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### 001 City Scale: Development Implications

#### ***Globalization Strategies: Metropolitan Agglomeration versus State Rescaling***

Eric Petersen (Cambridge Systematics)

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This paper investigates two strategies that have been followed, among other reasons, to raise a metropolitan region's standing in the global hierarchy of cities, namely metropolitan agglomeration and state rescaling. To be clear, some state rescaling must follow an agglomeration simply because state functions must cover a larger territory. However, state rescaling as it is referred to in the current social science literature often means the wholesale upscaling or downscaling of governmental functions -- and in the later case, this is often an explicit move to introduce privatization of certain governmental functions. Thus, there are different logics at work in the two processes, as will be made clear in the cases. A second important dimension relates to the level of development in the nation that hosts the metropolitan region. Some regions, particularly those in North America and Europe, are already clearly global cities, so their place in the global hierarchy of cities is probably not the determining factor in the implementation of agglomeration or rescaling strategies. In developing nations, however, the linkage is clearer. Thus, the analysis will look closely at two Western city regions (London and Toronto) and two non-Western city regions (Johannesburg and Shanghai). London and Shanghai will be taken as examples where state rescaling was the primary strategy, while Toronto and Johannesburg will represent regions where significant metropolitan agglomeration occurred. The paper relies primarily on secondary analysis of contemporary accounts of the implementation of these strategies, with particular attention given to conflict surrounding implementation. One key aspect of the paper will be to determine the measures of success put forward by the architects of these globalization strategies, so each region can be judged based on the stated objectives. The discussion, however, will include a matrix where all regions will be compared on a unified set of criteria. The paper will end with a broader discussion of the utility of following either an agglomeration or a state rescaling strategy.

#### ***A Different Kind of Convergence***

David Gladstone (University of New Orleans), Joshua Pelletier (University of New Orleans)

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An oft-mentioned consequence of the collapse of the planned economies of Eastern



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Europe and the Soviet Union has been the end of a bipolar world and with it the tripartite ordering of the international political economy into First, Second, and Third Worlds. Meanwhile, the ascendancy of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s through the mechanism of "shock therapy" and other forms of structural adjustment in formerly Second and Third World regions has coincided with an attack on the welfare state in the UK, the USA, and other Western industrialized nations. One result has not been the convergence of East and West that Jan Tinbergen and John Kenneth Galbraith, among others, theorized in the 1960s and 1970s, but rather the convergence of the First and Third Worlds, a generalization to all world regions of what Noam Chomsky has called the "third world model of a two-tiered society with a surplus population that is increasingly useless for profit-making."<sup>1</sup> Within the former Third World countries, evidence of convergence is found in the expansion of a "middle class" consumer society along with the attendant growth of shopping malls, cordoned off residential and commercial areas, five-star hotels, and similar developments. In the rich Western or formerly First World countries, evidence of convergence is found in growing inequality and social polarization, a growing population of marginalized workers with few rights, higher rates of structural unemployment, a growing informal sector, increased levels of indebtedness and homelessness, lack of education and health care for a growing share of the population, and hunger, among other trends. In this paper we examine the notion of First World-Third World convergence by focusing on developments in the United States since the 1970s. We then place social outcomes in the City of New Orleans and its larger region in an international comparative context. We conclude by situating the trends we identify within theories of globalization and First World-Third World convergence. <sup>1</sup>Chomsky, N. (1994, January). The Clinton Vision: Update. Z Magazine. Retrieved October 1, 2010 from <http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199401--.htm>

### ***Downscaling Competitive City Discourse: The Construction of Urban Space in the Wake of Failed Olympic Bids***

Stephen Sawyer (American University of Paris), Scott Salmon (New School for Social Research)

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New York and Paris both submitted bids to host the 2012 Olympics, each presenting ambitious programs for the redevelopment of their urban areas, and both cities made the shortlist of five finalists. In the case of Paris, this was the second time the city had prepared a candidacy centered on an Olympic village in the northern part of the city with the ambition of rebuilding transportation infrastructures towards the major airport and developing one of the last train yards within a city with a galloping crisis of unaffordable housing. In New York the Olympic bid provided the rationale for a



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redevelopment plan integrating a range of ?lagging? sites throughout the city centered on a proposed stadium on Manhattan?s West Side and a dramatic redevelopment of the East River waterfront. The bid was orchestrated by a private non-profit organization, NYC2012, founded by Daniel Doctoroff who subsequently joined the administration of Mayor Michael Bloomberg as Deputy Mayor for Economic Development and Rebuilding where he continued to lead the City?s bid. The games ultimately went to London, leaving New York and Paris with costly redevelopment proposals but without the momentum and income that would have been generated by the Olympics. In both cities, in the aftermath of the Olympic bid, the discourse of development shifted from the tropes of global competition to explicitly local ones designed to legitimate the continued pursuit of redevelopment with each resonating in differing ways at multiple levels of governance. In New York, the legacy of NYC2012 has been large-scale development of areas of the city ? notably Manhattan?s West Side and the Brooklyn waterfront ? that underwent rezoning during the bid process. In Paris, the aftermath of the Olympic bid has generated intense conflict between local, sub-local and national authorities that has slowly moved toward consensus around a hybrid national-local project centered on a high-rise courthouse and socially mixed ?green? housing. This paper presents a comparative exploration of the dynamics of the ?downscaling? of the competitive city discourse as it played out in the ?failed? Olympic bids of New York and Paris and the remaking of urban space that occurred in their wake.

### ***Conceptualizing the U.S. Mid-Sized City***

Jeffrey S. Lowe (University of Memphis)

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Much has been written about the influence of globalization on the transformation of cities of highest rank. U.S. cities, including those such as New York, Los Angeles and Chicago, serving as the headquarters or the location of specialized services of major international finance and transnational corporations receive significant scholarly attention as they have evolved into similar spaces with regard to labor, consumption, and patterns of social inequality (Sassen, 2000, Dogan and Kasarda 1988). At the other end of the continuum, much smaller places garner some attention from several research centers and rural development institutions. Threadbare is research and scholarship bringing into focus the particular challenges facing the nation?s mid-size cities. Like New Orleanians, most U.S. citizens live in mid-sized cities and their surrounding metropolitan regions. With populations between 50,000 and 1,000,000 residents, many mid-sized cities, like mega-cities, face challenges of decline and to equity while serving as the economic, educational, communications, and cultural centers of their respective metropolitan regions (Filion, Hoernig, Seasons and Lederer



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2007, City of Rochester 2003, Markusen, Lee, DiGiovanna 1998). A range of other contextual factors and developmental qualities may exist concomitantly with these and serve to extend the definition of the mid-size city beyond population size. The purpose of this paper is to bring clarity to the uniqueness of mid-size cities. The present policy environment lacks the appropriate level of attention on mid-size cities and their metropolitan areas. As a result, communities in these places have been forced to operate in a national urban policy environment that often fails to address their concerns. Moreover, this author contends bringing into focus the characteristics of the mid-size city is an important initial step to moving the places where the majority of persons live from obscurity and into the mainstream of redefining place and policy development. This paper will proceed to identify and explore the major themes in the literature that aid in defining the mid-size city. In addition to a review of the literature, it should offer a greater level of richness and understanding to the conceptualization of the mid-size city. The paper will conclude with recommendations for urban scholars thinking about crafting a research agenda that adds breadth and depth to the conceptual and empirical literature on cities.

### 002 Post-Disaster New Orleans

#### ***Dueling Plans: Land Use Planning in Post-Katrina New Orleans***

Robert Collins (Dillard University)

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City-wide planning for the rebuilding of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina was not a single linear process. Instead, it was a conflicted process where several different city-wide planning processes managed by different stakeholders went on simultaneously. This paper documents and describes each of these conflicting processes, identifies the reasons why the process was not unified and efficient from the beginning, and offers policy recommendations to move the process along to the successful completion of a new comprehensive zoning ordinance. The paper concludes by generalizing results and offering ideas designed to inform other communities about what to do, and what not to do, when planning to rebuild and recover after a disaster.

#### ***An integrated Socio-Spatial Research Framework for long-term Urban Disaster Recovery***

Mark Kammerbauer (Bauhaus-University Weimar)

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There is a perceived lack of longitudinal studies of urban recovery after disaster in



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general, and of research that integrates urban studies with disaster or vulnerability research and related models of disaster recovery in particular. Integration of these positions is necessary to holistically understand the ongoing and fragmentary recovery of New Orleans 5 years after Katrina. The author's dissertation at the Bauhaus University Weimar deals with long-term recovery in New Orleans after Katrina and is based on a theoretical approach that integrates spatial, institutional, and social aspects of urban disaster recovery via the socio-spatial perspective of urban sociology (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2006). This permits analyzing the process of federal, state, and local interventions in urban disaster recovery (e.g. Road Home program, Lot Next Door program) in relation to socio-spatial urban vulnerabilities of impacted populations (e.g. evacuees who could or couldn't return). Within this approach, the author collected empirical data through case study based quantitative questionnaire surveys (with members of an impacted population in the Lower Ninth Ward who have or haven't returned) and qualitative interviews with key individuals (in federal, state, and local institutions and non-profit organizations) during two field research visits in 2007 and 2009. Sociologically oriented disaster research tends to focus on the community level. However, if we identify communities or neighborhoods as research units, then these only represent subsystems in regard to the city as system within urban studies. How can we develop integrated research frameworks, and what are their advantages or limitations? What can resulting research and data contribute to future urban disaster mitigation and planning? The author intends to present his theoretical and methodological approach, core findings, and normative outlook in the context of Urban Theory, Theoretical and Conceptual Issues in Urban Affairs.

### ***Urban revitalization in New Orleans: A wolf in sheep's clothing***

Siri Colom (University of California, Berkeley)

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In this presentation I will analyze a little covered yet massive redevelopment in post-Katrina New Orleans. In late spring, through summer, and into fall of 2010, bulldozers began the demolition of a 70 acre stretch of land known as lower midcity. This area was to be converted from a low-income community with mostly single-family and double family homes, into the first extension of the biomedical district of New Orleans. The redevelopment of this district had been in the works prior to Katrina, but gained steam immediately after the storm when Louisiana State University (LSU) decided not to reopen Charity Hospital?it's former home?though its storm damage was minimal. A decision was made, and ambiguities abound around the decision-making process, that the current Veterans Administration and LSU hospitals would move from their former sites to a new area of land that was mostly residential, commercial, and light industrial. This elicited a response from a coalition of people



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including public hospital advocates, preservationists, community organizers, civil rights lawyers, and residents, in the attempt to stop what was viewed by many as a land grab by the state and federal governments. I will use this example to highlight some of the important contestations over land and space that continue to take place in post-disaster New Orleans, showing that what appears to be urban redevelopment and disaster recovery instead parallels earlier instances of urban renewal in the 50s and 60s and replicates the same displacement of the urban working class and poor that occurred during urban renewal as well as in the aftermath of the storm.

### ***Rebuilding New Orleans: Economic Development in the City in the Post-Katrina Era***

Peter F. Burns (Loyola University New Orleans), Matthew O. Thomas (California State University, Chico)

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How did Hurricane Katrina affect public policy in New Orleans? This paper explores this question through an analysis of economic development in the city since August 29, 2010. Throughout its history New Orleans served as a port city, but by 1980 the city's economy centered on the oil and gas industry. That economic engine failed in the late-1980s when New Orleans lost all but one of its Fortune 500 companies, and the city began to transition to a service economy, based on the tourism industry. This shift included the development of a land-based casino in downtown New Orleans.

New Orleans typified a caretaker regime for most of the 20th Century. When the city sought to develop its economic base in the 1990s, however, it relied on state government for leadership and resources. The governor, state legislature, and executive agencies led efforts to build a land-based casino and multi-purpose arena in New Orleans and attract an NBA team to the city.

In the years following the storm, the city struggled to create a rebuilding plan and draw businesses to the city. In 2007, Edward Blakely assumed the post of recovery czar and said that cranes would dot the downtown skyline within a year. His claim didn't become reality and most people judged the economic development in the city as a failure.

Non-farm employment in New Orleans had been on the decline since at least the 1980s and Hurricane Katrina accelerated this process. The city lost about 100,000 jobs as a result of the storm and it has recovered roughly 50,000 of those as of 2009.

Despite the lack of cranes in the sky, New Orleans and its surrounding has seen some economic successes in the post-Katrina period. According to the Greater New Orleans





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Community Data Center, more middle- class families live in the city now than they did before the storm and the metropolitan area's median household income rose 4% from 1999 to 2008.

### ***The Retail Sector in Neighborhood Redevelopment and Recovery: New Orleans and Kansas City***

Michael Frisch (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

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In urban redevelopment , the retail sector is included as part of large-scale entertainment districts and tourist projects (Eisinger 2000), but is often overlooked as a critical component of neighborhood redevelopment. Generally, the growth of the retail sector depends on the growth of other activity (North 1955). Communities want neighborhood retail, but consumers want cheap goods and increasingly shop for these goods at chain stores, category killers, and online retailers (Zukin 1998).

Neighborhood retail becomes important for urban redevelopment when it connects to a community's identity and becomes a fixed element in placemaking (Sutton 2010, Chapple and Jacobus 2009). I compare and contrast the retail sector in the Kansas City and New Orleans to identify strategic entry points for neighborhood action. Then I discuss several case studies from both regions that illustrate the pitfalls of a retail redevelopment strategy. I find that successful retail redevelopment happens when tied to neighborhood recovery planning including elements of housing and transportation as well as business development.

## **003 Dynamics of Neighborhood Exclusion and Inclusion**

### ***After loft redevelopment: Analyzing Skid Row's cartographies of community, territory, and identity***

Michael Powe (University of Washington)

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From 2000 to 2010, 28 upscale loft developments opened in and around the 50 square blocks of Los Angeles's Skid Row. Spurred on by policies supporting historic preservation and adaptive reuse development, the targeted investment of public and private dollars, and an ample supply of dilapidated and seldom-used industrial and commercial properties, loft development was positioned as a low-cost solution to L.A.'s urban ills. In the doldrums of an economic recession, however, the lives and livelihoods of residents and businesses in L.A.'s Downtown and Skid Row neighborhoods never matched the exaggerated sell of a "loft renaissance." Today,



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much in Skid Row remains unchanged. Single room occupancy hotels and missions provide services and housing to some; others continue to sleep on the streets and sidewalks, in tents and under bridges. Long-time neighborhood residents, once unaccustomed to the sight of young professionals walking pampered dogs or pushing baby strollers, now regard loft resident neighbors with a shrug or a nod. This paper explores the cartographies and narrative accounts of community formation and division in L.A.'s Skid Row. Focusing on cognitive maps drawn by Skid Row residents living in a range of circumstances -- from multimillion dollar loft condominiums to makeshift shelters on the street -- as well as maps produced by loft advertisers and business organizations, I argue that the U.S. economic downturn played a positive role in the formation of a diverse, connected community on Skid Row. By slowing residential turnover and speculation, residents of different backgrounds and circumstances were afforded time to share public spaces and form mutual understandings of one another. This, clearly, is not a utopian, just vision of urban society, but given the alternative of further upscale development and massive displacement, it represents an opportunity where one otherwise would not exist. The paper also explores residents' visions of the present and prospective futures of Skid Row, as well as their conceptions of the neighborhood's identity. In a single neighborhood that goes by two distinct names with distinct histories -- Central City East and Skid Row -- the views of residents and business owners illuminate the powerful role that language and branding play in urban space today. Drawing from 75 semi-structured interviews with residents, business owners, city officials, and others, I suggest that city redevelopment agencies and planning departments exercise greater caution prior to pursuing or supporting the "rebranding" of historic neighborhoods.

### ***Neighborhood Boundaries: How and why the urban residents include/exclude certain areas and people***

Yuki Kato (Tulane University)

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Neighborhoods are frequently used as units of analysis in urban studies as a way to group space and individuals based on some assumed shared characteristics. Based on the data collected through 36 interviews that involve photographs and cognitive map construction, supplemented by ethnographic fieldwork, this study explores where the residents of a middle class Baltimore neighborhood draw boundaries for their neighborhood, and why. The study at first finds a general consensus among the sixteen interviewees' perceptions of the boundary locations. However, more in-depth discussions reveal that the residents' neighborhood perceptions are much more heterogeneous and complex, as the interviewees use a combination of physical and social elements to refer to various dimensions of neighborhood. In particular, I find





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that all interviewees freely stretched or contracted the official boundaries, yet many relied on the intuition rather than concrete justification to explain why they included or excluded some areas. The variation in the perceptions of the boundaries appear to be influenced by the interviewee's tenure of residence in the neighborhood or his/her social ties with a core group that is active in promoting certain values and norms of the neighborhood. Based on the analysis, I propose the importance of considering the "cultural dimension" of a neighborhood, which refers to the norms and the values the residents attribute to the neighborhood, in addition to geographic, social, and personal dimensions explored in previous studies. The study shows that the definition of neighborhood is not static or universal. The neighborhood boundaries may not be the continuous line, and the space framed by the borderlines is not automatically considered to be part of the neighborhood. I suggest the addition of user-space relationship to better understand the ways in which the residents distinguish whether a place belongs to a neighborhood or not. The study emphasizes the importance of inquiring which aspects of the neighborhood, such as social, spatial, or other, matters most to the resident, prior to the researchers determining how to group individuals or space.

### ***A-way from Paolo Sarpi. An Ethnographic Research in Milan's Chinatown***

Lidia K.C. Manzo (University of Trento)

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Not all the spaces of Milan city are so strongly loaded with cultural and political baggage as Chinatown - the ethnic neighbourhood in Paolo Sarpi street. The complexity of the "Sarpi Question" is precisely determined by the discussion of social dimensions, space and Ethno-racial, economic and political, at once. The approach followed in this research is collocated in the perspective of the Urban Political Economy. If a local society is a complete society, we can distinguish economy, politics and culture: three elements, accordant each other, which can come in tension. This paper reflects upon the interlacement among these three dimensions, by looking over their significant aspect starting from the observation of a problem connected to the rising of an urban conflict. » EMERGING SPATIALITY. CASE STUDY: THE MILAN'S CHINATOWN. The Chinese living in Milan have for some time now been regarded and described as a closed, silent, introvert and isolated community. The area of reference with the most ethnic connotations in this sense is via Paolo Sarpi, Milan's Chinatown. It is represented by a handful of streets where the global flow of Chinese goods and the daily routines of elderly people and families come together. But all this is impacted on by the arrival of wholesale trade in the nineties. The balance is broken by a constant flow of goods vehicles, vans, trolleys, boxes, fumes and rubbish. Chaos overwhelms via Sarpi, as well as via Rosmini, via Giordano Bruno and the adjacent



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thoroughfares. Co-habitation is at risk, wedged between the business needs of the Chinese community and the daily habits of residents, i.e. the Chinese work ethic based on breaking one's back 16 hours a day, and the new zero tolerance Milanese outlook. Beneath the surface intolerance, exasperation and tiredness are all simmering. On both sides. Italians and Chinese have by now been living side by side for seventy years without any conflict up to 12 April 2007, the first time ever that three hundred Chinese react violently against measures imposed by the public authorities. » "A-way FROM PAOLO SARPI" - The social documentary, 2009. English subtitled This documentary presents the images of Jianyi Lin, member of AssoCina, as an example of the extreme vitality of the Chinese second generation in our country, but also the modernity of the "liberal" Chinese Catholic Pastor, Don Paolo Chen and the commercial realization of Chinese Overseas symbolized in Oriente Store and in its pioneer: Uncle Romanino. In the same way there would unexpected on entering the butcher Sirtori to find a cosmopolitan Walter capable of combat the rhetoric on cultural diversity. In this complexity it is still possible to recognize some young Chinese people who appreciate the luxury of Italian fashion and traders who, instead, want form into independent associations to preserve presumed national identities.

### 004 Activism, Engagement, and Organizing for Social Change

#### ***Choosing Tactics for Social Action: Comparing Activists and Community Organizers***

Donna Hardina (California State University, Fresno ), Catherine Garoupa-White (Central California Air Quality Coalition), Matthew Jendian (California State University, Fresno ), Hector Cerda (California State University, Fresno )

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Tactical methods used in social justice related organizing to build just and sustainable communities can involve confrontation with authorities. Often such tactical methods are used explicitly to empower members of impoverished or marginalized communities (Mondros, 2005). In addition to protests, tactical methods can include civil disobedience and direct action. Civil disobedience can be defined as "the deliberate, principled, and public breaking of a law that is perceived to be unjust" (Conway, 2003, p. 508). Direct action may include legally sanctioned activities or illegal actions, but generally involves direct confrontation with authorities (Shaw, 2001). In some cases, participants in civil disobedience or direct action may intend to put themselves at risk of arrest as a means of calling attention to social problems or political oppression (McAdam & Tarrow, 2000). Consequently, such actions often create ethical dilemmas for community organizers and activists (Reisch & Lowe, 2000). Many professional organizers maintain that confrontation tactics are ethically justified



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if people will be harmed if the issue is not addressed or if public authorities fail to take action themselves (Brager, Specht, & Torczyner, 1987). Research on social movements has found that values and ethical principles play a major role in determining who engages in protests and confrontations with authorities (Cameron, & Nickerson, 2009, Mika, 2006; Giguere & Lalande, 2010). Klandermans (2007) identifies three reasons for participation in social movements: instrumentality, the use of individual participation to facilitate social change, ideology, a vehicle for expressing one's personal beliefs and emotions about specific situations, and identity, feelings of personal identification with a group. Although primary responsibility for recruiting participants, articulating a values framework for the organizing campaign, and facilitating a sense of collective identity among participants lies with community or social movement organizers (Pyles, 2009, Swartz, 2008), little research documents how values and ethics play a role in determining how the organizers themselves choose strategies and tactics or resolve ethical dilemmas. There is also little research on whether ethical decision-making varies based on one's status as an unpaid activist or a paid community organizer. This paper presents findings from a qualitative study of professional community organizers and unpaid community activists. The 20 respondents interviewed were asked to describe how they made tactical decisions, the people who are typically involved in the decision-making process, and the ethical principles taken into consideration when tactics are chosen. The organizers identified such ethical principles as placing primary responsibility for decision-making with constituents, social justice, morality, informed consent, and "do no harm." The activists primarily focused on their personal commitment to social justice.

### ***Urban youth action: Potential and challenges of youth-led organizing in Philadelphia and beyond***

Aaron Searson (University of Delaware)

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Several historical forces -- including economic restructuring, growing inequality, immigration, and urban governance schemes -- have combined to exacerbate uncertainties in the lives of vulnerable urban youth. In this milieu, youth action has gained legitimacy as a means of organizing for socioeconomic justice, but the potential and challenges of mobilizing low-income urban youth merit more attention. There is a growing body of literature that addresses contemporary debates surrounding youth action, and this paper will synthesize these studies and focus on research about youth organizing for access to educational and economic opportunities in Philadelphia. Specific issues in Philadelphia youth organizing efforts include adequate representation of the most vulnerable youth, who are often marginalized or disconnected from school and the formal labor market; cultural and ideological



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differences among youth and between youth and policymakers and administrators; and the tension between community-based organizing and youth-led action. This paper will explore what these challenges signify for the future of youth action among low-income urban youth.

### ***Community Organizing for Education Transformation***

Robyne Turner (Rutgers University), Airick West (Kansas City Missouri School Board)

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The relationship between community organizing and local school districts has been demonstrated in a number of research publications, most notably the multi-city series conducted by Clarence Stone and co-researchers. Their research includes the development of parents as policy advocates for better education, developing parent capacity to be participants in the school system, and creating district-community partnerships that will bring the district out of political isolation. This research frames the potential set of relationships and outcomes of the district, city, and parents (see Lopez 2003). Another approach is to focus on the value of community organizing to the students in the district and student performance. The holistic approach to create support for a student is most clearly demonstrated by Geoffrey Canada in the Harlem Children's Zone and the federal Promise Neighborhoods program. Developing support systems for children that include parents, the community, and the school is seen as part of a developmental approach to student success that includes an element of community organizing. Our research model combines both of these into a transformative model of organizing (see Smock) that serves to bring the school district out of its civic isolation as well as create a community and parent partnership of support for students. By using a transformative model of community organizing, we expect to build political as well as social capital. Using Putnam's theory of social capital, this model of community organizing not only engages people and parents with the district, but also builds political trust and capital for the district to use for policy purposes. The model was created to build on and continue the educational policy reorganization of a specific school district (called transformation by the district leadership) and to demonstrate how a transformative community organizing process could help contribute to and sustain the district's transformation. This model was applied during the summer of 2010 in the Kansas City Missouri School District as a project called Opportunity Knocks. The paper will outline the model, the application, the preliminary results, and the anticipated impact on this urban school district that is currently undergoing extensive reorganization and educational realignment. The model we applied, however, is broadly applicable to community engagement. We attempt to demonstrate that this type of organizing and engagement will not only provide a support to the students in the district, but also is an important component



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in reducing the political isolation of the school district. Combining these two factors is expected to lead to transformation of the relationship between the district and the community, translating into political and social capital that will improve the district's ability to thrive and ultimately, improve student performance (see Medderata et al. 2008).

### 006 Cultural Meanings in the City: Sports, Performance, and Creativity

#### *The Canadian Scenescape*

Daniel Silver (University of Toronto)

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This paper outlines the scenes perspective on measuring the cultural meanings embedded in concrete places and spaces and applies that perspective to Canada. It uses a national database of hundreds of types of local amenities to measure the local 'scene' in every Canadian postal code. It provides a tour through the Canadian 'scenescape' at the national, regional, metropolitan, and neighborhood level by outlining variations in types of amenities and the cultural meanings they support, such as tradition, self-expression, transgression, or local authenticity. And it investigates which types of scenes are associated with various demographic and social indicators, such as change in population among sub-groups and job growth.

#### *Toronto, Florida: The Exclusion of Immigrants and Racial Minorities from the Creative City*

Nehal El-Hadi (University of Toronto)

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Richard Florida is an urban theorist whose imagery of the 'creative city' has found widespread appeal in North American cities, including Toronto, where he is currently head of the Martin Prosperity Institute at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management. The idea of the creative city first received widespread response with the introduction of the creative class in Florida's book *The Rise of the Creative Class*. And *How It's Transforming Work, Leisure and Everyday Life* (2003), and was packaged in greater detail in the follow-up *Cities and the Creative Class* (2005). In these two books, Florida posits that creativity is the driving factor behind regional economic growth. While other social theorists label our current epoch as an information-driven or technological age, Florida argues that it is creativity that is the current source of economic growth. The proposed paper explores Richard Florida's idea of the creative city and asks who is excluded? By looking at the City of Toronto's cultural



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development policies and referencing critiques of the application of Florida's recommendations in other places, I intend to demonstrate that under the guise of boosting the cultural economy and supporting the Toronto arts and culture scene, municipal (and provincial) policies and mandates have resulted in the exclusion of minorities from full citizenship. These policies are publicly supported by the idea of Toronto as a "creative city" and the belief that the city has a responsibility to develop its cultural sector which, through a narrow and almost exclusively white idea of culture, dismisses and negates the contributions of racial minorities, favours the privileged class, and continues to exclude racial minorities from full citizenship. These arguments are supported through the presentation of the idea of civility and the myth of the "good immigrant," stranger fetishism, and the reinforcement of a socioeconomic hierarchy that is very strongly linked to race and the integration (or absence thereof) of immigrants into Canadian civil society.

### ***Freedom and Cultural Consciousness: Black Working Class Performance in Post-Katrina New Orleans***

Diane Grams (Tulane University)

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This comparative analysis of two forms ritual collective performance by black working class New Orleanians sheds new light on the meanings of race and culture. Using symbols to evoke freedom and resistance, these performances revise the narrative of a triumphant colonial Europe to constitute an enduring black cultural consciousness. This is a world that is as separated and distinguished from the imagined southern aristocracy on display during Mardi Gras as it is from black activism from the civil rights, black nationalist, and black power movements in other American urban cities. Collective performances of Mardi Gras Indian tribes and second line parades by Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs have, for as much as two centuries, sustained unique artistic traditions of body adornment, dance, and music rooted in the historic cultures of Africans and Native Americans and in the functions of neighborhood-based mutual aid societies. And in post-Katrina New Orleans, these art forms are self-generating resources that have created the logic and momentum to rebuild meaning of local life and rebuild communities. This comparative study of two forms of ritual collective performance in post-Katrina New Orleans reveals how both traditions continue to provide portals into an aesthetic dimension of black culture. This is a cultural space in which both creators and joiners find opportunities for individual agency through the activities of public performance.

### ***The Sports Media Metaphor in Hurricane Katrina News: The Saints Go Marching In***





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Gene A. Burd (University of Texas at Austin)

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The language of sports describes how the New Orleans Saints Super Bowl victory of 2010 was interwoven into news of loss and defeat, winning and losing so as to create a spirit of hope and recovery five years after the hurricane hit the city. Images of the Super Dome sheltering the evacuees were replaced by the victory of the Saints reflecting safety and security in the stadium in the re-birth of a city which quarterback Drew Brees "adopted" as his new home town after his past defeats and the death of his mother in Texas; and in a city where the birth rate exploded nine months after the victory of the Saints. This example illustrates hope as the fifth function of the media; the symbolic nature of the civic bond; the spiritual and "religious faith" inherent in a city's sports teams; and the Saints' search for a home in a reclaimed city with a collective sense of place; where defeat and failure are replaced by success and victory over both urban and natural foes. The New Orleans case illustrates the popular ritual and collective celebration of shared civic harmony, civility and civic consciousness in a special space and place. It involves both conflict and cooperation, winners and losers in a ceremonial architectural setting in contrast to the fragmented post modern diversity and urban inequality beyond the gridiron. The emotional and spiritual elements of sight, sound and scent in sports offset and neutralize the dominant rational and intellectual forces and factors of urbanization and the city. The Saints reclaimed New Orleans and re-defined it as a special place.

### ***From 'Shelter of Last Resort' to 'Who Dat?' Sport: the importance of professional sports to urban residents***

Casey Knoettgen (University of New Orleans)

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Much research has found that professional sports teams and stadiums produce little to no economic benefits. Despite this, sports teams continue to be important to cities. This has been attributed to cities' growth imperative where sports projects are hailed as vehicles to revitalize urban areas. Studies argue that a home team can stimulate local civic pride and create an enhanced city image to attract businesses and investments back into the city. However, little research has examined in what ways professional home teams matter to urban residents and why they support public subsidies to fund stadiums. Growth machine theory has been influential in explaining how stadium boosters promote sports projects as growth catalysts that benefit the city as a whole in order to obtain public subsidy for the private accumulation of wealth. However, these theories do not explain the various ways in which urban residents experience and create meaning around a professional sports team. Using



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field observation, interviews, and discourse analysis of newspaper articles, this paper examines the importance of the Saints, a home football team, for residents of New Orleans. It seeks to answer the following question: In what ways does a professional sports home team matter to urban residents? In the case of New Orleans, the Saints and the Superdome serve as markers of transformation and symbols of hope for a city rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina. The ways in which New Orleans residents interpret or experience this message, offers a more in-depth understanding of the ways in which a sports team contributes to urban revitalization.

### 007 Dynamics of Recovery in Post-Katrina New Orleans

#### ***Promise Forgotten: United Way's Experiment in Community Revitalization in Post-Katrina Gentilly***

Ruth Meyers (University of Pennsylvania)

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United Way's Demonstration Projects for Community Revitalization was an experiment to determine what role the agency might play in integrating international disaster recovery paradigms into the Stafford Act principles that limit recovery to pre-event physical conditions without addressing the social, economic or geographic circumstances that create human vulnerability. Beginning their work in September 2008, the Demonstration Projects team investigated international best practices, which link disaster recovery, poverty alleviation and sustainable development, concluding that they would be more likely to foster an equitable recovery and mitigate the impacts of future disasters. Gentilly, with a pre-storm population of 44,000, was one of New Orleans' most severely flooded areas, yet it had received little public or philanthropic recovery investment. The team targeted Gentilly because of its geographic and demographic diversity and the attention it received in a private planning effort led by New Urbanist Andres Duany.

The Demonstration Projects team attempted to empower Gentilly with greater economic, social, and political resources than it possessed prior to Katrina. Based on their scan of Gentilly's needs and conditions, the team developed four strategies for engaging residents through their neighborhoods, and seven implementation steps. They believed that the successful implementation of those community engagement strategies could empower a resident-led recovery by increasing residents' capacity to engage effectively in civic decision-making regarding their community.

Ruth Meyers, former Director of Demonstration Projects, will summarize the actions



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and outcomes of the team's work through July 29, 2010, when United Way terminated the program. Included in her discussion will be lessons learned about the patient investment required to restore the social and human capital necessary to sustain and give meaning to physical recovery.

### ***Citizen Engagement in Post-Katrina Rebuilding: Lessons for Long-Term Recovery Models***

Maggie Olivier (University of New Orleans), Nancy Quirk (City of Charlottesville, Virginia)

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In this case study of post-Katrina New Orleans we discuss the transition phase(s) of recovery during which city, state and federal governments failed to adequately help the citizens consider options which might have provided improved long-term reduction in vulnerability. The vacuum of political leadership led to the emergence of a vibrant civil society effort to help the city and its residents recover. Some five years out from the storm, however, the city continues to struggle, and while a myriad of civic groups have contributed enormously to helping residents rebuild individual homes and businesses, they have not been able to take advantage of the opportunity to rebuild a community that is socially, physically, and economically less vulnerable to future disaster events.

Rich case detail on the positive and negative outcomes of citizen-initiated rebuilding efforts in post-Katrina New Orleans will provide grist for discussion of the importance of inclusive deliberative processes during the transition phase in disaster recovery and reconstruction models. Findings from post-tsunami and post-earthquake recovery efforts point to similar outcomes when public participation and political leadership are not harnessed in a deliberative process to discuss, debate, and determine the best path of reconstruction for the community.

The increasing presence of civil society groups—be they local, national or international—in disaster response and reconstruction efforts around the world makes it imperative that the disaster recovery and reconstruction paradigm more fully consider the process of recovery as inclusive of the residents. Survivors of disaster events are not passive bystanders but rather agents of change whose vitality, energy, hope and, above all, need for rebuilding better must be more fully integrated into the recovery models if reconstruction is to successfully provide a more robust social, physical, and economic infrastructure.

### ***Community Resilience in Post-Katrina New Orleans: A Case Study of the "How Safe,***



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### ***How Soon?" Project***

Ann Yoachim (Tulane University)

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Hurricanes Katrina and Rita highlighted the realities of risks from flooding, sea level rise, coastal erosion, infrastructure, and increased intensity of hurricanes coastal communities across Southern Louisiana, including New Orleans, continue to face. "How Safe, How Soon" was a collaborative effort of communities, regional and national non-profits, academic institutions, technical experts, and philanthropy to address these water-related risks. Based on the premise that communities' capacity to define "safety" and "resiliency," to identify solutions, and to engage in protection efforts would strengthen and sustain New Orleans' and the region's recovery, the collaboration built on early post-disaster philanthropic investment to the individual partners. The communities involved were: the Lower Ninth Ward and the Carrollton/Hollygrove neighborhoods of New Orleans; and the United Houma Nation, located primarily in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes. These communities represented the socioeconomic, risk profile, and geographic diversity of the region. The project allowed communities to develop achievable short-term solutions such as community evacuation, return, and relief plans, as well as begin to identify and garner the resources necessary to address and implement solutions to build long term resiliency, and advocate for policy changes.

An in-depth discussion of the project will share community-identified solutions, assess the role of cross-pollination and access to technical assistance, and highlight the challenges and strengths of collaborative projects as a means to support urban communities as they recover from disaster or respond to shocks whether they be environmental, economic, or social.

## **008 Urban and Suburban Planning Issues**



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### ***Differences of Neighborhood Outcomes: Physical and Social environment***

Yunwoo Nam (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

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It is not uncommon for local leaders and citizens to assemble together to try to make their community a better place to live. The neighborhood walkability has emerged as a strong component in policy and design models for active, livable and healthy communities. Following the popularity of the walkable community subject, a considerable amount of studies have been devoted to examine the built environment and walking mainly by the interest in the relationship between physical conditions and health outcomes. However, relatively less attention was given to the connection between walkability and a neighborhood's social environment such as social capital, civic engagement, and safety (crime). This paper attempts to connect the factors of walkable environment with the nature of social capital and civic engagement.

Theoretically walkable neighborhoods are expected to increase the chance of social interactions and to enhance the sense of community, which leads to the activation of social capital, informal social control and civic engagement. Social capital mobilizes social resources that have the potential to facilitate modes of collective action which can be translated into the willingness to intervene for the common good. It develops as a form of informal social organization that helps neighborhoods to achieve shared expectations and collective actions such as lowering crime rates and facilitating civic engagement, which are important for the community's well-being and quality of life. The main objective of this research is to examine the relationship among physical built environment, walkability and social environment. This paper empirically examines whether more walkable environment is associated with the higher level of social capital, civic engagement, and safety. The research method used here is a combination of analytical reasoning based on theories and empirical tests. This work includes a wide array of objective measures available for city-wide analysis as well as field observation methods for the street level analysis. Geographic Information System (GIS) provides a useful tool to evaluate the quality of built environment for walking, visually as well as quantitatively. This paper also develops and uses walkability audit tools to measure the physical environment features that are related to neighborhood walkability. The field observation method provides detailed measures of both physical conditions and social behaviors along street segments. The study area is the city of Lincoln, Nebraska. Six neighborhoods are selected by the urban design types, walkability, and neighborhood characteristics. Resident survey is conducted to measure physical activity, social capital and civic engagement. Data are collected from various sources such as census, business patterns, and city government. Variables of social capital and civic engagement are collected through interviews and surveys.



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### ***Sustainable & New Urbanism – A Way for Understanding and Solving the Housing Phenomena of Concentrated Poverty in Alienated Suburbs?***

Tigran Haas (Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden), Ryan Locke (Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden)

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The growing alienation of public housing estates and communities and their ethnically and socially excluded people, and the neglected human potential they symbolize, is a grotesque expression of the failure of a system driven by the profit motive, rather than by the requirement to satisfy basic human needs – that of work & housing. New dwellings which would provide sense of place and belonging, creation of jobs, and improvement of often atrocious transport links and means is a way forward. This paper looks at the Sustainable Urbanism paradigm, which works through proven principles and methods of New Urbanism. The analysis will see if this paradigm might offer an alternative to the failed satellite-suburban-monolith-alienated type of living in most major European cities. Turning isolated public housing towers into typical mixed-income city neighborhoods under the Hope VI and under New Urbanism principles has been done in the US, but not without a plethora of problems. Is the idea in the solution which seeks to demolish thousands of units of the city's public housing stock and create new mixed-use units or is it in refurbishing and retrofitting the existing stock? How much in all of that do urban planning & design schemes and paradigm play a role? This paper will look into some of these issues and try to propose new ideas and approaches for socially and ethnically excluded European suburbs, where financial and real estate communities need to respond to build communities that are more spatially, environmentally, socially, and financially sustainable.

### ***More bedrooms and amenities, less asphalt: an empirical approach to calculate affordable housing parking reductions and overcome NIMBY protests***

Carrie Makarewicz (University of California, Berkeley)

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Managing auto related issues? parking, congestion, pollution, and road maintenance, present continuous challenges for planners. Transportation problems also disrupt neighborhoods, contribute to health problems, and consume peoples' time and money. As cities rebuild and redevelop, accommodating and storing automobiles will continue to be a challenge. Auto storage is especially challenging for affordable housing developers; construction costs for parking spaces range from \$10,000 for surface to \$40,000 for structured. Every parking space reduces funding for other project goals, including green space, unit amenities, and lower rents. Parking is no





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longer a topic limited to the city planners and transportation engineers; professionals interested in sustainable development, alternative transport, and affordable housing are also looking for solutions. Recognizing the link between parking, auto ownership, and traffic?the more free and easy parking provided, the more people drive and the fewer lots there are for compact development?the new parking enthusiasts suggest cities should lower residential and commercial parking requirements, especially for pedestrian friendly and transit-served locations. Affordable housing advocates point out that parking contributes to high housing prices and requirements are often in excess of what is actually needed due to lower auto ownership among lower income households. This paper accepts the arguments for lowering parking standards, but asserts that planners do not have reliable methods for determining the right number of spaces. The auto is the dominant mode, even among low income people, so parking is still needed?but how much is the question. I propose a method using existing data on household auto ownership by income by neighborhood type to calculate residential parking space requirements by the proposed income target and location of infill housing. I use case studies in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco to illustrate the model. Current parking standards are not based on such specific data about the location or the proposed building occupants. Instead, most municipalities draw from the Institute of Transportation Engineers? (ITE) outdated and suburban-oriented publication on parking requirements by building use. Some then use ?professional judgment? and ?rough calculations? to adjust the ITE standard, e.g. from 2 spaces per unit for a residential development to 1.5 if it is within 600 feet of transit. Transit alone however will not necessarily allow a person or family to get by with fewer cars and selecting 1.5 instead of 2 is somewhat arbitrary. Wealthier future neighbors of proposed affordable housing developments are then able to use these arbitrary calculations to protest the project. In response, developers who have based their finance plans on reduced parking requirements are forced to lower the number of units or cut back on quality finishes in order to fund the additional parking.

### ***Restoring Urban America: The Use and Impact of Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credits in Twelve Cities***

Stephanie Ryberg (Cleveland State University), Randall Mason (University of Pennsylvania), Kevin McMahon (University of Pennsylvania), Ann Donkin (Cleveland State University)

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Analyzing the impact and effectiveness of historic preservation is a complex and challenging endeavor due to the mix of historical, architectural, social, cultural, economic, and other values that underpin the contemporary preservation field. Over the past forty years, federal, state and local governments have adopted a number of



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public policies in support of preservation and in hopes of spurring private reinvestment in the historic built environment. This research examines one of the most influential policies ? historic rehabilitation tax credits (RTCs). Preservationists and others argue that RTCs are a key driver of urban revitalization, but the National Park Service, which oversees the program, publishes only rudimentary and highly aggregated descriptive statistics. For instance, the Park Service reports that RTCs spurred \$4.69 billion in private investment and created over 70,000 local jobs in fiscal year 2009 and leveraged \$55.51 billion in private investment since the program's creation in 1976. Federal and state legislatures are actively trying to improve upon and expand this preservation incentive. Congress is considering ways to increase private and non-profit sector use of the tax credits and to encourage more ?green? rehabilitations. As of 2010, 28 states had state-level historic tax credit programs to further entice private investors. Despite widespread praise and continuing policy development, the impact of RTCs on U.S. cities is almost entirely unstudied. To fill this gap, our research explores methodologies to assess and evaluate the multi-faceted impacts of this leading preservation program, using address-level RTC project data (obtained from the National Park Service and State Historic Preservation Offices). The study focuses on twelve purposefully selected cities: Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Denver, Dubuque, Omaha, Philadelphia, Portland (OR), Providence, Richmond, Seattle, and St. Louis. This dataset allows for a comparison of cities with and without state RTC programs, with different local preservation cultures, and in a mix of weak and strong-market locations. After geocoding the data, we map RTC use over time, examine its concentration and/or dispersion across the urban landscape, and quantitatively and qualitatively explore associated neighborhood changes. The research questions a core argument in support of the RTC program: that incentivizing private investment in historic buildings will generate positive spin-off benefits for cities and their neighborhoods, including bringing private capital into the city, catalyzing revitalization, attracting visitors, and enhancing the quality of life for residents.

### **009    Everyday Places: Broadening our Understanding of Justice, Equity, and Sustainability in the Multicultural City**



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### ***Cacophonous Geographies: Constructing Safe Havens and Places of Refuge in the City***

Anna Livia Brand (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

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The concept of security is often discussed within a very specific and very narrow framework, one that works to create an urban public order that is free from crime, terrorism, and violence. However, this framework obfuscates the other dimensions of security that urban residents seek – the spatial, psychological, and political spaces that residents actively construct in order to nurture and protect their identity and difference within a multicultural yet hegemonic city. Communities create safe havens or places of refuge where their cultural, historical, and political meanings and memories are emplaced and protected from perceived and real changes and threats.

This spatial claim making and the construction of safe havens or places of refuge in the city is the focus of this paper, which explores how these places are constructed, represented, and maintained across racialized groups in the city. A safe haven is explored in this research as an emplaced urban condition, where the physical, psychological, and political dimensions of a group in the city are protected from harm, displacement, or erasure.

This research thus explores the meanings of place-making in relation to an expanded notion of security and asks generally how safety is constructed socially, spatially, and politically in the city. More specifically, it explores the qualitative differences and similarities of different groups' constructions, representations, and maintenance of safety in the modern city and the spatial implications of constructing safe havens amidst urban change and cultural dominance. Finally, this paper explores the relational aspects of safety – what communities are protecting and what they are protecting themselves from. Presented are three case studies in New Orleans: Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward, and Lakeview. Qualitative methods, including interviews and participant observation are used to analyze and understand the complexities of the meanings and demand for security and refuge in the city.

### ***Spaces of Cultural Production: Questioning the "Marginality" of Immigrant Cultural Spaces***

Carolina Sarmiento (University of California, Irvine)

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Both bottom up and top down approaches to cultural production and space have been linked to uneven development and community empowerment. This paper



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studies how cultural spaces working within working class immigrant communities, often considered “marginal,” actually fit within the creative city approach. I identify institutional arrangements that regulate cultural production and examine the interrelationships of these two distinct but interdependent cultural spaces. Research fails to capture the interdependence of dominated and appropriated cultural spaces that reproduce distinct forms of citizenship that can either standardize uniform needs or represent a true diverse community. Appropriated, radical, and insurgent spaces have been used as interchangeable terms without distinguishing what forms of economic and cultural integration sustain these projects. This paper explores the possibilities of cultural spaces and their relationship to the larger social and economic processes of the city. The argument in this paper is informed by a study of twenty-five cultural spaces identified in Santa Ana, California, a largely Mexican immigrant city where a cross current of cultural planning exists that represent both grassroots and top down creative approaches.

### ***The Politics of Latino Belonging: The Illegal Immigration Relief Act***

Arianna Martinez (Rutgers University)

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Local regulations for and against immigrants became popular in part after the pro-immigrant-rights rallies occurred across the country in the 2000s drawing attention to the growing power of immigrant groups and making the immigration debate a household conversation. The National Conference of State Legislatures calculates over 1300 pieces of legislation related to immigrants and immigration were introduced at the state level. Anti-immigrant policies in particular continue to gain steam at the state and local level as the answer to the growth of immigrant communities within their “borders.”

To be clear, though the discussion of local immigration policy is relatively new, national, state and local governments having been constructing policies to manage and manipulate how and where minority groups live and work for over one hundred years. Today many local ordinances and policies primarily target Caribbean, Central and South American immigrant communities. This presentation will highlight one specific type of anti-immigrant ordinance known as the Illegal Immigration Relief Act. Though the Illegal Immigration Relief Act has been marketed as a response to “illegal” immigration, policymakers appear to have numerous objections to the appropriation of space by all immigrants. Officially, regulations intend to help communities manage rapid population growth or demonstrate a town’s dissatisfaction with the federal government’s failure to establish an updated immigration policy. However, Latinos experience these regulations as exclusionary and xenophobic, largely designed to preserve traditional “Anglo” cultural and market practices, while discouraging (or



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driving-out) immigrants and informal economies.

This paper will highlight findings from my dissertation; including impacts the Illegal Immigration Relief Act had on Hazleton Pennsylvania, Riverside New Jersey, and Fremont Nebraska, three municipalities that enacted this ordinance.

### ***Investigating the Spaces of Sociality in the Multicultural Ethnoscapes of Greater Los Angeles***

Felicity Hwee-Hwa Chan (University of Southern California)

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While global cities throw open their gates to welcome and attract capital and information flows, inflows of peoples and cultures are received with less enthusiasm and much cautiousness (Sandercock 2003). We observe with increasing anecdotal evidence that this particular flesh and blood “cultural dimension” of globalization or what Appadurai (1990, 1991 and 1996) terms as “ethnoscapes,” is met with silent resentment by the receiving societies who have prided themselves in being multicultural. This tension becomes particularly visible when the cultural values and practices of immigrants are expressed in the use and sharing of urban space as witnessed in different episodes of resistance against the erection of new religious buildings and territorial claims. These tensions produced by the formation of ethnoscapes in and through spatial claims, can slowly chip away at the building blocks of public urban life in multicultural cities, beginning at the neighborhood.

