the excellent Campus Martius, GM plaza and connected waterfront development on the edge of the Renaissance Center, and the new headquarters for Compuware. Three casinos and two stadiums serve as anchors, if not true economic generators, and recent changes to the Renaissance Center are laudable (Stohr 2004). The city is still lacking a central business district that has a discernible retail function, however, and many downtown vacant buildings have resisted plans for reuse for more than a decade. It is also difficult to get a sense of critical mass, with some of the improvements to the downtown area being in scattered sites, and the riverfront development planned as a linear project. No overall strategy exists that is comparable to Baltimore’s waterfront development or Philadelphia’s Avenue of the Arts. The City, according to some observers, has actually created an entertainment-focused strategy, but this has possibly a poor chance of success in Detroit (McCarthy 2002).

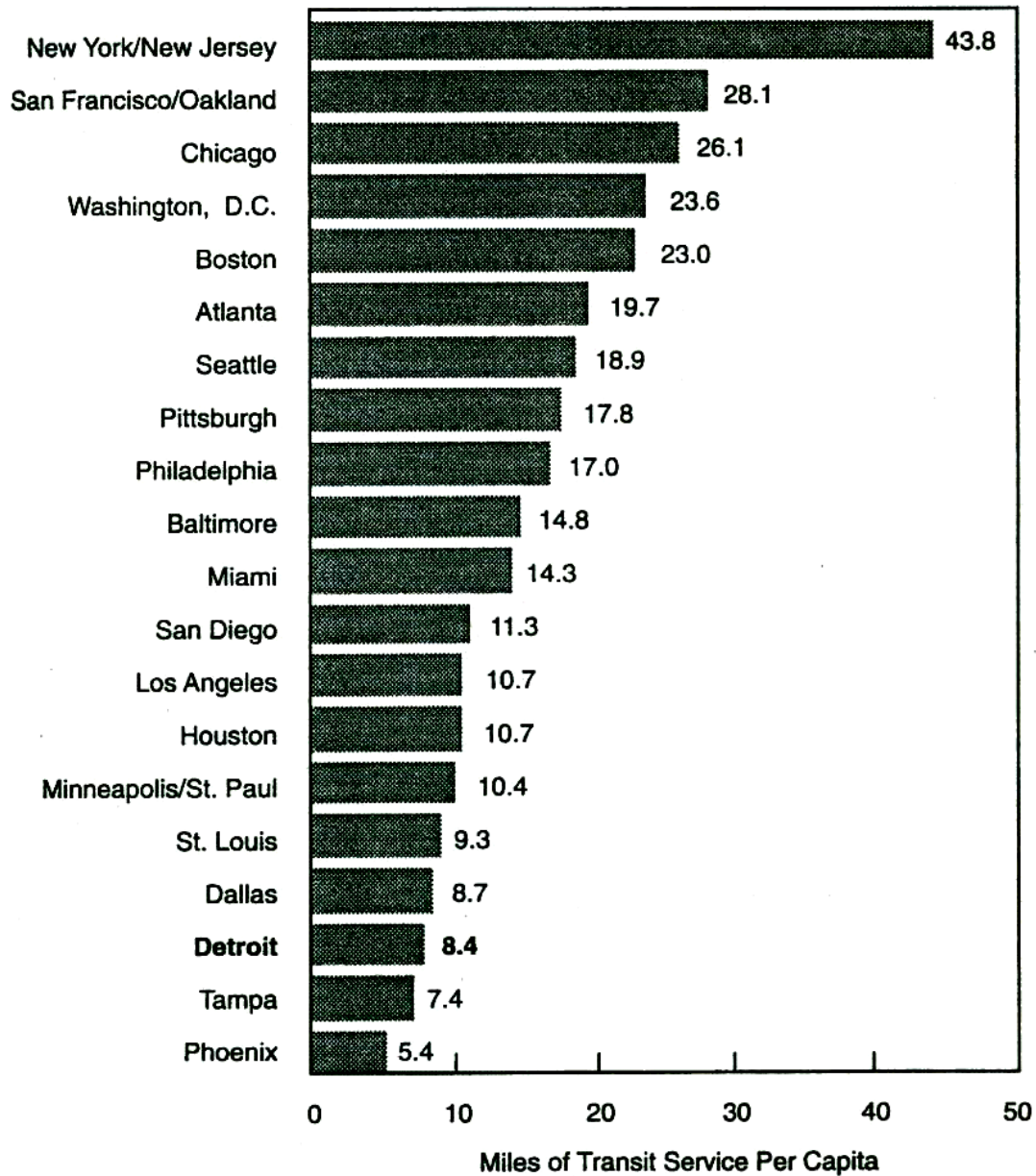
The lack of synergy and density in the central portion of Detroit is influenced in part by the rate of out-migration and resulting vacancy, and in part by simple factors such as the lack of the public transportation system that centers on the downtown area. The 2.9 mile People Mover was envisioned as the endpoint of a regional public transportation rail system which never came to be. In contrast to Detroit’s lack of a light rail system, some researchers are suggesting that such public transportation is essential in order to ensure a critical mass of downtown population of varied socio-economic status. See Figure 3 for an illustration of the low ranking of Detroit in terms of public transportation as of 1990; data shows little change as of more recent years.

It is true that the rate of residential construction has picked up in several city clusters. Certain areas are being very popular, such as the east riverfront and Midtown areas, as sites for new, market-rate housing. Several CDCs have also finally been able to get

construction projects started and such efforts by some are growing. Vacant land remains a major issue, however.

**Figure 3**

**1990 Comparison of Transit Service  
Top 20 Urbanized Areas**



Source: Southeast Michigan Council of Governments, 2020 Regional Transportation Plan, Background Paper #6, March 1997.

### *Other economic development*

Some articles concern other issues that we will mention only briefly here. As noted above, the issue of vacant land continues to be a difficult issue, and some work is being done to look at alternatives. The City and the County are exploring ways of setting up the land bank, under the authority of legislation enacted in the state of Michigan in 2004. Some of the background work done on this included a report by Community Development Advocates of Detroit (2003), which noted the potential benefits of a property disposition program in facilitating redevelopment. That study cited the experiences of Cleveland and Atlanta as examples of what could be done in Detroit. They also cited some of the research by Keating and Sjoquist, "Emergent Policy Regarding Tax Delinquent Properties" (2001), which set up some practical suggestions for establishing desired initiatives.

An award winning article in 2002 by a student at Wayne State University Law School made a strong case for the possible benefits of selling lots for \$1.00 in order to facilitate affordable housing in Detroit (\$1 per Lot 2002). Several other studies are being done to examine possible uses of vacant land. One unusual study, by Murray and Rogers (1999), suggests that development of brownfields within the city of Detroit would ultimately be cheaper than development of regional greenfield sites because the rural sites are more vulnerable to seepage into the water table than is Detroit's soil.

The above text summarizes a small portion of the voluminous literature on Detroit. Now we will proceed to look at summary findings concerning seven comparable cities.

# Chicago

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- Key factors in recent successes concerning redevelopment in Chicago are, apparently, two mayors with contradictory styles. Mayor Harold Washington excelled in helping to support grassroots movements at the neighborhood level; although his term of office was relatively short lived, a widely spread literature exists about his deeds. The current Mayor Daley has taken a more traditional “growth machine” approach, with a focus on downtown development in attracting the middle class and various businesses. Daley has also exemplified a very strong management style with a focus on parks and schools.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- In addition to infrastructure investment in parks and schools, the city has also continued to support downtown development, most recently with its magnificent Millennium Park. It has also made a major expansion of its light rail transportation network, expanding subways to link with the pedestrian paths. Also key have been recent high-profile efforts to redevelop several public housing projects.

### *Other economic development*

- Traditionally the city has ranked high in creative occupations, and in hip neighborhoods such as Wicker Park; its economic base has remained diverse throughout its recent history. Some warning signs exist, however, such as a loss of high-tech employment because of lack of connection with the defense industry.
- Chicago has recognized the potential workforce intermediaries conceive for improving workforce development. The city has linked workforce and economic development activities to create opportunities for their workforce intermediaries to connect residents to well-paying jobs.
- With the use 77 TIF districts, Chicago has been able to positively affect the outcomes of urban regeneration projects. Through the use

of TIFs the city has been able to regenerate the downtown area, attract people back to the city, enhance the city's image, and spark development interests.

- Under Mayor Daley, Chicago has also sought to reinvigorate and stabilize the city's industrial base with the use of Planned Manufacturing Districts (PMDs), which have been incorporated into a citywide industrial policy. This plan discourages real estate speculation and encourages firms to undertake long-range planning.

## Chicago Quick Summary

The most significant finding in the Chicago literature is the debate over the different approaches to local government and the effects they have on the community. Under Mayors J. Daley and M. Daley, Chicago was guided by progrowth strategies that largely sought to attract middle-class residents and businesses and on physical improvements and amenities in the CBD. On the other hand, Mayor Washington took a progressive approach by focusing on grassroots movements.

As grassroots movements were emerging in Chicago, there was a parallel evolution of local predevelopment interests under Mayor J. Daley. Daley's administration was unrelentingly hostile to grassroots objectives. In reaction, several grassroots took action by adopting twin strategies with other local groups such as churches, social service agencies and ethnic mutual aid societies to fight gentrification and to block privatization of HUD subsidized apartment units. The class-grounded conflicts were caused by the conflictual agendas of the two local movements (Bennett, 1997). However, Washington took a much different approach to local government by focusing on grassroots movements (Clavel and Kraushaar, 1998; Clavel and Deppe, 1999). With the election of M. Daley, there was a change in community development from predominately grassroots movements under Washington, to a smaller and fragmented government led by professionalized groups. Some argue that the local government lost its capacity to be innovative and to contribute to progressivism when it lost its connection to grassroots leadership (Betancur, 2004).

Under M. Daley, irreconcilable issues of class, ethnicity, and race drove the politics of gentrification, steered by the collaboration between the local government and the private sector. Gentrification was promoted by the government in order to improve the tax base. Without the government, private sector gentrification would not have been possible (Betancur, 2002). However, not all literature views Daley's actions as unacceptable. Some say the key to creating innovation in the information or knowledge economy are public leaders who recognize the importance of amenities and use them to attract new residents. This type of leadership is known as the New Political Culture (NPC), which is distinctively responsive to consumption rather than just production. Mayors of this type exemplify the efficient management of city government through contracting out, and focus on quality of life issues and attempt to attract the middle-class and business to the city. The most revolutionary change of this nature came under M. Daley, who was an autonomous mayor that managed Chicago like a Japanese corporation with its corporate style management structure (Clark et al., 2002).

One community of particular importance in Chicago is Wicker Park, a nationally recognized neo-bohemian neighborhood. During the 1990's, Wicker Park gained a nation reputation as a site of hip urban culture with a thriving music and art scene. This area evolved naturally into a cultural center by the presence of artists and musicians, unlike manufactured culture created by developers through the production of big-ticket items like stadiums (Lloyd, 2002). An example of manufactured culture is the creation of Wrigleyville, a generic culture created around Wrigley Stadium that has hurt local



venders that do not specifically cater to sports fans (Spirou and Bennett, 2002). With the help of Wicker Park, by the 1990's Chicago ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in the US in the number of individuals employed in creative occupations, and by 2000, Wicker Park earned a national reputation for its concentration of new economy enterprises in digital design (Lloyd, 2002). However, because of gentrification in Wicker Park, the city is no longer a place to be seen, but a product to be sold. Gentrification has created negative affects for the poor and working-class families who live in the area (Perez, 2002).

One strategy in Chicago that has been successful and much less controversial is the city's continuous expansion and improvements on its transportation system. If the city is to reach its economic potential, nothing less than a huge makeover of the transportation system will suffice in the Loop. This is based on the premise that the CBD can and should add 40 million sq. ft. of office space by 2020. Additionally, this will add several hundreds of thousands of jobs to the Loop in the next two decades (Hinz, 2002; see also Byrne, 1980; Seeger and Hocking, 2001).

Another strategy the city has embraced is the use of a series of industrial and commercial tax increment financing (TIF) districts, which has successfully brought the once thriving industrial center back to life. By 1999 there were more than 75 TIF districts throughout the city. Through TIF, Chicago has become one of the strongest industrial markets in the country (Healy, 1999).

## Chicago Key Empirical Articles

Clark et al (2002)

- Daley exemplifies a particularly effective style of management; “like a Japanese corporation.”
- Additionally, the Chicago experience suggests that dramatic policy innovation is more likely when:
  1. Managers operate in an environment characterized by high risk and uncertainty
  2. The status quo’s legitimacy is low
  3. Policy alternatives are actively monitored and criticized by many political participants
  4. Managers are talented and ambitious, but also trusted and personally well-connected to political leaders who support them
  5. Political leadership is stable and coherent
  6. General policy direction is clear
  7. Managers have autonomy and encouragement to pursue dramatic change
- Strong focus on “amenities and citizen responsiveness” as a replacement for “patronage jobs” and clientele-oriented contracts.
- Focus on amenities, parks and schools, and safe streets
- Connection between “dramatic policy innovation” and success in city’s redevelopment

Lloyd (2002)

- During 1990’s, the neo-bohemian neighborhood of Wicker Park gained national reputation as a site of hip urban culture with a thriving music and art scene.
- It evolved naturally into cultural center by presence of artists and musicians, unlike manufactured culture created by developers through the production of big-ticket items like stadiums.
- In 1990’s Chicago ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in US in the number of individuals employed in creative occupations.
- By 2000, Wicker Park earned national reputation for its concentration of new economy enterprises in digital design.
- Article suggests that this kind of community is particularly attractive in post-Fordist city; supports both entertainment and “new media.”

Markusen and McCurdy (1989)

- Chicago has a strong concentration of “seedbeds of innovation” – skilled personnel, research labs, universities, etc.
- But, city has lost remarkable ground in this area.
- Largely because of the absence of military facilities and poor connections with defense businesses.
- Why – reasons, according to interviews, varied.
- Focuses on 10 firms in metro area.

# Cleveland

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- Key to recent success in Cleveland have been major organizational changes at several levels. The CEOs of the largest corporations formed a very strong Cleveland Tomorrow, and a complex network of intermediaries and community development corporations is run with a strong degree of accountability. Focused organizational support for CDC's is key, as is consistency among strategies by city government, corporate and foundation leadership, and intermediaries.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- The city has also followed a multiyear strategy for improvement of the riverfront and downtown, building on synergy allowed by fairly compact development and a light rail system.

### *Other economic development*

- It is also created a number of important efforts at focusing on schools as a means of attraction, marketing Cleveland to outsiders, and enhancing job training.
- Cleveland has created a regional workforce development strategy, known as the Jobs and Workforce Initiative (JWFI), which requires area employers to work together to address low unemployment rates that cause employers difficulty in finding qualified entry-level workers.

## Cleveland Quick Summary

Cleveland's planning agenda since the city's bankruptcy has focused on creating a complex web of public-private partnerships and downtown redevelopment. Due to the hostile nature of advocacy planning, neighborhood revitalization efforts favor housing and commercial redevelopment to avoid potential conflicts between CDCs and the private sector (Lowe, 2004).

Leading Cleveland's private sector initiative is a group of CEO's from the city's largest corporations who decided to take an active role in development efforts, rather than just being donors, forming Cleveland Tomorrow. Their goal is to leverage their competencies in economic analysis, strategy formulation, and resource mobilization and deployment to help in revitalization efforts. Cleveland Tomorrow maintains focused on a specific agenda and serves only as a catalyst with no direct involvement in program management. They will start a new organization where one is needed, fund it for a period of time, and when it is successful enough to function on its own it will be released from support (Austin, 1998). Cleveland Tomorrow also released their own comprehensive plan for downtown redevelopment called Civic Vision 2000 and Beyond. This plan called to improve the commercial corridor where empty offices were being converted into apartments and improve the waterfront. Even though this was a private document, it is part of the public planning process. The entire plan is computerized using the planning department's GIS, enabling easy access to up-to-date information to everyone, including neighborhoods (Knack, 1999). Other downtown plans include a long-range plan adopted in 1986 that would contribute millions of dollars for riverfront development, primarily through residential development (Jordan, 1997).

Cleveland's neighborhoods also received much attention, but not on the basis of promoting advocacy. The Cleveland Foundation (CF) has continued to support the physical revitalization of neighborhoods through CDCs. CF's support heavily favors housing and commercial redevelopment over neighborhood advocacy due to potential conflicts between CDCs and the private sector. The CF has created Program Related Investment for the development of market-rate housing; they also created the Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program to aggregate contributions from philanthropic, government, and private sector sources for CDC operation support, which was later institutionalized through the creation of Neighborhood Progress Inc (NPI), created by Cleveland Tomorrow. NPI has evolved into a broad service delivery organization and financial intermediary (Lowe). NPI, along with the Cleveland Housing Network (CHN), work with the Enterprise Foundation and LISC. CHN is a membership organization of 23 CDCs working in partnership to develop affordable housing with the emphasis of serving families in poverty and providing homeownership opportunities (McDermott). To help assist tenants in homeownership, CHN developed a lease-purchase program that allows tenants to own their unit after 15 years if all requirements have been met (Smith, 1996). What makes these organizations interesting is how they have evolved over time. In the 1980's the changes in programs implemented by philanthropic and government partners transformed the organizational character of CDCs through conditions placed on operating sources of funding. Because of organizations such as NPI, a hierarchy has

emerged that demanded organizational efficiency from CDCs. New efforts treated them in a more businesslike fashion, encouraging mergers to produce larger, more effective production units. Funds were awarded on a competitive basis, thereby encouraging CDCs to produce projects of scale that would be consistent with the department's strategic objectives. This was a way for city officials to professionalize the CDCs. This system continues to mature and transform as the system evolves over time (Yin, 1998).

## Cleveland Key Empirical Articles

### Austin (1998)

- Cleveland Tomorrow, composed of top CEOs, arose in 1978 to steer the city forward. Their companies have a minimum of \$300 million in annual sales. Social pressure was used to “encourage” CEO membership; 5 professional staff members.
- Three elements key to Cleveland Tomorrow’s success:
  1. Careful diagnoses of problems with a systematic delineation of solutions
  2. Maintained a sharply focused agenda
  3. They have evolved by learning from and building on their success and failures

### Lowe (2004)

- Cleveland Foundation (CF) helped generate the creation of the Cleveland Housing Network (CHN).
- Local politics, especially “uncomfortable” protests by community groups against a major donor, led to a strong focus on physical rehabilitation as apposed to advocacy and community organizing.
- CF created focused investments for housing.
- CF created the Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership (CNP) to aggregate philanthropic, etc., support and institutionalized partnerships through the creation of Neighborhood Progress, Inc. (NPI).
- All corporations and foundation resources flow through NPI; still there is tense relationships between CDCs and CF.

### McDermott (2004)

- NPI and Cleveland Housing Network (CHN)
- Four programs:
  1. Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program (CNPP) – operational support for CDCs
  2. Quantum Leap – organizational development for CDCs
  3. New Village Corporation – real estate subsidiary
  4. Village Capital Corporation – provides capital to CDCs’ real estate projects

### Purdy (1993)

- Strong efforts to enhance city government efficiency.
- Effort to coordinate public infrastructure in region
- Effort to *market* Cleveland to outsiders
- Mayor focused on schools as means of attraction; Cleveland Summit

Varady (1994)

- Cleveland Action to Support Housing (CASH) – purpose is to create a partnership with area banks to generate low-interest loans for middle-income families.
  - One way CASH mortgages are provided is through a land bank, where land parcels are sold for \$100 with the requirement that the purchaser have an adequate plan for the site.

Yin (1998)

- Detailed history of innovations/organizations in Cleveland
- Description of some groups described above, with critical commentary:
  - Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program (CNPP) – consolidate funds available to CDCs
  - Neighborhood Progress, Inc. (NPI) – created criteria for CDCs for receive funding on a competitive basis
  - Cleveland Housing Trust Fund (HTF) – provide funds for construction of housing
  - Cleveland Housing Network (CHN)
- NPI has an assured cycle of funding for CDCs based on performance criteria, but saturation created challenges for CDCs.
- Focus under Mayor White shifted to middle-class housing. The City Department of Community Development also shifted focus to encourage competitiveness and physical development.
- All of this transformed the organizational character of local CDCs
- Controversy has ebbed over the years as the number of CDCs funded increased, and housing developments were built signaling success, but production has exhausted CDC staff.
- Therefore Quantum Leap was created.

# Indianapolis

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- Indianapolis as an interesting metropolitan area is known in great part because of a unified county government, but the strategy has not led to as many benefits as were anticipated for the central city.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- It is also known for its downtown redevelopment strategy focused heavily on sports facilities, but most careful empirical analysis suggests that sports employment and general employment did not increase markedly because of this strategy, compared to similar cities. However several intangible benefits such as enhanced image and tourism resulted because of its marked sports event profile. More recent focus has been on retail, entertainment, and hospitality venues; future development plans are to promote arts and culture.

### *Other economic development*

- Another important strategy is to make Indianapolis a world leader in life sciences.



## Indianapolis Quick Summary

There are three major themes for Indy that emerged from the literature. The most significant debate is over the economic results from the city's sports-led development strategy. Additionally, much attention was given to the Unigov, and the changes made by Mayor Goldsmith. Finally, more recent literature demonstrates Indy's shift in sports redevelopment strategies to one more focused on arts and culture.