This paper seeks to address the fractious ethnoscapes in multicultural cities by investigating the opportunities for intercultural interaction that our contemporary spaces of sociality (e.g. parks, cafes, libraries, restaurants, shops) afford between receiving society and immigrants. Starting in the multicultural neighborhoods of Greater Los Angeles where Cambodian, Armenian and Chinese immigrants have settled, this paper intends to present preliminary findings of the existence of intercultural conviviality in the everyday ethnoscapes of Los Angeles.

### **010 TIF in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area: Smoking Gun, Magic Bullet, or Somewhere in Between?**



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### ***Impact of TIF Use on Municipal Fiscal Health in the St. Louis Metropolitan Region***

Mark Tranel (University of Missouri-St. Louis), William Winter (University of Missouri-St. Louis)

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One often-raised feature of the use of tax increment financing (TIF) is the impact on the fiscal health of local governments. Understanding the association between TIFs and their local fiscal impacts is a complicated task. First, it is not clear what the best measure of fiscal impact is. Most simplistically it is local tax revenue, which should increase as the TIF project is completed and public tax flows—primarily increased property taxes and local sales taxes—begin. Use of this measure does not take into account additional public costs that might accrue due to the new development, including local public service demand produced by users of the project. Second, analysis of fiscal impacts is ultimately complicated by the lack of consistent and comprehensive data on local governments and measures of their fiscal health. The municipal fiscal health paper shows the relationship between a variety of municipal characteristics, including TIF usage, and municipal financial health, including utilizing a fixed effects linear model to estimate the impact of TIF investment.

The analysis applies four common measures of municipal financial condition relating to easily available CAFR data—revenue per population, taxes per population and expenses to population. The three measures are highly correlated given the fact that each use population as the denominator in their construction. Following the standard of scholarship, the interpretation of the three tests is that smaller is better. Thus, less revenue per population means the ability to expand revenue sources; lower taxes per population means the ability to raise additional taxes; and, lower expenses per population means the ability to increase government services. The paper presents findings from a model of revenue per population using a relatively simple fixed-effects panel data model. The model finds that TIF usage operationalized both as TIF investment per year and the total number of years a TIF has been active both predict an increase in the financial revenue—and under the interpretation of the measure signal increased distress—but that these effects are rather modest.

### ***The Promises and Pitfalls of TIF in the St. Louis Metropolitan Region: A Look at the Economic and Racial Disparities***

Sarah L. Coffin (Saint Louis University), Robert W. Ryan (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis)

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In January, 2009 the East West Gateway Council of Governments issued an interim report assessing the effectiveness and fiscal impacts of the use of local development incentives in the St. Louis Region. In that report they concluded that among the massive tax expenditures over the past 20 years, there has been little real growth associated with that public investment over the long term. The primary net result has been a redistribution of spending and taxes. Further, the focused attention on retail sales has led communities to depend on an unstable and somewhat volatile economic development strategy that varies widely with the broader global economy.

The findings from that 2009 report bring into question the distributional effects of development incentive programs, specifically TIF projects, on socioeconomic wellbeing of communities in the metropolitan area. The initial report documented summary uses of private development incentives. What remains unexamined are the distributional effects of those private development incentives. Looking at sub-regional relative racial and economic patterns as well as a “distress index,” this paper asks four questions:

1. Were incentives used differently in areas characterized by different degrees of racial or economic disparity?
2. Did patterns of racial or economic isolation shift after the completion of incentive projects?
3. Were tax incentives used in areas characterized by neighborhood distress?
4. Did the use of incentives reduce neighborhood distress over time (both in the immediate area and in the surrounding areas)?

Our analysis has three components; 1) an examination of economic and racial disparities and distress in the municipalities that approved the use of TIF, 2) an examination of economic and racial disparities and distress in the areas immediately surrounding TIF projects and districts, and 3) an analysis of the use of TIF on patterns of racial and economic isolation and neighborhood distress in municipalities and their surrounding areas over time. Additionally, we develop a TIF typology for the Missouri projects in the St. Louis region that categorizes each project according to its use to develop an understanding about the differences among the TIF uses. This allows us to point to evidence of whether or not TIF is being used for its intended purposes and if it is leading to desirable outcomes.

### ***Impact of TIF on Retail Business Decisions: A Case Study of St. Louis***



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Andrew Theising (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville), Mark Tranel (University of Missouri-St. Louis)

Presenter's email: none provided

In an effort to answer the question, "Can municipalities use development incentives to manipulate the location of retail business to achieve their own financial objectives?" the ARC team prepared an in-depth analysis of a number of TIF projects. This research approach provided the opportunity to examine the fiscal, historical, legal, and local political context of each project. A literature review found that much of the extant analysis was based on anecdotes and normative projection. The in-depth project analysis collected data on over 40 TIF projects developed over a 20-year period in the Illinois and Missouri counties of metropolitan St. Louis. The analysis discussed the impacts of changes in the retail industry and in environmental laws, community perceptions of eminent domain, practices of the real estate development community, and state statutes governing municipal taxation. Many of the conclusions reached in the anecdotal literature were not substantiated. And the research concluded that the real estate development community does not locate at the whim of local government finance managers.

### 013 Multiple Aspects of Urban Disaster

#### ***The Resilience of Airports: Adaptation Planning against hazards and for potential disaster recovery***

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Global climate change is creating increasingly adverse extreme weather events causing environmental, social, and economical hazards throughout the world. In particular airports, the backbones for immediate disaster recovery, are increasingly handicapped in their ability to supply needed services of freight and travel while encountering negative impacts of such hazards. Currently, there is abundant research regarding how an extreme event or a type of extreme event has or could affect air traffic, yet, there is little information concerning airports infrastructure and operational status in preparation against potential impacts from extreme events. The goal of this paper is to systematically expand the field of knowledge concerning the vulnerability and resilience of airports to hazards. Therefore, the authors identify the vulnerability of selected airports to extreme weather events and assess how some have prepared for adaption and/or mitigation to hazards; whether that preparation is managerial, infrastructural, or financial. The paper is structured as follows: first, the



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authors identify the most vulnerable airports in the world by assessing global, regional, and local maps of vulnerability overlaid by airport locations. Second, they lay out the strategies airports use in adapting to hazards and prepare themselves for a potential disaster in their region. The work is based on interviews with selected airport officials. Third, they identify effective policies that can minimize the impacts from extreme weather hazards. The contributions of this paper will aid policy makers, airport planners and emergency managers in significantly reducing the vulnerability of their airports to hazards which allows airports to become more resilient to the negative social, infrastructural, and financial impacts.

### ***Angels and Demons: How Disaster Brings Out the Best and the Worst in Human Nature***

Clairissa Breen (Gannon University)

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In times of disaster, the victims of both natural and man-made catastrophes often find themselves in need of support and assistance from a wide variety of sources, government and charitable agencies, as well as the kindness of friends, family and strangers. It is not unusual to see an outpouring of support after a tragedy; however in the flow of support there are those who see not a need for kindness and compassion, but an opportunity for personal gain. From charitable front organizations for terrorist groups, to confidence schemes targeting the victims of disaster and tragedy, disaster can bring to the forefront the worse of humanity, even as the majority seeks to provide comfort and support. This paper examines these criminal responses and opportunities presented by tragedy and disaster. Through historical discussion of trends in this behavior, it seeks to provide a theoretical explanation for this criminal decision to prey on the victims of disaster. Special attention will be given as well as to those criminal individuals and organizations that seek to misappropriate the support and kindness of those who offer assistance in the aftermath of catastrophe.

### ***Rainwater harvesting, it's not just water conservation***

Chihyang Hu (Louisiana State University), Yu-wen Chiu (Louisiana State University), Yie-Ru Chiu (Tzu Chi University, Hualien, Taiwan), Guang Jin (Illinois State University)

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The water demand around the world has increased significantly while fresh water sources remain limited. Rainwater harvesting which has been practiced for thousands of years has become popular again in the areas with water scarcity. With proper design, rainwater harvesting could also benefit the water rich areas. In this study, two



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cities both without water scarcity were evaluated to demonstrate the benefits that rainwater harvesting can offer in addition to water conservation. While saving water, installation of rainwater harvesting system (RHS) is not always also implied or conceived as saving money. Eight hillside communities in Taipei Metropolitan area were studied to assess if the implementation of RHS not only saving water, but also be cost effective when considering the corresponding energy saved. Historic rainfall intensity and frequency were collected; GIS-aided simulations were performed to predict the performance at the studied community location. Average potable water demand and water-energy coefficient were assessed and cost-benefit analyses performed to access the monetary saving from energy and water by installing RHS. Flooding is one of the most common natural disasters. In New Orleans, Louisiana, being below sea level, flooding is a major concern during rainy season. During heavy rainfall, New Orleans relies on pumping stations to drain the rainwater out to prevent flooding. While already having the world's largest pumping stations, when rain intensity was great than the pumping capacity, flooding still occurs. One way to alleviate pumping load and prevent flooding is to hold rainwater temporary in a location and allow it to drain at controlled rate, example of such design is storm water retention pond. Inside the city, with no space to build retention ponds, under proper management, the storage unit of RHS could serve as the retention device for rainwater. This study evaluates the potential storm water peak flow reduction in the city of New Orleans when typical rooftop harvesting system with storage tank was widely installed, and the potential flooding events prevented. Also the onsite water storage of RHS can be used as emergency water supply when service was interrupted during disaster, like Katrina. Reducing energy consumption and conserve resources are ways to lessen the impacts of global climate change. RHS brings both benefits and more, and certainly should not be considered only as water saving means. These two case studies demonstrate, with proper planning, RHS could contribute to water/energy saving and flood preventing. The government and policy makers should definitely advocate rainwater harvesting more enthusiastically.

### ***Measuring Racial Equity in The Big Easy: Implications for Public Policy Agenda Setting***

Leslie Grover (Southern University and A&M College), Eric Horent (Southern University and A&M College)

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Rebuilding efforts in New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina provide a unique opportunity to examine race, public policymaking and the implications of policy outcomes for urban areas world wide. Six years after the devastating effects of Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans is in the midst of a large-scale rebuilding effort, and the implications of race, ethnicity and socioeconomic well-being are still as important



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as ever. Racial dynamics yield a powerful influence on public policy issues that get attention, particularly at the local and state level. These dynamics not only determine the nature of public policy and its impacts, but also and perhaps most importantly, who benefits and who ultimately pays from the policy making outcomes. New Orleans provides a dramatic and significant context to examine the processes and outcomes of change, particularly in terms of race, social equity and socioeconomic well-being. This study presents the Social Equity Index, a quantitative tool that systematically measures racial equity along three dimensions critical to socioeconomic well-being: education, income and employment.

### 015 Community Gardens and the Sustainable City—Part 1

#### ***Land Trusts and Community Gardens in Baltimore***

Bernadette Hanlon (University of Maryland, Baltimore County), Thomas Vicino (Northeastern University)

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In December 2009, Baltimore City government introduced a new policy enabling the transfer of community-managed open space, typically in the form of community gardens, to land trusts. Specifically, the new policy allows for purchase by land trusts of city-owned land in use as community open space – for a dollar per lot. This paper examines the mechanism of the program in light of its potential to streamline community-supported food production and beautification in low-income neighborhoods in the city. Based on interviews with community gardeners, non-profit organizations and city officials, we discuss our findings regarding the benefits, difficulties and impacts of the program on social cohesion, human health as well as issues of environmental justice. Thus far, the program has been successful at preserving gardens and open space for some local communities in Baltimore but there are real questions about the success of the program for communities where economic redevelopment is likely to occur or already occurring.

#### ***Rebuilding Distressed Communities through Urban Agriculture in Havana, Boston, and Barcelona***

Isabelle Anguelovski (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

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Cities in the global North and South are witnessing an increased incidence of residents in marginalized neighborhoods asking for greater livability and environmental quality, with an emphasis on urban farms and community gardens. Environmental justice (EJ)



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scholarship has revealed that minority communities and poor neighborhoods have been disproportionately affected by 'brown' contaminating facilities and excluded from decision-making on their land, but that residents have also used a variety of strategies to address such injustices. However, despite the rise of communities claiming greater access to environmental quality and livability, traditional EJ literature tends to overlook the fact that residents also fight to achieve equitable revitalization and improve their neighborhood livability through long-term green improvements. Furthermore, previous studies have not examined the role of historic marginalization, collective identities, and political systems in the development of frames and strategies within marginalized neighborhoods, especially across political contexts and histories of urbanization.

This project is built around a comparative study of critical and emblematic case studies of minority and low-income neighborhoods organizing for improved environmental quality and livability around community gardens and urban farms in Barcelona, Boston, and Havana. In contrast to findings in previous studies, my research shows that although residents have limited resources, they unite beyond fights against "brown" contaminating facilities, and find creative ways to self-organize and rally supporters around sub-community networks that help them achieve their goals. This research also reveals that residents and their supporters draw on their initiatives around urban agriculture to combat broader urban developments – gentrification, encroachment, and excessive tourism. In other words, residents use their environmental engagement as a stepping mechanism towards rebuilding their neighborhoods, controlling their land and its boundaries, and (re)making a place for themselves in the city.

### ***Who's greener now? Environmental justice and community gardening in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania***

Hamil Pearsall (Clark University), Christina Rosan (Temple University)

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the sixth largest city in the United States, has been more widely known for its poverty, crime, and cheesesteaks than its burgeoning urban greening efforts. Nevertheless, Philadelphia is home to over 400 community gardens, many of which are located in low-income and minority communities. Interestingly, a 2008 inventory of community gardens indicates that the number of community gardens has been on the decline over the past decade, despite a growth in the number of sustainability and urban greening programs in Philadelphia. This paper problematizes urban greening efforts through the development of four case studies of community gardens across Philadelphia. A combination of interviews with community members and a content analysis of media associated with the gardens shed light on





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various and often competing goals of sustainability. Although urban greening is conceptualized as a win-win-win situation for sustainability, the economic component dominates the environmental and economic. Urban greening programs tend to be implemented as tools of urban economic development, intending to temporarily beautify and "stabilize" neighborhoods, with the goal of attracting outside investment that ultimately replaces and displaces the green urban infrastructure with more lucrative venues. The results of this study suggest that Philadelphia's urban greening initiatives serve as temporary stop-gap measures and subsequently lack attention to procedural and distributional environmental justice. Greater attention to and more careful evaluation of such efforts is essential to the development of an urban sustainability movement that reflects the interests of the urban population that it purports to serve.

### **016      Roots Run Deep Here: Contesting Locality in New Orleans—Post Hurricanes Katrina and Rita**

#### ***To Know is to Survive: A Critical Reflection on the Role of Information in Disaster Management***

Johannes Britz (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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Technology provided the world with a view of the disaster in New Orleans resulting from Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Representations of the victims, racial designations of behaviors left us wondering. Was this America? This presentation will focus on the relationship between information and disaster management - in particular on the role that information can play in the utilization of available resources. Using a cultural lens, I investigate the social dynamics of power, place and race. It will take as a case study a similar project that was launched in Burma when it was hit by a cyclone last year

#### ***Voices from Inside the Storm: An Ethnographic Inquiry into the Ethnoscapes of Place and Placelessness in New Orleans' Lower 9th Ward***

Cheryl Ajirotutu (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Valeria Schexnayder  
(Community Scholar in Residence, Lower 9th Ward Community Resident)

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Over the past three years, students and I have recorded the oral narratives of residents from the Lower 9th Ward. Their memories of a community of care, a place called home and sense of belonging existed in vibrant kinship networks, cultural traditions and social norms that distinguish the city of New Orleans as a cultural icon.



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This presentation discusses residents' evacuation as a lived experience of translocality where shared representations of ethnoscares generated a sense of place and placelessness. These factors influenced their desire to return, rebuild and transform their New Orleans community.

### ***Reconstructing Home in a Post-disaster City***

Pamela Broom (Women and Agriculture (WandA) Network)

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New Orleans is a city whose landscape is blanketed with a pattern of neighborhoods that are as distinct as the people and cultural expressions that define them. The aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita violently rent the fabric of the City dislodging multitudes from all that was self defining and communally familiar. This presentation will offer local examples that mirror global phenomenon related to the affects of forced displacement on the survival of the community dynamic illustrating methods employed by hurricane displaced community members to return, reclaim and reconstruct home, spirit and place in the Greater New Orleans area.

### ***'The Worst Thing after Katrina was the Silence': Reclaiming Community through the Language of Public Memory***

Shannon Dosemagen (Louisiana Bucket Brigade), Monique Hassman (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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This paper looks at how the use of 'Katrinaisms', linguistic terms created or appropriated by Hurricane Katrina survivors, has helped to generate and reinforce public memory and local knowledge in the post-Katrina, New Orleans landscape. In this paper we look at how public recollection is generated around categories of g to re-create a community, once displaced, that is based on hope and cultural resurgence.

### ***Power, Locale, and Embodied Placemaking: The Role of Place and Place-makers in Civil Society***

Harry Van Oudenallen (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Arijit Sen (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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What is the role of place in the making of civil society in the 21st Century?  
What role can "place-professionals" (those engaged in the understanding, adapting and transforming of the material environment -- e.g. architects, public historians,



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landscape architects, urban historians, and urban designers) play in the making of civil society in the 21st century?

Even when our reality seems to be overrun with virtuality, scapes and flows - those placeless forms of connections - place remains an increasingly important, albeit less noticed factor in the representations and politics of civil society. The very invisibility of the role of place and place-based practices point towards the power of place.

The New Orleans Integrated Studio (Fall 2010) examined the limits of professional knowledge/action and the role of professional ethics in the rebuilding of cities and communities devastated by disasters. Students examined the role of place making, place experience, land tenure, place-based development plans and place-based performances in the context of post-Katrina rebuilding of the Lower Ninth Ward. Using New Orleans as a case study this paper argues how strategic handling of professional knowledge help place-professionals help create a equitable civil society.

### 017 Patterns of Race and Class Exclusion

#### ***The effect of new dwellings on residential segregation in the Netherlands***

Ronald van Kempen (Utrecht University), Sanne Boschman (Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency), Frank van Dam (Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency), Gideon Bolt (Utrecht University)

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Newly built dwellings engender selective residential mobility patterns and, consequently, have an impact on the residential segregation of low income groups and ethnic minorities. It depends on the characteristics of the new dwellings and on their location whether they have a positive or negative effect on the level of segregation. On the basis of an analysis of residential mobility patterns in six Dutch cities, we conclude that the production of dwellings in new housing districts tends to lead to a higher degree of spatial segregation in terms of income and ethnicity. In most cities, low income groups and ethnic minority groups are strongly underrepresented amongst the in-movers in these areas. Newly built dwellings in existing neighbourhoods tend to have a moderating effect on residential segregation, especially when they are built in urban renewal areas. New dwellings in these areas attract middle-income groups from both within and outside these neighbourhoods. The proportion of ethnic minorities amongst the in-movers is, in most cases, lower than amongst the non-movers in these neighbourhoods. In some cities, the moderating effect of new dwellings in urban renewal areas on ethnic segregation is nullified by the natural growth (the balance of birth and death) of ethnic minorities.



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### ***Brooklyn With Bears***

Roslyn Chavda (University of New Hampshire)

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The purpose of this study is to examine how racial disparity but socioeconomic parity impact political and social integration patterns. Former studies have examined the integration patterns of low-income blacks and non-white Latinos into white neighborhoods. However, there seems to be a gap in the literature in whether middle-income blacks and non-white Latinos who move into middle-income majority-white neighborhoods have more social and political integration than lower-income blacks and non-white Latinos. Using interviews in a small Pennsylvania town, this study seeks to close that gap and assess whether political and social integration is greater and more significant when the new residents are middle or upper income.

### ***Black Flight: Consequences of Neighborhood Cultural Conflict***

Rachael Woldoff (West Virginia University)

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Whereas the impact of white flight on neighborhood life has long been a concern, very little research has focused on perceptions of the blacks who act as "pioneers," many of whom take part in a subsequent phase of "black flight." In many cases, the first blacks who move into white communities seek integration, but in a short period of time, they find their communities have resegregated to become predominantly black. This paper draws on an ethnographic case study of Parkmont, a neighborhood that has transitioned from predominantly white to predominately black, to analyze the conflicts between two unique population: black pioneers who have entered a white neighborhood and witnessed the process of white flight and the second wave of blacks who have followed them. Using field observations and semi-structured interviews, the goal of this paper is to better understand pioneers' views about the desire for integration and their opinions of the "second wave" blacks moving in. This paper is part of a larger project that addresses limitations of past research on neighborhood change by specifically examining blacks' residential preferences/motives, aspirations, and disappointments concerning integration and white flight.

## **018 Land Uses in Economic Development**



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### ***The Collapse of the Convention City and the Nature of Local Policymaking***

Heywood Sanders (University of Texas at San Antonio)

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For over three decades, American cities large and small have sought to revive their downtown cores and develop their economies by building ever-larger convention centers, and investing in new hotels and entertainment districts. The public commitment to the "convention city" can be seen in the expansive New Orleans Morial Convention Center as well as publicly-financed hotels in cities as diverse as Baltimore and Phoenix. The recession of 2008-09 has had a dramatic impact on the nation's travel and meeting business, with profound effects at the local level. Major convention centers in cities such as Orlando and Las Vegas have seen attendance declines on the order of 25 to 30 percent. Despite major expansions, both the Morial Center and Atlanta's Georgia World Congress Center are now drawing attendance at levels they saw in the mid-1980s. And cities that have invested in publicly-financed hotels, such as Phoenix and Overland Park, KS have found the need to provide direct financial subsidies. The local commitment to the "convention city" has long been supported by a belief that convention and tradeshow demand has been consistently growing, supported by consultant studies that promised more space (and more hotel rooms) would bring greater economic returns. These studies have continued to endorse major public investments despite the current conditions and necessary uncertainty about the future. The paper will examine both the credibility of consultant analyses, and the nature of local economic development policymaking, with the aim of defining broader lessons and conclusions

### ***Economic Effects of Post Offices***

Nancy Pindus (The Urban Institute), Christopher Hayes (The Urban Institute), Douglas Wissoker (The Urban Institute), Christopher Narducci (The Urban Institute), Michel Grosz (The Urban Institute)

Presenter's email: [npindus@ui.urban.org](mailto:npindus@ui.urban.org)

Local economic development strategies increasingly emphasize building on local strengths and mixing up residential, commercial, and cultural activities to create vibrant communities. In this context, post offices can be viewed as one of many community assets (e.g., government offices, public libraries) that contribute to local economic development. Groups interested in the sustenance and revitalization of downtown areas view post offices as vital to the health of downtown areas. They argue that post offices generate a great amount of pedestrian traffic, which provides spin-off business for nearby shops, offices, and restaurants. It has also been noted



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that the economic activity created by post offices helps maintain property values in addition to commercial activity, and that both produce tax revenue for the local government, which can be used to maintain and improve services for the local community. Suburban post offices located in shopping centers can similarly serve as hubs of social and economic activity. This study addresses the following research question: Does the presence of a post office contribute to a community's economic vitality? We are using quasi-experimental impact modeling to assess the benefits of being located near a post office, considering outcomes such as real estate values, increased business, and economic activity. Our approach includes a comparison of economic and business indicators for matched samples of communities that have and have not lost post offices in the past five years. Analytic methods presented may include adjusted interrupted time series (AITS) analysis to examine how the levels and trends differ between areas that lost post offices and those that did not, and how that compares to the period before the post offices were lost, or a differences in differences approach to compare communities with and without post offices. The comparisons must be carefully constructed and interpreted. For example, comparisons between declining neighborhoods may not show any positive effects of an economic development intervention, and one should not overlook a slowing in downward trajectory as evidence of impact. Furthermore, citywide factors may affect all neighborhoods. There are a variety of statistical techniques to address these issues, but since few can eliminate all systematic differences between the intervention and comparison groups, results must always be interpreted cautiously. The study is currently underway and will be completed by December 31. The paper will present study findings and lessons learned regarding preferred methods and outcome measures.

### ***Policy Decisions and Environmental Justice for Casinos in Philadelphia***

Moira Conway (Graduate Center at the City University of New York)

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Throughout the United States an increasing number of states have turned to legalizing gambling and constructing casinos as a source of economic development. In 2004 casino gambling was legalized in Pennsylvania. The state plans to open 14 slot machine casinos, and 2 of them would be located in the city of Philadelphia. Much debate occurred regarding the location of these casinos in Philadelphia; currently one casino is open and construction has yet to begin on the other. However, casinos have been proven to cause many potential problems for the area where they are located, such as pollution, crime, and traffic. Due to these problems, it is believed that casinos are often located in neighborhoods dominated by poor, minority residents. This project seeks to analyze the public policy actions that have resulted in the two current





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casino locations in Philadelphia, and examine the socioeconomic characteristics of the areas surrounding the casinos using environmental justice GIS methods.

### ***A Predator or a Cooperator? What Part Does University Play in the American College Town***

Chen-Yi Wang (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Through the glorious history, with the coexistence of traditional and modern edifices, agglomerated wisdom, and the non-boundary landscape which is implied its infinity of development, college town, is a knowledge-concentrated hub, a culture protector, and an economic magneto. The most distinct findings in a college town are shared hardware (infrastructure, streets, traffic signals, and et al.) and software (human power, regulations, and et al.). To maintain the livelihood of college town, these tangible and intangible resources obviously will be possessed or shared with two administrative entities (the university and city government). The ambiguous situation is that the overlapped authorities confront a paradox for both sides: Acting on the premise of the union between university and city, the principal has power to lead the university and so as the mayor has authority to manage the city/town. The question is, therefore, who actually is in the charge of college town? This paper examines the question through both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The data and information are gathered from public documents and related literature. The case study is developed that a precisely profound relationship of college town in the City of Oxford, Ohio.

### ***Regional innovation ecologies: To what extent is academia an anchor public policy asset?***

Iryna Lendel (Cleveland State University), Sunjoo Park (Cleveland State University)

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The variety of technology-based economic development initiatives on the regional level illustrates several major phenomena of the new Millennium. The realization that the regional economy benefits by capturing results from the local technology advancement comes beyond the audience of businessmen, economists, and economic development practitioners. Overwhelmingly, this awareness becomes common for policy makers, local community leaders, and ordinary citizens who are willing to invest in local innovation ecology hoping to capture most of the benefits from locally produced and locally commercialized innovation. Regional players from the local governments, businessmen, and educators are assuming a leading for advancement of the regional economy by building on the local competitive advantage ? strong private



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research and development sector, highly educated or narrowly specialized labor force, regional networks, institutional and industrial structure or, what is often a case, on local academia. This research reviewed 132 regional initiatives in 28 states started between 1985 and 2005 and established with a goal to make economic progress in the region by capitalizing on technological advancements. These initiatives were ranging from state-wide state-financed regionally established organizations to locally-organized and regionally-funded programs. To build a typology featuring the dimensions of public policies creating innovation ecologies over 24 regional initiatives from 19 states were examined. The initiatives that were selected for this study look beyond the local community's social goals; they are building strategic alliances to make long-term investments. The paper identifies different practices among regional science and technology economic development organizations and builds the typology of the policies along the continuums of economic circumstances leading to the emergence of the initiative, major assets at which the initiative was anchored, institutional format, economic development approaches, and other differentiating characteristics.

### 019 Local Responses to Climate Change

#### ***Urban Public-Private Partnerships on Climate Change***

Joan Fitzgerald (Northeastern University)

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In the absence of national climate or energy legislation, cities (and states) have been leading the climate change agenda. The business community has been a key partner to many cities in advancing their climate change plans and initiatives. The public-private partnership has long been an important mainstay of urban development. In this paper, I ask what role the business sector has played in supporting cities' climate change agendas and examine the extent to which these efforts are linked to an economic development agenda. In this paper I examine the nature of public-private partnerships related to climate change in three cities: Los Angeles, Chicago and San Francisco. These cases illustrate three very different approaches business organizations have taken in supporting climate change efforts in their cities. The Los Angeles Business Council (LABC) has been a supporter of sustainability initiatives for at least ten years. Most recently, the LABC is advocating for the city to adopt a feed-in tariff to catalyze expansion of the solar industry. The Commercial Club of Chicago and Chicago Metropolis 2020 offered financial support for the development of the Chicago Climate Action Plan and advocate for its implementation. San Francisco's Chamber of Commerce is leading in creating a new organization, Chambers for Innovation and



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Clean Energy, in response to the US Chamber of Commerce position questioning climate change and the need for policy to counteract it. Prior to this, the Chamber has partnered with the city or supported it in policy related to green building, recycling, and public transit promotion. Currently I am conducting interviews with members of the business organizations and city government in these cities to better understand the context of public-private partnerships promoting urban climate change and sustainability agendas and to identify the economic development benefits these partnerships produce. The discussion of findings will focus on the practical results of the partnerships and their influence on policy at higher levels of government.

### ***Mitigating climate change at the municipal scale: American urban planning at a crossroads***

Kent Hurst (University of Texas at Arlington)

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The failure of recent international negotiations toward a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol has highlighted not only the problematic of such a global agreement, but also the importance of sub-national action in lieu of such an agreement. In the absence of any policy leadership from Washington, it is increasingly falling to states, regional organizations, and municipalities to craft climate change mitigation strategies that will contribute meaningfully to the climate protection agenda. In support of these efforts, a municipal climate protection movement has emerged, spearheaded largely by nonprofit advocacy groups, attempting to motivate and coordinate action in communities and regions across the country. However, even these efforts have proven to be sporadic, halting, and economically contingent. Across the United States--but especially in those areas expecting the greatest growth over the next 50 years--planners have a vital role to play in promoting and securing a climate protection agenda. However, major political and institutional forces militate against local planners in making meaningful progress toward greenhouse gas emissions reductions in their communities. These forces will be examined through the analytical lens of ecological modernization theory. Ecological modernization discourse is pervasive in U.S. environmental affairs, emphasizing possibilities for win-win resolutions of the struggle between economic growth and environmental preservation through the voluntary application of existing or emerging technologies. The premises and criticisms of ecological modernization theory will be applied in analyzing the promises and challenges facing local and regional planning initiatives to affect a meaningful climate protection agenda. Dominance of the ecological modernization discourse at local and regional scales will be examined in a variety of artifacts, including institutional and municipal planning documents and proclamations; regional planning initiatives; and national planner survey data. This analysis of the challenges facing its



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urban planners will suggest transformative steps that planning must take--locally, regionally, and institutionally--to motivate real progress toward meaningful climate change mitigation.

### ***Forging the link between urban form and climate change mitigation: Learning from Montreal and Dallas***

Isabelle A. Maret (University of New Orleans), Robert Whelan (University of Texas at Dallas), Kent Hurst (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Since World War II, many North American urban regions have witnessed a dramatic decentralization of their population and commerce. However, in spite of many excellent interdisciplinary studies of suburbanization and globalization phenomena and their environmental consequences, our understanding of urban decentralization processes is incomplete as they relate to municipal climate change planning strategies in these regions. Building on suburbanization analyses of Jackson (1985), Garreau (1991), and Harris (2004), we examine two metropolitan regions at opposite ends of a centralization-decentralization continuum<sup>2</sup> Dallas/Fort Worth and Montréal.<sup>3</sup> and construct a more nuanced understanding of these processes and their impacts on municipal climate change mitigation agendas. Dominated by the automobile, the Dallas/Fort Worth (DFW) region comprises an area larger than the state of Massachusetts. The major urban cores of Dallas, Fort Worth, and Arlington compete with suburban and exurban communities for both population and commerce. In spite of sprawl-induced environmental deterioration and socioeconomic polarization, the region has few mechanisms to coordinate planning activities among its 250 municipalities. The sanctity of private property, individualism, and free-market capitalism dominate the planning processes. In spite of significant suburbanization, the center city Montreal remains a vital hub for the metropolitan area and the region. In stark contrast to DFW, the Montreal region is united by a metropolitan government, a robust public transportation system, a strong tradition of local and regional planning. The province of Quebec and city governments in the Montreal region play a much stronger role in relation to urban planning issues than do the state of Texas and DFW municipal governments, respectively. As a result, the climate change mitigation planning challenges faced by these two metropolitan areas are quite different. We examine climate change mitigation planning challenges and practices in these two metropolitan regions and assess their contributions to regional sustainability.

### ***Integrate Climate-Change Policies into Urban Sustainable Development***



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Jie Zhou (University of Southern California)

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The purpose of the paper is to provide a framework and then perform case studies on how to integrate climate-change policies into the existed body of policies in urban development. Combating climate change requires both mitigation and adaptation policies, between which commonalities and trade-offs exist. Given the necessity of sustainable development, an ideal climate-change policy should be able to achieve the goals of continuous economic growth, climate change mitigation and adaptation at the same time. By arguing that an integrated approach can be made through the mitigative and adaptive capacity building, the paper derived a framework to aid climate-change policy formulation. Case studies are presented to show how each city form its local climate change related policy. And those approaches may assist in choosing the climate-change policies which are more suitable to the community and reveal possible opportunities, like public-private partnerships. But more work has to be done to understand the interactions among the determinants, and the relationships between the determinants and the capacity to make this approach more practical. The paper hopes to shed light on integrating climate-change policies into development policies and the planning process.

### ***Ecosystem Management and its Application at the Local Level: APNEP, CAMA and Local Land Use Planning in North Carolina***

Traci Birch (University of New Orleans)

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Changes in urban development patterns, public policy, and technology have shaped and accelerated changes in the natural environment. Significant in recent decades is an emphasis to target and coordinate environmental planning and restoration at the regional and ecological system (ecosystem) levels, rather than a more traditional species-by species or single-issue approach. Ecosystem management represents a departure from traditional management approaches by addressing the links between biological, chemical, and socioeconomic resources, rather than considering issues in isolation. Further, ecosystem management focuses on the multiple activities occurring within specific areas as defined by ecosystem, rather than political, boundaries. Academics and practitioners tout ecosystem management as a framework for addressing human uses and abuses of ecosystems. However, there are serious challenges to implementation, not the least of which are disparities between public and private development priorities and the inherent uncertainty within natural systems. While ecosystem management focuses on biotic/abiotic interrelationships, scientists and managers increasingly recognize that implementation must occur at the



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local level through local land use and development decisions. Ecosystem management cannot rely solely on engineering or structural solutions, but must also encourage the coordination of local plans and development policies across ecosystems. Therefore, local planning initiatives must be considered when attempting to manage ecological systems. The factors most closely identified with ecosystem decline, such as low-density, dispersed development and habitat fragmentation occur at the local level and are generated by local land use decisions. This study principally relies on local land use plans as the unit of analysis, and assesses a cross-sectional sample of 20 communities, whose plans serve as the basis for measuring ecosystem protection. This study examines the ability of local comprehensive plans to incorporate the principles of ecosystem management. It seeks to understand how intergovernmental environmental planning efforts, such as the North Carolina Coastal Area Management Act (CAMA) mandate and the Albemarle-Pamlico National Estuary Program (APNEP), improve plan quality as it relates to ecosystem management principles. Further, it seeks to understand how comprehensive plans can effectively contribute to the management of ecological systems by evaluating plans against a conceptual model developed by Brody (2003) to measure high quality ecosystem plans. Results measure the strengths and weaknesses of local plans to achieve the goals and objectives of ecosystem management, and provide direction on how communities can more effectively incorporate ecosystem management strategies into local land use plans.

### 020 Narratives of New Orleans

#### ***Media Coverage of the Economy After an Environmental Disaster: New Orleans, Southern Louisiana, and the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill.***

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As a region struggling to rebuild after Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans and Southern Louisiana are also struggling to rebuild their identity. How a city and region are reinvented is influenced by the public policy choices available. Research on media and public policy illustrates the influential role of media frames by promoting, discouraging, or ignoring various policy options (R.M. Entman, *Journal of Communication* 57:163-173, 2007). My previous research illustrates that dominant frames within media coverage place a healthy environment in conflict with a healthy economy, creating the appearance of limited policy options. However, Lawrence found that times of environmental crisis are actually an opportunity for new frames, and thus policy options, to emerge (*The Politics of Force*, 2000). Through both quantitative and qualitative content analysis, this study examines the frames within





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local news coverage of the Deepwater Horizon oil spill to determine if the coverage includes policy options focused on a safer and environmentally healthier economy, or if the dominant policy options continued to frame a healthy environment and a healthy economy as mutually exclusive. Policy options reflect values, and understanding how values are represented (or unrepresented) in news coverage is important for both policy-making and citizen participation. This study is part of a larger project that compares the value frames within local and national news coverage of the oil spill. These findings will provide insight for stakeholders who deal with the media by identifying challenges and opportunities to influence media frames related to policy options. In New Orleans and other cities, an environmentally, economically, and socially sustainable future depends upon imaginative policy options and full deliberation. Media frames that favor status quo policy options jeopardize both.

### ***The Hurricane Katrina Tour: Commodity, Spectacle, and Ethics***

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Mere months after residents of New Orleans were left stranded on their roofs, before, even, all of the bodies were to be found within the flood wreckage, Gray Line New Orleans announced plans to begin bus tours of the wreckage caused by Hurricane Katrina. Such tours have now multiplied, almost a dozen companies offering bus or van tours of the death and destruction that so many watched unfold on network television. This paper will explore three aspects of the Hurricane Katrina bus tours. First, I will lay out a brief history of the tours, paying attention to the commoditization of the hurricane aftermath. The commoditization of Katrina has not been a straight path towards increasing commoditization, but has been alternately contested and promoted as a commodity throughout its history by residents, local and national politicians, and tour operators. Second, this paper will examine Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath as spectacle. I conclude that the popularity and resonance of the bus tours are a direct result of the visual nature of the reporting of Hurricane Katrina and the direct aftermath. Urban fear, drawing from the long-held view by white suburban America that New Orleans is a dangerous city and furthered by the rumors of rape, killings and lootings in the aftermath of the hurricane, is an important aspect of these tours and the reason why the tours take place in large buses. Primarily white, middle-class tourists parade through devastated parts of New Orleans in the safety of a large bus. The fear of New Orleanians only adds to the spectacle and prurient nature of the tour. Finally, I question the ethical premises and implications of the tours. Many operators and some local residents maintain that the tours bring tourist dollars to the region and allow for a productive and appropriate place of mourning and remembrance. However, I question whether putting death and destruction on display



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allows for proper healing. Furthermore, I question whether the voyeuristic nature of the tours allows the residents of New Orleans privacy, dignity and respect. This paper is not a one-sided argument about the commoditization and spectacle of the tours, but offers multiple, oftentimes contradictory, viewpoints. Through personal interviews, newspaper archives, news media recordings, and documentaries, I engage views of the media, tour operators, and local residents. The Katrina Disaster tour has multiple implications for how the hurricane will be remembered and for the continued recovery and growth of New Orleans.

### ***The Tales of Two Cities: the Role of Popular Culture in Shaping the Recoveries of Detroit and New Orleans***

Laura Crommelin (University of New South Wales)

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Detroit and New Orleans are cities that often evoke strong affective responses, even from people who have never visited them. This is partly because both are cities in recovery, forced to confront major crises and the population change, infrastructure decay, and social challenges that accompany them. But responses to these urban areas are also strongly influenced by the way the cities and their recovery efforts are represented and discussed in popular culture. This paper will examine how these cultural representations have influenced the recovery process in Detroit and New Orleans. More specifically, it asks the following question: how do the stories we tell about these cities in popular culture ? in the media, in the arts, in urban branding ? shape public perceptions of these places? And have these perceptions in turn made a successful recovery more difficult to achieve in these cities? In answering this question, this paper will: 1) identify the dominant urban narrative assigned to these cities in American popular culture. These narratives - the 'rise and fall' of Detroit and the ?un-Americanness? of New Orleans ? emerge from a wide range of cultural source material, from documentary film to online commentary, mainstream media reports, and Hollywood film; 2) explore how these totalizing urban narratives have negatively impacted on recovery efforts, by drowning out alternative perspectives on these cities and their recoveries, and by facilitating simplistic moral assessments of these complex urban places; and 3) propose an alternative approach to urban branding which may assist recovering cities like Detroit and New Orleans to construct a more productive urban narrative ? one that better captures the essence of these complex, fascinating urban environments.

## **021 Affordable-Housing Issues**



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### ***Defending Progressive State Housing and Land Use Reforms***

Rachel Bratt (Tufts University), Dennis Keating (Cleveland State University), Alan Mallach (Center for Community Progress)

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Many local zoning ordinances either intentionally or de facto limit the ability of developers to produce housing that is affordable to lower income households. Over the past four decades, progressive housing and land use reforms in three states (Massachusetts, Oregon, and New Jersey) have (so far) survived continued attacks by opponents. This paper will review the reforms in these states, discuss the legal and political challenges that they have faced, and assess the implications of states taking a leadership role in reversing exclusionary local land use policies. What are the lessons for these 3 states and what can other states that are contemplating progressive land use reforms aimed at reducing or eliminating exclusionary zoning practices learn from these experiences? Massachusetts Chapter 40B (1969) requires the state's 351 municipalities to have at least 10 percent of their housing designated as affordable to lower income residents, meaning that it must be subsidized through one of several state or local federal programs. If a municipality is not in compliance, a developer may appeal a negative local zoning decision to the state's Housing Appeals Committee, which has the power to over-ride the local zoning. While the law has survived a number of legal challenges and local opposition, a Coalition to Repeal Chapter 40B was successful in getting a repeal initiative on the November 2, 2010 ballot. Oregon's SB 100 (1973) is a comprehensive land use law addressing urban sprawl. The state Land and Conservation Commission (LCDC) has the power to over-ride local home rule. This reform survived three repeal attempts. However, two ballot initiatives in the 2000s threatened localities with massive payments to landowners appealing development restrictions, unless they waived them and allowed development projects to proceed. Faced with this prospect, proponents of the state policy successfully passed a counter-initiative in 2007. Subsequently, Oregon has initiated a "Big Look" process to review its land use policies. The New Jersey Supreme Court's Mt. Laurel decisions (1975 and 1983) ruled that local zoning had to take into account regional housing needs; all of the state's 566 localities were obligated to provide their "fair share" of affordable housing. In the face of ongoing political and legal challenges, in 1985 the legislature created the Council on Affordable Housing (COAH) to implement the Mt. Laurel decisions. The cumbersome procedures and micro-management of local housing activities have failed to satisfy both local governments and housing advocates, with Governor Christie seemingly committed to abolishing COAH. This controversy could lead to the undermining of the Mt. Laurel principles and the entire concept of "fair share."



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### ***Redlining, Race, and Community Action in Milwaukee, 1972-1974***

John Standard (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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Milwaukee, like many cities, has a long history of discriminatory housing practices. In the early 1970s, the Westside Action Coalition (WAC) was formed with a focus on improving its target neighborhoods on the city's west side. While the organization was initially developed to address a number of neighborhood issues, fighting redlining quickly became its most visible activity. Community organizers, neighborhood groups, and residents came together to try to change the practice of redlining in Milwaukee by addressing both financial institutions and policymakers. Surprisingly, despite redlining typically disproportionately affecting African American residents, WAC's membership was almost entirely white. Through archival and oral history research, the interesting story of Milwaukee's WAC has begun to emerge. In its short existence, WAC members played an important role in shaping federal and state legislation that made redlining more difficult, while also influencing the practices of local lenders by organizing customers and capital. The lasting question, though, is whether they could have done even more by widening their membership to better reflect the city and by maintaining pressure on lenders and policymakers to make sure the reforms they helped shape came to fruition.

### ***A Socio-Spatial Analysis of LIHTC Developments and Developers in Richmond, Virginia, through a Low-Income Neighborhood Revitalization and Stabilization Lens***

Monique Johnson (Virginia Commonwealth University)

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Intense racial tension characterized urban areas in the late 1960s as blacks fought against the structural inequalities that had confined the social, economic and political influence of the community. The battleground for these conflicts was poor urban neighborhoods that had been crippled by slum clearance and urban renewal. Residents struggled to obtain more sovereignty in response to the vast destruction of their neighborhoods, businesses and households. The whirlwind of change that characterized this era was an impetus for urban policy that sought to comprehensively address the needs of a community. These efforts have been narrowed to strategies that impact the physical landscape of neighborhoods. Over the past several decades, a means to initiate physical transformation of low-income communities has been "poverty de-concentration." After decades of urban renewal policy that helped create racial segregated and economically homogeneous communities, policy shifts in the 1990s theoretically sought to change course by creating communities that were more



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racially and economically integrated. Many on the alternate side of this issue questioned the tactics and mechanisms used to redistribute low-income households, calling for a reassessment in light of the social capital lost due to relocation. At the time that these outlooks began to ferment about the impacts of poverty concentration, the LIHTC program gained prominence as a viable mechanism in the creation of low-income housing. A defining feature of LIHTC policy is its incentive to locate developments in Qualified Census Tracts. In effect, the LIHTC statute promotes low income housing development in the poorest jurisdictional census tracts using a basis boost to spur development. In 2001, the federal guidelines were amended to encourage development in QCTs where the project contributed to a concerted revitalization plan. In addition, as legislation created to address the needs of low-income families and communities created an increasingly complex policy web, community development corporations—the engines of revitalization—also began to transform. A national survey of community development corporations showed that 94 percent of these organizations utilized tax credits. Given these high utilization rate, LIHTC not only changed the resource landscape but has impacted the strategic logic of non-profit housing organizations. The paper explores whether LIHTC developments contribute to comprehensive community revitalization in QCTs and whether development methodologies among LIHTC non-profit developers and for-profit developers within QCTs differ—contributing to or detracting from comprehensive community revitalization. Development of low-income housing can be beneficial to some poor neighborhoods if it is part of a well designed neighborhood revitalization strategy. I will determine how these developments and their sponsors are impacting low-income neighborhoods.

### ***Colonia Guadalupe: Laredo, Texas' First Federal Housing Project***

Carlos Valle (Laredo Community College)

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Public housing in the United States has been a controversial subject since the era of the Great Depression. The issue of providing appropriate secure habitation for this country's "deserving poor" continues to be of great importance, especially during pressing economic times and diminishing government subsidies. The dearth of support for public housing appears more evident along the United States-Mexico border of South Texas, an area frequently seen as a third world environment. This presentation is a brief narrative and pictorial history of Colonia Guadalupe, the first federal housing project to be constructed in Laredo, Texas, a conurbation with Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. This ten-block area has been continuously fully occupied since it opened its doors in September 1941. Compiled from news media and the archives of the Housing Authority of Laredo, the paper provides insight into methods used by this



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authority to make decent housing accessible to residents of one of the poorest cities in the nation. Keywords: public housing, U.S-Mexico border, poverty

### ***Reframing NIMBY Syndrome: The Case of Affordable Rental Housing in New York State***

Corianne Scally (University at Albany, SUNY)

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Offering to build affordable rental housing can lead to accusations against developers, governments, and advocates of concentrating poverty and encouraging an influx of poor, jobless, minority households who will demand more public services than their taxes will afford. These "not-in-my-backyard" (NIMBY) attitudes have put affordable housing proponents on the defensive. Despite some research showing positive effects of affordable rental housing development on crime rates, poverty rates, property values, and social service and education costs, local governments remain reticent to support it. This suggests that local concerns have yet to be accurately identified or adequately addressed by existing affordable rental housing policies and practices. This research asks: (1) why do some jurisdictions support publicly-assisted affordable rental housing, while others do not, and (2) do those jurisdictions that contain such housing differ significantly over time across key quality-of-life indicators from those that do not? Three pairs of New York State municipalities were studied with similar socioeconomic characteristics but differing levels of participation in two current rental housing programs: the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit and the state's Housing Trust Fund. Administrative data, local housing studies and plans are combined with interview data from over 25 public, private and nonprofit sector participants in affordable rental housing development. Results show that local affordable rental housing development support varies based on regional housing markets, past housing histories, current perceptions, developer commitment and capacity, funding, government and community opposition, and regional inequalities. In addition, jurisdictions with high levels of rental housing activity do not necessarily perform worse over time across a broad range of quality-of-life indicators, and those with lower activity do not always perform better. Recommendations are made on how state governments can better accommodate diverse local contexts within their affordable rental housing programs.

## **022 Effects of Foreclosures**





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### ***The Effect of Foreclosures on Property Tax Assessment Equity***

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One of the most important distinctions between the real property tax and other taxes is the calculation of its base. The property tax is based on estimated values known as assessed values, not transactions. The property tax assessment standard varies by state. As the best measure of property wealth, current market value assessment is the prescribed standard for providing a fair and equitable tax burden. Some scholars have found that the equity of property tax burden is affected by environmental factors (e.g. neighborhood income, concentration of minority population, size of unimproved land) as assessors systematically do not account for surrounding externalities that affect market value.

This paper examines the effect of foreclosure status and the number (i.e. concentration) of foreclosures on assessment error. Scholars have found that foreclosed properties sell at a discount and that each additional surrounding foreclosure negatively affects house price (as a proxy for market value). This paper examines whether or not assessors adequately take into account the negative externalities of foreclosures on property wealth when determining assessed values. The study makes use of parcel level data in an urban area (Marion County/Indianapolis) of a state that recently changed the property tax assessment standard to market value assessment and that has experienced high concentrations of foreclosures.

### ***Above and Beyond: Predicting Counties that Push Beyond the Roll-Back Rate***

Chinonye Onwunli (Florida State University)

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At the height of the housing boom property values were at their peak. Thus, high property tax levies put a disproportionate burden on Florida homeowners and was discouraging for potential Florida residents. As part of the property tax reform, the state legislature established a statutory roll-back of millage rates or tax rates mandating that counties determine their budget based on the same rates that will yield the same amount of revenue levied in the previous fiscal year. On the heels of the state's property tax reform, the housing market crashed reducing the tax base and revenue substantially. States have made a substantial cut in aid to local governments as a form of budget control and local governments rely chiefly on property tax levies as their source of revenue. While all counties experienced a



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reduction in taxable property values, there is variation among counties in their decision to increase, decrease or adopt the current millage rate in a time of economic strain. I examine how the 67 Florida county governments proceeded during the economic crisis with regard to their property tax strategy. I show that the variation in strategy can be explained by economic conditions and county government structure.

### ***The Personal Costs of Subprime Lending and the Foreclosure Crisis: A Matter of Trust, Insecurity, and Institutional Deception***

Lauren Ross (Temple University), Gregory Squires (George Washington University)

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Research on widespread loan failures suggests that many of the mortgage loans that were made since 2000 were of a deceptive or predatory nature. This study explores the experiences and sentiments of those who are at risk of foreclosure within a broader framework of trust, individualization, and ontological security. Interviews examine families' lending experience and how they have coped with their personal troubles that have resulted from their housing crisis. As many of these loans were of a deceptive or predatory nature, individuals are likely to reflect on the psychological consequences of their predicament. Although, these findings suggest that these individuals have lost trust in the housing market, many have internalized their situation as a personal failure. In addition, feelings of anxiety, stress, insecurity, and uncertainty have come to characterize their experiences. This research calls for policy recommendations that seek to restore confidence and to ensure greater consumer protection in financial markets.

## **023 Health, Safety, and Recreation in Urban Communities**



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### ***Urban streetscapes and parental traffic safeguarding: A preliminary investigation***

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Public debates reveal a growing unease about how the automobility system immobilizes children, diminishing their social, emotional and physical development and their health, and infringing upon their rights to autonomous mobility. From the inception of the automobile, traffic safety regimes have sought to protect children by removing them from streets. However, as a foundation to the automotive city, traffic safety has also promoted the speed and movement of motor vehicle traffic over the rights of pedestrians to use streets and redistributed responsibility for traffic threats away from motor vehicles towards pedestrians (including children) and their “careless” behavior. As a result, the family has become a site through which both children and parents are disciplined to the traffic safety order by a vast range of safety measures that rely on parents to safeguard their children from traffic. While research indicates that the local character of neighbourhoods has a major impact on traffic fatalities and injuries, scholars have paid remarkably little attention to how parents care for their children’s traffic safety as they move about in their neighbourhood as pedestrians, cyclists and car passengers. As a preliminary investigation, this paper begins to address this gap by focusing on variable urban contexts that are critical to parental traffic safeguarding and that differ in their: automobilization and transportation (e.g. degree of car use by residents; type of traffic and road systems; alternative modes of local transportation); built environment (e.g. urban design; density; access to shops and services); traffic safety (e.g. road safety infrastructure; injuries and fatalities); social, cultural and economic characteristics (e.g. income levels; family structure; and ethnicity/race); and mobility politics (e.g. local discursive constructions of traffic safety; community/political organizations concerned about transportation). The analysis is based on a comparison of four distinct neighborhoods in Vancouver, Canada, a city where transportation is a highly contested issue. Two neighborhoods are inner city in which one is affluent and the other is socially and economically under-privileged; the other two neighborhoods are inner suburbs in which one is affluent and the other is under-privileged. The methodologies for examining these neighborhoods include: key informant interviews (e.g. with city officials and community organizers involved in transportation planning and programming); observations and mapping of urban and transport environments (e.g. major thoroughfares and walkability); and community documents (e.g. city planning, community reports, community profiles of residents). An examination of the four urban areas will demonstrate variability across space that is critical for daily mobilities, including parental traffic safeguarding, with consequences for parents? (particularly



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mothers') lives and children's health and safety.

### ***Child Passenger Safety: Methodological Approaches to Empower Urban Communities***

Dexter Samuels (Tennessee State University), Terri Foxx (Tennessee State University), Calvin L. Brown (Tennessee State University), Sonja Revell (Tennessee State University)

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A growing public health concern in urban communities is the health of children. Topical discussions such as obesity, drug use, and mental health care continue to garner the attention of policy-makers. An additional domain in this discourse is child passenger safety. In an effort to reduce the disparity of injury for minority and low-income children, the Children are Restrained for Enhanced Safety (C.A.R.E.S.) project evaluated community-based interventions that increased the appropriate use of child restraints. The focus of this paper is to analyze parental/driver perceptions of utilizing car restraints in urban communities. Specifically, the implementation of culturally sensitive approaches to augment the use of car restraints will be analyzed. Also, this paper will examine the application of ecological and belief models to urban residents by identifying driver restraint perceptions and motivate cues of action for behavior change. The current literature discloses that the lack of use of restraints in motor vehicles has become a significant public health issue. Although seat belt use has increased over the years, an analysis of the C.A.R.E.S. project observational data revealed that there is still a growing disparity among minority and low-income communities. The results indicated child passengers were indeed restrained, however, a high percentage (72.5%) of drivers were not restrained (CARES, 2009). As a result of this growing concern, the C.A.R.E.S. staff developed and administered a survey to evaluate the reluctance of drivers to use safety restraints and increase their risk of injury. The results will be used to expand efforts to examine the barriers and perceptions of seat belt use with urban residents whether social, cultural or economic. The proper use of seatbelts and restrain mechanisms undoubtedly can lead to the reduction in the number of preventable injury and death from motor vehicle accidents. The impact of injury and death resulting from motor vehicle accidents disproportionately affect urban communities based upon their socio-demographic status. If through education and social marketing one can raise the level of awareness and importance of wearing appropriate safety restraints then such interventions could save lives and protect communities.

### ***Health and social impacts of contemporary urban mobility - Lisbon case study.***

Victor Meirinhos (New University of Lisbon), Jordi Nofre (New University of Lisbon)

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The individual use of private vehicles is rapidly and constantly increasing in everyday life of urban populations. This excessive use of the private automobile not only promotes excessive fragmentation of local communities but, more importantly, has an immediate impact on the public health of urban populations, generating high levels of pollution, contributing to the high rates of obesity and also to the dramatically evident increment of road accidents. In 2008 more than 37,000 deaths were recorded as a result of road accidents in the U.S. and over 39,000 in the European Union. In Europe alone, such deaths represented a total of 180 billion Euros (a figure equivalent to about 2% of the total GDP of the entire European Union). That is why road safety is nowadays a matter of crucial concern across Europe, and therefore considered a priority area for action by the European Commission. In the case of the city of Lisbon (Portugal), the riverfront constitutes a place of confluence of major road infrastructures considered essential to the everyday as well night-time metropolitan mobility. It would allow hypothesising that the verified elevated number of accidents (involving not only vehicles as well as pedestrians) is directly related with several structural factors that together characterize the area of downtown Lisbon. The present study analyzes road accidents in this area of the Portuguese capital by providing a detailed statistical analysis and a thorough georeferenced representation of all the accidents involving pedestrians in this area recurring to geographic information systems occurred along 2006-2009. Results highlight the existence of a high level of pedestrian fatalities among men under the age of 40, involved mostly in pedestrian accidents regarding with night-time leisure activities during weekend. Furthermore, it is important to emphasise that pedestrian accidents at this specific location of the city have specific characteristics which are diverse from the overall pattern observed in other epidemiological analyses which encompass the entire city. This paper also shows how, the city's general pattern of urban accidents presents differences regarding the characterization of the victims (i.e. higher incidence of female victims over 70 years of age) as well as the time of occurrence (i.e. predominance of occurrences during the week and at rush-hours). Results will be discussed with the aim to structure new analytical tools which could contribute to the proactive reorganization of the road network in downtown Lisbon, as well as to the promotion of a fruitful debate concerning the severe problem which road accidents constitute in the context of major Western cities.

### ***The Amphibious Public: Public swimming pools, municipal infrastructure and urban citizenship***

Naomi Adiv (CUNY Graduate Center)

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I am interested in how the provision of public space operates as at the intersection of



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municipal infrastructure and urban citizenship. Swimming pools can help us to understand this complex because they stand out as an exceptional type of public space for a number of reasons: they are space and capital-intensive, particularly in dense cities; they are spaces that evoke both skill (swimming) and danger (drowning), but also mitigate some of that danger; there is a wide disparity in how they are funded and managed in the bureaucracies of American cities, from completely free admission to current privatization programs; they have historically been tied to large-scale programs of public health and hygiene; and they bridge the hydrosocial cycle with public life. Focusing on public bathing water, then, can catalyze our understanding of how spaces and publics are constructed, and how they persist and interact with one another. Low tells us that "understanding the social production and social construction of public space provides insights into how these meanings are encoded on and interpreted in the designed landscape." (Low, 2000, p. 239.) As such, I will compare the production "including initiation of building, public rhetoric, and management" of the municipal pool, bathhouse and swimming programs of New York City, Chicago and Philadelphia, from the early 20th century to the present in order to see what the change in the built waterscape can tell us about the meaning and provision of public space now and in the future.

### ***Impacts of Perceived and Physical Environments on Self-Rated Health***

Youngkook Kim (The Korea Transport Institute), Sang Ho Lee (Hanbat National University)

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A series of studies have supported the significant relationships between surrounding environments and physical activities. In addition, there are also relevant associations between physical activities and health outcomes. Generally, good health is considered as the result of active living, such as daily walking and bicycling. Although the natural and man-made conditions around residential area are similar, the perceived condition of each individual would vary depending on her/his preference. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the different impacts of surrounding environments and perceived conditions on physical activities and resulting health outcomes. The purpose of this study is to identify the impacts of physical and perceived living environments on self-rated health. Ohio Home Owner Survey data conducted in 2006 is used for this research. Perceived walkable destinations are significantly and positively associated with good health evaluations. In contrast, perceived naturalness does not obtain statistical significance and physical environments also do not have significant impacts on self-rated health. Three walkable distances, 400, 800, and 1200 meters, are evaluated and, as a result, the distance of 800 and 1200 meters provides better consequence than 400 meters. Since people can path through via sidewalks,





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the areas within walkable distances are delineated on the ground of road network.

### 024 Challenges and New Directions in the Nonprofit Sector

#### ***Trickle Down or Bottom Up? The Impacts of Neoliberalism on Delaware Nonprofits and Their Expressions of Community***

Lauren Miltenberger (Villanova University)

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Currently, the provision of social services in the United States is a hybridized mix between government and nonprofits ? with the public sector providing financial support, oversight, mandates and regulations, and the nonprofit sector performing the services and implementing the programs. Nonprofit social service agencies depend on the funding received from the state and governments have come to rely on nonprofits for the delivery of social services, with many public agencies not directly providing social services to constituents anymore. In this mutually dependent environment, nonprofits are experiencing pressures from the government and funders to emulate the private sector, both in structure and practice (Alexander, Nank, Stivers, 1999). One by-product of this is the way that the nonprofit sector has been influenced by the market. As government has embraced the presumed effectiveness and principles of the market through devolution and contracting out, the effects of applying neoliberal market-based principles to social services has been trickled down to the nonprofit sector. One question about the trend toward becoming more market-driven is how does this mix with some of the basic values of nonprofit social service agencies and their focus on community. Given their community values and ways of acting on them, how does contracting for programs affect the ability of nonprofits to provide contracted services aligned with the community aspects of their missions? To answer these questions, this dissertation study analyzed a sample of nonprofit organizations in the state of Delaware. This qualitative study incorporated two data collection methods: (1) face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with nonprofit directors, managers and Board members that have experience working with the programs funded by state government contracts, and (2) document analysis aimed at discerning the way nonprofits express community. The focus of this paper and presentation will be to discuss three of the findings from this study, which include: (1) Nonprofits in this sample from Delaware still act as agents of community, even after neoliberal market-based reorganizations of the social policy frameworks; (2) Neoliberal restructuring creates a fragmented social policy making system; and (3) the HIV/AIDS service system operates completely differently than other social service systems in Delaware.



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### ***Government-Nonprofit Collaboration to Provide Health Care for Undocumented Immigrants: Evidence from Three Dallas Area Counties***

Richard Scotch (University of Texas at Dallas), Charles McConnel (University of Texas at Dallas), Maria Del Balderas (University of Texas at Dallas)

Presenter's email: richard.scotch@utdallas.edu

By 2030, the U. S. Census national projections note that the population will increase to 373.5 million people, of which Hispanics comprise 85.9 million ? an increase of 36.2 million (U. S. Census Bureau: U. S. Population Projections 2008). Hispanics are less likely than the rest of the population to have adequate access to health care, and the national health care reform program specifically excludes undocumented immigrants from expansions in coverage. As a result, the inadequacies and disparities that shape health care access among the Latino undocumented population will continue, and may actually worsen. Factors such as language barriers, medical costs, and access to medical information all exacerbate the isolation of undocumented Hispanic (and many other) immigrants from adequate health care. Responses by government to the health needs of the undocumented population or even to assist hospitals with the burden of providing care can be potentially controversial in the context of the highly charged public debate over the appropriate response to illegal immigration. The economic and political crisis surrounding the provision of health care services to the undocumented has increased the likelihood of collaboration amongst stakeholders. In the paper proposed here, we examine the role of volunteer and free clinics and their partnerships with governmental health care institutions in the provision of care to undocumented immigrants by focusing on several localities in the North Texas region. The study analyzes both why and how county governments, hospitals and other health care providers collaborate with each other in an environment of fiscal crisis and political controversy. This study draws on evidence from three counties in the Dallas, Texas metropolitan area (Collin, Dallas, and Ellis), building on ongoing research by the authors and other colleagues on collaborative arrangements between the public and nonprofit sectors in the provision of health care services that serve the indigent and undocumented population. The three cases represent diverse approaches to the challenge of serving the undocumented, including an urban county with a well-established but over-burdened public hospital and a number of public and nonprofit primary care clinics; an affluent suburban county with a modest public program and a complex relationship with nonprofit providers that has been affected by the politics of immigration and public services; and a county encompassing both suburban and rural sectors that has limited resources but strong collaboration between local government and nonprofit providers. Conclusions are presented about alternative circumstances and strategies involved in public-nonprofit collaboration in politically and fiscally varying localities.



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### ***Nonprofit lobbying and resource dependency theory***

Jocelyn Taliaferro (North Carolina State University), Nicole Ruggiano (Florida International University)

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The nonprofit sector has fulfilled an important role in shaping American policy through its advocacy efforts and participation in social movements (Boris & Krehely, 2002). Although nonprofit organizations are more frequently recognized for the benefits they provide society through direct service programs in fields such as education, health care, and human services (Boris & Steurle, 2006), the sector has more recently been acknowledged as an agent and an outlet for civic participation for community members, particularly through various types of lobbying activities (Berry & Arons, 2003; Frumkin, 2002). Although policy advocacy provides benefits to nonprofit organizations and the larger publics they serve, many nonprofit organizations do not lobby. Reluctance to lobbying is associated with many barriers, including lack of skills and resources. Studies have documented the myriad reasons for this lack of action including time, resources, fear, and lack of knowledge (Bass et al., 2007; Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Salamon, Geller & Lorentz, 2008). Resource dependency theory (RDT) is ultimately concerned with organizations maximizing their power through resource development or acquisition (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). RDT suggests that organizations are connected through relationships that are based on exchanges of resources (Emerson, 1962; Johnson, 1998; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Using qualitative interview data, this paper explores the lobbying behavior of nonprofits from an RDT framework. While previous studies have found that nonprofits do not lobby, nonprofit managers in the sample did in fact lobby but used alternative language for their lobbying activities so that they can simultaneously control external resources available through political action while maintaining their existing resources. The strategic management decision to use alternate language may ameliorate any negative repercussions, such as loss of resources that accompany the socially constructed meanings of lobbying. Implications for practice suggest that professionals in the nonprofit sector may yield the most favorable advocacy outcomes by developing lobbying strategies under the guise of educational efforts.

### ***Affordable Health-Care as a Strategy for Urban Development***

Karabi Bezboruah (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Salient issues such as the recent economic crisis, migration, and natural disasters has led to an increase in the number of poor, uninsured, and underserved population. A



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basic requirement of living is access to affordable healthcare, which in most cases, is very difficult especially when the uninsured and immigrants lacking legal residential status demand such service. Public healthcare service providers cannot extend primary care to those that do not have legal status, and hence leave a gap for nonprofit organizations to fulfill. Nonprofit healthcare service providers extend ambulatory care to the needy irrespective of their income or national status. The social role of such nonprofit organizations has become increasingly important in the United States with the federal government continuing to privatize health and human services, and devolving decision-making to states and local government. Researchers (Ellen et.al., 2003; Ellen & Turner, 1997) have focused on the effects of neighborhoods on health outcomes, and nonprofits' role in participatory planning and advocacy (Chin, 2009; Clemens, 2006; Orr, 2001). There is, nevertheless, another aspect of the role of nonprofits ? that of community development. This research seeks to explore and understand how nonprofit service providers can help in community development through affordable healthcare. Applying the grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the services of three local nonprofit healthcare providers are analyzed. These nonprofit organizations extend primary care to the indigent, uninsured, and underserved population in a north Texas county. The purpose is to explore if such service providers foster community development through access to affordable and free healthcare, and thereby ensure healthy communities. Further, this study will try to explore the presence of social networks, and determine if affordable healthcare services are indicators of strong social networks in large urban neighborhoods. The major questions that this research seeks to answer are (a.) Do local nonprofit healthcare service providers assist in fostering a sense of community, and instill self-esteem in the indigent? (b.) Are local nonprofit healthcare organizations indicators of social networks in large urban communities? (c.) What role do such nonprofit service providers play in developing large urban neighborhoods? This study is significant because it will explore the role of community based nonprofit organizations that provide essential health services in one of the wealthiest counties of north Texas. With a rise in poor and impoverished citizens, however, this community had to come up with provisions for healthcare services that are targeted specifically towards them. The lessons learned from these cases can be applied to other such neighborhoods across the nation and elsewhere and therefore fits well with the theme of the conference ? Reclaiming the City: Building a just and Sustainable Future.

### **025      Facing the Mobility Question: Urban Transportation and the Socio-Spatial Dynamics of American Cities**



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### ***Too Few Steps Forward: Lessons for Transportation and Land Use Planning from Home Healthcare Participants***

Annie Decker (Benjamin H. Cardozo School of Law), Christopher L. Griffin, Jr. (Duke University)

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This paper examines the results of a survey conducted among residents of Contra Costa County, California, analyzing the quantitative links among land use; the self-reported mobility of disabled and elderly recipients of public home healthcare; the mobility of their homecare providers; and the level of services provided by those homecare workers, including transportation assistance. Our findings, based on nearly 1300 responses from clients and homecare workers in California's In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS) program, depict the transportation habits of both populations and, more important, their transportation challenges. For example, IHSS clients have automobile-use rates far lower than the average—only 10% drive themselves when they leave home—and almost half live alone, with little access to rides from others. Most clients face substantial physical and financial barriers to using public transportation. The combined pressures of low income and severe disabilities make IHSS clients highly sensitive to levels of transportation assistance received and land use characteristics, with those living in areas with higher population density and transportation accessibility generally experiencing greater mobility and better access to medical care and other destinations. Conversely, IHSS homecare providers living in higher density and higher accessibility areas generally experienced increased travel challenges.

We examine these factors in the context of three federal laws. Even though the Americans with Disabilities Act Amendments Act of 2008 (ADAAA) responded effectively to shortcomings in the definitions of covered individuals, current proposed Department of Labor regulations would cover homecare workers' travel time under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), and the health care reform bill preserved Medicaid's requirement of transportation to medically necessary appointments, our findings show that additional federal action is necessary. Access to public accommodation—both technological and spatial—matters as much as, for example, broadening the scope of those receiving legal protection, especially given the expected massive increase in the senior population. The paper concludes by proposing state and local policy initiatives as well that would enhance the ambitious yet vital objectives of disability and social welfare law.

### ***Getting to Work: Social Structure and Public Transportation in a Polycentric Metro Region***



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Ali Modarres (California State University, Los Angeles)

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American cities have witnessed a significant growth of what is labeled the polycentric urban form. In Los Angeles, over 20 major employment centers and their associated residential areas and commercial activities have created a complex urban environment within which commuting patterns have been drastically altered. While suburban Orange County benefits from a low average commute time, the residents of high-density downtown Los Angeles spend a significant amount of time traveling to and from their places of employment.□

Using the most recent data from the American Community Survey and results from a number of focus group meetings, this paper will discuss the impact of public-transportation dependency on low-income populations, particularly the foreign born population. This group is typically more likely than others to use public transportation, even when controlled for socioeconomic status. However, in Los Angeles, these commuters face a similar situation to the native-born population. As such, social geography and the spatial structure of the transportation network need to be investigated, in order to develop a better understanding of the emerging commuting patterns. By focusing on these related issues, I will illustrate in this paper a) the inadequacy of the current public transportation network vis-à-vis the reality of the emerging economic landscape and b) the degree to which the current system fails to meet the work-related and non-work-related needs of the low-income and immigrant communities.

### ***Cause and Consequence of Intra-Metropolitan Spatial Differentiation and Socioeconomic Disparity in U.S. Metropolitan Areas***

Sugie Lee (Cleveland State University)

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Since the early 20th century, most U.S. metropolitan regions have experienced significant decentralizations in population and jobs. However, since the spatial pattern of decentralization has not been uniform across intra-metropolitan areas, most U.S. metropolitan areas show intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation in demographic and socioeconomic conditions.

Urban scholars and policymakers have been greatly concerned with the widening intra-metropolitan socioeconomic disparities in urban and suburban communities because such disparity in socioeconomic conditions may lead to the exclusion of disadvantaged groups from job opportunities, housing, education, and public services. However, very





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little research that examines the causes and consequences of intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation and socioeconomic disparity within a metropolitan area has been conducted.

Using longitudinal census data from 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2009, this research aims to examine the cause and consequence of intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation and socioeconomic disparity in U.S. metropolitan areas. This research focuses on whether metropolitan growth pattern have impacts on intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation and how intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation is associated with socioeconomic inequalities. This research will contribute to the growing body of literature on the relationship among metropolitan growth patterns, intra-metropolitan spatial differentiation and socioeconomic disparity.

### ***The Social Justice Implications of Public Transportation***

Gerard Wellman (University of Nebraska at Omaha)

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Scholars and authors have argued that transportation policy, like that of housing, economic development, land use, and environmental protection does not affect all communities similarly; benefits and costs are not equally shared by all stakeholders. The public's role through government policy in providing transportation access for the poorest strata of society, where racial minorities are overrepresented, has many facets: environmental justice, land use policy, and transportation equity to only name a few. It is policy that both causes and ameliorates the challenges that the poor face. Transportation equity in urban environments has often been ignored because of the difficulty of identifying and measuring its variables and because it is often not in the interest of the policy-making class of elites. The role of class conflict with regard to transportation equity has been explored, notably by Robert Bullard whose treatment of the subject often coincides with questions of racial inequality and environmental justice. The weight of such arguments hinges on questions of what and perceptions of what the meaning of social justice. But as Deka points out, little urban academic effort has been made to link the concepts of social justice and transportation policy. The academic treatment of the intersection of social justice and urban transportation policy lies mostly within the silos of racial and gender inequality with few authors taking a broad-themed approach. To what degree do social justice principles impact the administrative discretion of transit agency employers? Are transit agencies actively involved in ameliorating urban equity issues? In view of this, the purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between social justice and public transportation through practitioner interviews and document analysis.



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### 026 Assessing Economic Development

#### ***Competition and Cooperation in Economic Development Efforts: Examining the Perceptions of Economic Development Officials of Cities in Ontario***

Godwin Arku (University of Western Ontario), Catherine Oosterbaan (University of Western Ontario)

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The paper explores the issue of competition and cooperation. This is accomplished through in-depth interviews with eighteen (18) directors of economic development departments in cities in Ontario. The overarching goal of the study is to find out the level of competition and cooperation among cities in the province. In particular, four key questions are addressed: (1) Do communities view themselves as competitors? (2) Can communities cooperate in the current competitive environment? (3) What are the perceived benefits of cooperation? (4) What are the perceived obstacles to regional economic development efforts? The findings suggest that the level of competition among communities in the province is minimal compared to those reported in the U.S. This is due to the nature of institutional context within which the cities in Ontario operate. The officials spoke highly of collaborative efforts which they attribute to limited resources, limited capacity, and benefits associated with such efforts. Cooperative effort is not only among communities, but also with the two upper levels of government.

#### ***Business Incentive Use Among U.S. Local Governments: A Story of Accountability and Policy Learning***

Mildred Warner (Cornell University), Lingwen Zheng (Cornell University)

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Use of business incentives is one of the most common local economic development strategies. We analyze national surveys of 700-1,000 local governments from 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009 to track use of business incentives over time. From 1994 to 2004 we find a shift from primary reliance on business incentives to use of a broader set of strategies that includes business retention and small business support. We also find evidence of policy learning with increased attention to accountability among governments that use business incentives. The 2004 model results also suggest that governments that rely most heavily on incentives may face more intergovernmental competition, stagnating or declining economies, and lower tax bases. For such governments, business incentives may contribute to a cycle of destructive competition. In 2009 we see a shift back toward increased reliance on business



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incentives. The paper uses Z inflated negative binomial modeling to explain differences over time. While increased attention to accountability is associated with use of business incentives, broader economic benefits (economic growth, larger tax bases) are not. Implications for local economic development policy are discussed.

### ***Market Cities: Trends in Economic Development***

Stuart Strother (Azusa Pacific University)

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Economic development is one of the most important expectations citizens have of their public leaders. Consequently, city leaders employ a number of policies and programs to improve local economic life. Three primary objectives of economic development practice are the attraction, retention, and development of businesses in the local economy. When the number of firms increases, economic growth is more likely to occur. In addition to attraction, retention and development techniques, city governments also use certain location techniques, human capital development techniques, ?equity? techniques, fiscal tools, and public private partnerships. This study seeks to answer the questions, ?What are the main economic development policies in use today?? and ?How has economic development policy changed in recent years?? This study addresses these questions using quantitative data from a survey of economic development officials in over 1,000 cities over the past 15 years. Findings indicate city leaders have moved beyond the ?incentive wars? of the 1970s and 1980s and are leaning more heavily on exploiting distinct local advantages and generally following free market principles in their development strategies.

### ***Strategies for Building a More Resilient Economy with the Help of all Workers***

Jennifer Auer (Arizona State University), Eric Johnston (Arizona State University)

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Economic development strategies have the potential to reshape job opportunities in America's urban areas. Whether and how they will impact opportunities for the full spectrum of workers is uncertain in a "new economy" that has increasingly emphasized knowledge and high skills. Creating a plan with an equitable and consistent development logic is critical in places like New Orleans, a city rebuilding from physical destruction, as well as for all the cities attempting to rebuild their economies ravaged by the recession. When done right, economic development strategies can help ensure a more resilient economy than would occur naturally under short-term decisions made by a variety of uncoordinated public and private actors.

This research seeks to inform more equitable and sustainable development plans in



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two ways. First, we learn from past strategies by taking a closer look at one state's attempt to plan for a more sustainable economy by reducing its reliance on growth industries like housing construction. Arizona created its multi-policy, new economy strategy in 2004. We examine the basic elements of the policy as outlined by Schneider and Ingram's (1997) policy design framework, including the extent to which workers of different skill levels were targeted and how much discretion was afforded the various implementing agencies. We then determine how these factors relate to the progress made on each component of the strategy by the 2007 update report. We find that although two-thirds of the labor force is comprised of low and middle skill workers, just one third of the policy strategies addressed their role in the new economy. Further, the policies' implementation style, coupled with little political support, resulted in very little progress toward the goals for low and middle versus high skill workers.

We next review the public affairs research to identify potential development logics for building a new economy. While Arizona's plan relied on a common investment strategy that we call Invest in Champions, there are at least three alternative strategies that are consistent with research on the new economy, including Invest in Places, Invest in Sectors and Invest in Ideas. We argue that Investing in the Ideas of your full workforce receives the least attention, but affords cities the best means to ensure equity in public investments and manage workforce dynamics under transformative processes.

### 027 Resistance to (Re)development and Gentrification

#### ***Contested renewal in the Bronx: Appropriate development or incipient gentrification?***

Katy Guimond (University of California, Berkeley)

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Resistance to development is complex in an area like the Bronx, which has experienced extreme disinvestment, exploitative development, and community-driven development. But broadly speaking, community organizations in the Bronx more often struggle to shape redevelopment rather than reject it outright. This includes movements that are clearly pro-poor, such as fights against low-end retail development that pay "poverty wages" and groups seeking to hold accountable the banks that own overleveraged and under-maintained apartment buildings. But it also includes local critiques of the concentration of affordable housing in the Bronx, and therefore support for mixed income residential development that some see as



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gentrification, and pushes for green development by both local boosters and environmental justice advocates.

I argue that this is the result of the position of the Bronx within the city and the necessity of fighting both disinvestment and exploitative reinvestment. In the 1970s and 1980s, the South Bronx was treated as a dumping ground by city agencies, and with landlord abandonment and arson it became an archetype of urban crisis. Community organizations allied with local officials and certain investors to rebuild the South Bronx, facilitated by new tax credit programs and nonprofit intermediaries. More recently the Bronx has become a site of affordable housing development, big box stores, and real estate speculation. It is not clear if this is gentrification, and local organizations and activists resist – and sometimes support – redevelopment on the basis of their vision for the community. Thus, engagements with redevelopment in the Bronx open a window onto the formulation of community, resistance, and the city's spatial hierarchy.

### ***Inter-Organizational Relations in the Context of Neighborhood Gentrification in Miami: "Insiders" and "Outsiders".***

Marcos Feldman (Florida International University)

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In the working class, immigrant neighborhood of Wynwood, a few miles north of downtown Miami, FL, gentrification driven by Arts-oriented entrepreneurs and the city growth machine has led to the fragmentation of established homeowner associations and exacerbated divisions between different community-based organizations who might otherwise collaborate to resist gentrification. Based on participant observation, in-depth interviews and review of secondary sources, this research specifically examines the interplay of class and race/ethnic politics in the neighborhoods' internal struggles over the costs and benefits of gentrification for neighborhood residents. Coming late to the scene in Wynwood, an activist organization whose history of successful organizing and empowerment in low-income African-American neighborhoods was denied "insider" legitimacy in the mostly Puerto Rican, Cuban and Dominican working class enclave as the impacts of gentrification became increasingly apparent. By becoming positioned as an illegitimate outsider not only was the possibility of a united front against gentrification undermined, but this organization became the "outsider" reference point used to exploit internal, class-based ideological cleavages. In this way, race and ethnicity became part of the social construction of place-based legitimacy both motivated by and obscuring class politics. Moreover, such internal ideological divisions reveal the difficulties of place-based solidarity in a multicultural context in the face of rampant gentrification. The



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implications are considered for other “immigrant gateway” cities and neighborhoods.

### ***Urban Renewal as Urban Redevelopment in the Making of a “Modern” City***

Cathy Ambler (Preservation Consultants), Elizabeth Rosin (Rosin Preservation, LLC)

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There have been few contemporary efforts to reflect on the radical impacts the Urban Renewal movement had on American cities, even though there is probably no city redevelopment program whose effects reached as far in scope and effect. Urban Renewal is perceived almost uniformly as a mistake in city planning. Condemned for the removal of thousands of historic and architecturally important buildings, nonetheless it redeveloped cityscapes, dotting them with post World-War II Modern Movement architecture constructed through private/public ventures. Urban Renewal is now coming of age as a ?historic? movement from the 1960s, and it is time to consider the exceptional impact of this movement in redeveloping community cores across the United States. As a social, political and economic movement in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Urban Renewal began in 1959 following the adoption of a ?Plan for Central Tulsa? (Harold Wise, Larry Smith, Richard Neutra and Robert Alexander). At a time when Tulsa?s older downtown buildings were entering a natural cycle of decline and sprawl was extending the city limits, civic leaders sought to re-invent downtown Tulsa and to re-assert its position as the city?s business and governmental center. Urban Renewal monies were an attractive means to pay for a vibrant modern cityscape; one that would draw attention to the city?s present and its future, not its past. Urban Renewal activities displaced hundreds of home owners and small businesses in ?blighted? areas, yet the federal funds were sought after by city business owners and voters willingly supported the projects. The 2009 historic resources survey of downtown Tulsa provided an excellent opportunity to identify buildings erected through Urban Renewal and to understand the sweeping changes this program brought to the built environment of the city?s downtown. The analysis of survey findings examined these effects and generated preservation recommendations that address the historical significance of Urban Renewal activities in the community.

### ***Repression and Resistance in Portland’s Albina District: The Role of the Police in Spatial and Social Control, 1950-2010***

Karen J. Gibson (Portland State University)

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Police repression and resistance to it have been enduring features of the urban African-American experience. In many U.S. cities, the police are the everyday enforcers of the social and spatial boundaries of white supremacy. From the Newark





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riots of 1967 to Los Angeles in 1992, most major urban rebellions were responses to ghettoization and oppression sparked by incidences of police brutality. However, African American settlement patterns have shifted in many Western cities due to gentrification processes. In 1960, 80% of African Americans in Portland lived in five contiguous census tracts (the Albina District), today just one-third remain there. What role did the police and their allies (e.g. Oregon Liquor Control Commission) play in facilitating this new geography of race? This paper examines the history of policing, police brutality, and resistance to it. Albina District leaders knew that their area was designated as a vice district from the 1950s until the early 1990s, when the Victorian housing stock became desirable to white homebuyers and the City had to improve neighborhood safety in order to boost real estate sales. Racial transition was facilitated by the actions of the real estate industry with the help of city redevelopment agencies; beginning in the 1990s, whites returned en masse to the Albina District that many abandoned fifty years earlier, resulting in the displacement of many African Americans. We will pay particular attention to the role that police practices played in the interrelated processes of disinvestment and gentrification of the historically black neighborhoods of the city.

### 029 Justice and Sustenance in New York City

#### ***Lunch in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction***

Dory Kornfeld (Columbia University)

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This paper explores the tensions between the food security movement and the local/organic/sustainable movement and looks at how these tensions are played out in the programs and policies to increase food access in New York City.

In “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” Benjamin writes, “authenticity is outside technical—and, of course, not only technical—reproducibility. Confronted with its manual reproduction, which was usually branded as a forgery, the original preserved all its authority; not so vis-à-vis technical reproduction...technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself.”

Increasingly, conversations about “good” food mirror Benjamin’s discussions of art. Proponents of organic, sustainable, and local food discuss the “authenticity” of (say) strawberries grown without pesticides, by farmers who pick them and bring them to market the very same day. This is in opposition to “industrial” food, shipped in



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refrigerated trucks across the country and into places “out of reach for the original itself.” At the same time, a wholly separate food movement exists, that focused on increasing food access and food security to areas underserved by affordable, nutritious food; this movement is often at odds—or at least, separate from—the “food authenticity” movement.

This paper looks critically at some of the programs in place to expand food access in New York City—including the FRESH zoning initiative, Community Supported Agriculture groups, and community-led urban farms—and considers what sort of food is being offered to communities through these projects, and who is driving those choices. As the “authenticity” of food is increasingly becoming tied to its “goodness” ought municipal policies to increase food security be concerned with this aspect? Or is the authenticity of food secondary to simply being able to access affordable groceries? When envisioning a just food system in our cities, how should we evaluate our priorities?

### ***Has New York City Fallen Into the Local Trap?***

Kimberly Libman (The Graduate Center City University of New York)

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Municipal policies aiming to improve equity in food access and health often rely on the assumption that neighborhoods with limited availability of healthy foods and high levels of diet-related illness should be the targets for change. However, evaluations of such interventions show mixed results at best. Recently, food systems planners have used the ‘local trap’ to caution that there is nothing inherently beneficial about the local or any other scale of action with regard to improving the social justice, ecological sustainability, or public health outcomes of food systems. Public health researchers echo this stance further cautioning that focus on residential neighborhoods may create significant measurement errors because studies rooted in this stance fail to capture exposures that are part of routine life but which occur outside the neighborhood context, for example in transit and at work.

This paper examines the local trap argument in the context of recent food policy developments in New York City. The paper begins by presenting the evolution of the local trap from its roots as an inside critique of scholarship on The Right to the City through its application to food systems planning and public health. The paper then applies this critical stance to a review of how food system localization and assumptions about the localness of food behavior are playing out in the food and health policy arena of New York City. It concludes by drawing on evidence gathered using space-time food diaries and mental mapping interviews with individuals from



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different social, cultural and economic backgrounds to map their daily journeys and plot where their food events take place. These data are used to analyze the spatial scales at which everyday food behaviors occur for individuals across the socioeconomic spectrum and to call into question the appropriateness of local scale food environment interventions.

### ***From Public Market to La Marqueta***

Babette Audant (Kingsborough Community College, CUNY)

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As a way of framing emerging policies and programs to increase food access in New York City, this paper looks at the rise – and fall – of an earlier era of food policies that sought to achieve the same goals. More specifically, it looks at the changing location of public markets on the city's food retailing landscape from the 1930s to the 1960s.

During the 1930s, New York struggled to find ways to ensure that residents of lower-income, largely immigrant neighborhoods had access to “affordable, adequate and safe food.” Policy solutions included containing pushcarts in enclosed public markets and training housewives to consume according to principles of scientific management. Consolidation of state control over flows of food to targeted communities was also a means of correcting behaviors of the working classes, and making their improved lives resemble those of the middle classes.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the municipal government withdrew support for the enclosed public markets, allowing these properties to decline. Urban renewal swept away swaths of small retailers and built large spaces with higher rents designed for modern supermarkets. Merchants, customers, and various publics rallied to defend the public markets as spaces of historical value, and as important distributors of cheap, second-rate goods. Outside the mainstream, the enclosed markets survived by becoming icons of ethnic neighborhoods from Harlem to the Lower East Side. The state never relinquished power, but drew lines of difference informed by race and class between these spaces – and the people who used them – and the rest of the city.

This paper ends by exploring how a critical evaluation of the markets' role as spaces of governance might temper today's idealizing historicizing of public markets and suggest ways in which public markets, as powerful institutions of the state, can be viable responses to inequitable food access.

## **030 Local Tax Policy and Fiscal Constraints**



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### ***Impact of Property Tax Limits on the Supply of Municipal Debt***

Sharon Kioko (Syracuse University)

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Virtually every state has imposed a restriction on their local government's ability to impose taxes or issue debt. Tax limitations include limitations on property tax rates, assessment values, and revenue or expenditure caps. Limitations on local government borrowing authority include limits on outstanding general obligation or full faith and credit debt (generally as a percent of assessed property values) and in some states, a voter referendum is also required. In concert, these limitations curtail current and future spending authority of local governments. This study focuses on an unintended consequence of these limitations. Using Census data on county governments from 1977 through 2002 we test whether restrictions on a government's discretion to levy taxes and issue debt have had an impact on size and structure of its long-term debt. More specifically, 1 - have county governments with property tax limits increased their reliance on debt and 2 - have county governments with property tax limits and debt limits circumvented these restrictions by increasing their reliance on non-guaranteed debt generally issued by special districts and public authorities and outside the purview of taxpayers. There has been limited research on the impact of property tax limits on debt accumulation at the local level, with a significant proportion of this research focusing on the impact of these limits on local government tax structures, revenues, growth in spending, and impact of these limitations on property values and effective property tax rates. However, a report by Standard & Poor's, on the 30th Anniversary of California's Proposition 13 reported local governments in California and Massachusetts significantly increased their use of debt after property tax limits were imposed (S&P 2008). Studies have also shown that state's with tax and expenditure limits (oft cited as TELs) issue more long term debt (see Clingermyer and Wood, 1995; Hur, 2007; Kioko, 2009). This study seeks to complement this growing set of literature that underscores the unintended consequences of these restrictions.

### ***Residential Property Tax Protestors in Texas: Who Are They, What Do They Gain and Do They Vote?***

Rodney Hisson (University of Texas at Arlington), Robert Hawley (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Objective. Local financial resources can be a major barrier to reclaiming and rebuilding the city. Cities may find that the local property tax, the historical workhorse of local



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government finance, is not a reliable tool due to declining property values, general dissatisfaction with the tax and distrust of local government. Contributing to the diminished capacity of the tax is the ability of property owners to protest the appraised value and ultimately their tax liability. The topic we explore is the impact such protests, and the adjustments to tax liabilities, have on tax revenues. We also are interested in who protests and if the outcomes of the protests are distributed equitably across property values. Given the strong correlation between housing value and income, we indirectly determine if low- income groups have equal access and to and treatment within the protest process as other income groups. Finally, we explore whether property owners who protest are more politically active, measured by voter registration and voting in mayoral elections. We compare voting rates of the general population to the voting rates of protesters and rates of non-protesters. We use data from Fort Worth, Texas for 2007 and 2009. Fort Worth is the 17th largest city in the United States with an estimated 2009 population of approximately 720,250 containing 231,541 residential properties. Methods. Using randomly selected data of residential protests filed with the Tarrant Appraisal District this study examines market differences, housing types, ownership, class, land size, previous experience protesting, outcome, neighbor influence, senior citizen status and taxes paid over two mayoral election cycles (2007 & 2009). Results. While we find the overall protest rates tend to be minimal, we do observe an upward trend along with a heavy concentration of rental properties opting to protest. The voting rate for protestors? was consistent over the two election cycles at 2.79 times higher than the general public but surprisingly smaller than residential owners in neighboring properties (4.09). Finally, we find a decline in the mean tax bill for non-rental properties protesting has fallen over time, while the trend for rental properties is in the opposite direction. Conclusion. Residential property owners do not appear to be filing a flood of protests and only half of the protests involve owner occupied property. In addition, these protesters while voting at a higher rate than the general population do not equal the voter turnout of non-filing residential property owners. Property tax revenues, used for rebuilding the city, may decline as a result of property protests but only marginally at worst.

### ***Assessing the Role of Redevelopment Boards in Effecting Urban Change: Empirical Data from Michigan Communities***

Heather Khan (Michigan State University)

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One of the most popular mechanisms employed by state and local governments to foster urban redevelopment efforts is tax increment financing (TIF). TIF adoption establishes a geographic area for which bonds are issued to finance public



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improvements that will presumably facilitate a city's redevelopment efforts. When it comes to assessing redevelopment outcomes of TIF, the literature has focused on effectiveness, typically operationalized as an increase in property values through investments in infrastructure improvements. While these evaluations of TIF have yielded consistently mixed results (Man and Rosentraub, 1998; Dye & Merriman, 1999; Klacik, 2001; Weber, Bhatta and Merriman, 2003; Carroll, 2008), to date there has been little evaluation of the process by which redevelopment outcomes are a function of TIF board structures and programmatic efforts. In short, concentrating instead on measurable outcomes, extant studies on TIF have typically overlooked how TIF board structure and process affects redevelopment outcomes. This paper explores several research questions related to TIF redevelopment board structures, politics, and programmatic efforts. More specifically, this paper investigates the following questions: 1. Do particular board structures lead to more effective redevelopment? 2. Do particular board structures lead to increased spending for a larger community benefit? 3. Are there policy changes to aspects of the TIF board structure that could be made at the state level that might lead to more effective urban redevelopment policy? This research employs a cross sectional survey design. Surveys will be conducted in all Michigan cities that employ TIF as an urban redevelopment strategy. Two separate surveys will be distributed. The first survey will be distributed to the TIF board director and the second survey will be distributed to each of the remaining TIF board members. Survey questions address the following topics: structure of the board, how board members are selected, characteristics/traits of board members, goals of board members, information sources for decisions, and decision-making processes. Michigan provides an ideal setting to investigate the impact of particular board structures on redevelopment outcomes, as the state has seven separate TIF enabling statutes for specific redevelopment activities such as brownfield redevelopment, neighborhood revitalization, and downtown development. This paper represents the first effort real effort to identify and detail particular TIF board structures that are more likely to lead to redevelopment projects and spending that provide greater benefits to the broader community thus benefiting local residents. The findings presented in this work also serve as a cautionary tale for other states as they craft and (re)evaluate their legislative directives concerning TIF.

### ***How Can Latin American Cities Fiscal Capacity Help with Economic Development?***

Heidi Jane Smith (Florida International University)

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This paper examines cities' efforts to promote economic development in Latin America. The research uses a mixed methodology to explore how cities make decisions to innovate, develop and finance economic development programs. First,





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this study provides a comparative analysis of Argentina and Mexico, in their efforts at promoting decentralization policies. Next it will examine the budgets and fiscal capacity of six cities, three located within Argentina?Santa Fe, Rosario, and Rafaela?and three located within Mexico?Leon, Guanajuato and San Miguel de Allende in their efforts at collecting taxes and promoting economic development programs. Finally, this research will also use statistical data gathered from Latin American municipal associations to test whether with cities report being more fiscally autonomous (measured by the collection of more own-source revenue) are better able to stimulate effective economic development programs, and ultimately, create jobs within their communities.

### 031 Trust and Urban Governance

#### *The State of Citizen Distrust of Local Governments*

Mel D. Powell (Southern Maryland Higher Education Center)

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For more than 30 years local governments have been subjected to severe fiscal restraints, citizen tax payer rebellions, and a general loss of confidence by their citizens. Polls appear to indicate that citizen distrust at the local level is less severe than the level of citizen distrust at state and national levels; however, public services at the local level have an immediate impact on citizens. Further, since the publication of *Reinventing Government* by Osborne and Gaebler in 1992, local governments have also been subjected to claims that public services provided by the private sector would be more efficient and less expensive than traditional local public service delivery.

Reductions in local services have impacted local workforces differently, generally affecting public safety personnel differently than public works, recreation, general administration and other service providers.

This paper will examine the effect of local government workforce reductions that traditionally have provided public services that have made American local governments exceptionally livable societies, particularly the upscale suburban and exurban communities. To many citizens, the impact of cut backs in local public services have seemed unreal, further causing distrust of government.

Many of the impacts of local cutbacks include the creation of wastelands of closed and abandoned parks, public lakes turned to swamps, closed public pools and restrooms, playground equipment unrepaired, entry fees for public parks not closed, and fences



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surrounding what once were broad fields of park land for picnics and sports. Of course decisions about which public services may be curtailed or eliminated are public decisions. And elected officials and their administrators are the first to learn of discontent from citizens.

The point here is that cutbacks are a serious and permanent conclusion to three decades of evolving voter displeasure with government and a general citizen belief in the anti-government claims of excesses and wastefulness of the public sector. Reduced services following revenue cut backs, whether delivered by private sector contractors or public employees, are reduced to a similar degree. Whatever savings might be realized by the use of contracting for services will be overshadowed by the loss of those services and a decline of the quality of life once enjoyed in America's local suburban communities. Urban areas have seen similar losses of services, although citizens in cities may have less contact with government representatives and less impact on the selection of services.

This paper will explore the impact of citizen dissatisfaction with local government, whether it be a citizen belief that government is complacent, or whether beliefs ranging from myths to blind ideology are evolving to a state of continuing loss of the "city beautiful" goal of a civil society, a general loss of pride in community, a loss of civic responsibility, and a generally less trustful and paranoid society.