Indy's success in using sports, entertainment, hospitality venues to rebuild decaying core areas has attracted substantial attention and encouraged several other cities to try similar approaches (Austrian and Rosentraub, 2002). A study found that a sports strategy, even as pronounced and articulated as Indy's, is likely to have an inconsequential impact on development and economic growth. Changes in sports-related employment were not significantly correlated with increases or decreases in overall employment. While there were important achievements which should be attributed to Indy's sports strategy, on balance there were no significant or substantial shifts in economic development. The sports strategy was not able to attract a substantial level of other forms of economic activity (Rosentraub et al., 1994). A similar study found that although Indy's sports/downtown development strategy did contribute to a substantial change in Indy's national image and profile, the benefits from this did not help the city's economy to grow more than other Midwestern cities of comparable size. Indy should have perused a strategy where the city has a competitive advantage over other cities (Rosentraub and Przybylski, 1996). Another study reviewed the economic benefits from teams and analyzed, for the first time, the intangible benefits from sports facilities. The results suggest that fans, players, and owners are the prime beneficiaries of a team's presence. Therefore, investments made by the public sector in facilities should rely on a special user tax district that insures that those who benefit bear the cost (Swindell and Rosentraub, 1998). An additional study conducted an early assessment of the sports strategy and found no evidence of wage levels that exceeded those in other Midwestern cities without a sports strategy. According to the study, cities receive intangible benefits from sports, but not job creation, higher earnings, and additional tax revenues.

It should also be noted that the strategy of Indy was different than the approach taken by Cleveland, particularly in the role of its funders. In Indy, the role of nonprofits was of importance, whereas in Cleveland investments in sports were by firms that owned a great deal of real estate in the CBD. Similar to Indy, Cleveland experienced few direct benefits from sports, but sports have enabled Indy and Cleveland to maintain an important share of tourism-related jobs in the CBD (Austrian and Rosentraub, 2002; See table from this source, which demonstrates that Indianapolis' job change did not differ greatly from that of Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati). Additionally, the focus on sports and tourism-related industries did appear to create a set of connections or excitement within downtown areas that stemmed the outflow of jobs to more suburban locations (Austrian and Rosentraub, 2002).

In 1969 Indianapolis attempted to create a unified county government, but in many ways fell substantially short and has created a more complicated structure than the previous

one. One of the action's biggest downfalls is the Indy was captured by its suburbs, primarily because Unigov was created by suburban Republicans. As a result, it doesn't give central city residents access to a wider tax base, rather it gave suburbanites access to the central city base. Additionally, Mayor Goldsmith increasingly complicated thing by rearranging aspects of government and service delivery through privatization efforts (Bloomquist and Parks, 1995). Goldsmith ran city government like a business by privatizing city services and giving responsibility for community issues over to neighborhood groups, all of which have had varying degrees of success. Over time Goldsmith's strategy evolved from privatization into competition as the core strategy (Gurwitt, 1994). Goldsmith's mixture of populist rhetoric and progressive behavior produced a contradictory consciousness among community leaders by undermining several aspects the Unigov sought to achieve (McGovern, 2003).

As of recently, Indy has sought to expand its arts and culture sector. The city has developed the Cultural Tourism Initiative, which will take Indy to the next level of national prominence, beyond sports attraction. The initiative is based on the premise that 50% of visitors come to visit family in the area, therefore they are going to heavily market the initiative to residents in the area (Knight, 2003/2004). Additionally, Indy is improving Massachusetts Avenue, known as the city's "arts district," by making it more pedestrian friendly (Tobias, 2001). Indy also has future downtown development plans that include a campaign to promote arts and culture, and an initiative to make Indy a world leader in life sciences (Bell, 2002).

**Job Growth in Downtown Areas**

City	Year			Job Increases 1994 to 1999
	1994	1997	1999	
<b>Indianapolis:</b>				
Tourism jobs	7,387	10,059	9,485	2,098
Total jobs	78,913	80,095	90,916	12,003
Percentage tourism	9.4	12.6	10.4	17.5
<b>Cincinnati:</b>				
Tourism jobs	11,434	10,266	9,235	-2,199
Total jobs	93,485	100,388	86,264	-7,221
Percentage T\tourism	12.2	10.2	10.7	30.5
<b>Cleveland:</b>				
Tourism jobs	9,560	11,365	11,738	2,178
Total jobs	149,523	156,609	161,704	12,181
Percentage tourism	6.4	7.3	7.3	17.9
<b>Columbus:</b>				
Tourism jobs	6,216	7,857	8,091	1,875
Total jobs	103,819	113,484	110,972	7,153
Percentage tourism	6	6.9	7.3	26.2

*Notes.* Data for Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus are based on ES202 estimates, using SICs to define tourism industries. Tourism industries include the following SICs: 53, 56, 58, 70, 79, and 84. Data for Indianapolis are based on County and Zip Business Patterns; data for 1994 and 1997 use SICs, while 1999 data use NAICS. Tourism industries include the following NAICS: 448, 452, 487, 711, 712, 713, 721, and 722.

Source: Austrian, Ziona and Rosentraub, Mark. (2002). "Cities, Sports, and Economic Change: A Retrospective Assessment." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24(5): 549-563.

Table 5.2

**Projects and Sources of Funds for Downtown Development in Indianapolis, 1974-2000** (in \$ million)

Projects	Year	Source of funds					Total
		Federal	State	City	Private	Philanthropic	
<b>Sports related</b>							
Market Square Arena	1974	0.0	0.0	16.0	0.0	0.0	16.0
Sports Center	1979	0.0	0.0	4.0	1.5	1.5	7.0
Indiana University Track and Field Stadium	1982	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	4.0	5.9
Indiana University Natatorium	1982	1.5	7.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	21.5
Velodrome	1982	0.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1	2.7
Hoosier/RCA Dome	1984	0.0	0.0	48.0	0.0	30.0	78.0
National Institute of Sports	1988	0.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	9.0
Conseco Fieldhouse	1999	0.0	38.0	71.0	69.0	0.0	178.0
Victory Field	1997	0.0	5.0	9.0	9.0	0.0	23.0
RCA Dome improvements	1999	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	20.0
NCAA Headquarters	1999	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	70.0	75.0
Pan American Plaza	1987	0.0	0.0	5.7	25.0	4.5	35.2
Subtotal		2.0	59.9	177.8	104.5	127.1	471.3
<b>Culture/entertainment</b>							
Children's Museum	1976	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0
Indiana Theater	1980	1.5	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	6.0
Zoo	1988	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	37.5	37.5
Zoo additions	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6	6.6
Aquarium	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	60.0
Eiteljorg Museum	1989	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	60.0
Eiteljorg Museum expansion	2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	15.0
Indiana State Museum	2000	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	104.0	105.0
Walker Building	1985	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	3.4
Union Station	1986-2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.8	8.8
Subtotal		3.5	1.0	0.0	4.5	318.3	327.3

*(Continued on next page)*

<b>Hotels/commercial buildings</b>								
Hyatt Hotel/Bank	1977	0.0	0.0	0.0	55.0	0.0	55.0	
2 W. Washington offices	1982	1.2	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	13.0	
1 N. Capitol offices	1982	3.2	0.0	0.0	10.4	0.0	13.6	
Embassy Suite Hotel	1985	6.5	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	31.5	
Westin Hotel	1989	0.5	0.0	0.0	65.0	0.0	65.5	
Farm Bureau Insurance Co.	1992'	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	36.0	36.0	
USA Funds, Incorporated	1996	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.6	0.0	16.6	
Mark Adams Hotel	2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	SO. O	0.0	50.0	
Marriott Hotel	2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	90.0	0.0	90.0	
Anthem Corporation	2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.6	0.0	33.6	
Heliport	1985	2.5	0.1	0.6	2.4	0.0	5.6	
Lilly corporate expansion	1992- 2000	0.0	0.0	0.0	893. 5	0.0	893.5	
Subtotal		13.9	0.1	0.6	1253 .3	36.0	1,303.9	
<b>Retail complexes</b>								
Lockerbie Market	1986	1.8	0.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	15.8	
Union Station	1986	16.3	0.0	1.0	36.0	0.0	53.3	
City Market	1986	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	4.7	
Circle Centre Mall	1995	0.0	0.0	290.0	0.0	10.0	300.0	
Subtotal		18.1	0.0	291.0	SO.O	14.7	373.8	
Convention Center expansion	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	45.0	0.0	45.0	
<b>Residential projects</b>								
Lower Canal Apartments	1985	7.9	0.0	10.3	0.0	2.0	20.2	
Lockfield Apartments	1987	0.0	0.0	0.6	24.6	0.0	25.2	
Canal Overlook Apartments	1988	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.0	0.0	11.0	
Canal Apartments	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	10.0	
Lombardi Row	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.4	
Meridian Row	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	6.8	
Ryland Homes	1999	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	9.1	

Source: Rosentraub, Mark. (2003). "Indianapolis, A Sports Strategy, and the Redefinition of Downtown Redevelopment," in Dennis R. Judd, ed., *The Infrastructure of Play: Building the Tourist City*, M. E. Sharpe, 2003. Pages 105-124.

## Indianapolis Key Empirical Articles

Nunn (2001)

- Porter's strategy may have applications for places like Indianapolis.
- Was tried in 1997-8 through a series of specific projects.
- Did not take advantage of Rosentraub, mainly competitive advantage of certain sectors.
- Calls into question viability of Porter's concepts.

Rosentraub, et al (1994)

- Even such a pronounced sports strategy as Indianapolis, it is likely to have inconsequential impact on development and economic growth.
- Changes in sports-related employment were not significantly correlated with increases in overall employment.
- On balance there were no significant or substantial shifts in economic development.
- The sports strategy was not able to attract a substantial level of other forms of economic activity.

Przybylski and Rosentraub (1996)

- Although sports/downtown development strategy did contribute to a substantial change in Indianapolis' national image and profile, the benefits from this did not help the city's economy to grow more than other Midwestern cities.
- City should have pursued a strategy where the city has a competitive advantage: air transportation, trucking and warehousing, and health services.

Swindell and Rosentraub (1998)

- It has become commonplace to use broad-based or special taxes to build or operate sports facilities with teams retaining most or all the revenues.
- Study reviews the economic benefits from teams and analyzes the intangible benefits from sports facilities.
- Results suggest that fans, players, and owners are the prime beneficiaries of a team's presence.
- Therefore, investments by the public sector in facilities should rely on a special user tax district that insures that those who benefit from the facilities bear the cost.

Austrian and Rosentraub (2002)

- An early assessment of Indianapolis' sports strategies found no evidence of higher wage levels than other Midwestern cities without a sports strategy.
- Cities receive intangible benefits from sports, but not job creation, higher earnings, and additional tax revenues.
- But sports have enabled the city to maintain an important share of tourism-related jobs in CBD.

# Minneapolis/St. Paul

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- As is the Indianapolis area, Minneapolis/Saint Paul is known as a leader in strong regional governance, particularly through tax base sharing but also because of other initiatives described in some detail in the literature. One notable example is the Livable Communities effort to decentralize poverty.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- Another hallmark is a program to promote planning at the local neighborhood level: the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP). The city also provided affordable housing specific to local artists through Artspace Projects, Inc.. Key factors in bringing recent development about include infrastructure improvements that enhance accessibility, such as new downtown housing and a light rail system.