### ***State Fiscal Transparency, E-Government Performance and Social Capital***

John McNutt (University of Delaware), Jonathan Justice (University of Delaware),  
Edward Smith (University of Delaware)

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The image that many Americans have of their government is one of secrecy, backroom deals and personal interests that run counter to the common good. This has important consequences for trust in government; political stability and the integrity of government operations. Greater transparency in government has been an important goal of many reformers over the past four decades from both within and outside the government. The cry of open government will, most likely, continue to be sounded with additional force as time goes forward. What factors tend to push a government toward transparency? Certainly the relationship between the citizenry and the government is an important factor (Lathrop & Ruma, 2010). Some governments are more separate from their constituencies than others. Social Capital (Putnam, 1996; 2000) would appear to account for many of the explanatory variables that are of consequence here. Also important is the nature of e-government. Not only is greater transparency a goal of e-government (West, 2005; Noveck, 2009), the technology that



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underpins it makes greater clearness possible. While there are certainly other factors, these two cover a significant portion of the potential variance. This research evaluates the role of each of these variables in explaining transparency. The principle research questions are: Is there a relationship between the strength of state social capital and fiscal transparency? Is this relationship (if any) moderated by e-government performance? Methodology: This study uses secondary analysis of state level fiscal transparency, e-government performance and social capital. Fiscal transparency is the dependent variable. The unit of analysis is individual states. Data on fiscal transparency is obtained from a new study of state level fiscal transparency conducted by the Public Interest Research Groups (Baxandall & Wohlschlegal, 2010), E-Government data is taken from a recent national study conducted the E-Government Institute at Rutgers University (Holzer, Manoharan, Shick & Stowers, 2009).. Finally, Putnam's (2000) index of state social capital is used to measure social capital. Research questions are evaluated with General Linear Model analysis. Contribution: This research has implications for citizen participation, urban governance and the role of technology in future governance of urban spaces. It can also provide illumination of the possibilities for greater transparency.

### ***Open Source Practice: Applying Network Technology in Participatory Planning***

Peter Sigrist (Cornell University), Brian Davis (University of Virginia)

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This paper examines the potential in "open source" urban development, which links participatory planning with network technology to foster collaboration between government, business, nonprofits, and individual citizens. Open source is most often associated with the development of computer programs that can be shared, adapted, and improved by anyone with the ability to contribute. However, the concept is also being applied in urban planning, design, entrepreneurship, activism, and governance. Based on three case studies of organizations that have implemented such ideas, this paper argues that open source offers a promising way of building a more socially just urban politics, and presents an initial framework for coordinating this process.

### ***E-Government Benchmarks: An Analysis of Municipal Website Usability in the United States***

Levi Thiele (University of Nebraska at Omaha)

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E-government now plays a prominent role in governance. Municipal websites offer service provision, encourage citizen participation, and provide emergency information. This research develops a mixed methodology to examine the usability of



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municipal websites. A content analysis is conducted to determine what functions are available on the websites of a representative sample of U.S. cities. The data obtained from the content analysis is analyzed to test for variations in city size, region, and form of local government. Benchmarks for best practices are established for the following categories: accessibility, legitimacy, and online services. This research finds large variation in the content of municipal websites. The results indicate that some of the variation can be explained by region and city size. There are a number of implications for this research. This study builds on previous research and enhances benchmarking standards for municipal websites. This research can assist municipal administrators and public leaders in assessing, comparing, and designing websites. The robustly documented benchmarking measurements formulated in this study will help cities to identify potential weaknesses and omissions on their websites.

### ***Evaluating Support for Municipal Government Term Limits: Evidence from a National Survey of Municipal Officials?***

Douglas Ihrke (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Gerald Gabris (Northern Illinois University), Nathan Grasse (Georgia Southern University), Brianne Heidbreder (Kansas State University)

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The late 1980s and early 1990s were a period of intense interest by the public in limiting the terms of elected officials at the state level, and by scholars as to the effects of these imposed limits. Term limits were a very real part of the political climate for elected officials throughout this period as sixteen states adopted term limits for state legislators and governors, and 20 more states adopted term limits for governors only. Scholars picked up on this trend as indicated by the explosion in the number of journal articles and books published on the topic. Term limits also received attention at the federal level. Several states enacted term limits on federal legislators, only to have their efforts thwarted by the US Supreme Court in a 5-4 vote in May 1995. In *US Term Limits v. Thornton* the Court ruled that term limits on federal legislators were unconstitutional and could not be implemented without a constitutional amendment, thus putting an end to this issue at the federal level for the time being. Local governments, however, have not received this same kind of attention regarding term limits even though some local governments have had term limits for many years. One reason for this is that local governments, as a percentage of the total number of units, have implemented term limits at a slower rate than the states. But local governments have had term limits longer than most states, with some dating back to the 19th Century (Fagre 2004). The purpose of this research is to examine the attitudes and beliefs of city council members toward term limits and their perceived impact in communities across the United States, therefore filling a



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major void in this literature. This research fits with the theme of the conference in that one of the real political realities in today's communities is that fewer and fewer quality individuals are deciding to run for local political office, therefore diminishing the ability of these communities to compete in the global marketplace. The reasons they are deciding not to run are numerous, but they include the monetary and emotional costs elective office has on families. Therefore, it is somewhat ironic that many communities are considering implementing term limits which tend to further limit the available pool of quality candidates to run for what are already unpopular local government elective positions.

### 032 Education, Segregation, Inequality, and Reform

#### ***A Spatialized Rawlsian Analysis of Educational Equity***

Lee Hachadoorian (CUNY Graduate Center)

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Spatial inequality is nowhere more apparent than in the disparities between high-performing suburban school districts and the struggling school systems of central cities, and often inner suburbs as well. A distributive justice framework, such as Rawls' seminal *A Theory of Justice* (1971), would require the transfer of resources from higher-income to lower-income households or school districts, and in fact several states have seen judicially successful campaigns to equalize school funding, though with mixed success in legislative follow-through. But the inequalities are produced and reproduced through specifically spatial processes which undermine the effectiveness of a simple equalization. Harvey (*Social Justice and the City*, 1973) proposed principles of "territorial social justice" which echo Rawls' principles but emphasize meeting the needs of people living in each region, but Harvey and most economic geographers left these "liberal formulations" behind. Taking into account Harvey's arguments about the production of inequality, Young's emphasis on process vs. pattern, and Soja's arguments for an assertive spatial perspective, I attempt to develop a spatialized Rawlsian analysis of urban-suburban inequality. I offer a modification of Rawls' principles of justice and a spatial interpretation of his stages of institutional decision-making. Finally, returning to education, I ask how our institutions would have to be structured and funded to accord with a theory of spatial justice.

#### ***Staying Put in the Gentrified City: Schools as Instruments of a Fortified Gentrification***

Chase Billingham (Northeastern University), Shelley Kimelberg (Northeastern University)



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Research on gentrification has elucidated many of the processes that draw middle-class individuals and childless couples into previously avoided urban areas. Meanwhile, it has too frequently neglected to follow these gentrifiers into parenthood, when schooling pressures frequently push former gentrifiers out of the city and into the suburbs in pursuit of high-quality schooling options. This paper identifies and investigates a process that we call "fortified gentrification," focusing on schools as institutions that may either prolong or curtail the duration of gentrifiers' stay in the city. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 30 middle-class parents in the city of Boston, we examine the role that schools play in gentrifiers' decisions first to move into a major city and later to remain in the city while their children are enrolled in elementary school. Results indicate that schools have little, if any, impact on the choices of young childless professionals to move into the city, but that they become critical criteria of residential choice once these professionals start families. Many urban middle-class families are willing to send their children to local public elementary schools, even when they exhibit little confidence in the school district as a whole, if they find a dedicated group of similar like-minded families willing to make the same choice. These families often come to have outsize influence in their chosen schools, and they contribute significant material and non-material resources to help their schools excel within a generally lackluster school district. Dedicated involvement in local school- and neighborhood-based associations acts as a form of capital in these parents' attempts to combat prevalent negative images associated with gentrification. The paper highlights the need for gentrification research to deal more thoroughly with the ways that social, political, and economic institutions persuade middle-class families to locate in urban areas and, subsequently, facilitate or impede their ability to remain there over time.

### ***Suburban Change and the Schools: Places of Integration or Replicating Urban Inequality and Segregation?***

Erica Frankenberg (Pennsylvania State University)

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America is a primarily ?suburban? society and suburbs are on the frontier of rapid racial and socioeconomic change (Logan, 2003; Frey, 2001; Farrell, 2008). Over half of minority students in large metropolitan areas now attend suburban schools (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2008), and more poor people live in suburbs than in cities (Berube & Kneebone, 2006). These data suggest that old stereotypes of a ?suburban district? no longer fit the reality in our largest metros. As racial transformation continues, we need to understand how demographic shifts affect the opportunities of low-income and minority students in suburban communities, some of which may have limited





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resources to serve these students. Although suburbia and governmental policies encouraging segregated settlement of suburbia (Massey & Denton, 1993) has long been part of our nation's geography, it lacks clear definition. This paper explores differentiation among suburban districts to illuminate the diversity among district types, and how patterns of segregation are connected to district configuration. It does so by examining the suburban school districts in the largest 25 metropolitan areas (MSAs), which enroll one-quarter of all students, using data from the NCES Common Core of Data. Means comparison of districts reveal significant differences in student characteristics in growing districts as compared to those losing students (Weiher, 1991). This paper used cluster analysis to group the 2,364 suburban districts into six distinct clusters using racial and economic characteristics of the district enrollment, size of enrollment, and racial change as percentages relative to the entire metropolitan area's enrollment for each (Orfield, 2002). The cluster analysis reveals considerably variety among suburban districts: ? Exclusive enclaves (N=73): High shares of white students, low poverty, minimal racial change. ? Countywide districts (N=13): Very large districts, moderate shares of black & Latino students ? Exurbs (N=1,102): Very little racial change, few minority students, mixed socio-economic status; located far from central city ? Inner-ring transitioning (N=75): Extremely rapid racial change, small, moderate percentages of minority & low-income students; close to central city ? Satellite cities (N=305): Moderate racial change, low-income students with high black & Latino, larger size ? Developing immigration meccas (N=142): Slower racial change, larger size, moderate percentages of Asian, Latino, and low-income students This paper explores the implications of these patterns on within- and between-district segregation in three metropolitan areas with different types of school district jurisdictions (e.g., municipal, countywide). Identifying how metropolitan area schools are changing, this paper contributes to understanding the implications of demographic transformation in MSAs and provides the basis for developing metropolitan-wide policies to respond.

### ***A Case-Study of Urban School Reform: Newark, NJ***

Deborah Ward (Rutgers University), Laurie Cohen (Rutgers University), Shenique Thomas (Rutgers University)

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The dropout crisis is acute in Newark. One out of every two high school students in Newark will not graduate (Greene, 2002). Lacking a high school diploma, individuals will have fewer job opportunities and lower potential earnings throughout their lives. Newark has recently been in the spotlight as Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg has announced that he will be creating a foundation to benefit Newark Public Schools. His \$100 million contribution will be matched by other organizations. All parties involved



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in this initiative are demanding accountability linking cost of programs and student outcomes. We will be contributing to this reform agenda by providing the district and other stakeholders with analysis of student performance and graduation trends. Since 2008 we have been working with Newark Public Schools and other Newark organizations on a multiple pathways analysis of the district public school population. The purpose of the multiple pathways analysis is to analyze all educational programs in Newark Public Schools that lead to a high school diploma including comprehensive, magnet, vocational and adult education programs. The goals of the analysis are to: 1) evaluate all NPS high school programs (comprehensive, magnet, alternative education and GED) and graduation rates 2) accurately assess Newark Public School's high school graduation rate and compare graduation rates across district schools and to other urban environs 3) develop at-risk indicators for Newark youth 4) make policy recommendations for educational programs and services 5) create intervention strategies and programs to address the at-risk and dropout student populations in Newark; monitor and evaluate all programs 6) monitor and evaluate at-risk student intervention strategies and programs including two alternative high schools, Newark Innovation Academy and Fast Track Academy to Success, offered by the district 7) develop an at-risk student measure to indicate students at-risk of dropping out of school 8) enhance the collection and analyses of NPS data and student contact with social service agencies and community programs 9) develop self-sustaining policies and procedures to build NPS capacity to track, analyze and instrumentally use data and findings for continue on-going development of current and future MP to high school graduation Our multiple pathways analysis will assist Newark Public Schools with overarching policy making to enhance high school graduation rates in the district and to achieve Newark Public Schools goals outlined in the strategic plan. The goal is to make Newark Public Schools a national model for urban high school reform.

### ***An Impact of High Stakes Testing policy on High School Dropouts***

Naoshi Sambonsugi (Southern University and A&M College)

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The problem of high school dropout has been studied for several decades and now it has reached at the level of national crisis. At the same time, recently, many states have adopted or plan to adopt a high stakes testing policy for high schools; namely, high school exit examination. Over the last a couple of decades, since an adoption of the high stakes testing policy, the effects of the policy on high school dropouts have been studied. However, those previous studies do not seem to have found a common ground. This study intends to find the impact of the high stakes testing policy on high school dropouts in the United States (50 states), employing panel data analysis, difference in difference estimator, and feasible generalized least square. Also, this



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study utilizes proxy variables to have better estimates.

### 033 Who Are the Poor? New Definitions and Trends

#### ***Surprising Diversity in Financial Stability: A Cluster Analysis of CWF Clients in 12 Low-Income Chicago Communities***

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In Chicago, the Centers for Working Families (CWFs) are the most comprehensive effort to provide “bundled” employment and financial services to the city’s low-income families. The 12 CWF sites represent a wide swath of the city’s low-income communities. Each CWF is operated by a community-based agency and all local residents are eligible for services. The goal of the cluster analysis was to determine which types of residents are seeking CWF services, in order to improve the design and delivery of services and also the development of outcome measures. The sample for the cluster analysis includes 2,589 CWF clients who enrolled between July 2006 and June 2009. The sample is 59% female and 41% male and breaks almost evenly between African Americans and Latinos. Thirty independent variables were used for the cluster analysis, derived from the financial profile completed at program entry. Variables reflect positive financial indicators (e.g., income from employment, three months’ emergency savings); indicators of institutional linkages (e.g., checking or savings account, credit card, car loan); negative financial indicators (e.g., spent more than earned last month, has payday/auto title loan); and crisis indicators (e.g., recent/likely eviction or foreclosure, utility disconnection, bankruptcy). The cluster analysis revealed five distinct financial “personalities”: (1) high work, high institutional linkages, low crisis; (2) low work, medium institutional linkages, low crisis; (3) low work, low institutional linkages, low crisis; (4) high work, high institutional linkages, high crisis; and (5) low work, low institutional linkages, high crisis. Further subgroup analyses actually heightened the distinctions among the clusters. The level of heterogeneity represented by the five clusters is far greater than anticipated: CWF clients are very diverse in regard to their financial circumstances and behavior at program entry. Equally surprising is the level of heterogeneity within individual sites: Most of the sites see all of the clusters in meaningful proportions. Further, basic demographic characteristics, including gender, age, and race/ethnicity, are not predictors of which cluster a person will fall into. The cluster findings surprised not only CWF program administrators, but also policymakers and others in Chicago, as they belie many of the assumptions about residents of the city’s poorest



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communities. As explained by the administrator responsible for implementation and oversight of the 12 CWF sites, “[The clusters] illuminate the complexity of the work and also defy the many negative stereotypes about low-income adults.”

### ***From Underclass to Entrepreneur: New Technologies of Poverty Work in Urban America***

Michael Katz (University of Pennsylvania)

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From Underclass to Entrepreneur New Technologies of Poverty Work in Urban America Michael B. Katz History Department University of Pennsylvania 208 College Hall Philadelphia, PA 19104 mkatzpa@gmail.com Abstract From the late 1970s through the early 1990s, underclass stood as shorthand for black poor people dominating the crumbling core of the nation's inner cities. Underclass drew on the heritage of the “culture of poverty”. The language of poverty pathologized poor people, locating the source of their poverty in their own behavior and deficits. By the early twenty-first century, however, hardly anyone talked or wrote about the underclass anymore. Instead, from Bangladesh to New York, writers celebrated the entrepreneurial energy and talent latent within poor people. Four distinct, if overlapping, market-based strands were braided through poverty work: place-based initiatives that intended to unleash poor people as consumers by rebuilding markets in inner cities; microfinance programs that turned poor people into entrepreneurs; asset building strategies that helped poor people accumulate capital; and conditional cash transfers which focused on deploying monetary incentives to change behavior. In the new market-based technologies of poverty work, the underclass had become entrepreneurs.

### ***Understanding Recent Patterns of Metropolitan Homelessness***

Barrett A. Lee (Pennsylvania State University), Matthew Hall (University of Illinois at Chicago), Jennifer McClure (Pennsylvania State University), Lauren A. Hughes (Pennsylvania State University)

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Homelessness has been explained at two analytic levels. Micro explanations focus on how personal vulnerabilities (e.g., mental illness, domestic violence), institutional experiences (incarceration), and inadequate support networks select particular individuals into a homeless state. The macro or structural approach, which we pursue here, emphasizes contextual forces associated with the size of the homeless population. This approach has encouraged attention to the influence of expensive housing, limited employment opportunities, and other city or metropolitan



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characteristics on local homelessness rates (expressed as the number of homeless per 10,000 residents). Although most prior structural studies have used data from the 1980s or 1990s, we examine homelessness rates for 2007 and 2009. The two years are strategic because they span a housing crisis and recession that may have increased homelessness in some communities. They also overlap a federal initiative to end chronic homelessness, an effort with implications opposite those of the recession. Our investigation further benefits from a comprehensive explanatory framework. Rather than consider only a few possible antecedents?thus rendering the interpretation of results ambiguous?we examine the extent to which homelessness covaries with metropolitan-level housing and economic conditions, demographic composition, safety net programs, urban scale, health, and climate. All of these characteristics have been incorporated in structural narratives about homelessness. We calculate 2007 and 2009 homelessness rates using data collected by local Continuum of Care (CoC) entities with guidance from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. In January of odd-numbered years, public and private agencies within each CoC jurisdiction are required to conduct a coordinated count of homeless people as part of their application for federal funds to combat homelessness. Our sample consists of 200 metropolitan CoC units that?by themselves or combined with nearby CoCs?can be operationalized as single counties or county clusters and that contain at least one county with a population of 250,000 or more. We generate county-based independent variables from the American Community Survey (ACS) 2005-07 and 2007-09 three-year summary files and a few additional sources to represent the housing, economic, demographic, and other structural explanations mentioned above. Our first analytic step is to describe changes in metropolitan CoC homelessness rates from 2007 through 2009, distinguishing among areas that experienced increases, decreases, or stability. We then regress the 2007 and 2009 rates on their temporally antecedent ACS structural characteristics (measured in 2005-07 and 2007-09, respectively). In the final portion of the analysis, we estimate regression models that capture the associations between 2007-09 changes in homelessness and corresponding changes in structural factors.

### ***Coming and Going: Effects of Change in Household Composition on the Well-being of Families and Children***

Nola du Toit (University of Chicago), Cathy Haggerty (University of Chicago), Kate Bachtell (University of Chicago)

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As a result of the deinstitutionalization of marriage, additional job prospects for women, and an increased acceptance of cohabitation and single parenthood, there is an ever changing array of families in American households (Stacey 1996, Thistle 2006).



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Current literature examines how different types of households impact the well-being of families and children. Whether adults are married, cohabiting, or single has been shown to impact their life chances and those of any children living in their household. Other studies have examined changes in composition and often link ?instability? to negative outcomes, especially among children. Unfortunately, studies that examine differences in type of family and household composition are often limited to comparisons of unions - married, single, or cohabiting. Similarly, the literature on the impact of change in household composition has focused primarily on changes in relationships, such as marriage or divorce. Comparatively less research has been done on the influence of (1) extended family members and non-relatives (roommates, boarders) in the household, and (2) changes in household composition that are not related to union formation. The proposed work considers various types of households (union, extended, and non-family), as well changes in composition due to union formation, extended family, and non-family relationships. Using data from two waves of the Making Connections Survey, the study will examine different types of family and non-family households, the extent of change in household composition when these other household members are considered, and differences in a variety of measures of well-being. We will explore household income and home ownership to assess the economic stability of households and school attendance and health as indicators of child well-being. The Making Connections Survey is well suited for this analysis in that it collects information from a longitudinal panel of households in ten different urban communities, making it possible to trace the movement of individuals in and out of households over time. The preponderance of low-income families in the sample provides an opportunity to examine the relationship between household composition and well-being among populations with unique strategies for creating and supporting families (Edin and Kefalas 2005). This study is important for the following reasons: first, it will observe differences in household composition beyond the traditional nuclear family; second, it will illustrate if, and how, these households are different in their impact on child well-being and economic stability; and third, the study will show how changes in these different households impact financial stability and child well-being over time.

### ***Jurisdictional Competition and Redistribution***

Vladimir Kogan (University of California, San Diego)

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Does competition for mobile residents and capital lead local governments to ignore the interests of their most vulnerable citizens? In this paper, I provide a powerful empirical test for the City Limits hypothesis -- that jurisdictional competition leads to the suboptimal provision of social services and redistributive policies. Using





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administrative data from the federal food stamp program, a redistribute program that is funded by Congress but administered exclusively by local governments, I examine variation in food stamp enrollment across counties in different metropolitan areas. Contrary to the City Limits hypothesis, I find little evidence that increased competition is associated with lower levels of food stamp enrollment by local officials. Indeed, increased jurisdictional competition is actually associated with higher levels of program enrollment. These results remain when I use an instrumental variable model -- using the number of streams and rivers as an instrument for the level of jurisdictional competition -- providing strong evidence that the observed relationship is indeed causal.

### **034 The New Economic and Social Realities of Urban Homeownership**

#### ***The User Cost of Low-Income Homeownership***

Sarah F. Riley (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), HongYu Ru (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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Although government efforts to foster low-income homeownership have been ongoing for decades, it is still an open question whether and when such policies actually serve the best interest of low-income households in financial or social terms (Dietz and Haurin, 2003; Shlay, 2006). In particular, empirical research examining whether owning is, in practice, less costly than renting for low-income households is largely lacking. For example, Duda and Belsky (2001; p. 24) stress the need for "comparative studies of the ex-post costs of owning and renting" and "studies based on known low-income buyers rather than price-based proxies for them." To address this gap in the literature, we use detailed information provided by a set of low-income homeowners and renters to consider the question of when low-income households are better off owning or renting from the perspective of user costs. We ask how great house price appreciation must be to ensure that owning is preferable to renting, and we explore which of several US housing markets were relatively best for low-income homeowners before and during the financial crisis of 2007-2010. The data set is described in detail by Riley, Ru, and Quercia (2009). Related user cost papers include the work of Elsinga (1996) and Belsky, Retsinas, and Duda (2005). Our preliminary results suggest that differences in the user costs of owning and renting are driven primarily by variation in the rate of house price appreciation. For our sample, the cost of owning was generally similar to or lower than that of renting between 2003 and 2006, which was a period of increasing house prices, but has been higher than that of renting after 2006, when the housing market began its decline. However, geographic



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variation exists, and the disparities in user costs (in both directions) have been greatest in the more volatile housing markets.

### ***Crime & Disorder in the Neighborhood: Collective Efficacy Mediates Homeownership***

Mark Lindblad (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Kim Manturuk (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Roberto Quercia (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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We examine the link between homeownership, collective efficacy, and perceptions of neighborhood crime and disorder. Homeownership has been found to influence collective efficacy, which has been defined as social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earl, 1997). Collective efficacy, in turn, has been found to reduce crime. We extend this framework to determine whether these effects apply to a nationwide sample of lower-income homeowners and renters, once selection into homeownership is addressed. Our analysis controls for demographic and neighborhood characteristics and tests whether homeownership and collective efficacy reduces the perception of crime and disorder in the neighborhood. We find that homeownership does not directly affect perceptions of crime and disorder. Instead, homeownership exerts an indirect effect. We present a structural equation model that identifies how collective efficacy as a latent construct mediates the impact of homeownership on resident's perceptions of neighborhood crime and disorder. These findings show that homeownership can exert measurable indirect effects and indicates that the impacts of homeownership are not always straightforward.

### ***The Effect of Homeownership on Wealth in Low-Income Households***

Clint Key (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Michal Grinstein-Weiss (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Shenyang Guo (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Yeong Yeo (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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Using a matched set of low- and moderate-income homeowners and renters in the 2007 Community Advantage Program (CAP) panel, we assess the effect of homeownership on net worth and components of net worth. Our aim in the paper is to test the claim that, all else being equal, investing in a home yields higher short-term economic returns than renting and choosing other forms of investment and consumption. Because of high variation in net worth data, we test different handlings of outliers. Additionally, we employ several propensity score analysis methods to address endogeneity. We attempt to isolate the effect of home ownership from the



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factors that cause both homeownership and increases in wealth. Findings indicate a consistent association between homeownership and change in wealth, assets, liquid assets, and debt over time, particularly when reducing imbalance through propensity score analysis and adjusting of influential outlying cases. These findings are particularly interesting because the period of study coincides with the housing crisis and periods of shrinking home values and equity.

### ***Homeownership and Mental Health: Mediating Effects of Perceived Sense of Control and Community Trust***

Kim Manturuk (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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This research examines whether the relationship between homeownership and mental health is mediated by perceived sense of control or trust in neighbors. According to social disorganization theory, perceptions of lack of control or instability can increase the risk of mental health difficulties, while trust decreases the risk. We propose that homeownership increases trust and perceptions of control, which in turn mediate the impact homeownership has on mental health. This hypothesis is tested using data collected from respondents in thirty low-wealth urban areas across the United States. Using propensity score matching and logistic regression models, we find that homeowners do report a greater sense of control and trust in their neighbors. Homeownership likewise has an impact on mental health, but the effect is entirely mediated by perceived sense of control; there is no independent effect of homeownership on mental health. On the other hand, we find no relationship between the increased sense of trust among homeowners and their mental health outcomes. These findings are discussed in light of the need for a cohesive theory of homeownership, particularly in light of changing economic realities.

## **035 Governance for Environmental Issues**



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### ***The role of community based organizations in networked sustainability governance***

Robert Stokes (Drexel University), Lynn Mandarano (Temple University)

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Sustainability has been broadly defined as an interlocking set of social, economic and environmental public policy aspirations towards the end goal of an equitable, prosperous and healthy society for both current and future generations. While the conceptualization of sustainability remains somewhat problematic as an urban management tool, many cities around the world have nonetheless utilized the construct in some way to organize their public policy programs, especially in terms of their environmental programs. The complexity of utilizing sustainability as an urban management tool is further strained by notions of governance, especially as public entities continue to utilize non-profit actors to affect public policy outcomes. This paper seeks to catalog the emerging role of community-based organizations in the city of Philadelphia, PA in forming and implementing environmental sustainability policy, planning and operational practices. Making use of primary survey data, in depth interviews and a review of official documents, our paper looks at how CBOs in Philadelphia have become larger players in sustainability programs both in terms of policy implementation and development.

### ***Between the urban and the rural: environmental management and planning in the periphery of Mexico City***

Enrique Perez (Instituto Politécnico Nacional, Mexico)

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For at least three decades Mexico City is going through an environmental crisis. Even though there are many programs to tackle the situation, the issue is still critical; for example, the city has to deal with air and/or water pollution. One of the main issues is the conservation of environmental services in the periphery of the city. Those environmental services provide water, clean air and recreation to the city. Urban expansion and land cover change jeopardize the conservation of the area and, therefore, the environmental services. The problem is that Mexico City's territorial planning separates urban from non-urban. The General Urban Development Plan (programa general de desarrollo urbano, in Spanish) establishes that zoning must be the main tool to stop urban growth; meanwhile, General Ecological Plan (Programa General de Ordenamiento Ecológico) only regulates the conservation zone of Mexico City and leaves the structural causes of urban expansion behind. Managing environmental services in the periphery requires a fresh perspective that includes both urban and non-urban land uses. In one hand, land and Housing markets in the



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city influences the land use change in the periphery; on the other hand, the periphery provides fresh water and clean air to the city. In this paper we analyze the importance of urban-rural divide to the territorial and environmental management in Mexico City, and we focus on the role of the planning instruments. In the urban case, the zoning is the main instrument whereas in its rural counterpart zoning and economic incentives are the main means to achieve the goals of environmental management. Both urban and rural have not achieved the main goal: an integrated environmental planning of the periphery of the city.

### ***Recognizing Interdependence and Defining Multilevel Governance in City Sustainability Plans***

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Sustainability plans require city governments to engage in new forms of multi-level governance, or coordination with government, private, and third-sector actors, to achieve economic, environmental and social goals. Building from the research on intergovernmental management, this study inventories how administrators coordinate the implementation of local sustainability plans with other governments and non-governmental actors. The research includes content analysis of city sustainability plans from major U.S. cities. Refining the concept of multi-level governance will improve our understanding of the role of local government in the pursuit of sustainable development, and identify which intergovernmental management activities are critical to the implementation of sustainability plans.

## **036 Conflict and Urban Politics**



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### ***Learning from New Orleans***

Cynthia Horan (Yale University)

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In 2006 Lawrence Bobo suggested that Hurricane Katrina was a paradox because, while the storm highlighted the many....processes that systematically reproduce poverty, economic inequality and racial hierarchy....as well as sustain the effective hegemony of a small government, anti-taxation, pro-market logic...., in the end, it left those processes "unchanged" (Bobo 2006:5). For Bobo, Katrina was a political and policy opportunity in danger of being lost. This paper's focus is the opportunity that Katrina presents to urban scholars. Much like Bobo, I believe that Katrina represents a failure of governments, a failure that urban politics needs to investigate. Agreeing with Bobo that systematic processes may be at work, this paper will examine the long term political factors contributing to the disaster. The paper proposes that we cannot explain this failure of governments unless we (1) situate the Army Corps of engineers in its intergovernmental context; 2) understand the political economy of state government and 3) take race seriously. Empirically, the paper will demonstrate how, for more than 100 years, state and local actors pressured the Corps to make port development more important than flood protection; how a historic dependency on natural resource exploitation coupled with white supremacy created a fiscally weak state government with limited policy infrastructure; and how, at the local level, the legacies of Jim Crow and fiscal conservatism have marginalized black populations despite electoral gains. These issues have not been important in most studies of Katrina. Beyond its empirical agenda, the paper attempts to show that urban politics should: 1) investigate local political institutions in their intergovernmental contexts in order to understand how localism shapes national policy agendas (Weir 2005). 2) pay more attention to historic regional differences among cities. New Orleans suggests how the distinct institutions and politics of "Sunbelt" or southern cities can be critical to contemporary sub-national government capacities as well as to the differential influence of economic elites, conservative coalitions and marginalized populations (Germany 2007). 3) rethink its study of "race." The paper will consider how King and Smith's (2005) concept of "racial orders" relates to Katrina. While King and Smith's focus is national politics, a regionalist perspective (point 2 above) presupposes the possible coexistence of different racial orders in the national political economy. The paper will draw on historical studies, primary sources and growing scholarship on the storm and the city. Finally, the paper will consider the implications of this analysis for urban politics scholarship more broadly relating the analytical findings to politics in other cities and states. An earlier version of this paper was presented at APSA in September 2010; the UAA version will include more research and analysis.





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### ***Conflicts and the city: the impacts on social and environmental issues***

Richard Morin (Université du Québec à Montréal), Eric Shragge (Concordia University), Jean-Marc Fontan (Université du Québec à Montréal), Pierre Hamel (Université de Montréal)

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Urban agglomerations are the theatre of many conflicts carried out by social movements, defined as conflicting collective actions putting forward alternative values. The society being strongly urbanized, the issues raised by social movements in urban areas concern both the society in general, and urban milieu specifically. Thus, we can distinguish collective actions in the city, protesting questions related to society in general, such as social and economic policies under the authority of the state; and collective actions on the city, on urban questions, such as urban services and infrastructures, urban planning, living conditions of communities, municipal administration and local democracy. In the first case, the city is only an arena of debate and, in the other case, the city is also the object of mobilization. In this paper we will focus on conflicts in the city raising social issues related to state policies and conflict on the city, concerning local environment and particularly transit infrastructures. What are the specific issues raised by these conflicts? What are the actors involved in these conflicts? What is the repertoire of actions of those who protest? And what are the impacts of these conflicts? We will address these questions by presenting the results of an ongoing research project focusing on social movements in and on the city, and examining the case of Montreal since 1980. This project is financed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

### ***Can French Suburbs Catch Fire Again ? A Geopolitical Analysis of Clichy-Sous-Bois, 5 Years Later.***

Frédéric Douzet (University of Paris 8), Jeremy Robine (University of Paris 8)

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In October 2005, the city of Clichy-sous-Bois initiated the first of a series of riots that inflamed French suburbs throughout the country for three weeks. This proved to be wake-up call for a country that had long been in denial of the racial and ethnic dimension of its urban segregation, drawing parallels with other advanced democracies that had experienced a history of urban unrest. There was considerable media, academic and political attention given these traumatic events. The causes were extensively analyzed and resulted in a strong commitment by the French government to ameliorate the situation of ghettoized communities by deconcentrating poverty, improving security and promoting equal opportunity



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through massive investment in urban policies. These events also sparked a major political mobilization and participation by people of immigrant descent during the 2007 presidential election thanks to registration drives conducted by new associations such as ACELEFEU (Stop the Fire). Five years after the worst urban riots France has ever known and two years before the next presidential election, where are we at ? Through a geopolitical analysis involving extensive field work since 2004, interviews with political actors and community leaders, an analysis of the relevant public policies and a fine-grained geographic analysis, this paper attempts to examine the progress that has been made over the past five years. We will particularly look into : 1. How successful has the implementation of promised public policies and massive investments been ; and 2. Whether the civic surge observed in 2007 will likely be repeated in 2012. Our findings show that despite major urban improvements and energetic action from the city, many of the ingredients that set off the riots are still present while at the same time political mobilization has weakened. Yet recent government repression against undocumented immigrants and the divisive debate over national identity have inspired new civic initiatives like the « Les Indivisibles » (The Indivisibles) that could encourage suburban vote. Will the French suburbs catch fire again or will they vote the President out ?

### ***The Cost of Ruling or the Cost of Being at the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time? National Induced Urban Reform and Incumbent Mayors' Electoral Defeat***

Ulrik Kjaer (University of Southern Denmark), Robert Klemmensen (University of Southern Denmark)

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In the long and enduring debate among urban scholars about the number and size of political units at the local level, arguments can be found pro et contra for reforming the municipal system by amalgamating units. Among politicians in urban political entities one of the arguments against amalgamations often considered ? but seldom displayed in the open ? is the decrease in the number of powerful political offices which accompanies a reform. If a number of municipal units are amalgamated, only one of the incumbent mayors can be re-elected in the reformed municipality, whereas the rest is ? at least temporarily ? lose their formal power position. In this paper we claim that the incumbent mayor's troubles are not over even if they win the first election in the newly amalgamated municipality. There is a second half which is at least as burdensome for these mayors. The claim is that the mayors who lead the municipality in its first term in existence will take the blame for the decisions concerning the implementation of the reform. The basic claim that incumbent mayors will face this extraordinary cost of ruling at the second election after the reform (the election after the first term) is tested on the case of Denmark and the structural



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reform implemented there in 2007. The newly elected mayor's met the voters again at the November 2009 elections and it turned out that many of them fared substantially worse at this election compared to when they were originally elected. Many of them felt that this was indeed a bitter pill to swallow since the amalgamation reform was actually not decided by the municipalities themselves but forced upon them by the national government. In the paper we will take advantage of the fact that a third of the municipalities were not amalgamated and therefore we have a kind of quasi-experimental design which enables us to isolate the effect of the reform. The analyses combine two data sets. First, we have electoral statistics from all municipalities, including the number of preferential votes cast on the mayoral candidates. Secondly we have data from a large and newly collected representative survey conducted among 3,336 voters who voted in the 2009 local elections and who have answered questions about their attitude towards the incumbent mayor, the effects of the reform, who to blame etc.

### 037 Perspectives on Urban Governance—Part 1

#### ***Determining the Criteria's of Forming Sub-Provinces In Turkey And Rearranging Sub-Provinces***

Mehmet Karakuyu (Fatih University), Ahmet Karaburun (Fatih University)

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In the first constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1921, "liva"s' administrative status have been removed, and "sancak"s have been discontinued and been turned into cities, some districts have been declared as provinces with the code #426 in 1924. Despite the subsequent changes in the administrative system, a detailed definition of formation of districts could not be stated. However, it has been stated in the Article 126 of the 1982 Constitution, titled "Central Administration", that Turkey would be divided into provinces and provinces into further gradual sub-provinces in terms of central administrative structure, depending on geographical situation, economic conditions, and public service requirements. Being defined with the clause "gradual subprovinces" in the Article 126, the districts have continued to remain the administrative units lower than provinces during the Republic period; however, no clear, rational, and applicable criteria (an optimal scale) have been declared to grant district status to a site. As a result, throughout almost every period of the Republic, many cities and towns -even villages and districts- have applied to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) to achieve the official district status. Parallel to that, the number of towns, which was 328 in 1927, has been increased to 893 in 2008. Without having any changes in geographical boundaries, the boost in Turkey's population from



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13 million in 1927 to 70 million in 2008 may suggest the increase in the number of districts to be natural. Yet, when improvements in fields of communication, transportation, and administration are taken into account, the number of districts should be decreasing instead of increasing. In addition to that, considering 169 of current districts with inhabitants lower than ten thousand -42 of which are populated below five thousand-, and 621 existing applications in the GNAT; it has been inevitable to evaluate the efficiency of present districts in Turkey, and to determine some clear and rational standards to identify a district. Besides, there exist many towns within the same geographical neighborhood, very close (5-10 km) to each other. For these reason, determining an optimal scale to evaluate the efficiency of districts, considering the physical and human geographical conditions, is necessary. The aim of this study is to determine the current situation of existing districts in Manisa, Giresun and Çankırı provinces using an optimal scale, to evaluate their efficiencies, and to propose clear, rational, and applicable criteria for the sub-provinces to be determined in the future.

### ***Is there an Urban Policy at the Central Level in Spain? A European Comparative Approach***

Jose Manuel Rodriguez Alvarez (World Bank)

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This paper addresses to analyse to which degree there is in Spain an Urban Policy at the central government level. In a decentralized, quasi-federal model, like Spain is, there is a wide self-government at the local level, and a set of important powers on the local governments have been transferred to the so-called "Autonomous Communities" (meso-governments established at the regional level). Nevertheless, the central government keeps important responsibilities on the local governments, such as the basic legislation (including the setting of basic competences of local governments and the design of the main local institutions), the electoral system and the local financial system. Moreover, the central government has competences on some key policies concerning the whole country, but with special effects on the cities, especially large infrastructures (international ports and airports, inter-regional highways and trains, protection of the coast,). The main question I will address is if when putting on practice these competences, the central government has designed and implemented just "mainstream policies" (with some specific specialities for large cities, or without them), or if there are specific policies for larger cities. In general terms, I can advance that there are specific institutional arrangements in the national legislation for large cities, as well as some specialities in the local financial laws, but in Spain there is not a comprehensive, global urban policy addressed to the peculiarities of cities, but mainstream policies that in some cases offer specialities for large cities.



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Nevertheless, the national institutions (specially the national Parliament) offer the framework to the political discussion and delimitation of the urban policies trends at the regional and local levels. One of the main reasons for the lack of specific policies for large cities is the role and action of the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces (FEMP), which never have been happy with a specific framework for them. Actually, the only specialities existing in the institutional and financial national regulations have been the result of pressures coming from large cities instead of the FEMP. Also, the power for establishing metropolitan areas in Spain is up to the Autonomous Communities, which implies an important limit for the central government action on these functional urban territories. The analysis is made from a comparative approach, taking into account the situation in other significant Western European countries (Germany, UK, France and Italy).

### ***Planning and Urban Governance in Sub-saharan Africa; the example of Akure, Ondo State of Nigeria***

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Good urban governance has been identified as indispensable or necessary to achieve sustainable development in contemporary times particularly in developing world context. With more and more people preferring cities as their choice of settlement, the challenge lies not in stemming this time of migration, but in managing and governing our cities better, to improve quality of life and living standards. This paper therefore explores urban planning practice and urban governance in Akure, Nigeria with the aim of determining the relationship between them. The paper discusses how planning can be used to promote and enhance good urban governance in developing countries. The data set for the study draws substantially from systematic survey of urban planning activities and local administration in the area including the traditional as well as local government set up. The paper found lack of linkage between urban planning and city governance in the city. While the state Department of physical planning undertakes planning activities, the local government is responsible for managing affairs of the city. Besides, the traditional institution also discharges some responsibilities that impinge on planning and governance of the city. The study also found that the city lack master or city plan to guide and control development of the city. Thus the city is growing with out adequate conscious planning inputs and no reference to planning by the managers of the city? affairs as represented by the local government council. This portends a lot of danger to sustainable city development in the area. This is not a healthy practice, since good governance is among other things participatory, transparent and accountable, designed to improve the lives and welfare of people generally. Urban planning and city governance in the area lack the basic



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features of sustainable city development. This cannot be expected to ensure the welfare of the residents of the city particularly the poor. It is also ineffective and inequitable to promote the rule of law. Good governance assures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources. These are clearly lacking in Akure, There is therefore an urgent need to invigorate planning machinery and policies in the city and to also try to relate urban planning with governance in the city.

### ***National Policy and Community Cultural Democracy: Centralization and Decentralization of the Houses of Culture in Korea***

Sunghee Choi (University of Delaware)

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The Houses of Culture in Korea have been established as multi-functional cultural centers to foster culture at the community level. The House of Culture was very important in expanding the infrastructure for the people's cultural expression in Korea. Their establishment was initiated by the national government in 1996. An authoritarian central government had been transformed to a democratic system and local autonomy had been initiated just a few years before. Thus, civil society as well as the private sector had not yet developed their capacity to support community cultural activities. Rather, the central government made their rapid establishment possible by supporting their construction and operation.

Subsequently, however, when the central government adopted a policy of decentralization in Korea, the Houses of Culture confronted challenge to their viability. During the globalization following the 1980s, many Western countries promoted decentralization as a means to enhance operational efficiency of the government and transfer the central government's financial responsibility to local governments. Korea and many other Asian countries with highly centralized power structures also accepted the demand of decentralization to improve the efficiency of the governmental system as well as to facilitate local democracy. However, since Korea's central government delegated the authority of many public programs, including the Houses of Culture, to the local governments in 2004, there have been no new Houses of Culture established and most existing Houses of Culture have confronted serious financial shortages. A few of them were even closed. Ironically, decentralization has jeopardized the viability of Houses of Culture in Korea.

In an effort to deal with these challenges facing the House of Culture, this research will focus on the analysis of cultural governance and cultural infrastructure around the





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Houses of Culture in Korea, which have been influenced by national policy changes from centralization to decentralization. The goal of this research is to identify how the centralization and decentralization initiated by the national government has affected the viability of the Houses of Culture, community cultural democracy and the cultural infrastructure in Korea. The Houses of Culture were the first community cultural facilities initiated by the central government. By focusing on fostering cultural activities to facilitate democratic society through diversity, identity, and capacity to express creativity, the Houses of Culture contributed to enhancing “cultural democracy” in the community. This is distinctive from the previous national policies for “democratizing culture.” Thus, understanding the development and decline of Houses of Culture through times of governmental centralization and decentralization is important in identifying the challenges and possibilities of community cultural democracy in Korea.

### ***Facing the challenges of the urban policy scale: A critical analysis of Barcelona's urban and the metropolitan strategies***

Antònia Casellas (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain), Montserrat Pallares (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain), Corrado Poli (University of Bergamo, Italy)

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In Europe, different metropolitan models of governance are emerging in order to mitigate many of the ills of urban problems related to the need of service provision and to position economically the urban region for a global competition. In the first part, the paper explores different arguments in support of metropolitanization, and it exemplifies through the case of Barcelona why and how functional integration between urban areas already presents and economic objectives justify the metropolitan scale. In the second part the paper challenges this dominant strategy. The idea of urban devolution is presented as a turning point for a shift from the prevailing paradigm that emphasizes the economic and cultural success of large conurbations towards a new thinking based on flexible and self-contained city forms and local governance. Through the arguments developed by Corrado Poli in defense of middle size and small cities, it is argued that a small urban governance scale could allow better service provision, mitigate environmental impacts and create conditions for an effective democratic participation in growing social heterogeneous urban spaces. The article concludes with the argument that though small scale governance approaches have been applied to neoliberal interests, we should not allow them to capitalize this scale, as it is a possible governance and planning level from which to address social and environmental equity challenges.



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### 038 Industry, Clusters, and Incubators

#### ***The Effects of Globalization and the Economic Recession on the Wood Furniture Industry in the United States and Southern California***

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A number of economic and social forces have had far-reaching impacts on the location and structure of the U.S. wood furniture industry. The industry has restructured in response to globalization by outsourcing production to China and other developing countries and establishing global production networks to maintain profitability. Moreover, since 2007, the U.S. economy has experienced the most severe economic recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s, devastating labor intensive industries like wood furniture that are highly sensitive to cyclical economic trends. The wood furniture in Southern California, in addition, is subject to strict environmental regulations. What have been the effects of these social forces on the industrial location and regional restructuring of the industry? Can current industrial location theory explain the changing landscape of this industry? What are policy implications for economic development? In this paper I assess these questions by analyzing the structure of the wood furniture industry in the U.S. and Southern California using secondary research and census data. I complement this analysis with several in-depth interviews with corporate managers of wood furniture firms in Southern California.

#### ***Manufacturing and National Urban Policy: Clues from Chicago in the 1980s***

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After the 2008 presidential election, many supporters of Barack Obama foresaw a new age of progressivism. But the facts would not be simple. Clues may come from a look at local progressivism, as in the case of Chicago under Harold Washington in 1983-87. Facing major recession, Obama sought to regulate the finance sector, but another proposal was to restore manufacturing as a growing part of the economy. He proposed initiatives to nurture an emerging ?green manufacturing? sector, took steps to shore up automobile manufacturers, and established a coordinator for policy toward the manufacturing sector. This would have implications for ?urban policy.? 1980s Chicago is a particularly apt analogy. The city faced a wave of plant shutdowns, and was even then under the grip of a finance sector that wanted to nourish a downtown real estate bubble, not manufacturing; and it had an emerging sector of neighborhood activists and a small manufacturing base that sought protection from



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encroaching commercial and residential real estate development. But Chicago's policy toward industrial retention in the 1980s was different from most of what is being tried or thought of today. The key initiative was the city's jobs focus, beginning with a grass roots platform for 'jobs not real estate' and carried through from campaign documents to strategic plans in 1984 and 1986. City hall initiatives then followed: an early warning system against plant closings called the Westside Jobs Network, industrial task forces for steel, apparel and printing, and eventually the 'Planned Manufacturing District' revision of the city's zoning code. All of these together stimulated an interest in monitoring and tracking actual performance of industrial sectors, an accounting and planning system conceptualized but never completely implemented within the city government. This all stands in opposition to the real estate approach, the high tech approach, the downtown approach, the incentive alone approach, the smokestack chasing approach, or the neighborhood build-your-own approach. Throughout these initiatives, the Chicago administrators tried to develop the connections between sector (cluster), place (region/ neighborhood), and equity (the jobs policy). They didn't do just one, but rather tried to see how they connected -- and what role local government had in strengthening pieces, facilitating coordination, etc. They focused on large and small businesses, tried to understand sub-sectors within manufacturing, and tried to build connections between neighborhoods and industries. We place these local issues in the context of national policy -- trade, exports, investment in innovation. We pose the question not as an either or -- but in terms of the complementarity needed between local and national: what worked in Chicago, among these initiatives; what national policies would have best supported them, and how might a federal administration approach these issues today.

### ***Contesting Urban Space: Urban Floriculture in Kampala, Uganda***

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Urban agriculture comprises of all farming activities including crop production, keeping of livestock and fish ponds, and floriculture. In sub-Saharan Africa, the concept cuts across several urban management issues such as land use planning, food security, economic development, sustainable urban development and alleviating urban poverty. The purpose of this study is to investigate floricultural activities, a non-food production activity in Kampala, Uganda especially as it relates to urban land use and urban economy. The study involves a survey of a sample of urban floriculturists in Kampala, a short questionnaire completed by agency officials and semi-structured interviews of members of Kampala City Council. The results of the horticulturists'



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survey showed that most (89.5%) of the respondents are males, and 20% have no formal education, 70% had some secondary education while 5% completed secondary school. None of the respondents is less than 20 years, and 60% are more than 30 years of age. Most (75%) of the horticulture operations are individually-owned while 25% are family-owned businesses. Most of the land used belongs to the city, and no permits were obtained from the city for the use of the land. Many (62.5%) of the respondents have been in horticulture business for at least five years, and 70% have been in the same location. Of those that have moved, the reasons include eviction (50%), need for more space (33.3%), and need to be closer to the market (16.6%). All (100%) the respondents engage in urban horticulture for purpose of obtaining a source of livelihood. The problems encountered include availability of capital (60%), space (35%), and only 5% expressed concern for theft of materials. Suggestions offered include training in horticulture, and need for city to officially embrace urban floriculture. While the urban agriculture is technically considered as an illegal activity, a violation of town planning zoning, the attitudes of different agencies and organizations vary considerably. For example, the Local Resistance Council actively supports urban agriculture, sponsors competitions for the farms, organizes women for farming, and provides farm inputs. The local offices of the ministries of agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries support urban agriculture, and provide technical advice. Notwithstanding that the City Council enacts city bye laws including land use and zoning, the council tacitly supports the urban agriculture by rarely evicting squatters on city lands. The firmly-held position of the officials of the Department of Physical Planning is that urban agriculture contravenes the city's bye laws, and therefore it is an illegal activity.

### ***The Evolution of Clusters and Its Implications for the Revival of Old Industrial Cities***

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The study of industrial or regional clusters has a long history. Since Marshall's seminal work (1925), economists and regional scientists have sought the reasons for clustering or agglomeration economies. The neoclassical tradition features the effects of transportation costs and economies of scale in shaping the location of firms. Recently, economic transformation from Fordist capitalism to post-Fordist capitalism has shifted clustering research to focuses on flexible production, innovation, entrepreneurship, knowledge spillovers and networks. This paper surveys the literature on the evolution of clusters and explores its implications for the revival of old industrial cities. It starts with a review on definitions and typologies of clusters, and identifies characteristics of old industrial cities as one type of clusters. Next the paper summarizes major forces that underpin the emergence, growth and decline of clusters. To date the literature



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on clusters? evolution has been relatively insufficient at least for two reasons. First, clusters did not regain scholarly attention until the late 1980s, and the most influential studies to date are concerned with definitional and typological issues in the context of post-Fordism and generally consider clusters as static. Second, different types of clusters (and even within the same type) may exhibit different trajectories of evolution, which makes it difficult to find commonalities of evolutionary paths. This paper endeavors to identify some major forces behind the dynamics of clusters based on the limited research. It does not solely address clusters manifested in old industrial cities (e.g., ?industrial complexes?), since one type of clusters may evolve into another type. The paper further explores the implications of clusters? evolution for the revival of old industrial cities in the rust belt of the United States. In particular, answers to why clusters emerge and to why some clusters are more sustainable than others may shed important light on economic development of those old industrial industries. They represent two different solutions. For the former case, cities revive its economy by developing new clusters when existing clusters decline. For the latter case, cities may survive by building the capacity to make existing clusters vibrant and sustainable. Special attention will be paid to the role that public policy plays in both cases.

### ***Place, Policy, or People: What makes business incubation work?***

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In an increasingly competitive global economic system with hyper-mobile capital, it is critical for local communities to develop strategies to attract and retain innovative entrepreneurial firms. Proactive action can help buffer a community from the creative destructive forces of the system. New growth theory supported by empirical evidence clearly indicates that innovation is essential to regional economic vitality. One potential option to ensure the development of innovative enterprises is to ?incubate innovation,? which depends, in part, on public investment in technology business incubators. To maximize the return on public investment in technology business incubator programs (TBIs), it is critical to distinguish the affects of the program from regional capacity for innovation on the performance of TBIs and their client firms. Otherwise economic development decision-makers risk wasting scarce public resources. This research will utilize data from a ongoing national survey of the population of business incubation program in the United States couple with secondary to measure the regional economic environment of the host communities. To optimize public investment in business incubator programs, it is crucial to distinguish the effect of the program from that of the host region?s economic environment. Otherwise economic development decision-makers risk wasting time and money. Discriminant analysis suggests that client firms receiving incubation benefits as tenant can to a



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limited degree compensate for region's lacking the capacity to support innovation. Once a client firm graduates from an incubator, its growth trajectory is more a function of regional attributes than the effects of the incubator itself. This research is expected to help policymakers more effectively use business incubation policy to hatch entrepreneurial-based development.

### 039 Foreclosure: Impacts on Neighborhoods

#### ***Nobody Home: Plywood, Property Values and the Morality of Occupancy in the Suburban Foreclosure Crisis***

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Since the start of the ongoing "foreclosure crisis," popular rhetoric has often fixed upon the ironic image of the vacant suburban home. However, both media portrayals and scholarly work have focused primarily on the effects of foreclosure in overbuilt new suburban communities. How do vacancies affect social relations in the older, denser suburbs of the Northeast? This study uses more than 60 resident interviews in three suburban communities in Essex County, New Jersey, to examine the local social impact of a sharp upswing in vacant suburban homes. Three blocks with high rates of vacancy and foreclosure were chosen, one in each of three adjacent communities with different median income levels. On these three blocks, an attempt was made to interview every resident. Analyzing residents' responses, the study finds that the "value" of occupancy for local residents is measured in different ways depending upon the perceived vulnerability of the community to endogenous threats, both economic and social. On wealthier blocks, vacant housing poses an apparent threat to local aesthetics and property values - the "exchange value" of housing. On poorer blocks, vacant housing poses a threat by exacerbating existing threats to social order, providing an unwanted "use value" to marauding teens, vandals and drug dealers.

#### ***Where Did My Neighbors Go? Revealing Geographies of Post-Foreclosure Families in the San Francisco Bay Area***

Anne Martin (University of California, Berkeley)

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The popular press and academic literature has largely focused on the impacts of foreclosures on the financial and mortgage industries, and on neighborhoods with vacant homes. However, the impacts of foreclosure and displacement on families continues to be profound after they have moved away. The current foreclosure crisis





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has led to large-scale displacement of homeowners and their families. From 2006-2010, this crisis has produced a wave of displacement which still shows little sign of slowing, and is predicted to continue until at least 2012. This research examines the geographies of post-foreclosure families, using the San Francisco Bay Area metropolitan region as a case study. I analyze where people have moved after foreclosure, how their presence reshapes the neighborhoods to which they move, and how they decided to move where they did. Building a just and sustainable future, especially in our cities that have been hard-hit by the foreclosure crisis, hinges on understanding both where these post-foreclosure families live and the unique challenges they face. Using GIS, this study matches the names and addresses of former homeowners from DataQuick foreclosure data to their new addresses in the US Postal Service's Change of Address data. These maps produce a new lens on the foreclosure crisis, showing not maps of absence, of vacant homes, but maps of the presence of the foreclosed households. Data from the American Communities Survey allows discussion of the ways in which the presence of these new households reshape the communities that they move into. Interviews with several of the thousands of families represented will illuminate ways in which their choices and circumstances surrounding their move shaped what we see in the maps. Foreclosure touches an ever-increasing number of families in the Bay Area, and their communities. This paper asks where these families are going, how they are reshaping their communities, and how their experiences can inform the process of building a just and sustainable future.

### ***An Exploration of How Conflicting Objectives and Mandates in the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP1) Affected State and Local Programming***

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The Housing and Economic Recovery Act (HERA) of 2008 authorized 3.92 million dollars for the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP1) to mitigate the destabilizing effects of foreclosed, vacant, and abandoned housing. To expedite the distribution of NSP1 funds, the longstanding Community Development Block Grant program was used as the distribution vehicle. Under NSP1 guidelines, state and local program administrators had only two months to submit a plan for initiatives that could be completed within an 18-month timeframe. Numerous restrictions and requirements were imbedded in NSP1 that reflect multiple, and sometimes opposing, objectives. For example, NSP1 was created to mitigate the secondary impacts of the foreclosure crisis, yet it was also designed to serve as a vehicle to quickly funnel federal funds to state and local economies. In addition, competing concerns about maintaining low- to moderate-income housing and limiting the role of government in the housing market transformed NSP1 into a program that favored low-income



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housing (Immergluck, 2009; Been and Ellen 2009). Mallach (2009) predicted that these competing objectives and restrictions would confound attempts to create programs that effectively responded to local housing market conditions. This research explores how the program's targeting restrictions influenced the planning and implementation of state and local NSP1 initiatives. The data for the study come from the National Survey of Neighborhood Stabilization Program Administrators, an online survey that was sent to 733 state and local NSP1 administrators from organizations located throughout the United States. Over 300 administrators responded to the survey. An analysis of the survey data indicates that most first-tier recipients (state and municipal governments that received NSP1 funds directly from HUD) were able to successfully balance the program's conflicting mandates during the planning process. However, second-tier organizations (local government and nonprofit organizations that received pass-through funding from states) struggled to effectively target NSP1 funds in areas with high rates of foreclosures while simultaneously servicing low- to moderate-income households. This finding is especially important because a third round of funding (NSP3) was recently authorized under the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010. The initial plan for the distribution of NSP3 funds is to utilize many of the original guidelines, procedures, and restrictions of NSP1. The results of this study support critics of the NSP1 program that call for HUD to revisit the program's targeting restrictions (e.g., Mallach). These restrictions limit local efforts to craft programs that correspond to local housing market conditions.

### ***Foreclosed Property Sales and Outcomes in a Large Urban County***

Daniel Immergluck (Georgia Institute of Technology)

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By 2007 and 2008, the evidence that vacant, foreclosed homes ? especially when geographically concentrated ? were having negative impacts on neighboring property values and social conditions had become considerable (Immergluck, 2009a, Schuetz, Been and Ellen, 2008). In July, 2008, the Housing and Economic Recovery Act (HERA) established what was to become the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (now often referred to as NSP I). HERA allocated over \$3.9 billion in funds to be allocated on a formula basis by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The purpose of NSP was to allow local governments and their partners to purchase vacant, foreclosed homes and either rehabilitate them for housing or, to a limited extent, redevelop the properties for other uses. In 2009, federal stimulus legislation provided for another \$1.9 billion in supplemental funding for a revised version of the NSP program, generally referred to as NSP II. While a variety of research has examined the spatial patterns of foreclosure activity, and some work has examined the accumulation of REOs (Immergluck, 2008), there is still quite limited information



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available on the dynamics and life cycle of foreclosed properties during the mortgage crisis and how these patterns vary across intrametropolitan space. This paper examines property transaction data for Fulton County, Georgia – the largest county in Georgia and the central county in the Atlanta metropolitan area – to identify changes in the duration of properties held in REO status by lenders as well as the nature of the REO sales, including the levels of concentration of sellers (lenders) and buyers, the nature of buyers, and the relative values of properties being sold. It builds on some of the work of Coulton, Schramm and Hirsch (2009) and Smith and Duda (2009) in Cleveland and Chicago, respectively. Survival analysis is used to examine differences in REO duration across different home value ranges, and Cox proportional hazard regression is used to identify neighborhood effects on REO duration. Coulton, C., Schramm, M. and Hirsch, A. 2009. Beyond REO: Property transfers at extremely distressed prices in Cuyahoga County, 2005-2008. Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development. Case Western University. Immergluck, D. 2008. The accumulation of foreclosed properties: Trajectories of metropolitan REO inventories during the 2007-2008 mortgage crisis. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta Discussion Paper. Immergluck, D. 2009. Foreclosed: High-risk lending, deregulation, and the undermining of America's mortgage market. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Smith, G. and Duda, S. 2009. Roadblock to recovery: Examining the disparate impact of vacant, lender-owned properties in Chicago. Chicago: Woodstock Institute.

### 040 Approaches to Disaster Planning and Emergency Management

#### ***Urban Emergency Management with Geographic Information Systems: The New York City Fire Department***

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Utilizing Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for urban emergency management is no longer a novel concept in the post-911 era. It is, however, not always the case. This paper critically examines the GIS Unit of the New York City Fire Department from its inception as a transient special project to its current state as an integral branch under the Bureau of Operations. At the first stage, GIS was used as a supplementary administrative tool to duplicate existing paper maps such as each fire house's coverage, the locations of alarm boxes and hydrants. As the geo-database grew and the citywide information consolidated at the headquarters, the types and complexities of maps also widened. Maps were also started to be included in previous map-less projects as visual-aids to provide rapid situation awareness. In the second stage, maps created with desktop GIS became a key part for the department's



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deployment planning for the major events in the city. Pre-planning and visualization with maps assisted the officers to effectively place the department's resources at where they are needed. Post-event evaluations would be noted on the maps and became the base for updating the coming year's deployment. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 brought the use of GIS to the forefront and the unit was thrust into creating daily maps for the non-stop operation at the World Trade Center ground zero. It would also strengthen the GIS Unit's connections and interactions with other city offices and to state and federal agencies. Recently the Unit further expands its use of GIS technology. An interactive mapping service was developed to bring together data from various sources into a single platform for the Operation Center to quickly access the incident and to transmit the crucial information to the officer in the field. The paper will help not only other urban fire departments and emergency management agencies in the process of adopting or expanding GIS technologies for their services, but also to GIS educators and scholars to better understand how public safety agencies operate and in turn, to develop suitable training for the next generation GIS specialists.

### ***Scenario of Anticipation: Reading the present, planning the future***

Carolina Carrasco (Federico Santa María University of Technology), David Aviles (Federico Santa María University of Technology)

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Natural events with impact on great scale pertain to territories, and their effects vary according to the relationship between the different contexts that these incorporate. From this point of view, vulnerability becomes present as a constant state of alert before these events. This investigation is set in the interface of the coastline locating us in the Chilean scenario, where the geomorphological characteristics of the environment have generated these kinds of episodes (earthquakes and tsunamis) leaving a historical precedent of natural disasters. Therefore, the anticipation and precaution of disasters from the architectural and urban design point of view is a critical factor in a country such as Chile, especially in the long term considering the state of vulnerability of some territories, such as fishermen coves (Caleta) known to be spontaneous settlements. When these disasters occurs, forced changes are imposed on the territory and settlers, and their ability to adapt is put to the test. This research emphasizes two significant aspects observed among the local residents and their territory, collective intelligence as the main resilience tool and the presence of spontaneous emergency systems integrated to the local design and the everyday living. From this perspective, it is posed as a hypothesis that all architectural proposals that want to respond to the emergency are required to be systemic and incorporate sustainable spatiality generated by reading the local collective intelligence and the



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deeply rooted inhabitation regarding the productive and domestic activity. In this manner, it is thought out to resolve the paradox of the location of emplacement. The catastrophe of February the 27th 2010 (earthquake 8.8 degrees on the Richter scale) brings to evidence the lack of these kind of architectural answers, although they have been varied, most are autonomous proposals and do not recognize the collective intelligence of the area, whereas locally there are opportunities of efficiency and innovation on what and how to intervene. From this perspective, Valparaíso was selected as a natural testing laboratory. This cove is located in the fifth region of the country and was mildly affected by the tsunami of the 27th February of the present year, however it has been included in the new non-seismic period, reconfigured after the event. These circumstances leave the locality in state of alert awaiting a new disaster in the northern coastline of Chile. As a result, a series of systematic architectural and urban strategies that converge in a complex problem has been developed with a group of students to put forward an alternative proposal for a scenario of anticipation incorporating collective intelligence, local innovation answers for emergency and rooted inhabitation for study case.

### 042 HOPE VI Program: Individual and Community Impact

#### ***Racial change and poverty deconcentration in HOPE VI neighborhoods***

Edward G. Goetz (University of Minnesota)

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In this paper I examine a national sample of HOPE VI projects to describe the changes in poverty and race that took place in the neighborhoods surrounding public housing redevelopment. In most neighborhoods containing HOPE VI projects large reductions in poverty were seen. Racial change, however, is less uniform. HOPE VI projects are associated with both "Black gentrification" as well as the more typical pattern of both racial and class turnover. A minority of projects have taken place in neighborhoods that show little to no change at all. The factors associated with HOPE VI gentrification are explored.

#### ***Coming home: the relocation effects of expedited hope vi revitalization processes***

Dawn Jourdan (University of Florida)

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HOPE VI Revitalization projects have taken a multitude of forms. From each, the planning community has learned invaluable lessons about the revitalization process, including the relocation of tenants. This paper seeks to understand the relocation



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effects of the HOPE VI Revitalization of the Magnolia Gardens public housing project in Beaumont, Texas. Specifically, the paper addresses those issues confronting residents who return to redeveloped public housing communities before the neighborhood has had the opportunity to begin to transition.

The Beaumont Housing Authority (BHA) received a HOPE VI Revitalization grant as a result of the effects of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita on the City's public housing stock. In an effort to leverage the HOPE VI funds, the BHA purchased a second parcel of property with the intention of developing this site with additional units of subsidized housing. Three years after the award of the HOPE VI Revitalization Grant, relocated residents were given priority in moving into Regent I. A year later, the BHA opened the doors at Pointe North, the new residential community located on the site of the original Magnolia Gardens.

This expedited revitalization process has invariably reduced the relocation grief suffered by many of the Magnolia Gardens residents, particularly the elderly and disabled. However, the residents of Pointe North and Regent I have been confronted by a number of issues related to the expedited redevelopment. Specifically, social and economic conditions in the community as a whole have not improved at the same rate as the redeveloped housing. In addition, residents at Pointe North and Regent I have been confronted by a high rate of property related crimes as a result of continued poverty and lack of police enforcement in the neighborhood. This study contemplates the issues related to the scale and phasing of HOPE VI Revitalization efforts.

### ***Incubating HOPE: The Outcomes and Process of Economic Development Surrounding HOPE VI sites in Phoenix, AZ***

Joanna Lucio (Arizona State University), Wendy Wolfersteig (Arizona State University)

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This paper examines economic development and growth surrounding three HOPE VI sites in Phoenix, AZ in different phases: one in year seven, one in year three, and one that is in the proposal and community outreach phase. In addition to looking at the changes in the areas, the paper will study the process of the cities and partners as they invest in the area and the networks they establish to encourage growth. Data have been collected on property values, partnerships, and growth in the first and second sites, and interviews are underway with regional and local partners involved in the redevelopment plans. Given the changes in economic conditions over the past several years that have impacted growth in the Southwest, the three sites provide a comparison for strategies the city and its partners have undertaken within varying economic climates.





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### ***Neighborhood Effects for HOPE VI Memphis: Who Are the Stakeholders and How Do They Benefit?***

Phyllis G. Betts (University of Memphis)

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Memphis TN is the site for four HOPE VI redevelopments, with the fifth and final redevelopment in the planning stage; except for elderly and disabled housing, virtually all of the Memphis Housing Authority's traditional public housing has been demolished. Since the city's traditional public housing developments encircled retail, commercial, and institutional space in downtown and the Medical District, HOPE VI in Memphis is a critical component of downtown and Medical District revitalization, where it is an unqualified success in delivering both more attractive neighborhoods and economic development to the core of the city. At the same time, the Memphis Housing Authority has undertaken an ambitious case management strategy for displaced public housing residents. This neighborhood effects analysis examines the extent to which different groups of stakeholders – former public housing residents, residents of the redeveloped HOPE VI sites, residents of surrounding neighborhoods; the citizens of greater Memphis who patronize downtown amenities and medical services or who have benefitted from revitalization-stimulated employment opportunities; and institutional and commercial interests located within the expansive HOPE VI redevelopment zone – are beneficiaries of HOPE VI neighborhood-level success. Findings from HOPE VI Memphis neighborhood effects analysis help to answer the question of how the HOPE VI-style mixed income redevelopment strategy might better function both as an engine for neighborhood revitalization and economic mobility for very low income residents of traditional public housing.

### ***Businesses development and HOPE VI redevelopment: Beaumont Texas. A Case Study.***

Cecilia Giusti (Texas A&M University), Edward Tarlton (Texas A&M University),  
Shannon S. Van Zandt (Texas A&M University)

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One of HOPE VI objectives is to promote community and economic development along with improving housing conditions in impoverished neighborhoods. Economic and community development involves, among other variables, an active, vibrant, and dynamic business sector. Local and small businesses that employ residents from surrounding neighborhoods have already been identified as key players to ensure local economic growth; they are also considered vital to promote a more active life as neighborhood businesses are usually reachable by walking; and they have the



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potential to generate resources that may circulate within the neighborhood. However, there is not much information on how local businesses are involved or if (and how) they are benefiting from new investment or expansion opportunities due to HOPE VI revitalization efforts. This paper tries to fill this gap and focuses on business growth and development in one neighborhood affected by this program. Specifically, it concentrates on three commercial corridors identified in the neighborhood where the HOPE VI revitalization grant in Beaumont, Texas is being implemented. The study is based on newly collected data from in-site observations and surveys to business owners. This data was collected at the beginning of the program and three years after its implementation. This primary data is complemented with a comprehensive business database (ReferenceUSA..) allowing us to explore business trends and main business characteristics in this neighborhood and its surrounding areas. Further, the study also covers ways in which the housing authorities coordinate with local players in order to promote business activity, as with the Small Business Development center and the Workforce Development among other current programs in Beaumont.

### 043 Socio-Spatial Dynamics

#### ***The Death and Life of Jian-Cheng Circle: A Negative Lesson to the Sustainability of Historic Landscape***

Chin-Wei Chang (National Taiwan University), Chu-Joe Hsia (National Taiwan University)

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This paper introduces a failure of a redevelopment project in terms of a critique which is supposed to be regarded as a negative lesson to the sustainability of historic landscape in urban places. Jian-Cheng Circle was a specific transplanted spatial form of Japanese colonization located in Dadaocheng, Taipei. The processes of congregating, consuming and exchanging of foods took place on the open ground from the colonial to the post-colonial period. Neither the commercial function arranged by the state nor the trading facilities settled by private sectors, Jian-Cheng Circle showed a great diversity of urban places that presented an unprecedented placemaking scene of marketplaces. Including the spatial production and the grassroots movement determined by the snacks and drinks of rural-urban immigrants, Jian-Cheng Circle represented the distinctive 'gurbanity' in Taiwan: the socio-spatial dynamics of survival activities throughout Taiwan's dependent development. However, Jian-Cheng Circle was the earliest and the largest night market in Taiwan was taken as a 'city tumor' consisting of the informal economies and the illegal buildings during the phase of rapid economic development after the 1960s. The local government and



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the modernist architects who dealt with its reconstruction in the 21st century perpetrated creative destruction regardless of its necessary principles: (1) the interactive relationships among stall men, (2) the friendly amity between vendors and customers, (3) the totality that sustained vitality of Jian-Cheng Circle, and (4) the specific practices involving building typologies or spatial patterns that supported the above networks. Finally, Jian-Cheng Circle died as an ironic result of the modern exclusive design project with the manifesto of "Circle of Life" which failed to recognize the inclusive multiculturalism of such a night market filled with tremendous historical values and collective memories that embedded the significance of local wisdom in pre- and post-WWII Taipei. The death of Jian-Cheng Circle reminds us of the importance of new approaches to the design of sustainable urban nature and city governance in the age of globalization rather than implementing reductionist urban engineering blindly to transform space of places, Jian-Cheng Circle for example, into alienated spaces that erase contexts of spatial texts, namely our nature in culture, in cities. This negative lesson responds reversely to not only a unsustainable risk needed to be pointed out of our time, but also a sustainable opportunity of local landscape in global visions. Indeed, this critique calls stridently for a urban place towards a sustainable survival of historic landscape.

### ***Spatial Orders and Proximities in Organizational Analysis: The Case of Welfare Program Collaborations in a Low Income Housing Development***

Jamie Harris (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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In this paper, drawn from completed dissertation research, spatiality represents an important conceptual lens to examine the ways in which a community organization that partnered with two newly privatized welfare programs engendered conflict and reconstituted both programs and the organization in a number of critical ways. This paper attempts to incorporate spatial analysis more fully into organizational and institutional theory and the literature on community organizations. Over the last two decades, numerous scholars in sociology and geography among other fields have called for a "spatial turn" (Gregory & Urry, 1985; Halford, 2004), and a fuller integration of the spatial into sociological thought. Drawing on the work of recent social theorists, I consider social space as imbued with a dual character, what Richardson and Jensen (2003) describe as "the dialectical relations between socio-spatial practices and the symbolic and cultural meanings that social agents attach to their environment." It is by focusing on "situated social practices" that we come to understand the significance of space and place, and the basis for distinctive rhythms, flows, and patterning of social behavior in physical space. Based on over two years of research of a community organization and two experimental welfare programs that



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were part of a wave of welfare policy reforms in the late 1990s in Wisconsin, I address the importance of spatial theory by drawing on an empirical case study of a community organization. Two key ?geographies? are considered in this paper: the spatial order of the community organization which includes such things as aesthetics, building layout, organizational flow and rhythms, and spatial proximities of clients, programs, and collaborators. Both sets of spatial patterns are key to understanding the nature of conflicts and adaptations among staff and clients in an organizational setting that led to reconstituting both programs and the organization in distinct ways. Of particular focus are the organizational and programmatic effects that result when collaborative partnerships in a community organization are spatially close and ideologically distant, or spatially distant and ideologically close.

### ***The Remodeling of the Historic Center of the City of Mexico and its Implications Socio-Specials***

Jose Ramirez Cruz (National Autonomous University of Mexico), Enrique Pérez Campuzano (Instituto Politécnico Nacional, Mexico)

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Today cities seek the best position in the global economy, in order to attract capital and become Global City. One of the tools for it is the use of large urban projects (LUP). LUP now have become a key and necessary tool of urban planning in order to change the physical and functional image of the city taking concrete spaces, and giving as a result the change in the morphology of the city. Governments, in this effort, have changed the way they used to planning cities. For example, governments are more attracted to entrepreneurial ways to manage and planning the cities, and which include the participation of the private and social sectors. Mexico City is no exception and has made different use of the GPU; for example Santa Fe Business District, the Reforma Specialized Services Corridor and the Remodeling of the Historic Center. The last one in the last decade has experienced a radical change; led by the Government of Federal District and the private sector. The main goals of the remodeling of the Historic Center of the city include the rescue of buildings, attract financial and tourism sectors. However, the remodeling of this space has many side effects. For example, the exodus of poor people and the change in the land uses (from housing to commercial and services). The main objective of this study is to analyze the socio-spatial implications of the redevelopment of the historic center of Mexico City and the main consequences of the process, focusing in the demographic and land use changes.

### ***Historic Preservation, Cooperation and Participation: Navigating egos, bureaucracy and conflict in multi-stakeholder projects***



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Ashima Krishna (Cornell University)

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Historic Preservation as a professional field can scarcely exist on its own, independent of any other fields that inform it. It is indeed hard to imagine any preservation project that would not seek the cooperation of its allied fields (architecture, planning, archaeology, anthropology, history, art, sociology, landscape and others), bureaucrats, politicians, stakeholders and the community. Of this inexhaustive list, this paper is concerned with the relationship between preservation and the cooperation and participation it seeks from community, stakeholders and bureaucrats especially in urban areas. Bureaucracy is sometimes described by scholars as more than a "formal, complex organization" on one hand, and as a "dynamic, flexible form of interaction" (Weimann 1982, 136). Bureaucracy in India takes both forms, often determining the outcome of a preservation project. Some of the most involved bureaucrats for conservation projects come from the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and the State Departments of Archaeology. Needless to say, most of the bureaucrats do not have academic knowledge of the field of preservation, often hampering the development of projects. Often, egos and conflicts of opinions come into play; other times, political pressures are too strong to ignore. What does the practitioner do to deal with these scenarios? Other stakeholders in urban areas can include local governments, planning departments, NGOs and private funders and citizen/community groups. The involvement of these stakeholders and their input adds a significant layer of complexity to conservation projects that often leads to conflicts, ego-clashes and power-play between the practitioners, bureaucrats and other stakeholders. Thus the overarching question to answer is how practitioners deal with these interactions and navigate the pitfalls of multi-stakeholder involvement to successfully execute a preservation project. The paper will analyze narratives from various practitioners from the public and private sector across India who have had experiences dealing with multiple stakeholders, bureaucrats as well as members of the community. The selection of practitioners from the public and private sector was made deliberately in an attempt to understand how two practitioners from the same profession, but working in two distinct sectors deal with similar sets of issues. The selection of the practitioners was done because of prior knowledge of their work, their location in urban areas of India as well their expertise. An interesting outcome of the research is discovering how young professionals deal with situations where they often find it harder to be taken seriously in projects where senior colleagues or senior bureaucrats are involved; in fact one of the narratives will also briefly look at how a young practitioner dealt with senior colleagues and bureaucrats.

### **045 Multiple Vancouvers: Building a Socially, Economically, and**



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### **Environmentally Resilient Region for all People**

#### ***2010 Cultural Olympiad Impact Study***

Duncan Low (Simon Fraser University)

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The 2010 Cultural Olympiad Impact Study looks at the period from successful bid (2002/2003) to immediately after the Games (2010/2011), and at the relationship between the Cultural Olympiad and Vancouver's professional arts and cultural community, through a series of case studies, including the opera, symphony, producing theatre companies, contemporary art gallery, presentation houses and festivals. Using the methodologies of content analysis, interview and arts-related data collection, the study aims to answer the following research question: What evidence exists to support the premise that hosting a Cultural Olympiad will provide Vancouver's professional arts and cultural sector with:

- i. Positive and substantive legacies?
- ii. Sustained material and financial benefits?
- iii. Increased national and international profile?

The study sheds light on the impacts on an existing cultural community hosting an Olympic Games.

#### ***Less cars, more community" Car Free Vancouver Day: a model for community action and resistance in the 21st century***

Andrew Baxter (Simon Fraser University)

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This paper explores the roots and development of Vancouver's annual Car Free Day community festivals.

Unlike the great majority of government-led initiatives car-free events held throughout the world on International Car-free Day, Vancouver's event began as community-organised protest against a proposed highway project. Beginning as a single street party, the event has since grown into five different street closures that are independently organised and hosted by the community in which they occur. Despite the growth, each festival has seemingly maintained the spirit of resistance that imbued the first community festival and remained corporate-free.





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The unique character of the events through the years offers both some useful models of potential spaces (or places) of resistance in the urban context as well as some insight into the intersection between civic engagement and urban resilience.

### ***Resilient Clusters: connecting economic development and land-use planning using the example of high-tech firms***

Duncan Wlodarczak (Simon Fraser University)

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This paper explores the needed connections between economic development and sustainable land-use planning. It brings forward the idea that to create cities that are resilient to coming crises such as climate change and resource depletion, they must plan and develop with coordinated efforts between economic development and land-use planning and development. The purpose of the paper is to determine what aspects are needed to create areas that are both attractive to high-tech firms while also match the principles of Smart Growth, a popular method of sustainable urban development.

Using the example of high-tech firms, it analyzes two case study areas in Metro Vancouver: Yaletown, a highly dense neighbourhood in downtown Vancouver, and Crestwood Corporate Centre, a traditional office park in Richmond. Through these case studies, I determine the important factors needed to attract high-tech firms while also finding connections with the aspects of Smart Growth needed to create more resilient clusters. I argue that economic development and sustainable urban development can have mutually beneficial results when coordinated with one another, and that each model of development of areas for high-tech firms can be adapted to become more resilient.

### ***"You're on your own": State and community responses to climate change and peak oil in Vancouver***

Michael Soron (Simon Fraser University)

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At the very moment that the risk and current effects of climate change and peak oil are becoming more apparent some sectors of society, like national and provincial governments in Canada, are withdrawing or abstaining from concerted responses. In other cases, decades of neoliberal advances have limited the capacity or desire of such states to respond to local problems, especially those that occur over long periods of time and across large spaces, like a changing climate or resource depletion. More recently, the armed forces of Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and



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Germany have been expressed concern over the geopolitical and urban risks of climate change and resource depletion. Likewise, the response and attention to climate change and peak oil among sub-federal governments and municipalities varies substantially.

In Vancouver, there has been a proliferation of community organized "self-help" movements and groups in the last decade, especially concerning food security, transportation, and skills development. These groups are characterized by their diversity, number and small size, and by their reluctance to engage the state to prepare for anticipated urban crises. This trend reflects neoliberal transformations in cities, particularly, a changing conception of the role of the state and an emphasis on individualism and entrepreneurialism.

Preparations for these climate and resource changes have begun to splinter and detach from central government planning, if it was ever present, and should be better understood to provide effective responses. This paper will evaluate the relationship between state (in)action and the proliferation of community-led "self-help" movements in response to peak oil and climate change risk in Vancouver, Canada.

### **046 Urban Politics and Power—Do Race, Ethnicity, and Class Make a Difference?**

#### ***Ethnic and Racial Transition in Electoral Coalitions: The Latino Ascendancy to Providence City Hall***

Marion Orr (Brown University), Hilary Silver (Brown University)

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The election of the first Latino mayor of Providence, RI suggests that the city is experiencing another round in a cyclical process of ethnic and racial transition in leadership. The familiar "invasion-succession" pattern of demographic change from Yankee to Irish to Italian led, after a considerable lag each time, to a similar pattern in the ethnic backgrounds of Providence's political representatives. Since the 1980s, the rapid and skyrocketing growth of the Latino population produced, in turn, council members with Puerto Rican and Dominican backgrounds, culminating in the election this year of a Latino mayor. However, this "queuing" model of pluralist politics misses some significant changes in the electoral processes and coalitions that produced the present Latino ascendancy. What was once best characterized as a party machine gave way to personal machines, but this mayor relied on grassroots organization. With data on the city's wards, this paper traces campaign contributions, votes, and council



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representation by ethnic and racial composition from 1974, when the election of Mayor Buddy Cianci concretized the transition from Irish to Italian leadership, to the 2010 election of Angel Tavares. We find that mayoral electoral coalitions in Providence are often composed of liberal, reform-minded white professionals aligned with the increasing population of color who together oppose the declining white ethnic working and middle classes. Previously, Irish control of the dominant Democratic Party pushed Italian challengers into the Republican Party or led them to run as Independents, splitting the vote. In order for the subsequent Italian candidates to hold on to power during the demographic transition toward immigrants of color, they needed votes beyond their co-ethnic base, courting minorities and/or white liberals. To win the former, the mayor often won support from council people representing black or Hispanic wards, exchanging resources for votes in the manner of a traditional "machine." To win the vote-rich and contribution-rich liberal constituencies, however, running as a classic "reformer" was mandatory. Over three and a half decades, the ethnic and racial composition of electoral coalitions "even for the same mayor" shifted, as reform mayors shifted orientation and built their own non-party machines. The current transition from Italo-American to Latino-American leadership, as reflected in the social composition of the mayoralty and council, rested on an electoral coalition between a growing, but still minority immigrant population and the pro-reform white professionals attracted to the new reform candidate who went "from Head Start to Harvard." We discuss this electoral coalition in comparison with the one forged in Los Angeles that brought Antonio Villaraigosa to power as well as the implications for black-Latino coalition building in American cities.

### ***The Election of Latinos in Yankee Cities***

Emily Farris (Brown University), Hilary Silver (Brown University)

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There is a well-established process of ethnic succession in the leadership of New England cities. From Yankee City to Who Governs?, WASP control was unwillingly ceded to Irish Catholics who in turn reluctantly gave way to Italians, East Europeans, and other white ethnics. Ethnic based machine politics were normal. In cities with small African-American and Caribbean communities, black-white racial dynamics of political competition typical of Midwestern and Southern cities were unusually absent or, as in Boston, muted. However, during the past two decades, the conspicuous and rapid growth of Latinos in the region's cities has provided an electoral base for enterprising candidates from the Puerto Rican and Dominican communities. Although some literature has examined the "political incorporation" of Latino immigrants in the region as they naturalize and register to vote, no study to date has considered Latino ascendancy as political representatives. In the late 1990s, the first Latinos were



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elected to local and state offices from districts of Latino concentration, and by 2004, their numbers in the six New England states increased to 78. This study examines the process by which they achieved these elected offices. Based on a survey with 56 Latino elected officials in the region in office between 2005 and 2010, the paper identifies the reasons for their political involvement, the preparations they made, their financial and electoral support, issues that concerned them, and their campaign experiences. These aspects of running for office - mostly for city council and state legislature - are analyzed by city, ethnicity (Dominican or Puerto Rican), gender, and political philosophy. Survey findings are supplemented with case studies. The rise and fall of the first Latino mayor in the region - Hartford's Eddie Perez - and the rise of Angel Tavares, the frontrunner for mayor of Providence, are considered in detail. The success of Latinos in Bridgeport, CT and Lawrence, MA as well as their lack of representation among Boston officials are also discussed. We find that the pattern of ethnic succession is somewhat different for present-day Latinos than it was for the white ethnics of the old political machines. They are more likely to rise from neighborhood grassroots involvement and community organization (not unlike Barack Obama) than from party involvement or political connections, although some held appointed public positions prior to running for office. Many self-finance their campaigns. While some express ethnic pride as a motivation for running, most Latino office-holders campaigned on general local neighborhood issues.

### ***Scared White Voters? The Effects of Population Density and Race on Turnout.***

Daniel Scheller (Western Kentucky University)

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How does population density affect the propensity of an individual to vote on Election Day? Previous research suggests that as the population density in a city increases, voter turnout decreases. This decline may be due to a number of different sociological and political factors. Additionally, studies also suggest that the diversity of a community may affect an individual's decision to vote or not. The racial threat hypothesis argues that as diversity increases, voters believe their interests may be threatened, and thus are more likely to vote. I argue that a relationship exists between population density and racial diversity that may affect turnout. I test my argument using a unique dataset that contains individual voting histories. This dataset moves beyond the use of surveys of voting behavior that may suffer from response bias and incorrect reporting of information by respondents. I find that population density decreases turnout, but only when the percentage of African-Americans in the county increases beyond a certain threshold. This relationship only exists for white voters, and population density does not affect turnout for African-American voters. The findings from this research provide a critical test and contradiction of the racial



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threat hypothesis. This research suggests that when faced with a sizable African-American population in their voting vicinity, white voters do not respond by voting en masse, and instead refrain from voting.

### ***You Scratch My Back If I Scratch Yours? District Elections and Distributive Politics***

Vladimir Kogan (University of California, San Diego), Craig Burnett (Appalachian State University)

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As more communities continue to shift from at-large to district elections for local legislative office to comply with the anti-vote dilution provisions of the Civil Rights Act, scholars and commentators are increasingly becoming concerned about the policy consequences of these reforms. Will district elections give rise to parochial politics, where elected officials favor narrow geographic constituencies at the expense of the broader, general city interests? We develop competing hypotheses about the policy consequences of district elections, drawing on existing work on machine/reform institutions, distributive politics, and theories of legislative organization. We then test these hypotheses using a unique dataset of more than 40,000 roll call votes cast by members of the Los Angeles City Council over the course of the last decade. Contrary to the theoretical work on machine and reform institutions, our comparison of district and city-wide bills provides little evidence that district elections lead to poor policy outcomes. While most district bills are passed unanimously, when the votes are contentious, council members from affected districts are more likely to end up on the losing side of the vote, suggesting that a majority of the council acts cohesively to block proposals providing for narrow benefits while producing diffuse, city-wide costs. These results are consistent with a median-voter model of conditional legislative deference.

### ***Power to Do and Power Not to Do: How Two Unelected White Men Run Richmond, Virginia***

Thad Williamson (University of Richmond), Lucas Hakkenberg (University of Richmond)

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This paper will be based on a detailed analysis of the contemporary power structure of the Richmond (VA) metropolitan area, drawing on detailed interviews with roughly fifty local politicians, business leaders, grassroots leaders, and other influential persons conducted in 2010. We here examine "power" as the ability both to make city- and region-changing initiatives happen, and as ability to block such changes or prevent certain questions from appearing on the political agenda. This paper focuses



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in particular on the disproportionate power (in both senses) wielded by two power public officials, neither of whom has ever been elected and neither of whom has a position in city government, in Richmond over the past twenty years. The first is Virgil Hazelett, the long standing County Manager of Henrico County, the City of Richmond's largest and most influential neighboring jurisdiction. Many people in Richmond believe that nothing substantial can happen on a regional scale in the Richmond metro area without Hazelett's approval and participation. Hazelett is widely credited with effectively advancing the interests of (most) Henrico residents, but at the same time blamed for upholding a regional status quo based on severe inequalities between the (majority African-American) city and (majority white) counties. The second official we consider is Eugene Trani, president emeritus of Virginia Commonwealth University. Trani as president oversaw aggressive expansion and economic development efforts by VCU widely credited with contributing to downtown revitalization in Richmond, but also criticized for being heavy-handed and at times insensitive to neighborhood views. After detailing the power and influence of these two leaders, we then will briefly compare their influence to that wielded by city government itself in Richmond. Whereas Hazelett and Trani each enjoy a reputation for competence and getting things done, the elected city government is widely regarded as ineffective and at times dysfunctional. The implications of this perception (and the underlying realities the perceptions point to) for democratic governance in Richmond and in urban regions more generally will be explored in the conclusion.

### 048 Politics in Urban Space

#### ***New City, New Politics? A Preliminary Study of the Political Effects of Gentrification and the Creative Class***

James Smith (Indiana University South Bend)

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Over the past ten years the field of urban affairs has focused significant attention on the demographic changes taking place in central cities and neighborhoods. In particular, studies have chronicled the influx of middle class residents, often employed in the creative and financial industries constituting the postindustrial economies of cities, into central neighborhoods. Classifications of this "creative class," however, have generated a good deal of scholarly debate centering on Richard Florida's (2002) definition and measures of this subclass of urban residents (e.g., Reese et al., 2010; Hoyman & Faricy, 2009). In addition to methodological challenges, some have asserted that the creative class concept describes a neoliberal takeover of central cities in more friendly terms (Peck, 2005) while others have questioned the extent of





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the creative class's economic impact (Rausch & Negrey, 2006). However, the work considering the political effects of these new urban residents is just under way. Recent studies have looked at the shifting cultural traits of cities on a larger scale (e.g., DeLeon & Naff 2004; Sharp 2005), but few existing studies consider the extent to which new residents in urban neighborhoods are producing "new politicians" or are affecting the politics of development at the city level. In some respects, this is dependent upon determining whether or not new residents flocking to cities will be political participants or bystanders; therefore, studies are needed that look at the political activities and impact of new residents. As an initial step in filling this gap in the literature, this paper considers the ways in which new residents may be affecting the political character of cities and neighborhoods both electorally and in regard to the politics of development. Specific research questions include whether, in concert with the gentrification of neighborhoods, these areas are experiencing increased political engagement, electoral turnover, and attention to policy issues related to creative class interests. The paper will use election results, voter turnout data, ballot initiatives, city council votes, and mayoral speeches as primary sources of data to address these questions. The study will use a regionally-balanced, purposive, sample of four cities selected based on the presence of gentrifying neighborhoods and "Creative Class" rankings. This preliminary test of the nature of cities' politics will also lend itself to the development of a larger research agenda to be detailed in the paper's concluding section.

### ***Resistance : impossible - Columbia University, Harlem and the fight over space.***

Charlotte Recoquillon (French Institute of Geopolitics)

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The gentrification implemented in so many cities around the United States and the world alike has attracted a lot of attention among social scientists. While the phenomenon has been studied through numerous case studies, and the political discourses analyzed through different lenses, an aspect of the battle taking place in our cities remains neglected : the resistances rising from the conflicts over space. The gentrification of Harlem is particularly contentious because of the history of the neighborhood and its significance for the African-Americans and Blacks. Since the early 1980's, the remaking of Harlem has been fueled by intense public investments as well as the action of the biggest institution of the neighborhood : Columbia University. The city council adopted the plan of expansion into West Harlem proposed by the university in may 2008 thus ruling against the residents opinion. The project of expansion was first presented in 2002, immediately leading to a vocal opposition and strategies of resistance. This story illustrates how much the use of space can be contested but, above all, how private interests often overrule the democratic process,



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especially in a city like New York. In this example, I will examine the public review process that led to a victory of the university while most of the residents voiced their opposition and pleaded for adjustments that would serve their needs along the university ones. Criticizing the democratic extent of the decision and depicting the violence of the gentrification in Harlemites lives, this case study is rooted in the right to the city debate and the general resistance movement that was born in Harlem around the gentrification process. Based on a 5 year-field research, this paper shows how the power games and economic interests dominated over the needs of the community. Moreover, this study tries to understand how such economic interests and power networks defeated the community ones and why the resistance movement ultimately failed. "Harlem is more than a place, it is a people" wrote Craig Marberry. Indeed, Harlem is a particularly symbolic place, yet, its people don't seem to have so much voice in the remaking of the neighborhood that drove out many of them both physically and socially speaking. "We don't have any resources. If every member of the coalition could put all the money he has... we could collect maybe... what... 5000\$ !? Columbia University presents a 7 billion dollars value project ! We don't even have a stone in this struggle of David against Goliath". Reverend Kooperkamp, june 2008.

### ***From Civic Vision to Master Plan: The Subtle Erosion of Citizen Empowerment in the Redevelopment of Philadelphia's Waterfront***

Steve McGovern (Haverford College)

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My previous research has explored how the rise of the creative class has influenced politics in American cities. More specifically, to what extent has the influx of mostly white, middle-class residents into center-city neighborhoods during the past two decades led to substantial changes in policy and politics? My recent case study of grassroots mobilization around waterfront development in Philadelphia demonstrated how the resources and commitment of creative-class activists eventually yielded a more participatory and transparent policy-making process, a renewed commitment to comprehensive planning, and a stronger emphasis on the preservation of civic spaces and public access to the riverfront. Moreover, that mobilization drive sparked further grassroots activism in Philadelphia, including the election of an avowedly progressive mayor in 2007. My current project looks more critically at the possible limitations of the creative class as a catalyst for political change. In particular, I evaluate the coalition-building capacity of creative-class activists by continuing to investigate the politics of waterfront development in Philadelphia. Such activists have succeeded in expanding citizen participation within a more rigorous planning process while fighting to safeguard public space from private development. However, they have not been effective at mobilizing residents from lower-income and ethnically-diverse



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neighborhoods who might be affected by the city's extensive plans to revitalize a seven-mile stretch of its waterfront. This raises larger questions about the ability of the creative class to forge political alliances with respect to community-based organizing and city-wide electoral politics. Although creative-class activists purport to embrace progressive values such as broad-based popular empowerment, their difficulties in establishing political coalitions with diverse populations undermines their potential for effecting a durable transformation in the city's governing regime. My research on coalition building across racial, ethnic, class, and cultural lines taps into several bodies of literature. In the realm of community organizing, I am particularly interested in social capital theory that considers "bridging" strategies to build relationships amidst an atmosphere of generalized distrust while remaining attentive to how such relationships are often shaped by preexisting power imbalances (Putnam; Rusch; and Stoecker). In the realm of urban electoral politics, Raphael Sonenshein's work on multiracial coalitions offers a promising foundation for analyzing the interrelationship between interests, ideology, and leadership in illuminating the capacity of creative-class activists to nurture lasting alliances with diverse groups. Both strands of scholarship will inform my case study of the coalition-building efforts of the creative class as it strives to transform the politics of waterfront development in Philadelphia.

### ***Ladies and Gentrification: The Politics of Sex Work Regulation in Amsterdam, 2002-2010***

Amee Barber (University of Alberta)

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This paper evaluates the local policy-making processes that have a direct impact on Amsterdam's sex workers. Using deliberative democratic theory as my reference point, I contrast the character of the policy-making processes during the period of legalization (2002) and the Future Strategies Priorities Plan (FSPP) (2008). Aided by field research and interviews, I demonstrate how deliberation was previously incorporated as a political tool resulting in the legalization of brothels and examine the current non-deliberative gentrification efforts within the Red Light District. Ultimately, the paper argues that the gentrification of the R.L.D constitutes not only a reversal of deliberative democratic strategies but also a specific attack on the democratic rights of a sexual minority.

### ***Some reflections on the Limitations to Participation in the Post-Political City***

Ronan Paddison (University of Glasgow)

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Neoliberal practices are the new orthodoxy within urban governance imposing limits to participatory and more democratic forms of engagement in the city, particularly where they challenge the official discourses through which cities strive to be competitive spaces in the globalizing economy. This paper offers a theoretical understanding of these limits through two related propositions. First, that urban governance has assumed a post-political configuration (in which political debate becomes restricted in the issues with which it becomes publicly concerned); second, and reflecting such a configuration, urban entrepreneurialism is becoming defined by a new style of politics, urban neo-populism. Against the disciplining imperative of creating the competitive city, neo-populism becomes defined around the manufacture of consensus politics, the effect of which is to marginalize protest and dissensus.

### 049 International Place-Making

#### ***The Urban Project and Its Impact on Sense of Place: The Case of Griffintown (Montreal, Quebec)***

Sandra Breux (Université de Montréal), Mario Bédard (Université du Québec à Montréal), Catherine Gingras (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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All places have strong symbolic dimensions and hold specific values for individuals as well as for the collectivity. The urban project, which modifies the built environment or the existing functions of the place in which it intervenes, can transform the meaning of that place especially for those who live there. Such planning projects often attract the opposition of a significant faction of people. The objective of our research is to better understand the degree to which the differences in meanings ascribed to a place targeted by an urban project are likely to explain the popular opposition that often emerges as soon as a planning project is announced. In this paper, we explore the case of the Griffintown project—an urban project planned for the Griffintown neighborhood in Montreal, Canada—through interviews and researches conducted with the key stakeholders, highlighting the complexity and variability of the meanings attributed to the place targeted by the project, the project itself, as well as the opposition arising from the project.