### *Other economic development*

- They have also made particular use of tax-increment financing (TIF) districts as a way to enhance neighborhood development. This is through state legislation which allowed Minneapolis and other municipalities to use TIF funds outside a project area.

## Minneapolis/St. Paul Quick Summary

The Twin Cities region has devised some of the most progressive regional policies in the nation. With the region's emphasis on regionalism, central themes of deconcentrating urban poverty and regional smart growth strategies have led policy initiatives in recent decades.

Many believe that Minneapolis has the most comprehensive regional governance and planning system in the country (Basolo, 2003). The region has developed several regional agencies and policies. Under the Fiscal Disparities Act of 1971 (FDA) 40% of property tax in the region generated from commercial and industrial development goes into a common pool. The Minnesota Land Use Planning Act requires communities to provide their fair-share of affordable housing. There are also the Regional Housing and Redevelopment and Transportation authorities. In the 1990's, all regional agencies were merged into the Metropolitan Council due to problems with accountability (Basolo, 2003).

One of the most innovative affordable housing policies in the nation is Minneapolis's Livable Communities Act. Under the Act, communities receive funding for their choice of either abandon site clean-up, the development of their commercial corridors, or to address housing problems. In exchange, communities must make efforts to provide affordable housing within their community (Basolo, 2003; Ehrenhalt, 1996; Mondale, 2000). The purpose of the Act is to attack urban poverty by deconcentrating it. However, Myron Orfield had doubts that communities would get around to addressing the tough housing issues due to the lack of penalties if affordable housing is not developed in the communities which received funding (Ehrenhalt, 1996). Similarly, several attempts to build affordable housing in the core were dissolved for fear of reconcentrating poverty. In many cases, moderate- and upper-income housing was built on top of where affordable housing once stood (Goetz, 2000). However, suburbs are not very receptive to adopting affordable housing within their boundaries.

Over the last couple of decades, as policy agendas have evolved, CDC's privileged position in participating in bureaucratic decisions has vanished due to the changes in housing and community development policy. These include: economic development replacing the emphasis on housing, multifamily development replaced with home-ownership programs, and the emphasis on attracting middle-class residents back to core neighborhoods to deconcentrate poverty (Goetz & Mara, 1997). However, there have been recent attempts at addressing inner-city neighborhood issues. One example is the efforts by the Fannie Mae's Partnership Offices to ally with local organization to address neighborhood issues in the Phillips neighborhood on the south side of Minneapolis (Levin, 1999). There is also the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NPR) that allows neighborhoods to help themselves. Under this program, neighborhoods and communities, rich or poor, are required to devise neighborhood plans in return for resources to implement them. This requires neighborhoods to address issues specific to their local problems and concerns. The neighborhoods have the authority to decide how they want to allocate their funds. NPR allows neighborhoods to be innovative and

creative in their plan formulation, rather than using off-the-shelf ideas. This also allows planners to learn what neighborhoods really want, and the results have been somewhat surprising (Martin and Pentel, 2002).

The Twin Cities also provides affordable housing specific to local artists through the efforts of Artspace Projects, Inc., a nonprofit that renovates loft spaces into live/work units. Rents are within HUD guidelines, to allow affordable rents for aspiring artists. Artspace has gained national attention, doing several projects around the country. They have become a national expert in developing live/work spaces with federal funds (Fournier, 1993).

Minneapolis has also seen a new wave of development in recent years with the expansion of office, retail, and housing markets (Mattson-Teig, 1999; 2004). Several factors have led to this expansion: a sizable labor pool, which continues to grow as more residents relocate to new downtown housing; infrastructure improvements that increase accessibility, including a light-rail system; and an upswing in amenities for workers and residents (Mattson-Teig, 1999). The new round of development shows that developers are gaining confidence in a market recovery. With the region expecting a half million new residents by 2020, regional smart growth strategies are taking a pro-growth approach to guiding development into more compact, convenient patterns. This means linking transportation, economic development, land use, and housing (Mondale, 2000). These linkages have similar goals of that of the Livable Communities program. The Twin Cities has also emerged as a hot spot for black Americans wanting to move up the corporate ladder. Minneapolis had the highest number of black professionals per capita in the nation in 1990. The city is considered as a pioneer country, with lots of new money, versus old money, with many opportunities versus barriers (Taylor, 1994).

Minneapolis has also been said to be a “progressive” city in regard to its urban redevelopment strategies. One example is their use of TIF districts as a key to effective neighborhood redevelopment as a way to replace lost state and federal financing. Their solution was to allocate a portion of TIF revenues to neighborhood development. The amended TIF legislation allowed Minneapolis and other municipalities to use tax-increment funds across TIF districts and in areas of the city outside a TIF district, but near the project area. A similar progressive strategy was the establishment of a series of committees that brought together citizens and elected officials to work out a neighborhood redevelopment and service delivery planning strategy, known as NRP. NRP was developed to create both a stable revenue stream for revitalization projects and a process for neighborhood planning and participation (Nickel, 1995).



# South Bronx, New York City

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- South Bronx is one of the strongest comeback stories in the literature we reviewed. An extensive literature exists on this comeback, both in terms of book-length popular accounts and in terms of shorter, more focused articles. The strongest message from this literature is that very strong community development corporations, enabled to carry out focused redevelopment, were crucial for success. The other strong focus in terms of organization is the essential role of city government, particularly because of the leadership of Mayor Koch. LISC was also an important actor.

### *Infrastructure/ Economic Development*

- The size of financial investment was considerable, and feasible only because the City of New York overcame its fiscal crisis. The City invested \$1.3 billion in South Bronx over a period of ten years. The result was a strong record of housing development and diverse communities, although many of them contain quite a few low income and working class families. Trying to attract upper-income families, therefore, was not really the major strategy.

## South Bronx Quick Summary

The literature on the turnaround in the South Bronx reveals a story of grassroots triumphs armed with over a billion dollars of government funding. Most of the initiation in revitalization came from residents who would no longer accept the current conditions of their communities. These activists organized their efforts primarily through the creation of CDCs. As these CDCs gained publicity and official recognition they gained access to loans from government programs and banks (Breslin, 1995). However, without the support from the New York City government the CDCs' success would not have been possible. The partnership between the local government and the neighborhood CDCs was vital to the turnaround in the South Bronx. This was also particularly important for select economic development projects such as the Hunt's Food Distribution center.

The local CDCs were able to creating a housing market in once unthinkable areas, provide programs that enabled renters to become homeowners, create a better living environment through aesthetics and public safety, and offer training programs that helped residents not only get a job, but maintain it. One of the central goals of CDCs was to create a community that was self-sufficient. This was done by teaching and training of local residents "life" and "vocational" skills, so that they would be the next generation to take initial efforts one step further (Breslin, 1995).

In order to create a housing market, the housing would have to be more attractive and the neighborhood more cohesive (Lentz, 2000). One way to indirectly promote safety in the neighborhoods was to convert public spaces maintained by public housing authorities to private spaces controlled by individual families (Newman, 1995). This was primarily achieved by the CDCs' ability to provide opportunities to purchase rehabilitated and new housing with their help. It was realized that it was much cheaper to practice rehabilitation than to tear down and start from scratch (Breslin, 1995). These savings could then be passed on to the residents and businesses of the community. Additionally, CDCs realized that training classes and assistance in finding available jobs were not sufficient enough. Instead, they created "hand-holding" programs that helped people make the transition to employment. This included the CDCs staying engaged with the employer and employee after jobs are attained to reduce conflicts between the two (Worth, 1999).

However, CDCs would not have been as successful without governmental support. New York City, backed by state and federal agencies, rebuilt the majority of the housing stock in partnership with local CDCs (Walsh, 1997). Mayor Koch's Ten Year Plan for affordable housing pumped \$1.3 billion into the South Bronx alone. The goal was to take every vacant building and turn it into a viable housing unit (Worth, 1999). One of the major contributors to the success of the South Bronx has been the city's continued mayoral support. New York City's active role shows that local governments can produce vibrant private sector economic growth (Fainstein and Gray, 1995/1996).

Another contributing factor to success has been the fusion of arts and culture with economic development. Many CDCs and local residents have created programs that tap

into the boroughs creative side. Many studios have been made available at free or low-cost prices for residents who wish to open an art, dance, etc. studio (See The Center for an Urban Future: “The Creative Engine”).

## South Bronx Key Empirical Articles

### Breslin (1995)

- See summary; very strong role for CDCs.
- LISC also important actor.
- Comprehensive strategy included social services.

### Fainstein and Gray (1995/1996)

- Hunts Point Food Distribution Center
  - Prime example of successful inner-city economic initiative based on sectoral clustering of small- and medium-sized firms.
  - City of NY originated the plan and remains property owner.
  - Co-op, where city is responsible for infrastructure improvements, and private companies who operate and manage maintain the facilities and land.
  - The entire complex employs over 20,000 people, with over 40% residing in the Bronx.
- Distribution Center has been able to flourish because of the benefits of agglomeration.
- Key learnings:
  - Wholesale and distribution are key functions
  - Activist role of city government

### Worth (1999)

- CDCs have made a difference but only because of massive investments, \$500 million annually by City; total of \$1.3 billion to South Bronx
- Key role for Mayor Koch
- Key lessons:
  1. Use what's there - focus on rehab
  2. Maintain a mix of incomes - deconcentrating poverty
  3. Use third parties – importance of intermediaries
  4. Invest in neighborhoods, not just housing – community building, retail/commercial
  5. Don't put too much faith in economic development – economic development is less important than physically rebuilding an area

# Philadelphia

## Key Points

### *Political/ Organizational*

- Philadelphia also benefited from an extremely strong mayor, particularly Mayor Rendell throughout the 1990s. Rendell had a bold plan for modernizing city government, and established good relations with the Council, neighborhood residents, Wall Street, the Federal government, etc. He then proceeded to create a bold redevelopment strategy which shifted away from office development. Although Mayor Streets has since developed some difficulties, he also appeared to be a strong Mayor at least in the beginning.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- Mayor Rendell shifted the focus from offices to what he saw as the next growth areas: arts, culture, entertainment, and to raise them. Philadelphia also had the advantage of historical areas, a waterfront, cultural institutions, and commercial quarters. The City decided to focus on creating a work – live – play combination to attract young professionals, and to revitalize the historic Center City. One key strategy was support for the twelve-block Avenue of the Arts, and another notable effort was the Allstate Model for Community Partnerships, which focused on supporting key community-based organizations.

### *Other economic development*

- According to at least one credible source, the City did not focus sufficiently on the potential benefits of medical and educational institutions, but the State stepped in to help with this. A targeted credit organization, the community development financial institution CDFI, invested millions in low-income neighborhoods.

## Philadelphia Quick Summary

The city of Philadelphia since the 1980's has focused city revitalization primarily through central city redevelopment strategies. These initiatives have been led by progressive, pro-growth agendas of mayors Rendell and Street. The city has sought to exploit its historical heritage and waterfront, along with increasing the city's hotel capacity, in attempts to promote renewed economic development.