#### ***Synecdochic Images and City Branding***

Daniel Mason (University of Alberta), Laura Misener (University of Windsor)

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Today, cities have moved away from traditional industries and relied more heavily on



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consumption-based economies (Judd, 2003). Within this context, city leaders have become more entrepreneurial (Harvey, 1989) and have come to view their own cities and regions as bundles of assets that can be leveraged to attract and retain employees, citizens, and investment (Porter, 1995). To capitalize on these attributes, cities have also sought to differentiate themselves by highlighting their uniqueness (real or fictional associations) to compete in a symbolic place economy. However, some cities seem to have more natural advantages than others in the competition for flows of capital, including favorable access to transportation and distribution networks, histories, enviable geography, or even weather. Smith (2005) described the term synecdoche to portray the manner through which cities have sought to brand themselves by focusing on civic elements that stand for a larger whole. Further, he suggested that "because of their symbolic capacity, media exposure, contemporary significance, and popular acclaim, sport initiatives may provide valuable synecdochical images" (Smith, 2005, p. 222). For this reason, hosting large scale sporting events may provide the types of images that can help to draw attention and investment to cities. With this in mind, this paper examines the insights of civic leaders in two cities – Manchester, UK, and Melbourne, AU – that have actively pursued a sport hosting agenda to determine how they consider the value of sporting events as synecdochic images. To do so, the authors conducted site visits, facility tours, and conducted in-depth interviews with City Mayors, Chief Executives, Marketing Officers, Community Development Officers, and private industry professionals. Results suggest that both cities view themselves as being highly competitive in a symbolic place economy, and that sport-based infrastructure developments are being used by these and other cities lacking iconic structures and/or characteristics. In other words, sport has emerged as an alternative to cities lacking existing synecdochic images that can be exploited for branding purposes. Thus Melbourne and Manchester have used their sporting cultures as a platform for differentiation, and leaders are aware that sport is part of a bundle of resources that allows cities to differentiate themselves from one another to attract capital, while contributing to the quality of life of citizens. Further, leaders in both cities see community development opportunities piggy-backing with these developments – and fundamental, while neither city has sacrificed basic services to pursue this strategy.

### ***Capital City Cultures: Reconstructing Urban Politics in Vienna and Berlin***

Monika De Frantz (University of New Orleans)

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At the centres of states, markets, and societies, the cultural heritage of European capital cities is affected by diverse transformations from globalization, transnationalization, and cultural pluralization. In response, policy makers use their



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famous urban images to design collective urban visions, support economic development, and revive their political constituencies. But the plural nature of capital city cultures not only promotes collective mobilization to overcome political economic interest conflicts. Its deep symbolic meanings can also enhance contestation and conflict. The political controversies about Vienna's cultural district Museumsquartier and the planned Humboldt Forum on Berlin's Schlossplatz illustrate how the leaders of two different European capitals struggle to adjust to institutional adaptation pressures. Situated in the centres of capital cities, the case study illustrates two different local perspectives of contested statehood in the context of the transformations in Central Europe since the 1990s. Reflecting the turn to culture-led strategies for urban regeneration, urban political economy conceptualizes culture either as a local capital or ? in a more critical vein ? as commercial product of urban development. Taking further Philo & Kearns' (1993) differentiation between the 'selling' and 'making' of places, this paper poses the question of who makes places and how in the local context. Enquiring into the discursive politics of culture-led urban regeneration, it asks how culture in its diverse forms and meanings can serve urban leaders to redefine legitimacy and govern institutional change. Pointing to discourse as source of agency and legitimacy, these conflictive cases of cultural regeneration highlight the political aspects of urban globalization and anchor cultural change within the local context (De Frantz 2004). Applying discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1985; Fairclough 2003; Wodak & Meyer 2009), process-tracing and small-n comparison (Tilly 1995; George & Bennett 2005) to interpret these discourse events, the case-study reconstructs the political decision processes and compares their institutional outcomes (Hajer 1993; 2005). Beyond merely a methodological tool, discursive policy analysis (Hajer 2003; Fischer 2003) leads toward an epistemological reflection about the concept of power in the divers and open-ended contexts of contemporary cities (Keil 1998; Le Gales 1999; Rydin 2005). In mediating between theory and practice, the researcher's responsibility may be to clarify the practical implications of conventional concepts and interpretations and indicate political alternatives beyond dominant visions of economic constraint (De Frantz 2008).

### ***Socialist Past; Uncertain Future: the re-shaping of Alexanderplatz, Berlin***

Douglas Young (York University)

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This paper considers the urban legacies of 20th century socialism and explores their impact on urban policy, spatial form and everyday life in the 21st. Its focus is the ongoing reshaping of Alexanderplatz in eastern Berlin, the district where the socialist German Democratic Republic created a new and modern downtown for its capital city in the 1960s and 70s.





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'Alex' was completely rebuilt as a mixed use district of high rise buildings arranged around a large pedestrian-only open space. A 365 m tall TV tower with revolving restaurant completed the development and was a landmark visible from much of West Berlin. Post 1989, some involved in urban debates in Berlin turned their attention to Alexanderplatz's wide open spaces and saw in them an opportunity for property capital to create a mini-Manhattan and a chance to undo the 'wrongs' of modernism and socialism. But those post-modern and anti-socialist visions were based on the belief that Berlin would boom in the 1990s and become an important world city, a dream that has not been realized. Consequently, while some new development has occurred, Alexanderplatz's future is far from certain.

Three questions frame this case study of Alexanderplatz: How is the socialist and modernist past discursively framed – as a problem or a possibility? In what way can current urban politics in Berlin be considered confrontations with 20th century socialist legacies? What policy lessons from a study of the processes of change in Alexanderplatz could be applied to other urban regions?

### ***Selling Kigali: The Sustainability of Urbanization Strategies in Rwanda***

Sharon M. Meagher (University of Scranton)

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Abstract: Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda, is experiencing the fastest urbanization rate in Africa. The Rwandan government is encouraging and fostering this trend. Rwanda Vision 2020, Rwanda's official planning document, outlines a vision of transformation from a subsistence agriculture economy to a knowledge-based one. As they move to market-based and more technology-intense agriculture, rural to urban migration is necessitated. The Kigali city masterplan envisions a new Kigali that will be "a model of environmental, social, and economic sustainability" (Kigali City Official Website, <http://kigalicity.gov.rw/spip.php?article67>). While both the national and the city plans are models of the rhetorical commitment to sustainability, a tour of the city of Kigali and an examination of the master plan and current planning practices suggests a disconnect between rhetoric and practice.

The dislocation of people caused both by the plans to rapidly urbanize and the destruction of existing poor urban neighborhoods raises serious questions about justice. For whom is the "new Rwanda" being built? To whom is the new Kigali being sold? While these are very complex questions, this paper begins to address them by focusing on a critical analysis of the official city tours of Kigali offered by the Rwandan Development Board.



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As a participant observer, it is clear that the tour works to sell Westerners on the idea of investing in Kigali—both as business partners and potential settlers. California-style housing developments are being hawked both to persons from the Rwanda Diaspora as well as to others who might simply find Kigali a cheaper place to retire. Whole new subdivisions are being built with full Western style amenities as well as Western price-tags—with McMansion style houses selling for US \$500,000 and townhouse for US \$100,000-200,000. Given that the average per capita income of Rwandans is approximately US\$400 annually, it is clear that these homes are not being built for those moving from rural areas or being dislocated from slums—even though the official tour script suggests otherwise. And while infrastructure investment is made in these new neighborhoods, the vast majority of Rwandans—including those who live in Kigali-- live in households without electricity or running water. Yet In their effort to move to a knowledge-based economy, the government just spent US \$50,000,000 to lay fiber optic cable throughout the nation rather than attend to other infrastructure needs.

On paper, Rwanda is committed to the UN Millennium goals, and some important achievements towards those goals have been achieved. At the same time, a development strategy that focuses on rapid urbanization is not a pro-poor development plan and could threaten Rwanda's long-term development and stability.

### 050 Political Incorporation and Mobilization

#### ***Institutional Constraints on Substantive Urban Policy: Effects of Electoral Structure on Universalistic Economic Development Benefits***

Rebecca Lisi (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

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Studies in urban politics regarding the impacts of electoral structure on political outcomes have focused mainly on two key debates: minority representation and levels of municipal spending. Numerous studies have contributed to a conventional understanding that municipalities with district elections provide greater minority representation and spend more money on capital projects. Until this point however, the literature has not placed any attention on the substantive outcomes of district versus at-large electoral structures; minority representation has been limited to measures of descriptive representation by minority councilors and public expenditures are captured by simple accounts of relative taxing and spending without any indication of how money is spent or on which policies. Using data from 2008 city



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council meeting minutes in the 5 of the 11 Massachusetts Gateway Cities this analysis demonstrates that multimember at-large electoral institutions offer more opportunities than district-based electoral institutions to initiate and implement universalistic economic policy benefits. Additionally, the high concentrations of economically disadvantaged and minority groups in these five cities provides qualitative insights regarding the impact of electoral structure on substantive policy representation. Although these findings meet the expectations for the types of policy outputs produced by reformed governments, it at odds with traditional notions of minority representation, suggesting that previous models that rely on descriptive representation to produce substantive outcomes may be too simplistic.

### ***A Case Study on the Tempography of Urban Marginalization: A View From Below the City***

Daina Harvey (Rutgers University)

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The residents of New Orleans have had to deal with the aftermath of Katrina in diverse ways. For some residents Katrina and the flooding of New Orleans represents an acute social disruption while for others the disruption has become normative. Residents of the Lower Ninth ward continue to suffer with the aftermath of the events of 2005. This suffering has become part of the process of urban marginalization. Marginalization, as a tool of domination, is a complex process, but here becomes understood and felt as a way of experiencing time and reproducing inequalities. The Lower Ninth ward is in a very real sense, stuck in time, while most of New Orleans moves forward. Residents not only come to feel out of sync with the rest of the city, the problems and concerns of the Lower Ninth are no longer the problems of the rest of the city. The focus of this paper is to analyze how those who occupy a dominated position in the city experience time and how that experience effects their recovery from Katrina and the flooding of New Orleans, and hence ultimately perpetuates their marginalization. This paper builds on Javier Auyero and Debora Swistun's work on a tempography of domination, especially Auyero's work on waiting.

### ***Young Men of Color in Corporate Public Space: Unexpected Findings***

Molly Vollman Makris (Rutgers University, Newark), Cara Kronen (Rutgers University, Newark)

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In New York City segregation by race and class is very apparent in spaces that are labeled "public." This paper will look specifically at what the authors call "corporate public spaces," those privately owned public spaces that are adjacent to or within



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office complexes. These spaces exist because developers enjoy floor area or height bonuses for including them. The authors investigated how welcoming these spaces are for Black and Latino teenage males, a group too often marginalized in society. This topic is of particular importance in today's cities where the neo-liberal agenda has led to the privatization of so much that was once public.

From our traditional public schools to public spaces, privatization is prolific. If we are building a just future for our cities, our public spaces must reflect their diversity. The majority of literature on privately owned public space focuses on the exclusivity of these spaces. This research sought to find out if these spaces are as exclusive as the literature implies and to give a voice to black and Latino male teenagers. As gentrification and residentialization of cities continues, there will likely be an increased need for public space. As a result, there will be a need for more research into racial and socioeconomic diversity within public spaces that are privately owned. The research team conducted ethnographic research in over 20 corporate public spaces in Manhattan visiting the spaces 60 times. Then, the researchers worked with a group of black and Latino teenagers. They conducted an observational research study of the young men in 3 selected corporate public spaces. The feelings, experiences, and recommendations of these young men will be shared.

### ***Unequal development. Economic specialization and social inequalities in six European Cities.***

Roberta Cucca (Politecnico di Milano)

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According to the literature, in most large European cities, social inequality has been rising in the last years, though with different forms and timing. In particular, some changes in the social structure of cities seem to be related with the economic specialization taking place in these urban contexts, as a consequence of their transition towards a post-industrial/global cities. Based on empirical research carried out in six large European urban contexts (Milan, Barcelona, Munich, Copenhagen, Lyon and Manchester), comparable for their socio-economical background but partially different in their economic specialization and welfare regime, this paper examines how economic changes and social inequality are entangled to create peculiar patterns of development. The thesis is that we can observe at different patterns of urban economic development, presenting relevant effects in terms of occupational structure transformations and growing of social inequalities. The analysis is conducted by selecting social and economic indicators, both static and dynamic, and focusing on the mechanisms by which social changes and economic trends reciprocally interact. The first part of the paper describes the most important economic features of these cities. Milan and Manchester represent an urban transition to Post-Fordism



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characterized by a clear shift between a productive context historically based on manufacture to a local economy focused on financial sector. Munich and Lyon present an urban economy oriented towards research and innovation, thanks to strong public policies supporting this path of development. Finally, the stress on urban renewal is the peculiarity of the urban development that, in the last two decades, has mostly influenced the economic assets of Barcelona and Copenhagen. The second part of the paper focus on the main transformation into the occupational structure of cities, due to these different urban economic specialization. Generally speaking, the trends on the request of high-low skilled workers in all the six cities show ?moderate professionalization? of the occupational structure. Anyway, in some cities we can observe at a higher polarization between high and low skilled workers (e.g. Manchester), while in other there is a higher presence of medium- (e.g. Lyon) or lower-skilled workers (Barcelona). The third part of the paper analyzes some impacts of these transitions on income distribution. In general, some common features emerge: the growing in the number of high incomers; the permanence of the lower income population inside the cities and the growing of some social exclusion phenomena, especially related to the housing affordability. Anyway, if social inequality has been rising in the last decade in European Cities, it is growing with different forms and timing. Following this path of analysis, communalities and differences among cities will be identified.

### 051 Neighborhood Revitalization Strategies

#### ***Targeting Middle Neighborhoods for Community Development Investment: Examining the Congruence of Political, Institutional, and Technical Variables***

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As CD resources become more constrained, so does the need to allocate them strategically. Strategic geographic targeting (SGT), concentrating significant resources in a limited number of geographically-delimited areas based on criteria that increase the potential for maximizing attainment of program goals, is one CD allocation framework. It offers the potential for maximizing cost-savings, multiplier, interaction, focus, and neighborhood threshold effects, which can greatly enhance the impact of public investment relative to a non-targeted program. Efficiency-based SGT, (EB-SGT) which concentrates investment in areas where it will stimulate significant multiplier effects, offers great potential for improving program efficiency and effectiveness. It also faces political and programmatic challenges because it tends to favor "middle neighborhoods" that fall between neighborhoods where substantial private market



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activity precludes the need for public investment and those where the need for public investment to spur revitalization is high. Through an examination of EB-SGT initiatives in three rustbelt cities, I examine the political, institutional, and technical variables that impacted the adoption and implementation of EB-SGT in these communities and draw implications for the potential for EB-SGT to be used as a community development strategy in other cities.

### ***Targeted Community-Based Revitalization in Small Cities: Dealing with Resource Deficiencies and Local-Government Capacity Problems***

John Accordino (Virginia Commonwealth University), Fabrizio Fasulo (Virginia Commonwealth University), Meghan Gough (Virginia Commonwealth University)

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In recent years, scholars and policy makers have increasingly concluded that the best way, if not the only way, to achieve revitalization in urban, low-wealth communities is to carefully and resolutely focus many public and private resources on just a few neighborhoods at a time. In each case, a stable and ?defensible beachhead? should be established before local government moves on to other areas. This is easier said than done, of course. Given limited resources and seemingly unlimited needs and wants, local governments have often found it impossible to resist pressures to spread revitalization resources around many neighborhoods, mollifying each but curing none. Richmond, Virginia, through its award-winning Neighborhoods in Bloom program, showed that with political courage and skilled local-government staff, effective community organizing, strong public-private partnerships, a healthy non-profit sector, and favorable overall economic conditions, cities can indeed target resources and achieve revitalization success. Other cities have made similar discoveries. But does the new wisdom apply equally well to smaller cities and towns? This paper addresses that question via a comparison of an attempt to achieve community-based revitalization in Petersburg, Virginia, a low-wealth city of 30,000, with nearby Richmond, a city of 190,000 which, as noted above, has won awards for its targeted-revitalization approach. The paper details the struggles of Petersburg and shows how the features shown to be essential to the success of the Richmond effort were lacking there. Local-government capacity emerges as a key variable, but resource deficiency and lack of civic organization are important as well. Secondary literature is used to show that the Petersburg case is not an anomaly. The importance of this case lies in the fact that there are as many, if not more cities like Petersburg than there are like Richmond. What then, are the right approaches for these smaller cities? This paper concludes that targeting is still the answer, but it must be integrated with efforts to build capacity, attract resources, and improve governance.





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### 052 Immigrant Communities: Home, Work, Integration

#### *Immigration and the Dilemmas of Social Justice*

James DeFilippis (Rutgers University)

Presenter's email: none provided

Cities have long been both destinations for immigrants and focal points for efforts to realize social justice; but the two have only sporadically been joined. The last 15 years have witnessed increasingly localized immigration policy regimes in the United States – because of national scale actions and inaction. And while immigrant organizations have become a significant part of the urban political landscape, questions of the relations of immigration to larger projects for social justice (both theoretical and practical) have not gotten the attention they deserve. And the proliferation of localized immigration regimes begs the questions of what should local immigration processes look like and what should they do?

This paper will examine urban immigration processes through the lens of issues of social justice. In so doing, it will engage with both the philosophical and the empirical. Philosophically, work on social justice – particularly from those with roots in the liberal tradition – tend to posit a homogeneous community (as Rawls does), or if pluralism is recognized (as it is in Walzer), there is still the starting point of a coherent political community. But immigration makes such a priori assumptions untenable, and localized fights are often precisely around the questions of difference, multi-culturalism, incorporation, and/or assimilation. Thus the coherence of the community is often precisely what is at issue; it cannot, therefore be a starting point for those theorizing social justice. The empirical issues are no less difficult, and the impacts of immigration on local labor markets – and particularly on the outcomes of low-skilled native born workers – are messy and unresolved. Similar difficulties arise in contexts of pre-existing communities, and their efforts to shape their development. Community control has long been a goal of those concerned with social justice in American cities, but immigration is a process that, by definition, has causes and consequences far beyond any given community. As immigration continues to transform American cities, those of us concerned with social justice have to develop ways to think through, and act upon, the particular issues and dilemmas that immigration brings.

#### *Growing Our Own: The Role of Immigrant Organizations in Establishing Place, Civic Society, and Mediating Public Services in Cumberland County, NJ*

Christine Thurlow Brenner (Rutgers University), Kirk A. Leach (Rutgers University)



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Immigrant settlement policy, absent from the national policy agenda in the United States, is intrinsic to the development of communities. Place-based immigrant integration speaks not only to the way immigrant newcomers contest for and establish geo-spatial places in communities, but also the way the organizations they form and participate in expand the boundaries of civil society in new settlement areas. Cumberland County, New Jersey is home to several planned communities, which actively recruited immigrant newcomers. The development of migrant civil society and their organizational structure as it expands from the 1860s to the present demonstrates a succession of organizations, and contestation for space, place and voice. Transnationalism is lived out in the Garden State as these organizations are linked to homelands and embedded in local communities. The networks that develop among migrant organizations and the relationships with local government are explored as a case study in incorporation. Increased public reliance on migrant civil society to mediate between the state and immigrant newcomers resonates at a time when reduced state social welfare is de rigueur in public policy (Huntoon 2001), especially in New Jersey. Research undertaken for this project is part of the Rutgers University Immigrant Integration Mapping project. Researchers at Rutgers are building a state-wide database of the non-profits doing important work with immigrants in New Jersey.

### ***The Contradictory Space of the Immigrant Nonprofit Organization: Negotiating Conflicting Social, Political, and Economic Values***

Nina Martin (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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The day-to-day activities of migrant-serving nonprofit organizations in U.S. cities negotiate some of the most complex and contradictory economic, political, and social tensions in American society. Such organizations serve clients who are increasingly the target of a fiery backlash, accused of breaching national security, causing crime and social disorder, taking jobs from those born in the United States, and threatening American identity. Within this context, nonprofit organizations provide clients with assistance in many aspects of their lives, including workplace concerns, social reproduction, political activism, and emotional support. This paper focuses on the experiences of migrant women in a nonprofit organization in Chicago. Laboring in low-paid jobs with poor conditions, migrant women are some of the most vulnerable workers in the U.S. labor market. These women often carry a disproportionate burden at home, expected to care for children, elderly relatives, and maintain a stable and loving family. Given the weight of work and family obligations, migrant women workers often turn to community-based organizations for assistance.



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In the scholarly literature on nonprofit organizations, a driving concern is the extent to which organizations can be a force for progressive change. Studies of nonprofit organizations often present polarized views about the potential transformative power of nonprofit organizations, some finding them to replicate unequal state and economic relations, while others see them as bearers of a more just society. While these polarized claims about the possibilities and pitfalls of nonprofit organizations are compelling in different ways, increasingly scholars are demonstrating more nuanced views by showing under what circumstances organizations can gain traction.

This paper aims to extend these arguments, by explaining the multiple and conflicting logics operating in the space of such organizations. In many ways these organizations can enact multiple logics, almost simultaneously, by both replicating and challenging unequal power relations. I conceptualize the space of the nonprofit organization as fluid, connected to (but also creating its own) home spaces, work spaces, and political spaces. I find at least three realms in which the nonprofit organization provides services with multiple logics: social reproduction and emotional labor; a space of hidden work; and a political free space. I present an in-depth case study of an organization in Chicago, based on semi-structured interviews and participant observation, in order to excavate how the day-to-day operations of this organization interact with larger structures and trends in society, economy, and politics.

### ***“Good enough to Work? Good enough to Stay!”: Organizing among Temporary Foreign Workers***

Jill Hanley (McGill University), Eric Shragge (Concordia University)

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The Temporary Foreign Worker Program has introduced hundreds of thousands of workers into the Canadian labour market over recent years, channelling migrants into precarious labour conditions. Workers in the Live-In Caregiver Program, Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program and Low Skill Pilot Project have nonetheless managed to find ways to contest their situations. In this paper, we will explore the way that these migrant workers and their allies have organized to resist the worst aspects of the programs and demand changes so that workplace rights are respected. The lessons from these experiences will be developed.

### ***Mapping New Jersey's Immigrant Civic Infrastructure: The Rutgers Immigrant Mapping Project (RIIM) Methods, Experience, and Initial Findings***

Janice Fine (Rutgers University), Stacy Mann (Rutgers University), Kathe Newman



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We present the Rutgers Immigrant Infrastructure Map's methodological approach to identifying and understanding the civic immigrant infrastructure in New Jersey. RIIM, a multi-disciplinary research effort at Rutgers University is mapping the civic immigrant infrastructure using a multi-method and multi-disciplinary approach. The team uses a combination of quantitative data sources to map the changing immigrant demographics in New Jersey, a short online survey to gather basic information about immigrant community based organizations such as their location and main program offerings, and an in-depth field effort to better understand the immigrant civic infrastructure within geographic and immigrant communities. In this paper we discuss our methodological approach and initial forays into the field.

### 053 Equity Issues in the Rebuilding of New Orleans

#### ***A Failure of Definition: New Orleans, "Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing" and the Human Development Index***

Charmel Gaulden (Gulf Coast Fair Housing Center)

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The country watched as Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans and the rest of the Gulf Coast. The Gulf Coast region encompasses Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, some of the poorest states in America. In the land of the blind the one eyed man is king. In the land of the poor the middle class is the king. Instead of crafting recovery policies created to benefit all (the blind), programs were created to benefit people in the best position to recover (the one eyed man). This paper examines the role of ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? in Gulf Coast recovery, specifically by examining both fair housing complaints and litigation across the Gulf Coast region. This analysis examines the premise that defining ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? would have provided better recovery outcomes. It also tracks the definition of ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? and draws guidance from the international measure of economic development, the people center Human Development Index. Defining ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? through the Human Development Index properly defines a people centered recovery with lessons that can be applied in future disaster recovery including the administration's work in Haiti. Gulf Coast recovery was largely funded through Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). Congress considered CDBG to be a funding source flexible enough to craft recovery plans tailored to the unique needs of each community. Federal regulations



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implementing CDBG funding require the funding be used to ?affirmatively furthering fair housing?. ?Affirmatively furthering fair housing? is the always present requirement in housing recovery in New Orleans, but this requirement has never been explicitly defined. Advocates in New Orleans and across the Gulf Coast have asserted fair housing laws were being violated in program formulation. The typical requirement that CDBG funds be used to benefit low and moderate-income people was removed for disaster CDBG post Katrina. CDBG funded disaster recovery programs were still required to ?affirmatively further fair housing?, but without an explicit definition, this requirement was of little use to advocates. This paper tests the assertion that if the United States had adopted the Human Development Index as the measurement of ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? prior to Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans would have a more equitable recovery. If the administration adopts the Human Development Index as the measurement of ?affirmatively furthering fair housing? this will be a lasting policy change that will impact future disasters in both the domestic and international context, and also impact future equitable federal housing policy.

### ***The Housing Question of New Orleans: Towards a Critical Geography of Disaster Reconstruction***

Christopher Herring (University of California, Berkeley)

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New Orleans? recovery paradigm has been framed both critically and positively by policymakers and community activists as a bottom-up versus top-down process; a citizen-led rather than government driven reconstruction. However, interrogating the complex, overlapping, and multi-year story of post-disaster housing policy within the city reveals a state-driven bias towards further increasing the gulfs of inequality that existed prior to the flood. This paper surveys FEMA?s, HUD?s, and Congresses? post-disaster housing policies in relation to other policy arenas to show their contribution to the uneven geographic development of post-Katrina New Orleans while focusing on the renter/homeowner divide. This relational approach, taking housing as the centerpiece of recovery, challenges the bottom-up vs. top-down or local vs. federal scalar dichotomies that colonize both the theories of disaster capitalism and political rhetoric of the right and left. I conclude reflecting on the ways this homeowner bias, which conflates victims-rights with property rights, has allowed claims of citizenship to both veil and justify a process to redistribute power from renters to the significantly smaller and less affected group of homeowners within the city.

### ***Rebuilding New Orleans: Residents' Views***

Douglas Perkins (Vanderbilt University), Brian Christens (University of Wisconsin),



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Paul Speer (Vanderbilt University)

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Hurricane Katrina and the failure of New Orleans levees caused unprecedented residential destruction and displacement. In considering the social impact of disasters and other forced relocations, the central and vital question of what factors determine the form, duration, and success of community rebuilding (both socially and physically) is still very much an open one. We address this question in response to the dislocation of low-income New Orleans communities due to Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Displaced residents themselves offer valuable perspectives and of their experiences, ideas, and preferences that lead to a fuller understanding of redevelopment and to improving emergency management policies and practices nationwide. We interviewed displaced New Orleans residents within 6 months of the disaster, both in their destroyed neighborhoods and in one of the out-of-state relocation areas (Nashville, TN). We also analyzed media accounts of the disaster, the immediate aftermath, and subsequent government and private rebuilding planning and policies. It is important that those directly affected by the disaster have a clear and prominent voice in its aftermath. Most of the information policy-makers receive is from opinion polls of city-wide, state, and national samples or from local, state, and federal officials. There is a great need for capturing and airing the views and needs of displaced residents. Based on previous research, involuntary resettlement decapitates communities as those who are able flee and settle on their own elsewhere. Simultaneously, people who previously enjoyed little chance for leadership rise to the occasion. Local communities know best what solutions should be implemented in their area and residents of the Lower 9th Ward and other flooded neighborhoods yearn to be involved in making improvements while preserving the historical context and links with the past in the affected areas. Resident voices from soon after the disaster presciently identified political and economic interests that would control reconstruction planning and spending. As one resident told us, "the people in power have been working to make this disaster profitable for them, and I think that's kind of despicable: the fact that they're not looking at what's better for New Orleans. They're looking at what they can do for profit. I think a lot of the officials have their own interests, their pocketbooks."

### ***Public Participation GIS and Neighborhood Recovery: Using Community Mapping for Economic Development***

Michelle Thompson (University of New Orleans)

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The City of New Orleans has moved through a phase in the neighborhood cycle that was of a magnitude of recovery that has never been experienced before in other





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cities in the United States. While Federal, State and Local administrative policies have tried to manage the process of 'recovery to renewal', it has been the non-profit sector that has been key in the improvement of neighborhoods block-by-block. This paper will examine the case study of the Beacon of Hope Recovery Center (BOH) and their ability from post-Katrina to present to manage data, information and community engagement to increase awareness, influence policy and positively impact economic development. The community-university partnership to develop a community data information system using geographic information systems with BOH and University of New Orleans/Planning & Urban Studies will be highlighted.

### 054 Understanding New Dimensions of Social and Political Capital

#### ***Policy Advocacy and Congressional Agenda- Setting after Hurricane Katrina by Traditionally Excluded Participants***

Tanya Corbin (University of Alaska Fairbanks )

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Major events such as crises or disasters, known as "focusing events", often act as catalysts for drastic and rapid policy changes by elucidating policy failures and opening agenda space for policy advocates to advance new proposals (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Birkland 1997, 1998, 2006; Cobb and Elder 1983; Kingdon 1995; Light 1982; Wilson 2000). Successful agenda change requires the skill and devotion of policy entrepreneurs, who advocate for their preferred policy proposals. A focusing event can facilitate mobilization from new and previously excluded groups because often times policy monopolies break down when the event reveals a policy failure (Baumgartner and Jones 1993). With the breakdown of the dominant coalitions, new coalitions are then able to use the opportunity presented by the event to advocate for their preferred proposals. The largest events generate the most discussion across a wide range of issues (Birkland 2006). As such, this presents an opportunity for traditionally excluded participants to gain a hearing and advance their policy proposals onto the agenda. In this research, I evaluate the conditions under which traditionally excluded participants are successful in gaining elite agenda-setting access after Hurricane Katrina. I conduct a content analysis of the testimony of 240 witnesses from 41 congressional hearings held during the first six months after Hurricane Katrina. Each witness's testimony is coded by the types of arguments and proposals advanced, then assessed for the types of participants, the tactics they employed, and the arguments and causal stories they used to attempt policy agenda change. I hypothesize that Hurricane Katrina created unique opportunities for policy entrepreneurs to change the institutional agenda and opened agenda space for new



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participants and ideas. Further, I hypothesize that advocates from outside of the affected policy domain successfully linked their issues and proposals to the event. I expect new participants will blame existing policies for the failures of Hurricane Katrina and argue that their policy proposals will prevent future disasters. This research will increase our understanding of the conditions under which non-traditional policy participants can successfully gain access to elite policymakers and affect institutional agendas. Ultimately, who is able to access and impact the elite institutional agenda of Congress has important democratic theory implications.

### ***Racial Inequality in a Post Racial Society***

Courtney Jensen (University of Nebraska-Omaha)

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Despite gains made in equality race continues to be a constitutive barrier in how individuals live their lives. Compared with whites, blacks remained twice as likely to be unemployed and three times more likely to live in poverty in 2008 (CNN, 2009) including nearly 40 percent of black children under the age of 5 living at or below the poverty line (McKissack, 2008). In 2007 the total median income for a white family was \$64,427 compared to \$40,143 for a black family and while nearly three quarters of the white population own their own homes, less than half of the black American population own their own home (AlertNet, 2008). Blacks remain disproportionately without health insurance and more likely to be incarcerated compared to whites (AlertNet, 2008). In terms of education school segregation for latinos is the highest its been in 40 years and the segregation of black students is back to levels not seen since the late 1960s (McKissack, 2008). Although some claim the United States has become a post racial society in which race is no longer the impediment it was in the past, persistent social and economic gaps remain between blacks and whites. Because of the continued role race plays in society racial inequality is an important topic for philanthropy, and more specifically foundations, to address. The focus on foundations is appropriate for the generous tax subsidies extended to foundations make philanthropists and the government public partners in pursuing the public good (Jagpal, 2009). In addition foundations have a long history of funding and interest in racial inequality (Anderson, 1980). Finally private foundations of all sizes make grants to influence public policy (Colwell, 1993; Karl & Katz, 1981) and have a history of influencing policy, guiding research agendas and launching pilot programs for government social program (Hammack, 1999; Nagai, Lerner & Rothman, 1994). This research seeks to understand what foundations are doing in regards to racial equality in the United States by examining what kinds of issues, programs and initiatives foundations are funding, and how foundations are addressing and discussing race and inequality. This research purports that funding choices represent interests and



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priorities, therefore it is not enough to show that social movements are disproportionately underfunded but research also needs to examine, in terms of initiatives to ameliorate racial inequality, what is being funded and how.

### ***Maintaining Internal Homogeneity by Avoiding the Local: A Case Study of Urban and Suburban Congregations***

Mark Mulder (Calvin College)

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In the heat of the 2008 national election cycle, Bill Bishop's *The Big Sort* articulated the manners in which people in the United States continued to cluster themselves more and more with like-minded individuals. In terms of religion, Bishop noted that congregations in the U.S. are actually more segregated in terms of culture and politics than their respective neighborhoods. This case study of 6 congregations from a Great Lakes metropolitan region examines whether and how worship practices related to place might further solidify and maintain that internal homogeneity. Previous studies have established the significance of context and ecology for the health and vitality of congregations. That is, the neighborhood and location of a church has considerable implication regarding whether and how a congregation will survive or thrive. In addition, other studies have demonstrated the role that congregations play as local social service providers and as conduits for civic engagement. Through content analysis of worship service and semi-structured interviews with attenders, this case study considers how local or neighborhood issues are framed during worship ? the central activity of most congregations. In the end though, we find little reference in worship to local issues. It seems that by excluding local issues from worship, congregations maintain a persistent unity and a perceived homogeneity in social viewpoints. Whereas national and international issues function as a staple within worship because they do not impinge on the day-to-day lives of attenders, local issues are avoided during worship because of the threat of discord. In this way, worship serves to cement the ?lifestyle enclave? status of congregations. If this is indeed the case, the examination of worship content perhaps lends new insights as to why congregations persist as homogeneous institutions and how niche identities can become so deeply entrenched.

### ***The Decline of Social Capital in Urban China***

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The positive effects that social capital could exert on the society, such as facilitating cooperation among people and empowering civil society, have been widely



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recognized by social scientists, although they may have different opinions on the definition of the term. Robert Putnam's assessment of social capital in the US provoked continuous debates around this issue; this paper is driven by a similar question: How to assess the condition of social capital in urban China where market reform has exerted profound influences and led to dramatic transformations in the past 30 years? Considering the important political functions that social capital plays, do the changes in social capital in urban China have any implications for the fostering of civil society, or democratization in the long run? The paper will first examine various manifestations of the concept of 'social capital' in details by sorting them into three categories: individual, collective and hybrid. Based on the examination of social capital literature, the paper argues that social capital in urban China is declining. Firstly, the atomizing effect of market economy destroyed previous social capital in urban China by leading people to focus mainly on self-interests and weakening traditional custom, values and communities. Secondly, there are no corrective mechanisms to generate new social capital. Civic engagement is the main way to generate meaningful, dense social ties among citizens, however, fearing that stronger civic organizations may challenge its rule over the country, the Communist Party confines the development of civic organizations in China. In addition, universal corruptions among government officials not only make regulations on the excessive pursuit of self-interests ineffective but also lead citizens to lose trust in government. All these factors contribute to the decline of social capital in urban China. To some degree, the Chinese society has become an atomized society with people disestablished from one another. The paucity of social capital not only causes a wide range of social problems, such as low level of social trust, pursuit of self-interests regardless of public interests, but also constitutes a major barrier to the emergence of civil society in China.

### ***Do all opinions count? The effects of public opinion on fiscal policy in Nova Scotia, Canada***

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Within the last few decades a number of studies on the relationship between public opinion and policy outcomes found that public opinion does to a certain degree influence policy outcomes. However, the question of whether some groups or regions have more influence than others has practically received very little attention in empirical work. This study is an attempt to address this issue using the province of Nova Scotia in Canada as a case in point. Within the last few years Nova Scotia has experienced significant budget deficits under the leadership of the Provincial Conservative party. According to Deloitte & Touche LLP (Deloitte), if nothing was



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done, the deficit would grow each year reaching \$1.4 billion by 2013. Faced with such fiscal challenges, Nova Scotians in 2009 elected the New Democratic Party (NDP) to power hoping that they would find solutions to the fiscal problems of the province. One of the major steps taken by the new government was an attempt to involve the public in its decision making. The first of such initiatives was taken by the Minister of Finance who introduced the “back to balance” campaign, which is basically an attempt to close the fiscal deficit gap and to build a just and sustainable future for the residents of the province. The process was largely dependent on face-to-face public meetings as well as written submissions directly from participants at the sessions. In fact, this was the broadest-reaching public engagement process ever employed by any department in Nova Scotia, and it was the first time that interactive dialogue sessions have been used for this purpose. Despite the significance of the process, this paper argues that not all the opinions from the groups involved actually mattered in the formulation of the policy to deal with the fiscal situation of the Province. That is, there exists unequal influence where some groups’ opinions carrying more weight than others. In order to proof this claim, the paper considers three hypotheses: (1) the opinions of highly educated people will have more influence than those of less educated people; (2) the opinions of rural dwellers will have less influence than those of urbanites, and (3) the opinions of minority groups will have less influence than those of main stream (whites). To examine the relative differences in influence at the group level, this research will use data from a recent public consultation process organized by the Minister of Finance as well as from statistics Canada. This paper hopes to contribute to the discussion on the role of public participation/opinion in the creation of a just and sustainable future for cities and provinces.

### **055      Engagement and Economics in Secondary and Post-Secondary Education**



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### ***Getting the Most Out of Service Learning: Maximizing Student, University and Community Impact***

Mark Chupp (Case Western Reserve University)

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Service learning has become a popular pedagogical approach for enhancing student learning at institutions of higher education by involving students in community service as a part of their educational experience. As interest in service learning increases, the idea of engaging students in service activities outside the classroom might seem to offer an irrefutable benefit to both student learning and community well-being. However, there are increasing concerns about service learning that does not include clarity on its intended purpose and impact. Depending on its implementation, service learning can actually reinforce stereotypes and paternalistic attitudes. The impact of the learning experience on the student might not be maximized if the service does not include a well-crafted opportunity for reflection and integration with academic content. In addition, service learning is often implemented with a sole focus on the potential beneficial impact on the student, with little emphasis on the beneficial impact on those served by the activity and their broader community. Furthermore, while service learning activities can promote goodwill and a positive image for universities, there is often little attention to learning about ways that institutional structures and practices might actually hinder more equitable and mutually-beneficial relationships between the institution and the community. We review and compare various ways that service learning impacts have been discussed and measured in the literature. We propose that intentionally aiming for impact at three levels—on students, on the academic institution, and on the community—may be the key to making the most of any service-learning project. To empirically ground our propositions, we present a pilot project at a private urban university and low-income neighboring communities that is laying the groundwork for a long-term commitment to the implementation and rigorous study of service learning. We draw insights about the potential and challenges of maximizing the impact of service learning. The school's new master's degree curriculum engaged all students in skill-based learning in surrounding neighborhoods. Implementation meant increasing levels of engagement with the community that led to the development of a systematic partnership with a specific urban high-poverty community that integrated curriculum work and experiential learning across courses. The community partnership also led to applied research by faculty with government and community-based organizations. All first year graduate students participated in an assessment of every vacant property in the community, which along with faculty advice aided the City in the acquisition of a federal stimulus funds for demolition and rehabilitation of vacant houses. We conclude by describing and drawing lessons from the pilot project that build toward





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greater service-learning impact at university, student and community levels.

### ***Community University Partnerships in Britain: What Gets Lost in Translation***

William Peterman (Chicago State University (emeritus))

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For the past decade British universities have increasingly been encouraged by government and others to become "engaged" with their various publics. After initial reluctance many universities have begun to promote engagement and funding bodies have initiated a national demonstration project involving a National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement and six "Beacon" clusters of universities intended to demonstrate successful engagement programmes. Some have suggested that British universities adopt the community university partnership model common at many U.S. universities. Service learning has also been suggested. As both an observer of and participant in efforts to promote community engagement and develop models of engagement in the U.K., I find there are limits to adopting the U.S. models in Britain. In this paper I will give an overview of efforts to develop and implement engagement programmes at British universities and then discuss contextual issues relating to adopting U.S. approaches to working with communities. These include differences in the university systems, faculty norms, community social norms and expectations, and government and governance structures. The differences are such that it seems unlikely that the U.S. community university partnership model as well as service learning is directly applicable in the British context. I will conclude by assessing the current state of engagement in the U.K. and offering some modest suggestions for improvement.

### ***The resiliency of state support for higher education and fiscal conditions***

Min Kim (Southern University and A&M College)

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State and local governments are in the midst of a severe fiscal crisis. A recession beginning in 2008 dramatically reduced state revenue and ended the growth in state and local support achieved between 2004 and 2008. In response, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act approved February 17, 2009 provided funding to stabilize state support for education among other interventions to achieve economic recovery. With the approval of the Secretary of Education, funds allocated to the states by Congress could be used to supplement state and local funding for education in 2009, 2010, and 2011. During periods of economic recession, enrollment demand tends to grow more rapidly at a time when state revenue falls or fails to grow. Despite the recurring failure of state funding to keep pace with enrollment growth and



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inflation during periods of recession, states historically have "caught-up" in the economic recovery periods. State governments have historically taken the lead in financing higher education. Yet over the past twenty years, state support for higher education has gradually waned, with the share of higher education expenditures subsidized by state appropriations declining. Despite the favorable state fiscal environment of the moment, many states experience significant difficulties in maintaining their current levels of public services and state fiscal difficulties pose greater problems for publicly supported colleges and universities. Each state's unique combination of policy choices and fiscal and environmental conditions provides the context within which higher education funding occurs. The national trends give a sense of general conditions, but individual state contexts vary widely. This paper examines the depth of public commitment and the resiliency of state and local support for higher education based on state-specific economic and demographic factors, the structure of revenue and expenditures in each state, and on explicit assumptions about the relationship between the economy and state and local government revenue and spending. In this paper, I use state-level panel data on higher education expenditures and revenues since 1991 to study the forces underlying the shift in state financing. More specifically, I examine interactions between state appropriations for higher education and state fiscal conditions. This research documents state support for higher education over the past two decades and examines the causes of that decline, focusing particularly on fiscal constraints and the implications for state higher education spending. The comparative and trend information in this research can assist policy leaders in every state as they determine their goals for higher education and develop a strategies for pursuing them.

### ***Quantity vs Quality? Budgeting for Out of School Time (OST) Programs During Times of Constrained Local Resources***

Joseph Cordes (George Washington University), Sheila Kirby (Rand Corporation),  
Jennifer McCombs (Rand Corporation)

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Out of school time (OST) programs, which pool public and private resources to provide programs for children after normal school hours, are facing budget cutbacks prompted by the fiscal straits of local governments. The proposed paper draws on a theoretical model of public (public-private) budgeting, combined with case study data, to examine how such programs have been affected. The case studies and interviews for the project are informed by a theoretical framework developed by Frank and Kamlet for analyzing choices about public sector resource allocations for goods that have both a quantity and a quality dimension. In this framework, budget tradeoffs occur within what Frank and Kamlet describe as a "zone of contention" that is



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bounded by minimum desired levels of quantity and quality, respectively, and a maximum allowable level total expenditure on the good or service, which in turn depends on both the quantity and quality of the good or service. When the maximal allowable level of total expenditures exceeds the level of expenditures that is consistent with providing minimal levels of quantity and quality, a variety of competing forces in principle together determine the mix of quantity and quality along with total spending on the good or service. In a world of fiscal austerity, it is plausible to assume that the maximal allowable level of spending on the good or service will shrink which in turn, will prompt adjustments in the allocation of scarce budgetary resources to quantity and quality of the service. Possible outcomes include: (1) holding quantity constant, while placing the burden of adjustment on quality of service; (2) holding quality constant, while placing the burden of adjustment on quantity of service; or (3) downward adjustments in both quantity and quality. Which of these responses occurs is assumed to depend on a mix of factors including the priorities of the government agency charged with administering the budget, as well as the desires and political influence of clients, and other stakeholders and interest groups that may place differing priorities on adjustments in quantity, quality or both. Within this framework, ?systems-building? undertaken by cities, such as professional development, standards, and MIS, are considered components of quality. The decisions cities make regarding continued investment in these individual components will allow us to better understand the extent to which city agencies believe they contribute to quality OST services. The above framework is used to guide semi-structured interviews that conducted with city-wide agencies that are tasked with funding and administering after-school programs.

### ***School Closures in the Milwaukee School Voucher Program: Evidence of an Education Marketplace?***

Michael Ford (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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Choice driven education reforms including private school vouchers and charter schools are based on the theoretical premise that a competitive education environment can harness market forces to spur achievement gains. Ample research has been conducted on the academic performance of students participating in voucher and charter programs, however data on whether a choice-based education system actually functions like a marketplace has been lacking. This paper examines whether the large number of school closures over the 20-year history of the Milwaukee private school voucher program is evidence of an education marketplace. Two logistic regression and two multinomial logistic regression models test the relationship between the inability to draw large numbers of voucher students and the



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ability for a private school to remain viable. Data on private school voucher enrollments, private-pay enrollments, and various school characteristics such as location, religious affiliation, and age are used to test the hypotheses that private schools that enroll fewer students in the Milwaukee voucher program in their first year of operation are more likely to have exited the program, and that private schools in the program that experience lower overall growth in voucher enrollment during the years in which they participate are more likely to have exited the program. The analysis finds some evidence of a marketplace. Schools that experience low voucher enrollment growth over their time in the program are more likely to leave the program voluntarily, convert to a charter school or merge with another school, or be shut down by the state. The results yield valuable information for policy makers regarding the viability and optimal design of market based education reforms.

### 056 Building Resilient Cities for Disasters

#### ***City Strength in Times of Turbulence: Strategic Resilience Indicators***

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Fragility and interdependence have rendered large socio-technical systems, such as cities, vulnerable not only to terrorism but also to natural and technological disasters. Although there have been great innovations in terms of risk analysis and disaster prevention, large events are increasing in size and number throughout the world. These increases are due mostly to an increase in population density in high risk urban zones and to an increase in interdependence of technical and social systems. In order to understand these growing problems, we turn to resilience strategies for the development and governance of cities. In this paper we identify strategic resilience indicators for cities. Very few authors have developed the concept of urban resilience and none to our knowledge in the specific case to disasters. We analyze two components. First, as identified by the Resilience Alliance (2007), we analyze four vectors which are distinct and interdependent: urban metabolism, social dynamics, the environment and network governance. Second, we analyze the criteria identified in the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (2007). Finally, we compare this analysis with the criteria which are used for sustainable development, commonly called sustainable development indexes. Sustainable development criteria are important to consider because although a city might have developed a high response capacity to disasters it should look into sustainable development factors in



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order to decrease its vulnerability. From this analysis, we draw a proposed framework for Strategic resilience indicators (SRI) for cities which could be a subset of Sustainable development indicators. Through a case, we then show the preliminary results of the use of the SRI of a North American city.

### ***Rebuilding Towards Resilience: The Use of Economic Development Administration (EDA) Supplementary Disaster Funds***

Allison Heck (Virginia Tech University)

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This paper outlines the results of research conducted as part of a grant awarded by the EDA to the National Association of Development Organizations (NADO) to determine how EDA disaster relief funds have been allocated for particular types of regional- and local-level recovery interventions and programs. In the past decade, regional resilience within the United States has been tested by multiple natural disasters that have crippled infrastructures, social networks and economies. Recovery from disaster events requires coordination, time and money from multiple government scales (local, state, federal) as well as vested interests, both public and private. Some scholars and urban planning practitioners argue economic recovery is a bottom-up process in which the federal government should serve only an advisory role. An examination of the use of Economic Development Administration (EDA) Supplementary Disaster funds received by regional development organizations (RDOs) between 2006 and 2010 provides a means to understand the link between federal disaster funds and bottom-up recovery processes. Regional planning agencies are often called upon by both the federal and local level to be the lead agency in addressing long-term economic local recovery due to their knowledge of regional industry clusters and infrastructure. By using their existing status within and knowledge of the community, RDOs are well-suited to play an intermediary role between federal and state recovery efforts while addressing the needs of local municipalities. The results of in-depth interviews with 28 RDOs, primarily within the Midwest and Southeast United States, that received a combined total of \$17,564,973 in EDA supplementary disaster funds outlines how regions are rebuilding their economies through a resilience framework. Disaster-affected regions are drawing upon these available funds to achieve regional resilience through comprehensive planning and innovative economic redevelopment strategies.

### ***Post-Katrina Vulnerability and Resilience: Insights from the New Orleans Urban Long-term Research Area (ULTRA) Project***

Kevin Fox Gotham (Tulane University), John McLachlan (Tulane University)



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This paper gives an overview of the New Orleans Urban Long-term Research Area (ULTRA) project, a major research project funded by the National Science Foundation. The purpose of this research is to investigate the impact of trauma on urban ecological and social systems using post-Katrina New Orleans as a study area. Specifically, the research uses ecological and social measures to track and characterize the relationship between diversity, vulnerability, and resilience. The study entails a GIS-based spatial analysis of pre- and post-trauma landscape and social metrics derived from satellite imagery and the 2000 and 2010 federal census, analyzed for diversification and compared to stabilization metrics. This citywide study is supplemented with three fine-grained studies in the neighborhoods of the Lower Ninth Ward, Hollygrove, and Pontchartrain Park. Qualitative data collected in these neighborhoods will provide insight into the relationships between trauma and ecological and social diversity, and identify variation in the timing, pace, and trajectory of neighborhood recovery. Empirically, the research provides extensive numerical data and analyses on social diversification and post-trauma stabilization, at detailed spatial scales. Theoretically, this project identifies feedbacks and reciprocal effects among patterns of post-trauma urbanization, ecological consequences, and human responses. Practically, this project establishes a broad-based, interdisciplinary research program to identify the human and natural system drivers of post-trauma urban ecosystem changes.

### ***New Orleans Index at Five: From Recovery to Transformation of a Great American City***

Allison Plyer (Greater New Orleans Community Data Center)

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The New Orleans Index at Five examines 20 key indicators and seven topical essays to assess the extent to which greater New Orleans is rebounding from Hurricane Katrina, the recession and the oil spill. The research reveals, that despite sustaining three shocks, greater New Orleans is rebounding and, in some ways, doing so better than before. Further, greater New Orleans has become more resilient, better positioning the metro area to adapt to future shocks and transform its future. Yet, key economic, social, and environmental trends in the New Orleans metro area remain troubling, testing the region's path to prosperity. New Orleanians, and their partners, must use the latest oil spill crisis as an opportunity to further the progress since Hurricane Katrina and continue to reinvent the city, moving the region toward prosperity.

### ***Hurricane Protection Strategies, Public Policy and the Houston-Galveston Region***





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Thomas Colbert (University of Houston)

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The Houston-Galveston region is faced with a number of extraordinary dangers related to catastrophic weather events. Coastal inundation and inland flooding from hurricane-related tidal surge, rainwater flooding and high winds make many areas extremely hazardous. The world's largest collection of chemical storage and refining plants and many rapidly growing urban areas are at risk of catastrophic flooding and wave action. Entire communities and regional ecosystems are increasingly endangered. Recent census projections indicate that within the next twenty-five years over a million people will live in homes that are subject to hurricane related surge tide, but evacuation routes are not adequate to evacuate all of these people. Clearly, some densely developed areas must be protected behind walls and levees. Construction in all affected areas must be required to meet rigorous development and construction standards so that buildings and infrastructure can withstand the forces that they will inevitably be subjected to. Some very large areas are so at risk that they should not be built in at all. In these circumstances, what might constitute a reasonable regional plan? What might a rational public policy be? This presentation will describe the preparation of state of the art regional planning and design proposals to mitigate the threat of hurricanes and at the same time enhance the coastal environment. Working with environmentalists at Texas A&M University Galveston, coastal scientists and civil engineers at Rice University, surge tide modeling experts at the University of Texas Space Science Center, and transportation specialists from Texas Southern University, proposals were prepared for a variety of levee alignments and associated urban development scenarios. These proposals were coordinated with proposals for the protection of large coastal tracts through the creation of coordinated parklands, nature preserves and public-private partnerships that improve the economic and amenity value of coastal lands and benefit local communities. Topics to be covered include urban design studies related to various levee alignments along the west Galveston Bay, the Houston Ship Channel, and Galveston Island, as well as the proposed "Ike Dike" that would the entire length of our regional coastline. The coordinated management of existing COBRA lands, existing nature preserves and public lands with major private property owners and local municipalities located within designated coastal ecosystems will be addressed.

### 057 Governing Regions



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### ***City-Region Governance and the Problem of Identity***

Rob Shields (University of Alberta)

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The question of identity remains a vexing problem for city-region governance and development. Many city-regions are light-footprint partnerships of municipalities: citizens are often not engaged leading to accountability deficits and legitimacy crises. Elected officials' first allegiance is to their own municipal institution and its scale and populace. The effectiveness of regional programs is easily undermined by the impacts of careless policy-making by higher-order governments; for example, favoring inter-municipal competition for grants or creating different economic incentives and policy regimes on either side of borders that split regions. This paper focuses on the role of identity as a political resource. It applies insights on place-making to regions and applies research on social spatialization as a framework for resolving questions of regional identity and urban-rural interaction. This solution turns on an understanding of the importance of widely disseminated media images and narratives on the one hand and place-based events on the other. It considers relations of whole and parts, and the differences between regions and between different geographical scales. Place- and regional-identities are ongoing interventions within popular conceptual, cultural and economic geographies based on the everyday life of citizens. Identity is thus an integral part of governance and citizen engagement, not a one-time branding exercise (further information: [www.crsc.ualberta.ca](http://www.crsc.ualberta.ca)).

### ***Regional economic development networks: A case study in the Phoenix-Mesa metropolitan area***

Jing Wang (Arizona State University), Joanna Lucio (Arizona State University), Edgar Ramirez de la Cruz (CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas))

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Recent research on regional economic development has turned attention to the efforts that involve cooperation or networking among jurisdictions in a metropolitan area (Carr and LeRoux 2005; Feiock 2004; Feiock et al. 2009; Gerber and Gibson 2005; Kreuger 2006; Steinacker 2003, 2004). Regional economic development is a typical policy issue which requires transjurisdictional solutions. In practice, many forms of interactions among public, private, and nonprofit agencies with regard to regional economic development are taking place. This study aims to contribute to the literature regarding the dynamics of informal policy networks among public, private and civic organizations, and the consequences and implications of the networks for economic development. This study focuses on the case of the Phoenix-Mesa



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Metropolitan area in Arizona as it presents a unique laboratory to explore internal dynamics of the economic development in a metropolitan area. The methodology relies heavily on social network theory as articulated in the sociology literature. A self-administered survey "Interlocal Cooperation and Network for Economic Development", semi-structured interviews, and document analysis are the three major methods of data collection. The economic development networks are described, visually represented, and statistically analyzed using graph theory, matrix algebra, and statistical analysis. The social network analysis identifies the rationales and underlying values for interlocal cooperation and explores important theoretical and empirical questions about regional economic development networking in a metropolitan area: 1) what are the roles of public, nonprofit, and private agencies in the networks (eg. central and peripheral actors, brokering roles)? 2) under what conditions are the networks most likely to exist? 3) what are the implications of their relationships for economic development in a metropolitan area? And 4) to what extent structure of the network favors or hinders the formation of regional collaboration and coordination between organizations? This study explores how social network analysis can be useful in studying the initiatives and policy solutions in regional economic development and investigates the potential of informal social networks to serve as a mechanism for promoting regional economic development.

### ***Competing Arenas and Bypasses: Institutions and Equitable Regional Transportation Planning***

Catherine Lowe (Cornell University)

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Responding to a presidential order, the United State Department of Transportation in 1997 issued a definition of environmental justice that specifies low-income and minority communities should enjoy a fair distribution of benefits. The Department's agencies now require that metropolitan planning organizations (MPO) incorporate environmental justice into their long-range plans. Despite federal mandates and MPOs' stated concern for environmental justice, advocates for low-income neighborhoods and communities of color argue that mass transit investments unfairly benefit affluent communities with few minority residents. This research asks how institutional contexts have tempered the impacts of federal directives for equitable investment in regional transportation planning for two metropolitan regions, Miami and Boston. I find the MPO long-range planning process has not been a critical forum for advancing transit investments to serve low-income and minority communities due to complex ?competing arenas?. In Boston, environmental and community organizations, along with elected officials, have had some success at securing transit investments but through state processes outside of regional planning. Similarly in



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Miami, political processes, not MPO planning, helped advance a key investment for a black community. Lacking the organized constituencies of Boston and subject to county decision-making arenas, this major investment currently has dim prospects for implementation. These findings demonstrate the importance of the interrelationships among regional planning and other decision sites. More broadly this paper demonstrates the need to understand existing institutional landscapes and processes when making regional reform efforts, especially those to promote equity.

### ***Building Economic Development Networks in Detroit: A Comparison of Methods of Social Network Analysis***

Sarah Ficenec (George Washington University)

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The Detroit metropolitan area has seen a decline in its primary industry—automotive companies and ancillary suppliers—that has been especially pronounced in the central city and slowly spread to the suburbs. Recently, there have been efforts to revitalize the economy by diversifying into other manufacturing and services; increasing numbers of these efforts reportedly are being driven by regional networks of government, private sector and not-for-profit organizations. During interviews over the last year in the Detroit region, the author frequently heard reference to these networks along with comments about how few effective networks existed in the past. Indeed, assertions about the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of networks are common in the economic development literature. However there have been few efforts to test the existence or effectiveness of such networks empirically. Detroit provides a prime survey ground to compare measurements of economic development networks.

The use of social network analysis has gained currency in the study of urban policy as academics and practitioners try to determine the underlying relationships and the strength of relationships in moving a city forward or allowing it stagnate. Social network analysis compares the connections between individuals or institutions with either general or specific policy fields. However, at this time there has been little work done to examine social networks in urban areas, especially in the Rust Belt.

In conducting social network analyses, two methods are commonly utilized. One method—used primarily for historical analysis of networks—looks at the interlocks between individuals who sit on major corporate and nonprofit boards to determine if these people are connected and, if so, how strong their relationships might be. However, this method suffers from a validity problem in that board lists may be inaccurate or these individuals may not actually have attended board meetings and therefore had limited contact with those to whom they are theoretically connected.



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The other method tends to use surveys of representatives from major corporations and nonprofits to determine whom these people—usually high-ranking staff members rather than board members—actually speak with in the local area. This latter method is primarily used for analysis of current or recent networks, but can be time-consuming and needs input from the actors involved.

To compare both of these methods, this paper will conduct two analyses of current-day economic development networks in the Detroit region—one analysis will utilize board interlocks among major corporations and not-for-profit organizations, while the other will use surveys of major corporations and not-for-profit actors to determine whom they talk to and how frequently they do so. The results will then be compared to determine the strengths and weaknesses of each approach in relation to Detroit's evolving economic development networks.

### ***Municipal Annexation in North Carolina: A Review of Existing Conditions and Future Considerations***

Russell Smith (Winston-Salem State University)

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Municipal annexation is a powerful local government tool for redefining municipal boundaries. Annexation can provide citizens and businesses with needed public services, a voice in local politics and result in the more efficient delivery of public services. However, annexation also raises citizens/businesses taxes, creates more bureaucracy and can create competition for scarce resources. Municipal annexation is also the most common form of local government boundary change. Thousands of annexations occur each year, but how an annexation is conducted can dramatically differ from one state to another and even within a particular State. For instance, North Carolina's General Statutes include provisions for voluntary annexations, involuntary annexations, legislative annexations and non-contiguous (satellite) annexations. As a result, annexation strategies differ from community to community. What is clear is the importance of municipal annexation to the overall health of a community. Since 1959, North Carolina's annexation legislation has enabled North Carolina municipalities to grow in population and prosper financially through liberal annexation policies that allow municipalities to annex development on the edges of cities. Rusk (2003) states that North Carolina has "the best annexation laws; they virtually guarantee their cities will be successful" (p 6). Additionally, Rusk (2003) linked municipal fiscal health with the ability to expand a city's limits. Likewise, Smirnova and Ingalls (2007, 2008) detailed the importance of aggressive annexation activity on the fiscal health of communities. Their study comparing annexation legislation between communities in North and South Carolina revealed North Carolina cities were



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healthier fiscally due to more liberal annexation legislation. Even with this empirical evidence some residents and legislators are beginning to question North Carolina's decade's old annexation legislation that allows municipalities to unilaterally annex property without the consent of property owners. As a result, this paper seeks to provide an overview of the existing annexation conditions in North Carolina. Specifically, the four types of municipal annexation methods available to North Carolina municipalities will be discussed and empirically analyzed from 1990 ? 2009. This empirical analysis will include a discussion of the spatial patterns to annexation activity in North Carolina. Special attention will also be given to involuntary annexations which tend to be more controversially and have come under increasing attack by the public and the media. Three case studies examining recent efforts to involuntarily annex property in the communities of Burlington, NC, Lexington, NC and Salisbury, NC will be analyzed. Finally, the current debate occurring in the General Assembly over the existing involuntary annexation legislation will be discussed and the future of this legislation will be postulated.

### 058 Private and Public Capital

#### ***A Neighborhood Built to Fail: How the "growth machine" created Windy Ridge neighborhood in Charlotte, NC***

Janni Sorensen (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Jose Gamez (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Elizabeth Shockey (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Aleksandra Borisenko (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Keihly Moore (University of North Carolina at Charlotte)

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This paper will focus upon the Windy Ridge community in Charlotte, North Carolina. Windy Ridge is representative of the larger national economic crisis; in March of 2008, for example, Windy Ridge received national media attention as a community hard hit by the sub-prime mortgage crisis. In an article titled "The Next Slum," the Atlantic Monthly pointing out that of the 132 homes, most built around 2003, 81 were in foreclosure. The mortgage crisis has caused housing prices to plummet and foreclosures to become commonplace across the United States. In Charlotte, the neighborhoods hardest hit have been the starter-home subdivisions that proliferated during the housing boom. According to a 2006 analysis by The Charlotte Observer, 80% of the region's foreclosures from 2003 to 2005 were homes priced \$150,000 or less. These subdivisions were primarily populated by first-time and low-income homeowners. The neighborhoods were also considered a sound real-estate investment, and often had a high rate of absentee landlords with low-income tenants.





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As a result, many first-time homeowners and people with low income have been disproportionately impacted by the foreclosure crisis. When blame is assigned, fingers typically point in one of two directions: to the financial institutions that engaged in high-risk and predatory lending practices; or to the homeowners themselves who bought more home than they could afford. In contrast, this paper contends that a much broader context must be evaluated to understand what led to the foreclosure crisis. We will address both the social and physical decay of the neighborhood, which is representative of the circumstances many communities face across the nation, but the main focus is on the development process and the lessons this case provides for planning and development policy. We explore the many factors contributing to the foreclosure crisis as it manifest itself in Windy Ridge - including public policy, civic culture, development and land-use regulations, and the clustering of low-income neighborhoods - and what responsibility various parties in the community have for the situation that exists today. Further, by placing the development of this and other neighborhoods in the context of planning theory, the paper seeks to understand the underlying values and assumptions that led to this problem. As our cities attempt to address the legacy of the recent economic downturn, multi-disciplinary community design expertise must be deployed in order to rebuild our local communities. In our conclusion, we address the need for repair of our suburban neighborhoods so that a stronger relationship between urban form and social, economic, and ecological sustainability may be articulated.

### ***A Tsunami Of Homes: Gentrification-By-Subdivision, Foreclosure Devastation, And Other Unnatural Disasters In South Phoenix.***

Kristin Koptiuch (Arizona State University)

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If Katrina laid bare the pre-hurricane disaster wrought by historical patterns of disinvestment and racial segregation that created third world conditions for New Orleans urban communities, its aftermath exposed strategies of selective reinvestment, dispossession, and gentrification that are hallmarks of neoliberal urbanism. Drawing insights from these aspects of rebuilding New Orleans, this paper investigates a different sort of deluge that engulfed the similarly deprived and disdained urban community of South Phoenix. Substandard housing stock in this historically redlined African American and Latino community thwarts the house-lust of the prototypical gentrifier. But boom-town ingenuity by the city's Real Estate Industrial Complex delivered instead "gentrification by subdivision," unleashing a veritable tsunami of new homes built on former agricultural land interspersed throughout this community, enticing intrepid settlers into this urban frontier located a stone's throw from the CBD. Instead of wholesale displacement of existing ethnic



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communities, a flood of well-heeled white Anglos moved in, often unaware that the too-good-to-pass-up real estate deal they'd landed was part of public and private efforts to transform the negative image attributed to this area in the city's dominant urban imaginary. This new population diluted the deeper color of the older communities, changing their racial/ethnic and class demographics. Complicated struggles ensued over whose right-to-the-city would reclaim the lands and interests of this community. Before these could be worked out, recession burst the housing bubble and an inundation of home foreclosures brought plummeting home values and devastated residential integrity in South Phoenix's bubble-era subdivisions.

The paper tracks South Phoenix's rollercoaster ride from disinvestment to reinvestment and back. Soaring property values and new settlers had for a scant few years resulted from intensified discipline of the urban landscape and its inhabitants' everyday urbanism, intro of services that had eluded long-term residents, and a revised urban imaginary that rehabilitated this area formerly consigned to Ninth-Ward-like wildness and invisibility. Prior to the financial crisis my key question was, will the peril of dislocation soon confront the urban poor subject to this desert tsunami of new homes, or will policy-makers and community activists minimize the social cost of urban revitalization? Now it appears that the ebb tide of the gentrifiers' retreat depletes the community with each new foreclosure. Will this abandonment render the new developments as desolate as the abandoned citrus orchards that during the boom years sprouted only "AVAILABLE" signs, awaiting a developer primed to make a killing on the next "Citrus Groves" subdivision? Can re-devastated South Phoenix be reclaimed without resorting anew to racial minoritization, or will it become one of Arizona's newly minted ghost towns?

### ***The Long Road from Babylon to Brentwood: Crisis and Restructuring in the San Francisco Bay Area***

Alex Schafran (University of California, Berkeley)

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"I call this not a sub prime mortgage crisis but an urban crisis." David Harvey As the foreclosure crisis in the United States morphed into a financial crisis cum global economic meltdown, popular attention moved away from the urban roots of this calamity. Urban theorists, unsurprisingly, have diligently reminded us that the roots of the "Great Recession" lie in the urban - this is not simply a story about securitization or rampant Wall Street greed, but about home-ownership, sub-prime debt, racial segregation and the American Dream. (Castells 2010, Harvey 2009, Dymski 2009) It is about how, for whom, where and for what end that we build the American Metropolis. What remains largely missing from these initial outcries by urbanists is a



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detailed and historicized telling of how this urban crisis was produced in actual space and place. Much as Thomas Sugrue (1996) reminds that the "urban crisis" of the 1960's and 1970's - with its wave of abandonment, riots and the supposed decay of the American inner city - began not in 1968 but in 1945, we too must look back a generation for the origins of this crisis. Although many point to California cities as urban iconoclasts with little relevance to the American city as a whole, they actually present a paradigmatic case for the study of the impact of metropolitan restructuring on the production of crisis, beyond being home to one in ten Americans. Using a mixture of descriptive statistics, mapping, archival research, and ethnography, this paper weaves together the story of how one portion of the San Francisco Bay Area was remade over the course of the past thirty years in a way that produced not only a new map of segregation, but the crisis itself. Working across a multiplicity of scales (individual, local, regional, state), it examines how three interwoven factors - people, policy and capital - each reacted to the landscape inherited at the end of the 1970's, moving about the region in new ways, leaving some places thriving and others struggling with foreclosure, plummeting property values and the deep uncertainty of the current American metropolis. Harvey, D. 2009. World social forum: Opening speech. 1.29.09, belém, brasil. Sugrue, T. J. 1996. The origins of the urban crisis: Race and inequality in postwar detroit. Princeton University Press. Dymski, G. A. 2009. Afterword: Mortgage markets and the urban problematic in the global transition. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 33, (2): 427-42. Burkhalter, Laura, and Manuel Castells. 2009. BEYOND THE CRISIS: TOWARDS A NEW URBAN PARADIGM. Paper presented at The 4th International Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU), 2009 Amsterdam/Delft.

### ***Local government aid and economic development; how the state safety net affects project choice and policy***

Daniel Bliss (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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Globalization, deregulation and deindustrialization have hollowed out cities and small towns alike during the past 60 years, leaving serious questions in terms of both resources and political mobilization as to how local places can respond against often outside shocks to the system. In this context, the scholarly literature on economic development ranges from those who argue local places lie prostrate before capital (Harvey 1989) and even the largest cities have diminished power to influence the process (Sassen 1991, Friedmann 1986); to those who suggest local factors heavily influence the success or failure of public policy. This latter group features a wide range of explanations ? including coherent agenda-setting (Pagano & Bowman 1995); leveraging institutional and economic resources together (Savitch & Kantor 2002); and



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social change (Clark & Lipset 1991) ? but, especially in the American context, neglects the influence of different levels of regional government and governance. State government provides an especially important and often neglected point of departure because of the extent to which differing patterns of state aid and state law affect incentives for cities and towns of all sizes to engage in economic development. Using state and local financial data as well as qualitative case studies of small towns in states of different levels of need-based local government aid to municipalities, I show that state provision of a basic ?safety net? for local government finance is associated with far lower levels of economic development spending coupled with greater caution in funding speculative and risky projects, while cities in states that do not share revenue with municipalities on the basis of need have particularly high levels of public spending and activity on aid and incentives for private business and a greater propensity for risk. These findings also show that states have a major role to play in affecting how public policy is employed to reverse urban decay in our cities. Such broad measures as a local government aid formula, revenue sharing system or home rule policy can profoundly impact the ability of cities to help themselves when it comes to urban renewal and reclamation. Additionally, by focusing on smaller towns and cities, we study a class of community that is particularly constrained in terms of resources and can therefore offer a ?worst case? lesson for what larger cities and the states that govern them can do in order to encourage economic development and renewal.

### ***Spending Patterns of Extra-Budgetary Revenues: Evidence from China***

Chengri Ding (University of Maryland, College Park), Yi Niu (University of Maryland)

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Extra-budgetary incomes may constitute a very important revenue source for many to local governments throughout the world. It is hypothesized that spending patterns significantly differ from ones of budgetary revenues because the former is more likely to associate with show-cases for local officials than what is really needed by residents and business growth. The literature, however, provides little evidence documenting spending patterns between budgetary and non-budgetary revenues, largely due to data availability issue. This paper attempts to examine non-budgetary revenues' spending patterns by using panel data of Chinese prefecture cities from 1999-2004. Data set includes two kinds of data: one is fiscal data provided by the Ministry of Finance. The fiscal data covers total revenues, total spending by items, and intergovernmental transfers. The land leasing data provides total land leased and total revenues from land leasing. We also include other control variables such as GDP, population, investment, student enrollment, etc. Anecdote evidence suggests that land leasing revenues constitute the large extra-budgetary income for local



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governments in China and for some cities they are even larger than budgetary revenues. Therefore, without data of total extra-budgetary income, we use land revenues as a proxy for non-budgetary ones. An empirical model is developed, which is expressed as:  $EXP(i) = Fiscal\_Exp(i) + Land\_Revenue * R(i)\% = F(X)$  where  $i$  represents spending categories, vector  $X$  represents variables determining demand for public goods and services.  $EXP$  indicates total government expenditure, while  $Fiscal\_Exp$  contains only expenditure from fiscal budget.  $R(i)$ , unobserved and will be estimated, represents the percentage of land leasing revenues spent on  $i$  category. Preliminary results reveal that extra-budgetary revenues are more likely to be spent on categories that are linked to show-case projects such as infrastructure construction. Like the budgetary revenues, all spending categories can only explain 70-80% of land revenues, which leads to issues of transparency, fiscal discipline, and efficiency of public finance that need to be addressed. Finally, policy implications will be discussed.

### 059 Seeking Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice

#### *Evaluating Justice and Sustainability in Brownfield Development Projects*

Kate Kuholski Manchisi (University of Delaware)

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This presentation will provide an overview of how Brownfield development projects contribute to supporting just and sustainable communities, and why project evaluations need to reflect this complex framework through an economic, environmental, equity, and energy assessment model. This is a part of my dissertation which is to investigate 1) What is a methodology that would adequately assess the impacts of Brownfield Development initiatives in North East Wilmington communities? 2) Using this methodology, what have been the impacts of Brownfield Development Program (BDP) initiatives in North East Wilmington? The outcomes of this research project are to 1) develop a self-evaluation tool for DNREC and other city and county stakeholders in the BDP and 2) pilot this tool in North East Wilmington.

According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Brownfields "are real property, the expansion, redevelopment, or reuse of which may be complicated by the presence or potential presence of a hazardous substance, pollutant, or contaminant." These sites are large and small properties that contain abandoned facilities, potential contamination, and contribute to the mix of environmental, energy, equity, and economic burdens that disproportionately effect lower-income communities that they are typically located in. Brownfield development projects are public-private partnerships that assess, remediate, and redevelop these Brownfields



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sites into places like parks, housing, and commercial buildings. Project evaluations are typically siloed assessments and include basic economic, health, and environmental outcomes.

Brownfield sites are unintended consequences of government and private market policies within a technocratic political economy. For example, former manufacturing facilities may have closed due to the business moving overseas for cheaper labor and less stringent environmental policies, or a neighborhood dry cleaner going bankrupt because housing and transportation projects moved its clients out to the suburbs. The outcomes are typically abandoned buildings and potentially contaminated property that is located 'on the wrong side of the tracks.' Brownfield development projects which clean-up and redevelop these properties are opportunities to support just and sustainable impacts in urban communities, such as remediating environmental health hazards, decreasing energy burdens, building community capacity, and increasing access to 'green' jobs.

Evaluating these impacts of Brownfield development projects on a community is key for stakeholders to make informed actions, especially since justice and sustainability-based objectives are growing for the general public, government, and private market. However, there is a lack of an evaluation methodology for Brownfield development projects which clearly and holistically frames the projects in the communities and evaluates the just and sustainable impacts, while incorporating the influence of the technocratic political economy. A Brownfield development project may create new 'green' jobs and address environmental health hazards, but it could contribute to the gentrification of that community. The impact of Brownfield development projects on communities should utilize an economic, environmental, equity, and energy assessment model for more a more accurate and valid evaluation.

### ***How can Requisite Multi-family Residential Recycling be Successfully Implemented within Baltimore, MD via Policies, Regulations, and Recommendations?***

Michael Schwebel (Temple University)

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Baltimore City formally began recycling in 1989, with all neighborhoods having residential collection by 1992; however, even though the entire City has been recycling for approximately twenty years, almost all residents in multi-family residential (MFR) housing have been and are still barred from participating at their places of residence (Balog 533-534, Scott 1). Discussions with City officials and residents have verified that this antiquated policy of exclusion of MFR housing is still observed by the Department of Public Works even though the updated Code states





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that the ?Director of Public works must collect all?recyclable materials?from all dwellings, including multiple-family dwellings? (Baltimore City Code 23 §2-3[b]). This study?s purpose is to provide policies, regulations, and recommendations for implementing requisite MFR recycling within Baltimore City, Maryland. The study?s methodology will follow a case study approach to answer this question by looking at three cities in the United States that currently mandate MFR Recycling: Arlington, Virginia; Boston, Massachusetts, and Chicago, Illinois. Post-analysis, it was determined that while some cities? MFR programs perform poorly, each individual city contains strengths, which, when juxtaposed with Baltimore?s unique history, can create City-specific proposals that will produce a highly successful MFR Recycling Ordinance. These tenets of this future MFR Recycling Ordinance (found at the end of the Paper) will form the basis for a successful MFR Recycling Ordinance that will finally and effectively allow all City residents to participate within an exceedingly successfully MFR recycling program.

### ***Just Sustainability: The Role of Local Governments***

Christy F. Camp (Samford University), Hugh Floyd (Samford University)

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The emergence of environmental justice in public policy, combined with the growing discourse on sustainable development, presents an opportunity to advance just sustainability as the framework used by local governments seeking to design and implement sustainable development policies in their communities. The conceptual work of Julian Agyeman and his Just Sustainable Paradigm (JSP) is used to guide this work. This paper focuses on the role of local governments in advancing sustainable development, and examines the processes by which local governments define and implement sustainable development policies. Using the U. S. Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement list as the study population, 730 mayors of cities with populations ranging from 2.5K to 200K were sent electronic surveys measuring sustainability initiatives in U.S. cities. One hundred eleven cities from across the U.S. are represented in the analysis with proportional regional and urban representation. The paper identifies JSP aligned programs, policies or initiatives employed by U.S. municipal governments, the impetus for these programs, policies or initiatives, and where commonalities/differences exist among cities.

## **061 Capital and Community: A Critical Look at the Foreclosure Crisis from the Ground Up**



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### ***Crisis Tectonics: Shifting Spatialities of Housing-based Inequality in New York City***

Desiree Fields (Graduate Center at the City University of New York)

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The recent unraveling of the U.S. economy is rooted in the marketing, securitization, and collapse of home mortgage products and speculation in land and real estate. Some have spoken of the “Great Recession” as unforeseen, unpredictable, a surprise. Yet crises linked to real estate speculation and changing relations between land and capital are nothing new in American political economy. Indeed the way such crises play out in local housing markets may be pivotal in urban development and change. They also set the agenda of those who would claim urban space for city residents who experience constraints on access to housing and ability to remain amidst changing land-capital relations.

Based on this thinking, this study of New York City considers the recent mortgage foreclosure crisis in light of an earlier crisis—the late 1970s landlord abandonment of inner city rental buildings. The nadir of decades of disinvestment, the abandonment crisis was then followed up by decades of dramatic but geographically uneven reinvestment leading up to the foreclosure crisis. This restructuring has frequently displaced working class and minority residents from the urban core, often to outlying neighborhoods literally on the margins of New York City. Today’s problem of foreclosure points to how the spatial concentration of these groups, arising from a history of uneven development linked to discriminatory housing and lending practices, has afforded their present-day victimization and disenfranchisement through the extraction of mortgage capital.

This paper relies on historical data on transfers of abandoned property to city ownership and on current data on foreclosure filings to examine the shifting spatialities of housing-based inequality in New York City. I further trace changes over time in how community organizations, community development corporations, activists, and local policymakers have responded to the destabilization of land and housing in New York City. The late 1970s shift to neoliberal urban governance rooted in entrepreneurialism and economic development provides a conceptual frame for understanding these changes. Bringing together landlord abandonment and mortgage foreclosure offers a means of considering the significance of neoliberal urbanization in terms of who can claim the city, how, and where. I argue that the changing relations between land and capital may alter the nature of solutions to inequality, so that what appears to be a fix in one moment may become complicit with inequality in the next. Through attending to the spatial, social and political interactions across these historical moments I aim to provide new opportunities for



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understanding urban inequality and for reclaiming the city.

***“When we lost the house”: how the experience of home foreclosure affects homeowners and their families***

Jeff Crump (University of Minnesota), Rachel Fang (University of Minnesota)

Presenter's email: jrcrump@umn.edu

As local headlines herald a record number of foreclosures, food shelves and emergency shelters report being overwhelmed by families in need. Domestic abuse is on the rise, as are bankruptcy filings and divorces. Yet, little research on the impact of the foreclosure crisis has focused on how people are affected by the process of losing their home. This paper reports preliminary findings from twenty qualitative interviews with homeowners in Minneapolis who experienced foreclosure. Homeowners were asked a series of open-ended questions about their family's current housing, their financial situation, and how the experience of foreclosure impacted their lives and future plans. While not all who were interviewed had lost their homes, almost every respondent reported that the experience of foreclosure had impacted their physical or mental health. While every story was different, common themes of anxiety, frustration, anger and desperation emerged. This research adds to the literature on the foreclosure crisis by focusing on the devastating effect that experiencing home foreclosure has on individuals and families.

***Modeling the Pattern of Foreclosures in Lucas County, Ohio***

Xueying Chen (University of Toledo), Daniel J. Hammel (University of Toledo)

Presenter's email: Mirabel244@gmail.com

While the nationwide foreclosure crisis has spanned nearly half a decade there have relatively few attempts to model the distribution and spatial pattern of foreclosures at the metropolitan level. This research builds on that small but growing literature to examine the pattern in Toledo, Ohio. Foreclosures tend to be highly clustered in particular areas of the city which creates a problem a spatial autocorrelation, potentially skewing the results of traditional regression models. We measure the level of spatial autocorrelation in the foreclosure pattern and examine the results from traditional OLS regression as well as models designed to adjust for spatial dependence. The results strongly reinforce previous findings with loan characteristics and race being among the most significant explanatory variables. In addition the model is particularly sensitive to the ways in which such variables as the foreclosure rate, homeownership, race and ethnicity are measured with different measures of each variable providing substantially different results both in the model's overall fit and in the significance of individual variables.



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### ***Informal Economies and Communities***

Kathe Newman (Rutgers University)

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Apgar and Essene (2007) describe a bifurcated mortgage market in which one mortgage capital channel is regulated by different governmental institutions than the other. In one channel, capital flows from communities through mortgage bankers, and is privately securitized through a less regulated institutional framework than capital that flows from communities to banks to government sponsored enterprises and on to investors.

In this paper I suggest that if we think about the less regulated mortgage channel (mortgage broker to non-bank lender to non-GSE securitizer) as informal, we can better understand the emergence and growth of this sector, its relationship to the formal (more regulated) other channel, and implications for communities and the national (and global) economy. Thinking about the relationships of capital markets, institutional networks, the state and communities in this way may help us to reconceptualize policy options in more effective ways moving forward.

## **062 The Imaginary of Neighborhood Stabilization in the Wake of Crises**

### ***Stabilizing Neighborhoods with the NSP: Costs and Challenges***

Andrew Greer (Vanderbilt University), Donald Anthony (Vanderbilt University), Susan Saegert (Vanderbilt University)

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The purpose of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP) is to help neighborhoods stabilize from recent disinvestment by allowing grant recipients to acquire and rehabilitate foreclosed, vacant or abandoned properties. Our investigation considers three fundamental questions of NSP initiatives: 1) What does the concept of neighborhood stabilization mean in this context? 2) How do recipients envision neighborhood stabilization in their NSP awards? 3) What restrictions or challenges hinder NSP-funded neighborhood stabilization? Our study will consider the distribution of NSP funds throughout the U.S. We will focus primarily on NSP2, which encouraged public agencies and nonprofit organizations to work together in consortium arrangements. In 2009, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development awarded \$1.93 billion in NSP2 funding to 56 grantees, 33 of which represented consortia. The study will examine each winning application to



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understand the vision they put forth. We review national, state, and local foreclosure trends as well as data provided by each NSP 2 award recipient to determine whether the Neighborhood Stabilization Programs are adequate to assess the match between the nature of neighborhood problems and the visions for their cure. In addition to the national exemplars, we will investigate a case study of a consortium that was awarded an NSP2 grant, namely Nashville, Tennessee. The four members of Nashville's NSP2 consortium have participated in a series of interviews that will allow researchers to document the consortium members' vision of a "stabilized neighborhood" as well as their opinions and concerns related to developing and implementing NSP2-funded projects in targeted neighborhoods. These interviews will investigate consortium members' conceptualizations of neighborhood stabilization, their plans for using the award to stabilize neighborhoods, and the challenges that they have faced so far. Challenges include NSP restrictions and problems that exist outside of NSP (e.g. recent flooding, financial institutions' policies and practices). Policy implications will also be discussed.

### ***The Dream Defaulted: A Comparative Analysis of Responses to Mortgage Foreclosures***

Heidi M.R. Reijm (CUNY Graduate Center)

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Many cities have been hit hard by the mortgage foreclosure crisis, but not all cities have been treated equally despite similar housing markets. Two cities in particular, Baltimore, Maryland, and Detroit, Michigan, share histories of economic decline. However, in 2007, close to 5% of all homes in Detroit were foreclosed, compared to 0.7% in Baltimore. I will use theories of regional resiliency and governing coalitions to address the question of whether urban governments have a clear impact, through the policies they adopt, on the dynamics of the local foreclosure crisis over and above that which may result from overall market trends. My presentation will cover how local stakeholders have responded to rising foreclosures and discuss findings related to how these responses were shaped by each city's preexisting community development infrastructure, including existing neighborhood development policies as well as involvement of stakeholders from the public, nonprofit, and philanthropic sectors.

### ***Rebuilding urban neighborhoods in crisis: New Orleans and Kansas City***

Jacob A. Wagner (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

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This paper explores the challenges of rebuilding urban neighborhoods in the



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aftermath of disasters and crises through a comparative case study of two neighborhoods in Kansas City and New Orleans. The work is based on several years of applied planning research in both cities. The case study from New Orleans looks at the Mid-City neighborhood and planning district in Orleans Parish and the role of citizen activism and advocacy planning in the reconstruction process after Hurricane Katrina. The New Orleans work reflects upon the role of culture in rebuilding urban neighborhoods and the opportunities for place-making and capacity building.

The second case study reports work from the Washington Wheatley neighborhood in Kansas City, Missouri. This case addresses the challenge of neighborhood stabilization in the context of racial segregation, suburban sprawl and concentrated poverty. Rather than experiencing an immediate disaster, this neighborhood is experiencing the slow motion disaster of economic disinvestment and population decline.

Both cases provide insights into the larger policy and planning challenges that face urban neighborhoods seeking to stabilize population, reduce concentrated poverty, and recover from significant physical decline of infrastructure and housing. Both cases reveal a series of “crises” experienced in urban neighborhoods and how these multiple crises are generated by external forces beyond the immediate grasp of local leadership.

From the perspective of urban theory, the paper reflects on the idea of the “post-political” condition in cities facing economic restructuring and neoliberal urban policies. In this sense, the paper takes a longer view of the historical and structural conditions at work in urban neighborhoods and how local political actors struggle to improve everyday life.

### ***Sustaining Homeownership: Community Land Trusts Outperform the Market on Delinquency and Foreclosure Rates***

Emily Thaden (Vanderbilt University)

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As the waves of the foreclosure crisis continue to wash away wealth in low-income and minority households and leave neighborhoods destabilized, dilapidated, and disinvested in their wake, some researchers, policy makers, and advocates question whether homeownership is a viable avenue to advance wealth accumulation and neighborhood development. However, others do not question the viability of homeownership to produce benefits for low-income and minority households and neighborhoods; rather, they emphasize that solutions lie in the way that homeownership is structured, implemented, and understood. One alternative model, the Community Land Trust (CLT), creates permanently affordable resale-restricted,





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owner-occupied housing through retaining ownership of the land under which low-income homeowners live. CLTs partner with homeowners through risk and reward, steward households pre- and post-purchase, and root capital locally. Findings from a national study of 2009 delinquency and foreclosure rates in 2,173 mortgages held by CLT homeowners were compared to rates posted by the Mortgage Bankers Association (MBA) in conventional market loans. Results found that MBA prime loans were 4.3 times more likely to be seriously delinquent and 5.9 times more likely to be in the process of foreclosure than CLT loans at the end of 2009. Furthermore, MBA serious delinquency and foreclosure filing rates increased from 2008 to 2009, but CLT rates did not change. CLTs also cured 51% of serious delinquencies during 2009. Findings support that stewardship practices ranging from education, prevention, and intervention help to explain CLT performance. While results indicate that CLTs prevent losses for households at greatest risk of foreclosure—and consequently, prevent the costs of foreclosure for lenders, neighborhoods, and municipalities—only one third of CLTs received funding to maintain or expand their impact during 2009. Implications on how the CLT model recasts low-income and minority homeownership in order to promote wealth accumulation and neighborhood stabilization will be discussed.

### 063 Land Use, Sustainability, and Energy

#### ***Toward Sustainability---Maryland's New Smart Growth Visions: Promises and Challenges***

Amal Ali (Salisbury University)

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Statewide growth management programs seek to reduce urban sprawl and balance economic development and environmental protection. Programs may include state visions, policies, or plans to manage urban growth. State visions/plans were criticized for being too general or out of date, and/or for lacking mechanisms to monitor their implementation at the local levels. In 2009 the State of Maryland adopted twelve new Smart Growth Visions that replaced the eight planning visions of 1997. The new visions address: quality of life and sustainability, public participation, growth areas, community design, infrastructure, transportation, housing, economic development, environmental protection, conservation, stewardship, approaches for implementation and funding of development, resource conservation, infrastructure, and transportation policies. The new visions became the State's land use policy that should be integrated into local comprehensive plans and regulations. Maryland Department of Planning (MDP) held several meetings and forums to inform the public about the state visions and receive feedbacks on vision priorities. Despite these



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efforts, it is unclear whether Maryland's new land use policy will succeed in improving smart growth applications at the local levels. This research paper examines Maryland's new land use policy (including the new visions) and identifies its strengths and weaknesses that may have significant effects on local land use planning. The research addresses two questions: what are major strengths and weaknesses of Maryland's new land use policy? And how the State can enhance its land use policy to improve smart growth practices at the local levels? To address the research questions, the researcher analyzes state land use policies/plans adopted previously by other states (e.g., Florida, New York) to identify: common goals, elements, methods for implementation and review, and factors contributing to their success or failure to improve land use planning. Then, the researcher uses these criteria to evaluate Maryland's new land use policy. The research relies on three sources of evidence: documentation (state regulations, state comprehensive plans, governmental and academic documents), interviews with state and local planners in Maryland and other states; and archival records from the census bureau and Maryland Department of Planning. The research findings demonstrate similarities and differences among state land use policies and scope of work; identify strengths of Maryland's new land use policy, and point to potential challenges to successful applications. The research paper concludes with recommendations on how to improve Maryland's smart growth program, and suggests policy implications important to other states interested in statewide smart growth visions/policies.

### ***Planning for Sustainable Urban Futures: Using Scenario Analysis to Assess the Sustainability of Land-use Options for Eastside, Birmingham, UK.***

Julie Brown (University of Birmingham, UK)

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Scenario analysis is an analytical tool widely utilised by planners and policymakers to help explore and visualise the future and, as such, identify strategies that can adapt to changing circumstances. Scenario analysis has not, however, been used to explore the urban environment in much depth, yet it has the potential to provide valuable insights regarding the future robustness of measures which are undertaken today in the name of sustainable urban (re)development. Although not a forecast of the future, scenario analysis provides a plausible description of what might happen by examining the ?what-ifs? associated with changes in key drivers including local demographics, societal values and behaviours, which may result as a response to wider impacts such as climate change, energy stability or globalisation and which may influence trends in, for example, local land use. Regardless of their success today, current measures which aim to promote sustainability may be of limited longevity if they fail to take into account such changes which alter the context in which sustainability measures will be



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applied. This paper builds on research undertaken as part of the 4 year, trans-disciplinary, UK EPSRC 'Urban Futures' project. Using the major redevelopment area of Eastside in Birmingham, UK as a case study, the key aims of this paper are twofold: First, to critically assess the application of the scenario analysis approach in the context of a complex, inner-city, urban regeneration area. Second, to utilise scenario analysis to evaluate the robustness of different land-use options proposed as sustainability measures. By applying the scenarios methodology to this case study, the different land-use options will be assessed under four different future scenarios and their potential sustainability will be measured from a socio-economic perspective against a range of indicators relating to demographics, quality of life, economics and other criteria. This analysis will, in turn, help urban planners think through the implications of current land-use planning strategies and whether they will be robust enough to continue to meet their sustainability objectives no matter what the future holds.

### ***Renewable Energy as an Economic Renewal Strategy: A Case Study of Toledo, Ohio***

Lynn Bachelor (University of Toledo)

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Renewable energy production has been identified as a potential economic development engine for cities and regions struggling to recover from declines in the manufacturing sector. Fitzgerald, in *Emerald Cities* (Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 183) asserts 'The clean technologies that are being developed to address climate change will be the growth industries of the future;' she argues that the U.S. must develop a national policy to drive this demand if it is to become a leader in exporting clean technologies. In the absence of such a policy, state and local government officials, like their predecessors who engaged in 'bidding wars' for automobile assembly plants in the 1980's, are now competing to attract developers and manufacturers of alternative energy technologies. Such competition, however, may have beneficial consequences, according to Kantor ('City futures: politics, economic crisis and the American model of urban development,' *Urban Research and Practice*, 3:1, March 2010) The 'U.S. model' of urban development, characterized by devolution, intergovernmental competition, and public entrepreneurship, he argues, has enabled American cities to resist the forces of global capitalism and empowered citizens to 'slowly experiment with new directions in urban policy even in the midst of economic crisis.' (2010, p. 10) University-based researchers have played a significant role in the development of renewable energy technologies, such as solar panels and wind turbines, making state and federal support for such research an integral part of economic development strategies focused on alternative energy. For renewable energy to realize its job creation potential, not just the development and use of



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technology, but also its manufacture, must occur in the U.S. This paper will examine renewable energy initiatives in Toledo, Ohio, a city whose economy has been devastated by the decline of manufacturing and automobile production. Researchers at the University of Toledo have been pioneers in the development of solar energy technologies, and the Ohio Department of Development has invested in university based solar research centers to promote innovation and commercialization, and the state's Third Frontier program and Toledo's Regional Growth Partnership have supported commercialization and start-ups through venture capital funds. Through interviews with state and local government and university officials, I will examine the politics of alternative energy as an economic development strategy, the role of universities, and the effectiveness of public policy tools in influencing competition among localities for alternative energy jobs and businesses, and draw comparisons with the competition for manufacturing in the 1980's.

### 064 Neighborhoods and Opportunity

#### ***Neighborhood Effects on Educational Outcomes for Latino and Black Youth***

George Galster (Wayne State University), Jackie Cutsinger (Wayne State University),  
Anna Santiago (Case Western Reserve University)

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Despite the rapidly expanding social scientific literature that focuses on neighborhood effects on an array of child outcomes, numerous questions remain as to the magnitude of such effects and the mechanisms by which these effects transpire across developmental stages, gender and ethnicity. In this paper, we contribute to this literature by using a natural experiment in Denver to quantify the relationships between various measures of neighborhood context and child and adolescent educational outcomes. Our analysis is based on a sample of 1,926 black and Latino children who resided in Denver public housing for a substantial period during their childhood. Data analyzed come from a large-scale survey of current and former residents of the Denver (CO) Housing Authority (DHA). DHA has operated since 1969 a large number of scattered-site public housing units located throughout the City and County of Denver. Because the initial assignment of households on the DHA waiting list to either scattered-site or conventional public housing developments mimics a random process, this program represents an unusual natural experiment holding great potential for overcoming selection bias in the measurement of neighborhood effects. The study collected information from: (1) 745 telephone surveys with current and former DHA tenants and (2) U.S. census and local Denver administrative databases related to the characteristics of neighborhoods. The first source provides



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retrospective information on outcome variables and family characteristics. The second source provides a variety of neighborhood indicators measured at two spatial scales, so that neighborhood context can be richly operationalized in our multivariate statistical models. In preliminary trials, we found that a variety of outcomes at middle- and high-school ages were associated with contemporaneously measured neighborhood poverty rates. We will probe further by operationalizing other measures of neighborhood environment. The implications of our findings for research and housing policy will be discussed.

### ***The Effects of Living in the Hood on Child and Adolescent Behavior***

Marjorie Edguer (Case Western Reserve University), Anna Santiago (Case Western Reserve University), Jessica Lucero (Wayne State University), George Galster (Wayne State University)

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The conventional wisdom underpinning many current public policy initiatives argues that expanding economic opportunities and improving the developmental outcomes for low-income and minority children are linked to properly locating assisted housing in neighborhoods that are not predominantly low-income and minority-occupied. Despite the rapidly expanding social scientific literature that focuses on neighborhood effects on an array of child outcomes, numerous questions remain as to the magnitude of such effects and the mechanisms by which these effects transpire across developmental stages, gender and ethnicity. In this paper, we aim to contribute to this literature by assessing the potential benefits of early and sustained residence in non-poor neighborhoods on child and adolescent behaviors. Previous studies using data from the Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity demonstrations suggest substantial reductions on girls' rates of risky behaviors and boys' drug use and perpetration of violent crimes associated with residence in lower-poverty neighborhoods although findings are mixed. This study investigates whether an array of negative child and adolescent behaviors are statistically related to various conditions in the neighborhoods in which they were raised. Data used in the study are for 1,926 Latino and Black children and are derived from a large-scale survey of current and former long-time residents of the Denver Housing Authority; corresponding neighborhood data from U.S. Census and local administrative sources; and follow-up interviews with a sample of 40 caregiver-young adult children dyads. Because the initial assignment of households on the DHA waiting list to either scattered-site or conventional public housing developments mimics a random process, this program represents an unusual natural experiment holding great potential for overcoming selection bias in the measurement of neighborhood effects. There was little evidence that negative child behaviors were strongly or generally associated with contemporaneously measured



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neighborhood poverty rate. Our findings suggest that elementary school-aged Latino children residing in higher-poverty neighborhoods were more likely to use violence. High school-aged Latinos in higher-poverty neighborhoods were more likely to smoke tobacco. Gang participation was associated with higher-poverty neighborhoods for high school boys. We discuss the implications of our findings for research and housing policy.