In the 1980's renewal efforts were focused on downtown redevelopment, a strategy that was followed by Mayor Rendell throughout the 1990's. However, Rendell shifted the focus from office development to what he anticipated to be the next growth areas: arts, culture, entertainment, and tourism. Philadelphia has the advantage of historical areas, waterfront, cultural institutions, and thriving commercial corridors, all of which would be at the forefront of redevelopment (McGovern, 1997). The city embraced the concept of the work-live-play combination that would create a critical mass driven by young professionals. In recent years, the hotel and multi-family sectors have sparked a renaissance in the historic Center City, with developers receiving 10 year tax abatements and several old industrial buildings being converted into luxury rental apartments (Brickley, 2003). In attempts to attract tourists, the city has boosted its hotel capacity by over 63%, built a new convention center, renovated Independence Mall, developed a high-tech Constitutional Center, and revitalized the waterfront at Penn's Landing (Brickley, 2003; McGovern, 1997). Additionally, Philadelphia revitalized a major thoroughfare, which was a vital center of commercial activity and arts and culture. Seeking to expand on the city's arts and entertainment venues the corridor is dubbed the Avenue of the Arts, stretching 12 blocks it is now the center of culture in the city (Brickley, 2003; McGovern, 1997). However, the city has largely failed at recognizing the benefits of its medical and educational institutions. Rather than realizing the positive spillover effects these institutions impose on surrounding areas, the city believed that the land could better be used to generate tax dollars by other corporations who did not have tax-exempt status. The city felt strongly about this issue because these institutions cover nearly a quarter of the city's land (Adams, 2003).

In efforts to revitalize neighborhoods around the city, Mayor Street developed the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative, a risky attempt to remake the city and recalibrate the way local government approaches basic matters of growth and revival. Under this initiative, the city will begin using bond money for demolitions, land acquisitions and other activities designed to turn declining land and buildings into potentially marketable assets. It is too soon to determine the effects of this project, but nationally renowned urban land specialists claim that this program could become the new model for other cities around the country to follow (Gurwitt, 2002). Another project aimed at helping declining neighborhoods is the Philadelphia Neighborhood Information System (NIS). This project is a collaboration between the University of Pennsylvania and the city designed to integrate housing information into web-accessible mapping applications and to support early warning research. Primarily, the purpose is to identify potentially declining areas before it is too late (Hiller, et al., 2003).

## Philadelphia Key Empirical Articles

Adams (2003)

- Strong focus on potential benefits of the medical and educational institutions.
- States have enacted some policies which make it harder to support knowledge generating activities.
- The state stepped in and defended the tax-exempt status of “meds and eds.”
- Cities tend to undervalue nonprofits.
- Medical and educational institutions stabilize their neighborhoods.

McGovern (1997)

- Strong Mayor Rendell with bold plan for modernizing city government
- Rendell established good relations with Council, neighborhood residents, Wall St., Clinton administration, etc.
- See pg 156-57 for a detailed review of the potential powerlessness or power of a mayor to effect change
- As noted in full summary, Rendell shifted focus from office development to the next growth areas of the arts, culture, entertainment, and tourism.
- See summary of strategies for festival, economic development incentive package.

McNeil (1995)

- Allstate Model for Community Partnerships is an example of a major corporation helping low-income neighborhoods.
- Effort includes major partnership with local community-based organizations
- Partnerships led to mutual benefits for corporation (more customers) and the neighborhood.

Nowak (1997)

- The Community Development Financial Institution (CDFI) was established as a targeted development credit institution, investing millions of dollars in low-income neighborhoods.
- Key partnerships with businesses

# Pittsburgh

## Key Points

### *Political/ organizational*

- Pittsburgh has apparently benefited from having some consistency of leadership. Up until 1990, this included only four mayors in as many decades. Corporate consolidation may have also been key, particularly through the Allegheny Conference on Community Development. The Digital Greenhouse Project is a partnership that brings together corporations, the universities, and other entities; see below and in the following pages.

### *Infrastructure/ Amenities*

- The major framework for redevelopment policy has been what is known as Renaissance I, which covered the urban renewal period, and Renaissance II, beginning in 1977. This strategy focused on developing the riverfront, building new hotels, establishing a new subway system, and creating an economic development strategy that included strengthening the organizational capacity of CDC's.

### *Other economic development*

- The restructuring of the tax system may have been of benefit in encouraging development, since it increased the tax rate on vacant land, but some studies suggest that this policy was actually neutral. Part of Renaissance II was an effort to attract high-tech corporations. More recently, Pittsburgh has become a national leader in the green building movement, creating what is known as the Digital Greenhouse. This project aims to attract jobs, incubate start-ups, and provide research and development.



## Pittsburgh Quick Summary

The city of Pittsburgh has crafted innovative strategies and created an environment that attract high-tech corporations from around the world. A pro-growth, progressive state legislation has been the incubator for much of the city's success in this sector. Additionally, the city's Renaissance II agenda can be awarded much of the recognition for downtown and neighborhood redevelopment.

Renaissance I (1945-1969) focused on projects such as air and industrial smoke abatement and flood controls, traffic and bridge construction, and downtown renewal projects that replaced warehouses, port facilities and workshops, and rail lines in the area know as the Golden Triangle (Jeziarski, 1990). Renaissance II (1977-1987) provided a strategy that would change Pittsburgh forever. The plan sought to build new hotels, develop the riverfront, create a new subway system, attract high-tech corporations, and chose a new economic development strategy of strengthening the technical and organizational capacity of CDCs (Jeziarski, 1990; Metzger, 1998). An additionally strategy used by the city to encourage CBD development, was the restructuring of the property tax system to one where land was taxed at fives times the rate of structures. This effectively reduced the rate on improvements for new structures, which has played a significant supporting role in the economic resurgence of the city. During this time the real value of building permits rose by some 70% on an annual basis (Oates and Schwab, 1997). Also during this time, the Pittsburgh Partnership for Neighborhood Development (PPND) was developed. This is a citywide CDC network with key stakeholders in the public and private sectors. The CDCs have also formed networks with major employers in their communities to prepare and refer residents to jobs, which are strengthened by their capacity to conduct this outreach with their access to banks, corporations, and educational institutions. PPND primarily functions as an intermediary network that makes grants and loans to CDCs, with foundations around Pittsburgh serving as their chief funding base (Metzger, 1998). Additionally, under Renaissance II CDCs were forced to become more entrepreneurial because of their increased need for private sector support as many federal programs were cut, which also led to many of them coming in competition with each other (Jeziarski, 1990). However, because this network of CDCs was so well-organized, many banks and elite foundations saw them as potential generators of local economic development (Metzger, 1998). Overall, the success of Renaissance II can be attributed to mayoral longevity and strong neighborhoods. Only four mayors served in as many decades, leading to a consistency of leaderships, and neighborhoods did not see as many housing turnovers as other cities (Jeziarski, 1990). Although, the city experienced several high-profile failures because of declining funding and poor management, but there were some unusual gains by CDCs in job development.

Innovations in attracting high-tech companies to the area have been fueled by the State's willingness to do new things and the city's new image of being a progressive place to be. In order to "green up" the region's image, Pittsburgh has become a national leader in the green building movement (Halverson, 2003). The most innovative strategy to attract high-tech companies to the city has been the Digital Greenhouse, with the objective to create a critical mass in the high-tech industry (Kador, 2001). To create a critical mass,

the city creates the necessary infrastructure needed by high-tech firms by creating a total environment for 21<sup>st</sup> century companies so that there is minimal down time for the firm during relocation. The goals of the project are to attract jobs, incubate start-ups, and provide R&D (Kador, 2001; Venable, 2000). The project leverages public money by putting it in the hands of a private consortium that can presumably apply it more nimbly and creatively. This helps to cut through bureaucratic delays that frustrate companies wanting to locate to the area (Kador, 2001). The Greenhouse also is a partnership that brings together international corporations, three leading Pennsylvania universities, the Pittsburgh Regional Alliance, and the Commonwealth to make Southwest Pennsylvania a leader in the development of next-generation electronic technology. Additionally, the state created the Lightning Manufacturing project that harnesses the power of the internet, where companies across Pennsylvania form virtual corporations that play off each others' strengths for mutual advantage (Venable, 2000).

Pittsburgh also has a regional entity known as the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD), a non-profit corporation dedicated to regional cooperation. ACCD is a complex example of interjurisdictional cooperation that attacks issues characterized by more political resistances, it uses strategies using more formality, and they promote institutional formats that are more likely to weaken local governmental autonomy. They have the broadest possible agenda of potential outcomes (Nunn and Rosentraub, 1997). ACCD may have been a key factor in regional economic development.

## Pittsburgh Key Empirical Articles

Jeziarski (1990)

- Development strategy, Renaissance I 1945-1969, focused on initial goals of physical redevelopment, especially in Golden Triangle
- Subsequent strategy, Renaissance II 1977-1987, expanded with hotels, riverfront, subways, etc.
- Only four mayors between 1945 and 1987 key to success.

Metzger (1998)

- Pittsburgh Partnership for Neighborhood Development (PPND) was major network of CDCs; served as intermediary.
- Effort to target CDCs as major component
- CDCs included a major portion of population of city and of its minorities.
- Several high-profile failures because of declining funding and poor management.
- But some unusual gains by CDCs in job development.

Oates and Schwab (1997)

- Land taxation is essentially neutral; not particularly helpful or detrimental.
- Land taxed at five times the rate of structures after 1979.
- Other circumstances that “clouded” the effects of that policy.
- CDCs up and downs, some innovation in jobs
- Interviews suggest that tax policy played a small role in corporate decision-making.
- “Excess demand for office structures” was a key reason for economic growth.
- We cannot conclude from the unique Pittsburgh experience that land taxation is a viable strategy for urban revitalization. It is at best neutral, but has no damaging side effects as might other taxes.

# APPENDIX A

# Table A-1

**Detroit lost a fifth of its population between 1980 and 2000, but the rate of decline in the 1990s was half that in the 1980s**

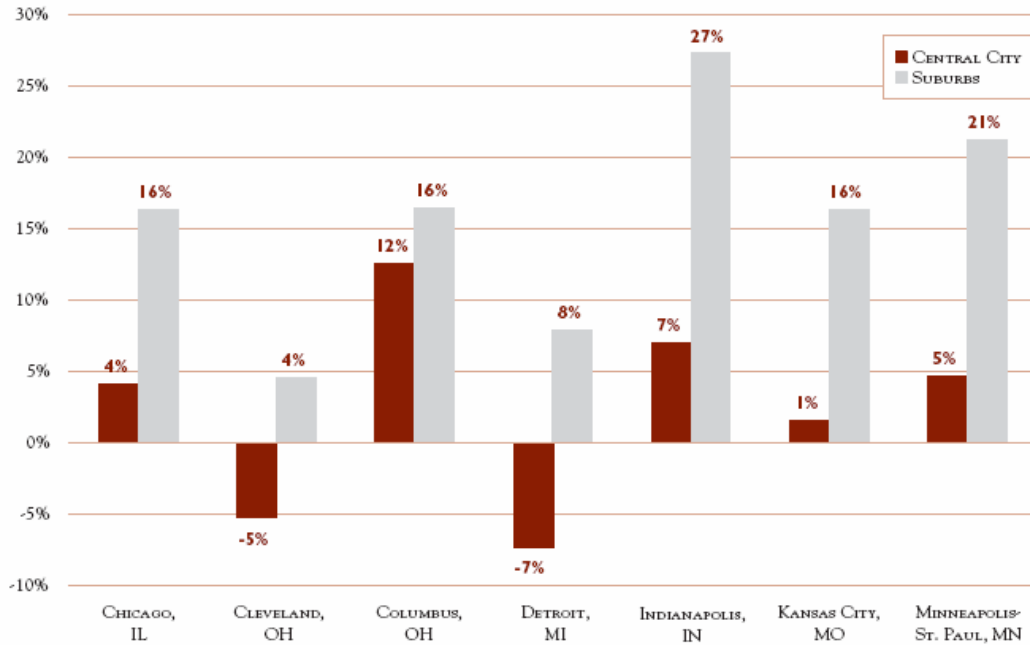
*Percent population change, 1980–2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Population			Percent Change		
		1980	1990	2000	1980–1990	1990–2000	Net
1	Phoenix, AZ	785,940	983,403	1,321,045	25.1%	34.3%	68.1%
2	San Antonio, TX	789,704	935,933	1,144,646	18.5%	22.3%	44.9%
3	Portland, OR	368,148	437,319	529,121	18.8%	21.0%	43.7%
4	Dallas, TX	904,599	1,006,877	1,188,580	11.3%	18.0%	31.4%
5	Columbus, OH	565,021	632,910	711,470	12.0%	12.4%	25.9%
6	Los Angeles, CA	2,968,528	3,485,398	3,694,820	17.4%	6.0%	24.5%
7	Oakland, CA	339,337	372,242	399,484	9.7%	7.3%	17.7%
8	Seattle, WA	493,846	516,259	563,374	4.5%	9.1%	14.1%
9	New York, NY	7,071,639	7,322,564	8,008,278	3.5%	9.4%	13.2%
10	Denver, CO	492,686	467,610	554,636	-5.1%	18.6%	12.6%
11	Indianapolis, IN	711,539	731,327	781,870	2.8%	6.9%	9.9%
12	Boston, MA	562,994	574,283	589,141	2.0%	2.6%	4.6%
13	Miami, FL	346,681	358,548	362,470	3.4%	1.1%	4.6%
14	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	641,271	640,618	669,769	-0.1%	4.6%	4.4%
15	Kansas City, MO	448,028	435,146	441,545	-2.9%	1.5%	-1.4%
16	Atlanta, GA	425,022	394,017	416,474	-7.3%	5.7%	-2.0%
17	Chicago, IL	3,005,072	2,783,726	2,896,016	-7.4%	4.0%	-3.6%
18	Philadelphia, PA	1,688,210	1,585,577	1,517,550	-6.1%	-4.3%	-10.1%
19	Washington, DC	638,432	606,900	572,059	-4.9%	-5.7%	-10.4%
20	Cleveland, OH	573,822	505,616	478,403	-11.9%	-5.4%	-16.6%
21	Newark, NJ	329,248	275,221	273,546	-16.4%	-0.6%	-16.9%
22	Baltimore, MD	786,775	736,014	651,154	-6.5%	-11.5%	-17.2%
23	Detroit, MI	1,203,368	1,027,974	951,270	-14.6%	-7.5%	-20.9%
	All Living Cities	26,141,890	26,817,472	28,718,721	2.6%	7.1%	9.9%
	Nation	226,542,199	248,718,301	281,421,906	9.8%	13.1%	24.2%

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

# Figure A-1

**Like Cleveland, the city of Detroit lost population in the 1990s while its suburbs grew**  
Percent population change, 1990–2000: Midwestern U.S. Living Cities metro areas



Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-2

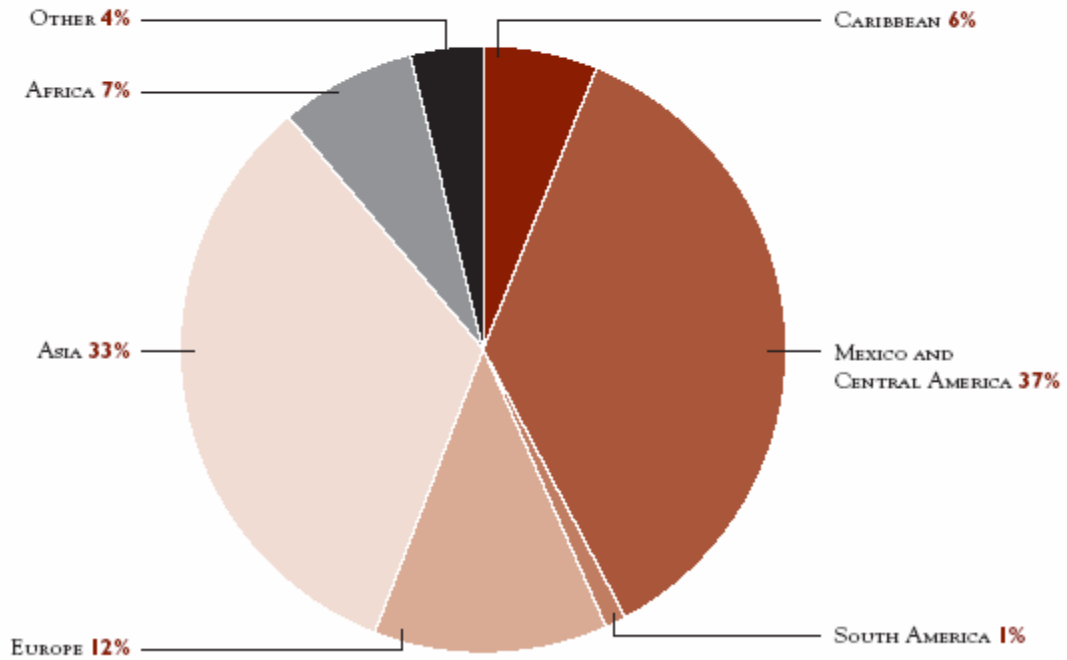
**Detroit added 11,000 foreign-born residents in the 1990s, a slower growth rate than in the average city**  
*Percent change in foreign-born population, 1990–2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Foreign-born 1990	Foreign-born 2000	Percent Change	Peer Cities	Rank	Percent Change
1	Phoenix, AZ	84,672	257,325	203.9%	Yonkers, NY	71	35.8%
2	Denver, CO	34,715	96,601	178.3%	San Diego, CA	72	35.4%
3	Indianapolis, IN	13,963	36,067	158.3%	Chicago, IL	73	34.0%
4	Dallas, TX	125,862	290,436	130.8%	Boston, MA	74	32.5%
5	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	42,517	96,613	127.2%	St. Petersburg, FL	75	32.3%
6	Kansas City, MO	12,387	25,632	106.9%	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>32.0%</b>
7	Portland, OR	33,601	68,976	105.3%	Philadelphia, PA	77	30.9%
8	Atlanta, GA	13,354	27,352	104.8%	Glendale, CA	78	30.4%
9	Columbus, OH	23,471	47,713	103.3%	Newark, NJ	79	28.5%
10	San Antonio, TX	87,549	133,675	52.7%	Long Beach, CA	80	26.9%
11	Oakland, CA	73,524	106,116	44.3%	Baltimore, MD	81	26.3%
12	Seattle, WA	67,736	94,952	40.2%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>45.5%</b>
13	New York, NY	2,082,931	2,871,032	37.8%			
14	Chicago, IL	469,187	628,903	34.0%			
15	Boston, MA	114,597	151,836	32.5%			
16	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>34,490</b>	<b>45,541</b>	<b>32.0%</b>			
17	Philadelphia, PA	104,814	137,205	30.9%			
18	Newark, NJ	51,423	66,057	28.5%			
19	Baltimore, MD	23,467	29,638	26.3%			
20	Washington, DC	58,887	73,561	24.9%			
21	Los Angeles, CA	1,336,665	1,512,720	13.2%			
22	Cleveland, OH	20,975	21,372	1.9%			
23	Miami, FL	214,128	215,739	0.8%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>5,124,915</b>	<b>7,035,062</b>	<b>37.3%</b>			
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>19,767,316</b>	<b>31,107,889</b>	<b>57.4%</b>			

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Figure A-2

**Detroit's immigrants hail from a wide variety of world regions**  
*Share of foreign-born by region of birth, 2000: Detroit*

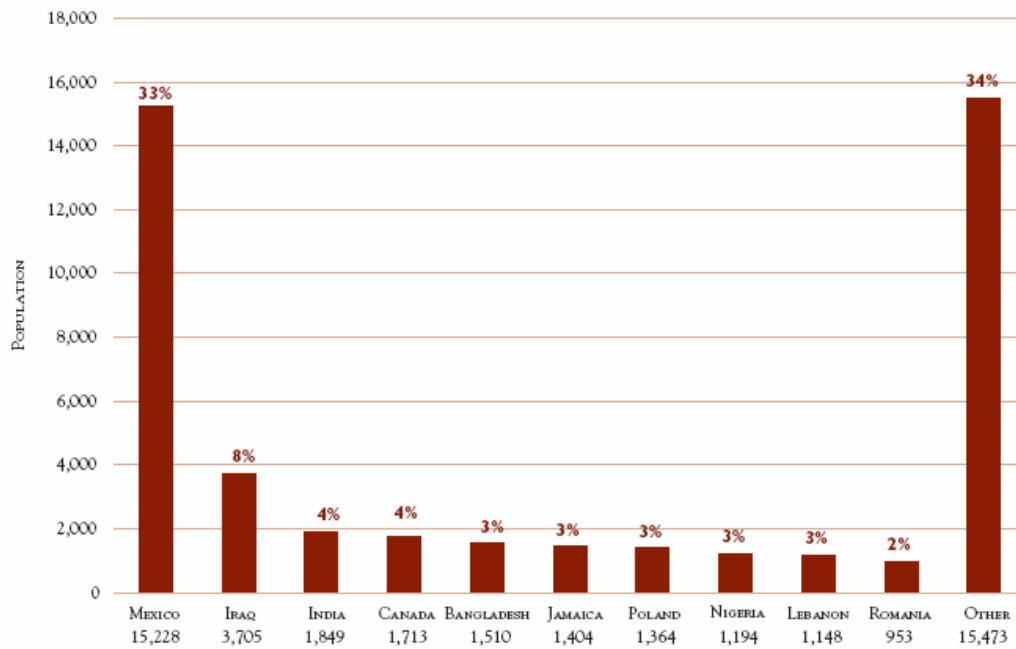


Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).



## Figure A-3

**Mexico and Iraq are the most common countries of origin for Detroit's foreign-born residents**  
*Population and share of foreign-born by country of birth, 2000: Detroit*

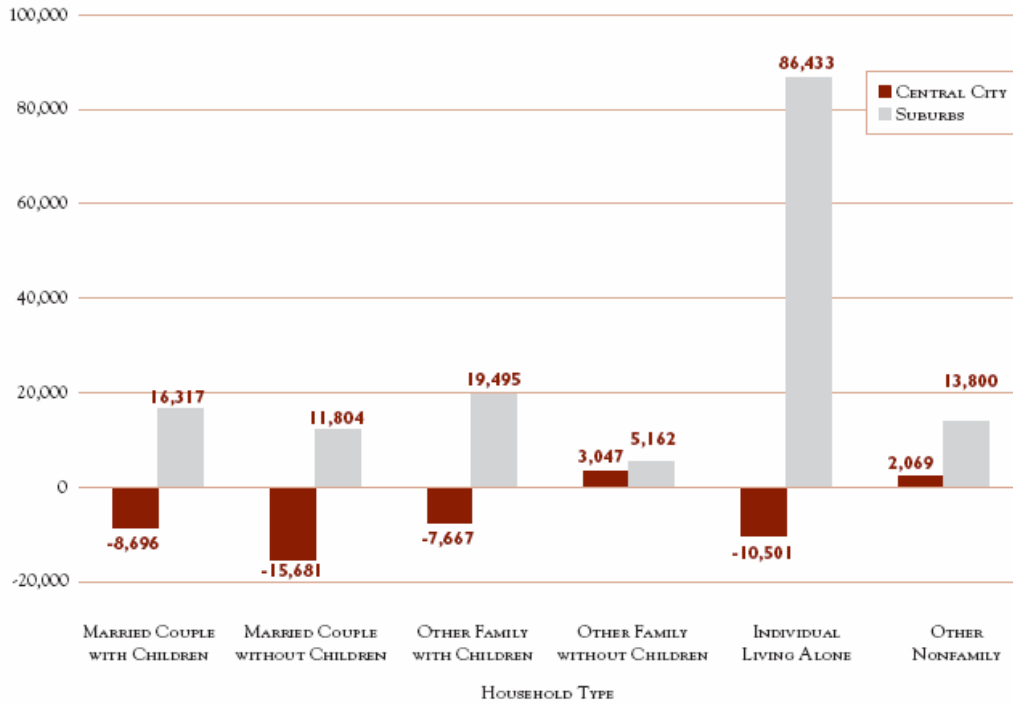


Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

# Figure A-4

**Detroit lost nearly all household types during the 1990s, while its suburbs gained all types—especially people living alone**

*Change in households by household type, 1990–2000: Detroit metro area*



Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-3

**Detroit ranks fourth lowest among large cities in college degree attainment; the proportion of residents with high school diplomas is relatively low but on the rise**

*Share of population age 25 and over by educational attainment\*, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Bachelor's Degree		High School Diploma		Peer Cities	Rank	Bachelor's Degree 2000
		1990	2000	1990	2000			
						Las Vegas, NV	90	18.2%
1	Seattle, WA	37.9%	47.2%	86.4%	89.5%	Akron, OH	91	18.0%
2	Washington, DC	33.3%	39.1%	73.1%	77.8%	Philadelphia, PA	92	17.9%
3	Boston, MA	30.0%	35.6%	75.7%	78.9%	Toledo, OH	93	16.8%
4	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	28.7%	35.2%	82.0%	84.5%	Miami, FL	94	16.2%
5	Atlanta, GA	26.6%	34.6%	69.9%	76.9%	Stockton, CA	95	15.4%
6	Denver, CO	29.0%	34.5%	79.2%	78.9%	Cleveland, OH	96	11.4%
7	Portland, OR	25.9%	32.6%	82.9%	85.7%	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>11.0%</b>
8	Oakland, CA	27.2%	30.9%	74.4%	73.9%	Hialeah, FL	98	10.4%
9	Columbus, OH	24.6%	29.0%	78.7%	83.8%	Santa Ana, CA	99	9.2%
10	Dallas, TX	27.1%	27.7%	73.5%	70.4%	Newark, NJ	100	9.0%
11	New York, NY	23.0%	27.4%	68.3%	72.3%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>26.3%</b>
12	Kansas City, MO	22.0%	25.7%	78.8%	82.5%			
13	Los Angeles, CA	23.0%	25.5%	67.0%	66.6%			
14	Chicago, IL	19.5%	25.5%	66.0%	71.8%			
15	Indianapolis, IN	21.7%	25.4%	76.4%	81.3%			
16	Phoenix, AZ	19.9%	22.7%	78.7%	76.6%			
17	San Antonio, TX	17.8%	21.6%	69.1%	75.1%			
18	Baltimore, MD	15.5%	19.1%	60.7%	68.4%			
19	Philadelphia, PA	15.2%	17.9%	64.3%	71.2%			
20	Miami, FL	12.8%	16.2%	47.6%	52.7%			
21	Cleveland, OH	8.1%	11.4%	58.8%	69.0%			
22	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>62.1%</b>	<b>69.6%</b>			
23	Newark, NJ	8.5%	9.0%	51.2%	57.9%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>21.9%</b>	<b>26.2%</b>	<b>69.4%</b>	<b>73.2%</b>			
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>20.3%</b>	<b>24.4%</b>	<b>75.2%</b>	<b>80.4%</b>			

\* Figures reflect share of population with at least named level of attainment.

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-4

**Among the nation's largest cities, Detroit ranks near the bottom in the proportion of adults in the labor force**

*Labor force participation rate, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Population 16 and Over	In Labor Force	Labor Force Participation Rate	Peer Cities	Rank	Labor Force Participation Rate
1	Columbus, OH	555,471	394,564	71.0%	Buffalo, NY	90	58.4%
2	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	523,787	371,018	70.8%	New Orleans, LA	91	57.8%
3	Seattle, WA	485,170	339,956	70.1%	New York, NY	92	57.8%
4	Indianapolis, IN	602,600	415,761	69.0%	Cleveland, OH	93	57.4%
5	Portland, OR	429,528	295,601	68.8%	El Paso, TX	94	57.1%
6	Denver, CO	445,977	301,714	67.7%	Baltimore, MD	95	56.6%
7	Kansas City, MO	340,707	226,579	66.5%	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>56.3%</b>
8	Phoenix, AZ	976,578	648,496	66.4%	Philadelphia, PA	97	55.9%
9	Dallas, TX	904,860	588,623	65.1%	Newark, NJ	98	52.7%
10	Atlanta, GA	333,209	213,257	64.0%	Hialeah, FL	99	50.8%
11	Boston, MA	484,995	308,395	63.6%	Miami, FL	100	50.3%
12	Washington, DC	469,041	298,225	63.6%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>63.0%</b>
13	San Antonio, TX	852,647	534,558	62.7%			
14	Oakland, CA	309,498	190,725	61.6%			
15	Chicago, IL	2,215,574	1,358,054	61.3%			
16	Los Angeles, CA	2,809,852	1,690,316	60.2%			
17	New York, NY	6,279,431	3,626,865	57.8%			
18	Cleveland, OH	354,854	203,545	57.4%			
19	Baltimore, MD	507,534	287,159	56.6%			
20	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>683,613</b>	<b>384,897</b>	<b>56.3%</b>			
21	Philadelphia, PA	1,174,798	656,935	55.9%			
22	Newark, NJ	205,511	108,275	52.7%			
23	Miami, FL	292,822	147,356	50.3%			
	All Living Cities	22,238,057	13,590,874	61.1%			
	Nation	217,168,077	138,820,935	63.9%			

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-5

### Detroit has the highest share of its workers employed in manufacturing among the 23 Living Cities

Share of workers by major industries, 2000: Living Cities

Rank	Living Cities	Educational, Health, and Social Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Manufacturing	Professional, Scientific, and Management Services	Arts, Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodation, and Food Services	Other Industries
1	Boston, MA	26.8%	10.5%	6.1%	14.9%	9.2%	32.6%
2	Baltimore, MD	26.8%	11.6%	7.8%	10.2%	8.3%	35.3%
3	Philadelphia, PA	26.0%	13.4%	8.8%	10.5%	8.1%	33.2%
4	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	23.4%	12.9%	11.6%	12.9%	10.0%	29.1%
5	New York, NY	23.4%	12.1%	6.6%	11.9%	8.3%	37.6%
6	Seattle, WA	21.6%	14.3%	8.3%	16.1%	9.9%	29.7%
7	Oakland, CA	21.3%	12.7%	8.9%	15.0%	8.1%	33.9%
8	San Antonio, TX	21.3%	16.0%	6.9%	9.9%	10.2%	35.7%
9	Cleveland, OH	20.9%	13.1%	18.2%	8.5%	9.0%	30.2%
10	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>20.9%</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>30.8%</b>
11	Newark, NJ	20.1%	13.4%	12.9%	8.9%	6.9%	37.8%
12	Portland, OR	19.7%	16.1%	12.5%	12.0%	9.4%	30.3%
13	Columbus, OH	19.3%	17.1%	8.9%	10.8%	9.1%	34.7%
14	Chicago, IL	19.0%	12.0%	13.1%	13.6%	8.5%	33.8%
15	Indianapolis, IN	18.5%	16.3%	13.5%	9.5%	8.6%	33.5%
16	Kansas City, MO	18.3%	14.6%	10.1%	10.8%	9.4%	36.8%
17	Washington, DC	18.0%	6.9%	1.5%	18.8%	9.1%	45.7%
18	Los Angeles, CA	17.3%	14.3%	13.2%	12.9%	9.6%	32.6%
19	Atlanta, GA	16.8%	12.7%	7.7%	17.2%	10.4%	35.3%
20	Denver, CO	16.7%	13.3%	6.5%	14.3%	10.0%	39.2%
21	Miami, FL	15.0%	16.4%	7.4%	11.8%	12.0%	37.4%
22	Phoenix, AZ	15.0%	15.2%	10.5%	12.5%	9.6%	37.2%
23	Dallas, TX	14.0%	15.3%	10.5%	14.5%	8.8%	36.8%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>20.5%</b>	<b>13.3%</b>	<b>9.7%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>35.1%</b>
	Nation	19.9%	15.3%	14.1%	9.3%	9.2%	32.1%

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-6

### Only half of all employed Detroit residents work within the city, the fourth-lowest proportion among the 23 Living Cities

Share of workers employed within city, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities

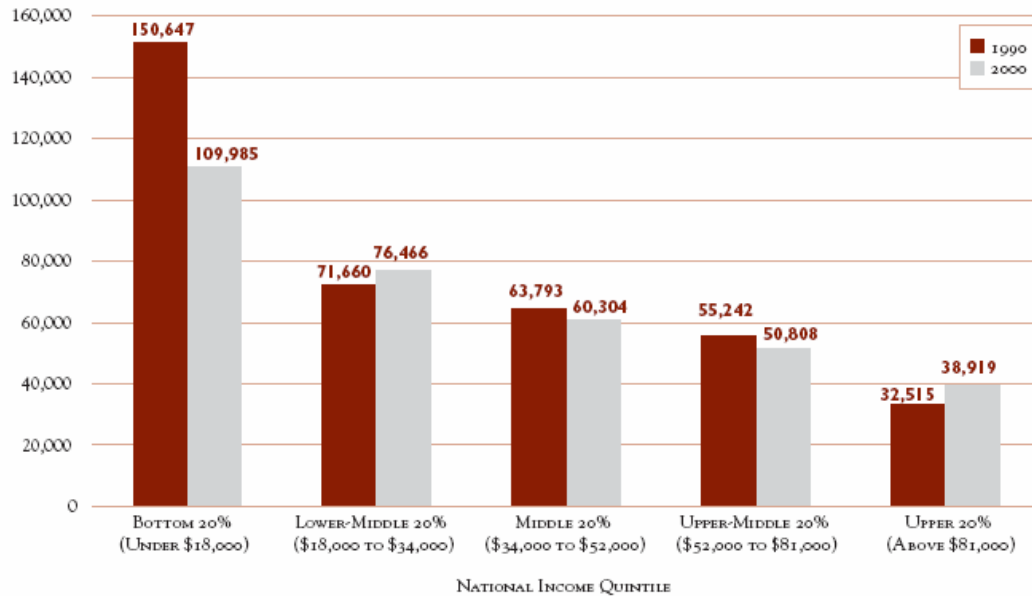
Rank	Living Cities	Total Working Population	Working Within City	Percent	Peer Cities	Rank	Percent
1	New York, NY	3,192,070	2,922,206	91.5%	Minneapolis, MN	71	52.9%
2	San Antonio, TX	491,435	428,926	87.3%	St. Petersburg, FL	72	52.7%
3	Indianapolis, IN	385,208	315,658	81.9%	Akron, OH	73	50.6%
4	Philadelphia, PA	569,761	429,608	75.4%	San Jose, CA	74	49.6%
5	Portland, OR	270,996	200,158	73.9%	Grand Rapids, MI	75	49.5%
6	Seattle, WA	316,493	233,600	73.8%	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>48.5%</b>
7	Washington, DC	260,884	190,566	73.0%	Las Vegas, NV	77	48.3%
8	Chicago, IL	1,192,139	841,329	70.6%	Tacoma, WA	78	47.5%
9	Phoenix, AZ	599,592	415,384	69.3%	Riverside, CA	79	46.4%
10	Columbus, OH	367,387	254,193	69.2%	Scottsdale, AZ	80	46.0%
11	Boston, MA	278,463	184,954	66.4%	Miami, FL	81	45.4%
12	Dallas, TX	537,006	350,745	65.3%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>70.4%</b>
13	Kansas City, MO	208,554	132,666	63.6%			
14	Denver, CO	278,715	176,750	63.4%			
15	Los Angeles, CA	1,494,895	943,489	63.1%			
16	Baltimore, MD	249,373	154,463	61.9%			
17	Atlanta, GA	178,970	106,145	59.3%			
18	Cleveland, OH	175,727	98,292	55.9%			
19	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	343,018	170,803	49.8%			
20	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>319,449</b>	<b>154,933</b>	<b>48.5%</b>			
21	Miami, FL	126,539	57,408	45.4%			
22	Newark, NJ	87,720	36,319	41.4%			
23	Oakland, CA	170,503	67,089	39.3%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>12,094,897</b>	<b>8,865,684</b>	<b>73.3%</b>			

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Figure A-5

**The number of households with low incomes dropped precipitously in Detroit in the 1990s, but the number of middle-income households declined as well**

Households by national income quintile\*, 1990–2000; Detroit



Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

## Table A-7

**The child poverty rate in Detroit dropped by a dramatic 13 percentage points in the 1990s**  
*Overall poverty rate and poverty rate by age, 1990–2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Poverty Rate		Child Poverty Rate		Elderly Poverty Rate	
		1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
1	Miami, FL	31.2%	28.5%	44.1%	38.5%	32.2%	29.3%
2	Newark, NJ	26.3%	28.4%	37.6%	36.9%	25.6%	24.1%
3	Cleveland, OH	28.7%	26.3%	43.0%	38.0%	19.2%	16.8%
4	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>32.4%</b>	<b>26.1%</b>	<b>46.6%</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>20.1%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>
5	Atlanta, GA	27.3%	24.4%	42.9%	39.3%	25.1%	20.7%
6	Baltimore, MD	21.9%	22.9%	32.5%	31.0%	19.3%	18.0%
7	Philadelphia, PA	20.3%	22.9%	30.3%	31.6%	16.3%	16.9%
8	Los Angeles, CA	18.9%	22.1%	27.8%	30.7%	10.5%	12.6%
9	New York, NY	19.3%	21.2%	30.1%	30.3%	16.5%	17.8%
10	Washington, DC	16.9%	20.2%	25.5%	31.7%	17.2%	16.4%
11	Chicago, IL	21.6%	19.6%	33.9%	28.5%	15.9%	15.5%
12	Boston, MA	18.7%	19.5%	28.3%	25.9%	15.3%	18.2%
13	Oakland, CA	18.8%	19.4%	30.3%	28.2%	11.0%	13.1%
14	Dallas, TX	18.0%	17.8%	27.3%	25.5%	14.6%	13.1%
15	San Antonio, TX	22.6%	17.3%	32.5%	24.6%	19.1%	13.5%
16	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	17.8%	16.4%	28.8%	24.4%	10.9%	10.3%
17	Phoenix, AZ	14.2%	15.8%	20.4%	21.5%	11.3%	10.3%
18	Columbus, OH	17.2%	14.8%	24.4%	19.0%	13.0%	10.9%
19	Kansas City, MO	15.3%	14.3%	22.8%	20.6%	14.6%	10.5%
20	Denver, CO	17.1%	14.3%	27.4%	20.8%	12.7%	9.7%
21	Portland, OR	14.5%	13.1%	19.0%	16.6%	11.6%	10.4%
22	Indianapolis, IN	12.5%	11.9%	18.9%	16.7%	11.7%	8.1%
23	Seattle, WA	12.4%	11.8%	16.2%	14.5%	9.0%	10.2%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>19.9%</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>30.3%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>15.5%</b>
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>18.3%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>9.9%</b>

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).



## Table A-8

**Among the 23 Living Cities, Detroit has the highest proportion of its housing stock in one-to-four family homes, and the lowest proportion in multifamily buildings**

*Share of housing units in multifamily structures\*, 2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Total Housing Units	Multifamily Housing Units	Percent
1	New York, NY	3,200,912	1,945,829	60.8%
2	Washington, DC	274,845	135,111	49.2%
3	Miami, FL	148,554	65,919	44.4%
4	Los Angeles, CA	1,337,668	586,956	43.9%
5	Dallas, TX	484,053	207,215	42.8%
6	Boston, MA	251,935	107,316	42.6%
7	Atlanta, GA	186,998	76,674	41.0%
8	Seattle, WA	270,536	108,486	40.1%
9	Newark, NJ	100,141	39,990	39.9%
10	Chicago, IL	1,152,871	456,700	39.6%
11	Denver, CO	251,435	94,535	37.6%
12	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	284,337	97,265	34.2%
13	Oakland, CA	157,505	50,008	31.8%
14	Columbus, OH	327,429	95,179	29.1%
15	Phoenix, AZ	495,793	132,292	26.7%
16	Portland, OR	237,269	61,878	26.1%
17	Kansas City, MO	202,273	48,570	24.0%
18	Indianapolis, IN	352,748	83,205	23.6%
19	San Antonio, TX	433,108	98,841	22.8%
20	Baltimore, MD	300,477	61,122	20.3%
21	Cleveland, OH	215,844	41,877	19.4%
22	Philadelphia, PA	661,958	110,285	16.7%
23	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>375,096</b>	<b>58,961</b>	<b>15.7%</b>
	All Living Cities	11,703,785	4,764,214	40.7%
	Nation	115,904,641	20,059,763	17.3%

\* Multifamily structures include those with five or more housing units.

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

# Table A-9

**Detroit's homeownership rate rose in the 1990s and is now seventh highest among the 23 Living Cities**  
*Homeownership rate, 1990–2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	1990	2000	Peer Cities	Rank	2000
1	Phoenix, AZ	59.2%	60.7%	Lubbock, TX	43	55.8%
2	Philadelphia, PA	62.0%	59.3%	Portland, OR	44	55.8%
3	Indianapolis, IN	56.7%	58.7%	Tulsa, OK	45	55.6%
4	San Antonio, TX	54.0%	58.1%	Lexington-Fayette, KY	46	55.3%
5	Kansas City, MO	56.9%	57.7%	Tampa, FL	47	55.1%
6	Portland, OR	53.0%	55.8%	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>54.9%</b>
7	<b>Detroit, MI</b>	<b>52.9%</b>	<b>54.9%</b>	Tacoma, WA	49	54.8%
8	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	51.4%	52.8%	St. Paul, MN	50	54.8%
9	Denver, CO	49.2%	52.5%	Arlington, TX	51	54.7%
10	Baltimore, MD	48.6%	50.3%	Nashville-Davidson, TN	52	54.5%
11	Columbus, OH	46.6%	49.1%	Tucson, AZ	53	53.5%
12	Cleveland, OH	47.9%	48.5%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>52.8%</b>
13	Seattle, WA	48.9%	48.4%			
14	Chicago, IL	41.5%	43.8%			
15	Atlanta, GA	43.1%	43.7%			
16	Dallas, TX	44.1%	43.2%			
17	Oakland, CA	41.7%	41.4%			
18	Washington, DC	38.9%	40.8%			
19	Los Angeles, CA	39.4%	38.6%			
20	Miami, FL	33.1%	34.9%			
21	Boston, MA	30.9%	32.2%			
22	New York, NY	28.7%	30.2%			
23	Newark, NJ	23.1%	23.8%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>45.7%</b>	<b>46.9%</b>			
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>64.2%</b>	<b>66.2%</b>			

Source: "Detroit in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000." Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative. *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*. Available on web at [www.livingcities.org](http://www.livingcities.org).

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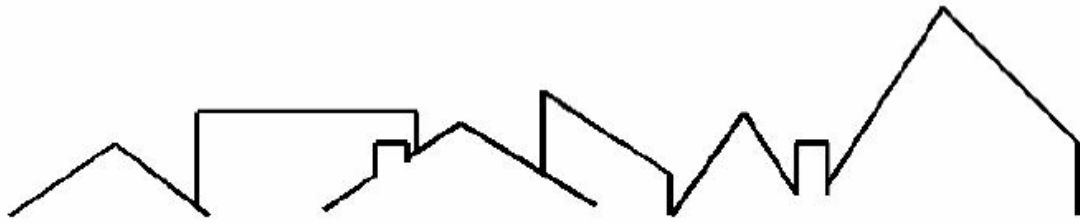
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