### ***Inclusionary Zoning, Racial Integration and Access to Opportunity in Montgomery County, Maryland***

Elizabeth Mueller (University of Texas), Kathryn Howell (University of Texas)

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Income and racial segregation have long been understood to limit opportunities available to low income or minority residents. For the past two decades, scholars of affordable housing policy have focused on the ongoing crisis of affordability and on devolution of aspects of housing policy. Particular attention has been placed on the scale and targeting of production of affordable housing and, increasingly, on what role state and local (as opposed to federal) policy can play in meeting needs. Less attention has focused on the spatial distribution or location of affordable housing and whether policies or programs are increasing access to opportunities tied to place (or are contributing to greater social and economic isolation of low income families). In this paper we investigate the potential for achieving access to opportunity through inclusionary housing programs, using the case of Montgomery County Maryland's Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit program. Inclusionary Zoning programs operate by seeding affordable housing into areas of growth, assuming that growth will not concentrate in low-income, low opportunity areas. This approach should be most effective in areas growing rapidly and characterized by middle class populations and high quality public services. It should avoid the type of siting issues common with developments dominated by affordable housing. Using data on the location of all MPDUs built under the program, as well as on units made permanently affordable through purchase by the county Housing Opportunities Commission, we assess whether locational patterns give residents access to middle class neighborhoods (as measured by household income), to neighborhoods where African Americans are not the majority and whether these neighborhoods provide residents with the types of services thought to provide meaningful access to opportunity, such as high performing elementary schools. We also look for evidence of clustering of MPDUs in poor or high minority neighborhoods, or in proximity to poor performing schools, to assess whether the scale of development in particular zones is leading to heavy concentrations in such areas. Finally, compare these findings to those shown for housing produced using state allocated Low Income Housing Tax Credits?the most





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important current vehicle for production of affordable housing nationwide.

### ***Social housing in Czechia: constructing a vicious cycle of segregation?***

Roman Matoušek (Charles University in Prague), Ludek Sýkora (Charles University)

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The post-communist transformation after 1989 with the re-introduction of market mechanisms brought growth of social inequalities and increasing regional differentiation in economic prosperity. As a result, owner-occupied and market rental housing became unaffordable for low-income social groups in certain localities. Neoliberal policies led to privatization of public housing. Remaining public housing is often offered for market rent or, on the other hand, is used as a shelter of last instance for socially disadvantaged. The government launched a program of social housing construction. Yet, our analysis shows that newly built social housing is disproportionately located in declining regions with economic problems, high unemployment and lower costs of housing or and in small villages in peripheral regions, not in areas with availability of jobs yet with housing affordability problems. Furthermore, new social housing is often located in socio-spatially excluded neighborhoods. Socio-spatial justice is not considered as the goal of public housing policy. On contrary, we argue and present the evidence that selected governmental and municipal housing practices lead to residential segregation.

### ***Changes in the Welfare State and Local Housing Policy: The Case of Amsterdam as "Undivided City"***

Jeroen van der Veer (Amsterdam Federation of Housing Associations), Dick Schuilting (University of Amsterdam), Margaret Wilder (Urban Affairs Association)

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In several European countries, the restructuring of the welfare state has led to a rapid decline of the social-rented housing sector and a change from a broadly accessible system to a means-tested system. The Dutch social-rented housing sector has always been intended to serve a broad segment of the population. Roughly one third of the Dutch housing stock is social housing. The vast majority of social-rented housing in the Netherlands is owned by independent housing associations (HAs). In the large cities the percentage of social housing is even higher. Middle income groups also inhabit social housing. In the city of Amsterdam almost half of the housing stock is currently owned by HAs. Housing accessibility for all income groups in the city, has always been an important policy goal. In that way Amsterdam can be described as an 'undivided city'. However, Amsterdam and other Dutch cities, are in the midst of a new policy era, as a result of the economic crisis, continuous restructuring of the welfare state,



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and new European policy guidelines. In our case study of the city of Amsterdam we focus on how local housing policy is affected by changes in the welfare state. We identify three policy periods marked by regime shifts and assess the impacts of each on housing accessibility within Amsterdam. The first period occurred from 1901 to 1989. This period was marked by social housing growth and national subsidization. A second period (1989-2009) witnessed increased financial independence for HAs and increased differentiation of the housing stock through mixed income projects. The third and current period began in 2009. As a result of the global economic crisis, HAs face substantial problems as their revolving fund model weakens under reduced revenue from rents and new development. In addition, newer European Union guidelines are pressuring member states to limit the 'target group' of social housing. Traditional social housing in The Netherlands may be facing its most serious threats to date. We speculate on how these threats may be met or reduced.

### 065 Women in the City

#### ***Contested Citizens: Women, Mothers and Poverty in Canada***

Lea Caragata (Wilfrid Laurier University)

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This paper examines the conditionality of women's citizenship claims primarily in relation to poor lone mothers in Canada but also more broadly through examining the intersections of racialization, immigration, poverty and gender. Citizenship 'and equality thereof' is somewhat unquestionably considered as a foundation of a democratic state yet the experiences of many 'citizens' belie this story. The citizenship experiences of lone mothers are critically examined against the theoretical backdrop of citizenship, gender equality and equality of opportunity including appraising the evolution of our understanding of these concepts and current contestations. Almost 25% of Canadian families are headed by a lone parent (Jensen, 2003) and over 90% of poor lone parents are women (National Council of Welfare, 2002). Although these are North American data reflecting western norms of family and of poverty, these data are revealing of linkages to women in all parts of the world as they face harsh material conditions in their own countries or are forced to leave their own countries 'often to the west' in search of better economic and social security. In almost all cases, women bear the responsibility for the work of social reproduction affecting their earning potential and their 'freedom' as citizen-breadwinners, in the west amidst claims of gender equality and labour market parity. A gendered and rights based citizenship discussion is amplified by data from 'Lone Mothers: Building Social Inclusion', a federally funded Canada-wide



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community/university research alliance (CURA). Longitudinal qualitative interview data from poor immigrant and Canadian born single mothers are revealing of the complex interconnections through which women's claims to citizenship and equality are undermined. The paper concludes with considerations of the effects of continuing and particular gendered and racialized social exclusion in the context of the current rhetoric about democracy building.

### ***Administrative Decisions That Shaped Gender Quota Legislation in Kenya***

Mercy Dena (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Governments around the world have in recent years, increased the numbers of women legislators through gender quotas. Gender quotas have been a long time coming in Kenya, where transition from a single party to a multiparty system since 1992 has yielded little, if any, progressive impact on representative government. Kenyan women recently inched closer to the glass ceiling when a new constitution passed in the August 4, 2010 referendum guaranteed women 13% representation in the legislature. Kenya currently stands at 9.8% women representation, which is significantly lower than neighboring countries, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda that stand at 31.5%, 30.4% and 56.3% respectively. This paper is a case study analysis of administrative decisions that led up to the inclusion of gender quota legislation in the new constitution of Kenya. Using the theory of representative bureaucracy by Samuel Krislov and David Rosenbloom (1981), and analysis of agenda setting and the policy process by John Kingdon (2003), this paper seeks to examine theoretical models that best explain the Kenyan constitutional process. This paper also draws from the work of Maria Nzomo on women representation in Kenya. Significant policy implications for this type of research lie in government decision-making and women representation to ensure more targeted services in a diverse population.

### ***Social Constructions of John Schools: The Powerful Consumer, The Dim-Wit, The Sex Addict, The Prostituted Victim, and The Dirty Dangerous Whore***

Andrea Mayo (Arizona State University)

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Attempts to regulate sex work and prostitution have historically focused on the women who work as prostitutes, while ignoring the men who purchase their services. Recently; however, this trend has shifted. A coalition of radical feminists and the religious right have had a great deal of success in redefining prostitution as "sex trafficking" and refocusing attention on the male purchasers of prostitution, commonly known as "Johns" (Weitzer, 2000, 2007). One of the outcomes of their



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success has been a move on the part of cities and counties towards diversion programs for those who solicit prostitution, called john's schools. As of August 2009, there were john's schools in 50 communities, in over 20 states with 40 additional communities considering the creation of a program (Chen, 2009). The first john's school was founded in 1995, in San Francisco by a coalition of public and non-profit stakeholders. John's schools work much like traffic school for those who are ticketed for speeding or other minor traffic offenses. Rather than going to trial, individuals who have been arrested can pay a fine and attend a class about prostitution. Often, this class lasts one day, but some communities use longer programs (Hunter, 2005). The assumption behind john schools is that prostitution is exploitative and dangerous to women, and those who solicit prostitution ? particularly first time offenders ? are unaware of that fact. Proponents of john's schools hope that they can reduce prostitution and sex trafficking by reducing demand for services (Monto, 2000, 2004; Weitzer, 2000, 2007). This paper uses Ingram and Schneider's social construction and policy design theory. I conducted a discourse analysis of media accounts, hand-outs, and reports for the San Francisco john's school to determine how these different targets of prostitution policy are framed by the school. I found that although john's schools target men who solicit prostitutes rather than women who perform sex work, they continue to deliver negative messages about the women who engage in prostitution, and they exploit traditional gender, class, and racial stereotypes. Women were either framed as helpless victims or dangerous whores, with these distinctions based primarily on racial and class-based stereotypes, while men were framed as powerful, but ignorant helpless addicts. Sending these messages to men who may already have a negative view of women has serious implications for social justice.

### 066 Urban Health Issues and Public Policy

#### ***The role of health impact assessment in promoting environmental justice.***

Laura Solitare (Texas Southern University)

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This research focuses on the role of Health Impact Assessment (HIA) in promoting environmental justice. There are two major ways that HIA can promote environmental justice: 1) by being inclusive in identifying decision-makers and preparing them to influence the decision process and 2) by being comprehensive in identifying vulnerable populations for assessment. As part of the screening process for an HIA, the goal is to identify all of the decision-makers that could potentially be involved in implement the policy under review. While some HIAs take a top-down approach and only identify decision-makers as those stakeholders that are the effectors of a policy



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(the traditional power-holders, such as public officials and developers), other HIAs are much more inclusive, they identify the affected stakeholders (such as residents) as decision-makers. Thus, an inclusive HIA may help to empower local stakeholders by legitimizing their role in the decision-making process. HIA emphasizes exploring how proposed decisions impact the health of the population, especially of vulnerable populations. While there is no planning standard for vulnerable population, it can include ?children, prisoners, pregnant women, mentally disabled persons, or economically or educationally disadvantaged persons (45 CFR 46)?. As that the correlations between minority race and economically or educationally disadvantaged are generally high, we can posit that HIA is a tool for environmental justice research. This research paper will first explain the connections between HIA and environmental justice. Then it will use a case-study to illustrate the connections. The case-study focuses on an HIA of transit-oriented development (TOD) in the Near Northside neighborhood of Houston, TX. Until this HIA, TOD planning has been occurring in the neighborhood for several years ? without considering the health impacts and without meaningful inclusion of the neighborhoods residents. However, this HIA has taken a markedly different approach ? it views the neighborhood residents as the primary decision-makers for neighborhood-scale TOD. The paper will review how this HIA has engaged local residents in assessing the health impacts of TOD and in developing policy recommendations and implementation strategies for TOD.

### ***Impact of Health Reform on Federally Qualified Community Health Centers: the unintended consequence of increased Medicaid enrollment***

Robert Kulesher (East Carolina University)

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There are approximately 1200 Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHCs) in the U.S. Funding for FQHCs comes from multiple sources. Sixty percent is from patient service revenue such as private insurance, public program including Medicare, Medicaid, and state and local programs. Grants from state, and local sources together with private foundation contribute 20%. The remaining 20% of support comes from grants from the U.S. Health Resources and Services Administration which advantages FQHCs over non-qualified providers in that the former receives enhanced Medicaid payments and protection under the Federal tort Claims Act which limits their malpractice exposure. In addition, they dispense prescription medication purchase through a federal drug pricing program. FQHCs are located in medically underserved areas both urban and rural and provide services regardless of patient's ability to pay. They accept payment based on income and family size and operate as nonprofit organizations. The recently enacted health reform legislation ? Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) - provides community health centers (CHCs) with federal



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funding for expansion of facilities, a revised Medicare payment system for services, workforce training for expanding the primary care givers, and incentives to pilot demonstration projects that will bolster CHCs as primary health care homes for patients. Additionally, health reform will increase Medicaid coverage to eligible beneficiaries up to 133% of the federal poverty level. This expansion is expected to enroll an additional 16 million in the Medicaid program and would reduce the numbers of uninsured from 50 to 34 million. If the newly enrolled Medicaid individuals seek medical care from their neighborhood CHC they may increase the number of Medicaid patients at CHCs by 8%. However, once on Medicaid they have more options to seek care from private providers, which if they do, could leave CHCs to care for a greater proportion of uninsured patients and loss of patient care revenue. Research has shown that changes in Medicaid plan design, such as implementing managed Medicaid, can reduce the number of visits to CHCs. Under PPACA those likely to enroll will be healthier than currently enrolled individuals. However, in any expansion of a social benefit, there is the possibility of adverse selection whereby those who have exacerbated chronic conditions may be the first to enroll thus placing a demand for more services at CHCs. The question is whether the increase funding for expanding facilities, increase personnel, and demonstration projects can offset the possible decrease of Medicaid eligible patients. Further, with the increase in persons eligible for Medicaid, establishing Medicaid clinics by proprietary interest may be a possibility that would compete with CHCs for insured and publicly funded clientele.

### ***Does Area Regeneration Improve Residents' Health and Well-being?***

Daryll Archibald (University of St Andrews, Scotland)

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Over £12 billion has been spent on area regeneration initiatives in the United Kingdom over the last twenty years. The potential to combat deprivation, improve health and reduce health inequalities is often used as justification for such a large-scale investment. Nevertheless, evaluation of these initiatives has been sporadic, often producing conflicting results. Some regeneration programmes appear to have had positive effects on health and socio-economic status; others have had no, or even a detrimental effect. This may, however, be attributed to difficulties in designing appropriate evaluation studies rather than the effects of regeneration. For example, few studies have been able to follow individuals over time so that their changing circumstances can be more related to the regeneration processes that they experience. Other evaluations have relied on comparing population characteristics in an area before and after regeneration, ignoring the fact that the resident population may have changed substantially during this period.





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Using the Scottish Longitudinal Study (SLS), a 5.3% random sample of the Scottish population, we focus on the implications of regeneration for residents' health and well-being in Scotland by comparing outcomes for three groups of people: (a) those who have lived in regeneration areas in 1991 and 2001; (b) those who lived in such areas in 1991 but had left by 2001; (c) those who were living somewhere else in 1991 but had arrived by 2001. Outcomes for three similar groups living in significantly deprived areas in Scotland that did not experience regeneration between 1991 and 2001 are compared in order to identify effects that cannot be ascribed to regeneration and thus to draw some broad conclusions about the effects of the regeneration process in Scotland.

### ***Protecting Kids in a Difficult Time: Implementing a Reformed Property Maintenance Code to Protect Children from Lead Poisoning***

Annalie Campos (Wayne State University), Lyke Thompson (Wayne State University), Mark Sorbo (Wayne State University)

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This paper aims to make contributions to on-going discussions and initiatives that address childhood lead poisoning prevention and elimination. Lead poisoning remains a serious environmental threat to the health and well-being of children in the United States. Dubbed a "silent epidemic", thousands of children are poisoned by lead hazards each year, primarily from exposure to lead-based paint present in homes built prior to the 1978. Children exposed to lead hazards early in life experience permanent and irreversible damage to their physical, mental, and emotional development, resulting in significant medical and social costs. To address lead poisoning, communities adopt and implement public health interventions through legal, medical, community-based or a combination of these processes. In particular, cities across the country have adopted and are enforcing housing and maintenance codes, but few have formally assessed their effectiveness with respect to lead poisoning. This paper explores the effects of a legal intervention in reducing lead poisoning incidence in the context of the City of Detroit, Michigan. Specifically, the paper presents experiences and outcomes of implementing the Amended Property Maintenance Code (PMC) in the City of Detroit. Enacted in January of 2010, the amended PMC in Detroit requires property owners to conduct a risk assessment for lead hazards in their property before making such property eligible for renting to individuals and families. It enables legal actions to be brought against property owners and industries for non-compliance to the amended code. This paper will discuss the extent of implementation and effectiveness of the amended PMC in Detroit as a mechanism for eliminating and preventing childhood lead poisoning in Detroit. We will discuss initial outcomes,



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facilitating factors and barriers, and highlight recommendations for improvement in implementing the amended PMC in Detroit.

***Perception and reality: Understanding the differences between perceived and observed road safety; a Montreal, Canada case study***

Emily Sangster (McGill University), Jacob Larsen (McGill University), Ahmed El-Geneidy (McGill University), Lisa Bornstein (McGill University)

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Planners and municipal officials contemplating road infrastructure changes, including traffic calming measures or pedestrian/bicycle infrastructure, may struggle to evaluate competing claims about the safety of existing facilities. In particular, anecdotal accounts of road safety in specific locations may seem to conflict with observed accident rates. The purpose of this study is to explore the discrepancies between perceived and observed safety of intersections, based on a survey on road safety and reported road injuries over a 10 year period. Two approaches to the discrepancies are presented. First, we rank and compare intersections in a Montreal, Canada neighbourhood according to perceived danger and the traffic injuries reported between 1999 and 2008. Various statistical models are used to account for the observed differences. The results suggest that socio-economic status, among other factors, is associated with increased perception of traffic danger and road safety risks. Second, based on surveys with local residents, visual observations, traffic counts, and interviews, we review the physical characteristics and road usage patterns of the intersections perceived as dangerous to explore why perceptions of risk differ from accident patterns. These results suggest that city planners should not disregard residents' perceptions. Strategies to encourage the use of active transportation may need to take into account the perception of danger in addition to reported injuries.

## 067 Innovation and Creative Industries



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### ***Competing for talent, firms and capital: city-regional competitiveness strategies in Amsterdam and Dublin***

Marco A. Bontje (University of Amsterdam), Philip Lawton (University of Amsterdam)

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In the past decade international competitiveness has become the top priority of national, regional and urban governments in the advanced capitalist economy. Among the many aspects that are or could be considered under this strive for competitiveness, increasing attention has been given to notions of creativity, knowledge and innovation. Attracting and retaining creative and high-educated talent as well as creative and knowledge-intensive firms are considered essential ingredients of urban and city-regional 'recipes for success'. Amsterdam and Dublin are no exception to that general policy and governance trend. Both have, at the city and the city-regional level, been very active in preparing and implementing competitiveness strategies in which fostering and stimulating creativity, knowledge and innovation play a leading role. While Amsterdam's relatively prominent position in international competition has been built up gradually and has clear historic roots, Dublin's emergence as a hub of creative and knowledge-intensive sectors mainly took place since the 1990s. After the deep recession of 2008-2010 which is still having a considerable impact on Amsterdam's and Dublin's economy, both cities have to reconsider their strategies for competitiveness. Though Dublin is without doubt hit much harder by the crisis, Amsterdam has suffered from it as well. Questions then arise as to whether or not 'creative knowledge' is still the preferred road ahead, and if it is, can existing competitiveness strategies be continued or should new strategies be developed? We will base our argument mainly on a recent study of urban and city-regional competitiveness strategies of Amsterdam and Dublin, undertaken as part of the EU 6th Framework project 'Accommodating Creative Knowledge' (ACRE). In the paper we will first explore the 'state of the art' in literature on urban and regional competitiveness, focusing on the role of creativity, knowledge and innovation. Then we will analyse and compare the urban and city-regional competitiveness strategies of Amsterdam and Dublin and the extent to which these strategies find their inspiration in the international competitiveness debate. We will then discuss whether Amsterdam's and Dublin's competitiveness strategies have already changed in reaction to the crisis, and end with an attempt (as complicated as this may be with the full crisis impact still being unknown) to assess whether and how the crisis would give reason for further changes in those strategies.

### ***Creating an Innovative Economy Platform in a University Community***

Erik A. Bredfeldt (City of Gainesville, Florida)



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The proposed paper is an opportunity to discuss the manner in which local government professionals can partner with various community entities, inclusive of private industry, to facilitate the New Innovative Economy. Over the past ten years, the City of Gainesville, Florida, has worked to accentuate its local economic competitive advantage which is the growth and development of innovative economy industry, primarily connected to the health care and education sectors of the local economy. This is primarily due to the community's profile that emphasizes the role of intellectual and social capital in community economic development with the University of Florida and Santa Fe College serving as primary anchors. This approach is consistent with economic development theory and recent economic development literature documenting those factors that will be increasingly important in securing economic opportunity for a community's citizens over time. The approach is facilitated on a public policy level by effective institutional arrangements and the important role of partnerships and collaboration with other economic entities and actors. Many of these efforts go beyond the traditional economic development model of providing a low cost operating environment and although costs and benefits to business cannot be overlooked, this approach focuses on quality of life concerns particularly as it relates to the built environment and the availability of various urban amenities. The intent of the paper is to provide attendees and interested parties with the theory behind the new local economic development paradigm and a case study examining implementation in a university community through institutional adaptation and partnership. The author brings both an academic and practitioner perspective to this paper and its policy applications and implications in an urban setting. Erik A. Bredfeldt, PhD, AICP

### ***The Intrametropolitan Geography of Creative Industries***

Richard Kolenda (Georgia State University), Cathy Yang Liu (Georgia State University)

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Research in recent years has emphasized the importance of creative industries and creative workers on regional economic growth (Donegan, Drucker, Goldstein, Lowe, & Malizia, 2008; Florida, Mellander, & Stolarick, 2008; Hoyman & Faricy, 2008; Liu, Kolenda, Fitzpatrick, & Todd, 2010). While the existence and concentration of creative industries is often assumed to be an urban phenomenon, there has been limited research on the location pattern of creative firms on the intrametropolitan level. One notable exception is Hutton (2004) who used evidence from four international case studies to argue that creative industries have the potential to greatly impact the development of central cities. This paper seeks to trace the intrametropolitan location pattern of creative industries in about 100 U.S. metropolitan areas and its change over



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time. In so doing it bridges two primary streams of literature in the field: one on employment location and mobility, and the other on creative industries and their geographic clustering. It thus contributes to the literature through a better understanding of the location decisions and economic impact of new media and other creative industry firms across the urban geography with a highlight on central city-suburban difference. The answer to this question bears importance to urban planners and policy makers who are interested in attracting and retaining these industries in central cities and suburban communities as a potential economic development tool. We will use data from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's State of the Cities data system (SOCDS). Statistics are available on the number of firms, employees and average salaries for more than 100 largest central cities and their corresponding suburban areas with control for changes in the metropolitan area definitions. This data have been used previously to assess intrametropolitan financial employment shift (Immergluck, 2001) and location patterns of the self-employed (Oh, 2008). We define creative industries using the following NAICS codes (51: information, 54: professional, scientific & technical services; and 71: arts, entertainment & recreation), as defined by Markusen et al. (2008). We will first trace the change in central city versus suburban concentration of creative industry establishments, jobs and disparity in salaries from 1998 to 2002, and then use regression analysis to explore the possible explanatory factors affecting their decision choices.

### ***Fostering creativity and knowledge in the Barcelona Metropolitan Region: what role do policies play?***

Montserrat Pareja-Eastaway (University of Barcelona)

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Despite the effects of globalisation, cities and regions around the world still make efforts to attract economic activity to create employment and growth. However, a progressive shift in the importance of the determinants for building up dynamic and attractive cities has occurred since creativity and knowledge have become the basic pillars to enhance urban competitiveness. Historically, urban economic development has nourished itself from the traditional theories of company localisation based on the existence of agglomeration economies and synergies between actors (Beccatini, 1979; Amin and Thrift, 1992; Porter, 1998). Later on, other arguments have been developed based on the belief that the city environment and its quality of life, in short, the availability of 'soft' factors, might be decisive in the location of talented people (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). However, policy makers and stakeholders in the majority of city councils are looking towards 'the' right recipe: Better infrastructures to attract companies? Buzzing environments to attract talent? Celebrating macro-projects and global events to increase visibility? The diversity of world cities is huge in terms of



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dimension, economic specialisation and trajectory; they could hardly follow the same strategy to become successful cities to attract economic activity. However, certain lessons can be learned from other experiences. The ACRE project, a four-year research programme funded by the European Union, stresses the importance of existing urban pathways, the personal attachment to the city expressed by creative and knowledge workers and the uniqueness of the place as key aspects to consider when defining urban strategies to increase competitiveness. According to these results, the paper aims to identify the contribution to economic success of policies and strategies linked to the development of creative and knowledge sectors in a particular case-study: the Barcelona Metropolitan Region (BMR). Moreover, the paper will provide an assessment of the key positive factors that have contributed to the region's success in terms of economic take-off together with an examination of future challenges and threads.

### 068 Citizens and Governance

#### ***Local Governments and Decision-making in the Sustainable City: Can Planning and Zoning Boards Deliberate?***

George Homsy (Cornell University)

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At the municipal level, citizen land-use boards (i.e. planning boards and zoning boards of appeal or adjustment) wield enormous power to shape a place. These boards make binding decisions, which can environmentally, economically and socially alter a community for generations. This paper, which focuses on citizen land-use boards, is part of a research program that examines multiple aspects of local government decision-making in terms of land-use and sustainability. There exist numerous areas of interest with regards to citizen land-use boards. For example, despite their quasi-judicial role, the options for board decisions are greater than the binary choices in civil or criminal courts. In addition, the role of advocates and experts during meetings varies widely. Also, board members often lack training in land use planning, law, citizen participation and/or deliberation strategies. Taken together these factors could make rationale decision-making difficult and could subvert the legitimacy of the institution. Deliberation is the subject of this paper. Public discourse and democratic deliberation are normative avenues for decision-making, especially in the area of local land use planning, economic development and environmental protection. In principle, citizen land-use boards could offer the opportunity for formal public deliberation. At a minimum, deliberation should occur amongst the citizen land-use board members with each bringing a perspective and learning from colleagues around the table. Such





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deliberation would be an important reason for favoring board decision-making over that of a professional in the administration. Using a case study approach, the deliberation of these citizen land-use boards is examined. Findings support the hypothesis that very little constructive deliberation takes place at citizen land-use boards amongst committee members. Instead of learning and deciding through discourse, most planning boards default to a quasi-judicial framework of operation, which consists of questioning applicants, reviewing evidence, listening to concerns of neighbors and, then, engaging perfunctory discussion before passing judgment. If these findings are generalized across citizen land-use boards, municipalities may wish to seek board reforms or find more rationale avenues for land-use decision-making. Future research will examine the roles of citizen participation, board member background, and expertise in citizen board decision-making.

### ***Who Governs? The Composition of Local Economic Development Decision-Making Coalitions***

Twyla Blackmond Larnell (Michigan State University)

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Over the years, the governance of local economic development policy has transformed. Contemporary local economic development decision-making coalitions involve extensive interorganizational collaboration and extend beyond the simple relationship between local government and business leaders as previously promoted by urban regime theorists. There are many localities in which private, yet non-business related individuals and organizations play a significant role in the development of local economic development policies. This paper contends that the prominence of these actors in development decision-making has fostered the existence of local economic development decision-making coalitions that are not dominated by corporate business interests. This study utilizes data provided by the International City/County Management Association's (ICMA) 1999, 2004, and 2009 Economic Development Surveys. Descriptive statistics will be utilized to examine the participation levels of various development actors involved in decision-making. Two-step cluster analysis will be performed to identify distinct types of local economic development decision-making coalitions and logistic regression will be conducted to identify the factors influencing the emergence of particular development decision-making coalitions.

### ***Choices in Urban Planning: Territory, Values and Conflict from the Decision Makers' Point of View in the Region of Québec City***

Winnie Frohn (University of Québec in Montréal)



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In a competitive world where municipalities aim at distinctiveness (Markusen and Schrock 2006), local initiatives often involve planning issues that include conflicts. What are the factors that cause these conflicts? Who are the actors and what are their strategies? There are still many unexplored dimensions if we recognize that planning decisions can arise from conflict and, secondly, that the territory may be the cause or a major factor in conflict (Trudelle et al., 2006) Villeneuve et al., 2007, Subra, 2008). According to Albrechts (2003), the planning process has been the object of many case studies but much less research has dealt with "the perspective of the political class" (p. 250). This paper aims precisely at analyzing conflicts in planning from the point of view of "municipal decision makers." The analysis is based on data from a survey made in the region of Québec City (la région de la Capitale) in the Province of Québec in Canada from 1999 to 2000 with a follow-up in 2008. The research focused on approaches to planning by women and men who have decision-making or advisory positions, that is to say, city councillors and members of the Planning Advisory Committee (CCU). This presentation focuses on what respondents identified as projects or issues with conflicts. Three hypotheses are examined: 1) Conflicts and strategies are different for members of the CCU and elected officials. 2) Size, functions and location of the municipality influence the types of conflict and the strategies and 3) Conflicts between civil servants, elected members and CCU appear more in the larger cities where people know each other less and where employees are part of a network in the municipal administration. The results lead to a better understanding of power relationships and the connections between planning issues and the territory. In spite of an institutional heritage of consensus building, the respondents reluctantly accept that conflicts do exist. The mayor's role has to be distinguished from the rest of the elected officials because many of the latter consider that it is the mayor who has to decide and bear the consequences. The members of the Planning Advisory Committee (CCU) have a tendency to minimize their influence, but in some cases they do make alliances with certain councilors. The location of the municipalities affects the types of conflicts, particularly when they are in an agglomeration or close to major facilities. The perception of their own municipality and the neighboring towns also determine who are the actors (the public in general, citizen groups, elected officials etc.) and the nature of the conflicts. Finally, the third hypothesis is not confirmed because conflicts with civil servants are found in all sizes of municipalities often with the strategy of not giving enough information.

### 069 Planning for Urban Change



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### ***Structuring Change: Developing a Strategic Framework for Revitalizing Detroit Neighborhoods***

Kristine Miranne (Southwest Detroit Development Collaborative), Sam Butler (Community Legal Resources)

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In early 2009, the Community Development Advocates of Detroit (CDAD) convened a task force comprised of community development organizations (CDOs) and a wide array of public and private organizations. Their mission was to chart a new vision for Detroit's neighborhoods – one that acknowledged we will not reverse the loss of population for the foreseeable future and that current conditions within the city's neighborhoods were no longer socially, economically and environmentally sustainable. In February 2010, CDAD released a strategic framework that outlines how to build collaboration between residents and CDOs to focus on revitalization as well as short-, mid- and long-term systemic and matching intervention strategies for neighborhoods. Integral to this work is a set of eleven classifications that apply to all geographical areas of the city. Each classification is tied to data indicators for land use, demographics, infrastructure and other areas. We are finalizing the indicators and evaluating appropriate strategies with related success measures. Concurrently, CDAD is testing the framework against real world situations by piloting a community planning process in two areas of Detroit. The process will bring the classifications as well as their associated planning strategies into a community context while incorporating resident and CDO efforts. At the conclusion of that work, we will have developed a community-based planning toolkit to be employed citywide, framed by the typologies identified for each area along with the appropriate indicators. Our paper briefly outlines the process that led to the development of the strategic framework; describes the various typologies, neighborhood indicators and the resultant revitalization strategies; and shares findings from the pilot projects. CDAD's work is significant because it examines not only current conditions but also moves in a forward direction that is appropriate, sustainable and realistic for any given type of area throughout the city. We argue that revitalization strategies cannot be created in a piecemeal fashion by looking at only a few neighborhoods. A city-wide vision and strategic framework must be created before any meaningful planning can occur in specific communities. As we come to a collective understanding of an overall vision and strategies for all of Detroit's neighborhoods, implementation plans can be developed rationally with more support, involvement, patience and tolerance for the difficulties that lie ahead.

### ***Resolving Institutional Conflicts in Urban Environmentalism: The Case of California's New Land Use Laws***



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James Connolly (Columbia University)

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The historic divide between social and natural regulatory regimes in the United States must be overcome in order to create effective urban environmental institutions. Efforts to create ecologically sound urbanization have been repeatedly blocked by political stand-offs over land use controls between community development and environmental activists. This paper examines the inter-organizational processes that led up to and followed from a current legislative action that seeks to overcome this stalemate in California. The Sustainable Communities and Climate Protection Act (California Senate Bill 375, 2008) mandates that "metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) align planning for transportation and housing" in an effort to reduce vehicle miles travelled and, as a consequence, the greenhouse gas emissions that result from existing land use patterns. The law requires that regions with air quality below the state's targets demonstrate how their land use plans will reduce vehicle miles travelled and bring their area into compliance with state emissions goals. I analyze the results of 34 semi-structured interviews with the heads of organizations that were directly involved in formulating or implementing the bill. The interviews lasted roughly one hour and focused on who each organization worked with, what the primary conflicts were and how they were resolved. I also offer preliminary findings of analysis of the public discourse around the legislation which employs the DNA software application to visualize the structure of the discourse and how it has developed over time. The outcome of interest in this study is not the creation of the new state law per se, but the effect of efforts to create the law and the institutional reorganization that the law signifies. For example, within the formulation process of the bill, there was a crucial move in the environmental agenda away from opposition to all development and toward support for "the right kind of development." This move sparked a new alignment between mainstream environmental and affordable housing organizations. The extent to which such re-alignments in the organizational field have altered the relevant actors in land use decision-making is the key variable explored here.

### ***Muddling through: insights into planning, with diversity, revisited***

Lisa Bornstein (McGill University)

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This paper examines possible benefits and disadvantages of a "muddling through" approach to communication in multi-cultural planning. The paper responds to the question, "Can shared understanding of the difficulties of communication foster tolerance and trust in the absence of effective or clear communication?" Drawing on the experience of communications and actions among diverse participants in a



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community-university partnership, the paper explores how we ? as planners and theorists ? can better understand the benefits and the disadvantages of ?mis-communication? and ?partial understanding?. Concepts derived from linguistic writing on code-shifting and metaphors and from planning literature on information (?as power?) and mega-projects, inform the analysis. ?Learning from practice? stories drawn from the author and other participants in the partnership provide the empirical base for analysis. Common precepts in planning include statements such as, ?A good planning process is characterized by open and clear communication? or ?truth and accuracy in communication are essential to an honest planning process.? Dilemmas in moving towards effective communication are many, and are largely well-known. Open, clear and accurate communications are muddled under conditions where frames of references are distinct. Such orientations complicate the already difficult task of surmounting differences in the power and knowledge of participants in a planning process. And the mechanics ? common language, comfort in speaking, and the like ? may also complicate efforts to move towards full communication. Studies on information as power in the planning process suggest that moving towards greater democratization of information and clarity in communication is essential. Yet studies of language, specifically of metaphors and code/style-shifting (moving from one language or linguistic style to another), suggest that our ability to find bridges across difference may take the form of approximating understanding, or operating in ?two worlds? simultaneously. Four years of work by community-university research alliance in Montreal are used to illustrate both sides of the debate. Specific communicative acts and real-world actions have overcome differences amongst participants in the alliance, allowing for deepened multilingualism, trans-disciplinarity, cross-neighbourhood collaboration, and other bridges. In other instances, more typical dilemmas associated with poor communication have dominated the development process and relations among participants/stakeholders. The paper contributes to emerging planning debates on information as power in development projects, and the role of communication in planning practice in multicultural societies.

### **070     Urban Marginality: Research on Urban Renewal and Gentrification in Four Cities**



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### ***Urban Renewal or Urban Removal? The Intended and Unintended Consequences of Public Policy***

Carol Camp Yeakey (Washington University in St. Louis)

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Because of problems associated with high density poverty, the demise of large scale, high density, public housing for the poor, through urban renewal, has been a goal of national public policy for several decades. For purposes of this presentation, urban renewal is defined as the politics of contested space (Todd & Swanstrom 2009). This study is a preliminary investigation of the demise of public housing, through urban renewal, in Chicago, Illinois, from the period 1990-2010, utilizing Chicago's Plan of Transformation as a key point of departure. In particular, this research seeks to examine the dislocation of the public housing residents in the largest public housing experiment in Chicago and in the country, the Robert Taylor projects. The Robert Taylor Projects consisted of twenty-eight high rise buildings built in 1962 between 39th Street, on the northern boundary and 57th Street on the southern boundary, stretching for two miles. The last residents moved out in 2005. Utilizing the multi-layered theoretical framework of Hyra (2008), Popkin (2005), Freeman (2006), Gordon (2008), Bradford (2009), and Koval et.al.(2006), the study is guided by the intersect of local (community), city, state, federal and international policies which impact the decisions and non-decisions that cities make to ensure their ability to not just survive, but to thrive in a competitive global economy. This research investigation is designed to answer the generic question, what have been the residential and relocation housing patterns for residents from the Robert Taylor Housing Projects in Chicago? What have been the neighborhood impacts of urban renewal and gentrification on former residents of the Robert Taylor Housing Projects? Preliminary findings suggest disturbing trends. The first trend observed, from preliminary data analysis, suggests that neighborhood poverty may have as strong an impact on future social mobility of children as parents' education, employment status or marital status. A second disturbing trend is the suburbanization of poverty, a geographic re-clustering based on race and class leading to dramatic increases in re-segregation, neighborhood deterioration, crime, poor schools and a host of urban ills formerly associated with public housing projects.

### ***Best of Times, Worst of Times: Urban Promise and Neglect in Pittsburgh, 1990-2010***

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In several independent surveys over the last decade, the city of Pittsburgh has ranked





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among the top 25-50 cities in the world in terms of stability, health care, culture, environment, education and infrastructure (Carpenter 2010). However, another revealing set of studies which provide indicators of quality of life by race and ethnicity in the Pittsburgh region, suggest that the city is one of the most racially segregated communities of its size in the country (Center on Race and Social Problems, 2007). How could this be, Pittsburgh as most livable but among the most racially segregated? To explain the extent to which Pittsburgh's promise and neglect are portrayed, this paper will analyze a plethora of data points relevant to the changes in neighborhoods, income distribution, schooling populations, poverty, underachievement, crime, housing, joblessness, and other social, political and economic indicators over the last 20 years. Similarly, the paper will trace Pittsburgh's decline from a rust-belt city dependent on the steel industry, to its current image as a city with a new renown built on technology transfer and health care. How the political actors and local, state and federal interests and partnerships combined to transform the city's manufacturing base to today's diverse economy provides a telling portrait for other rust belt cities struggling to overcome America's decline in manufacturing. Building on the conceptual frameworks of urban inequality in major U.S. metropolises (O'Connor, Tilly & Bobo 2001; Orfield, 2002; Varady, 2005), the paper provides a poignant picture of the causes and consequences of urban promise and urban neglect in Pittsburgh. Compelling vignettes of those residents for whom urban renewal provides and provided promise are presented, as well as vignettes from those for whom urban renewal provides and provided urban neglect, across generational lines.

### ***"From Hopelessness to Hope:" The Dreams, Promises and Challenges of Gentrification in Portsmouth, Virginia***

Judith Brooks Buck (Virginia State University)

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This paper examines the unique plan to support the revitalization of the city of Portsmouth, Virginia, funded by a Hope VI grant under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Housing and Urban Development. The twenty four million dollar grant award was to be used to change conditions for public housing residents, as well as individuals and properties in other impoverished regions of the city. The theme of the grant included the notion of moving the residents from "...hopelessness to hope" by providing living wage employment, home ownership, education and training and safe environments. Although such plans were said to include resident input, the hopes and dreams of a substantial portion of the persons for whom the grant proposal was designed left the project without fulfilling their unique aspirations. Some hopes were thwarted by grant design and implementation flaws; while others were interrupted when the primary



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issue entrepreneur lost a city election. While the crumbling stock of substandard public housing was demolished and new homes were built, the former public housing residents were dispersed to a variety of different areas. Some moved to homes, and some to homelessness. Bankers, builders, and businesses left the project financially enriched. Stein (2004) quoting Robin Kelley, provides insight with regard to how great policy efforts have less than great results. According to Stein (2004) "The 'dozens,' a childhood game of rapid insults and comedic comebacks, has mutated and become a platform by which policymakers gain access to what they perceive as support for programs that benefit the poor." By examining urban renewal and gentrification in Portsmouth, Virginia, from 2000 through 2010, this study details the stories of the residents involved from the perspectives of the proposed beneficiaries and sheds new light on the dreams, promises and challenges associated with the implementation of a gentrification project that changed lives forever. Preliminary findings suggest that the policy and the structures for service provision created incentives for the maintenance of urban inequality and marginality.

### 071 Green Infrastructure and Community Development

#### ***The Southside Community Garden Project: Connecting the Social and Ecological***

Jason Slipp (Lehigh University), Matt Sanderson (Lehigh University)

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Community gardens are increasingly viewed as form of sustainable agriculture that is capable of empowering marginalized groups in urban areas. Yet it remains unclear both whether the community garden can fulfill this promise and what factors contribute to a successful community garden. I use a case study of a community gardening project in Bethlehem, PA to examine the promises and challenges of community gardens as a means of empowering marginalized groups. The Southside Community Garden Project is a partnership between the city of Bethlehem and Lehigh University that began in 2008. The project is developing a system of community gardens in lower-income, predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods in the Southside of Bethlehem where access to healthy, affordable food is scarce. I draw upon Patricia Allen's work on the discourses in the sustainable agriculture movement to construct a theoretical framework around the questions of how community members understand the act of gardening, and what the motivating factors are for citizens to get involved. Qualitative interviews with community members, both gardeners and non-gardeners, provide data that will be used to develop a list of factors that motivate citizens to become involved with community gardening. The findings from the study are discussed in the context of the broader literature on environmental justice and



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sustainable urban agriculture.

### ***Bridging the ?Green Divide?? The Role of Public Gardens in Promoting Social Equity and a Sustainable Future***

Meghan Gough (Virginia Commonwealth University), John Accordino (Virginia Commonwealth University)

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American communities are becoming increasingly interested in practicing better stewardship of the environment through activities that include building with environmentally friendly materials, using solar panels, recycling waste, and purchasing locally-grown food. These activities are good for the environment, but how compatible are they with the goal of social equity? In theory, they are intimately connected. As is argued at the global and local level, true, long-term sustainability can only be achieved if communities and societies integrate the goals of environmental stewardship, economic efficiency, and social equity. Yet in practice, these goals often conflict, and communities have been willing to promote environmental stewardship in some neighborhoods, while locating noxious uses in poor or minority areas. The extent to which the cause of social equity can be advanced in an integrated fashion with the cause of environmental stewardship is not yet clear. Just as the digital revolution brought in tow a ?digital divide,? so too may the new concern with the environment create a ?green divide,? whereby only wealthier persons and neighborhoods get useful information about, or can afford, ?greener? practices, or whereby low-wealth communities are forced to sacrifice environmental stewardship to the more immediately pressing needs of economic development and social equity. The growing interest of public gardens in promoting environmental stewardship in the communities where they are located may provide one way for low-wealth neighborhoods to bridge this divide and advance all three sustainability objectives. Once considered the preserve of the wealthy or oases of plant life in urban areas, public gardens are beginning to engage with communities in new ways, assisting neighborhood vegetable gardens and public schools and promoting appreciation of the outdoors. Perhaps they can also support entrepreneurship and build capacity in communities through horticultural businesses that simultaneously revitalize the neighborhoods and promote environmental stewardship. Other cultural institutions, such as fine-arts organizations, have also sought to deploy their resources and expertise to help the wider community. This paper describes the roles that public gardens are playing in sustainable development, focusing especially on low-wealth neighborhoods. Using results from a national survey of public gardens along with select document analysis and interviews, we describe what initiatives public gardens undertake in low-wealth neighborhoods, and why. Do their efforts seek to build



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individual capacities and social capital, do they build wealth through new enterprises, do they improve resident health and revitalize the areas physically through land reclamation? Roles that public policy and intermediaries might play to help gardens and low-wealth neighborhoods establish and maintain productive partnerships are examined.

***Integration of urban agriculture with TOD in city neighborhoods: Adding value as a critical, low intensity complimentor.***

Smitha Balasubrahmanya (Temple University)

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The success of TOD (Transit Oriented Development) depends on effective partnerships between transit agencies, business and community entities. Available research and literature explore the relationship between private and public sectors, investment in new buildings and infrastructure, and issues concerning the car, parking and highways. Less discussed is the addition of value to TODs by low intensity developments like urban farms and community gardens, space for vendors and farmers markets. Looking at the proposed TOD at the SEPTA 46th and Market St ?El? station in Philadelphia, this paper focuses on the potential of urban agriculture to be an integral part of urban TOD. It is seen that: 1. Urban agriculture compliments the principles of TOD by providing important community spaces that create a sense of place and become focal points of neighborhood activity. 2. They build valuable social capital and create local support for TOD in inner cities. 3. The inclusion of urban farms and community gardens as important components, and as desirable features, can enhance the marketability of the TOD. This relationship of urban agriculture and TOD can play a vital role in addressing some of the inner city challenges by utilizing vacant land, combating food access issues, and providing educational and economic opportunities. Current political initiatives and increasing awareness within communities regarding sustainability issues are creating conducive environments for integrating urban farms with inner city development. TOD cannot afford to ignore the potential presented by these trends. Urban agriculture requires inclusion as an important component of TOD with conscious evaluations regarding funding and land tenure issues, the potential to be assigned as land trusts and the encouragement of complimentary activities.

***Reclaiming Progressive-Era Cities with Wholesome Recreation: Municipal Park Systems and the National Playground and Recreation Association***

Margaretha Warnicke (Arizona State University)

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The rapid industrialization and urbanization of the late 19th and early 20th centuries



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resulted in congested cities that offered little in the way of recreation for the increased leisure time that urban workers enjoyed. This paper explores how one Progressive-era voluntary association, the Playground and Recreation Association of America (PRAA), attempted to "reclaim" cities by encouraging municipal governments to construct organized and wholesome recreation systems, primarily through the development of playgrounds and parks where supervisors would structure urban children's play. Numerous philanthropists donated funds to the PRAA's efforts, believing that organized recreation would assimilate immigrants and create a well-behaved citizenry. The PRAA used the bulk of these funds to create surveys of the available recreational facilities in many cities throughout the United States. These recreation surveys included interviews with local children, detailed maps with each type of recreation facility identified, and population data to demonstrate the need for additional, wholesome recreational options. Using data published by the U.S. Department of Labor about municipal park systems from 1880 to 1925 and from the federal census records from 1880 to 1930, this paper explores the impact of the PRAA's efforts on the development of municipal park systems in the United States, evaluates the success of the PRAA's efforts to reclaim the city, and demonstrates how the activities of the PRAA affected the development of the modern U.S. city.

### 072 Migration Patterns and Governmental Responses

#### ***The Representation of Immigrants in Federal, State and Local Government Workforce***

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At the turn of a new decade, immigration continues to be a fundamental force that is reshaping the political, economic, social and cultural landscape of the United States. Despite their growing importance, research on the representation of immigrants in various levels of government is lacking. Representative bureaucracy theorists argue that government employees often engage in active representation of policies and services in the interest of citizens who share their own experiences (Meier 1975). Empirical evidence suggests that the level of racial/ethnic minority representation in the public sector has implications for the minority groups they serve (Meier 1993; Pitts 2007). Case studies collected from several cities in California also show local police agencies start to hire Latino and Asian immigrant officers to effectively serve the diverse, immigrant communities (Lewis and Ramakrishnan, 2007), supporting the immigrant "bureaucratic incorporation" perspective. This research systematically examines the historical trend and current pattern of immigrant representation in the public sector by geography, demographic traits and occupation. This research uses



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1990 and 2000 Census 5% Public Use Microdata Sample as well as 2006-2008 American Community Survey to answer a number of questions. First of all, to trace the percentage of immigrants employed in federal, state, and local government for three time periods (1990, 2000, and 2006-2008) in total, as well as for Asian immigrants and Latino immigrants separately, and by state. Following the strategy of Lewis and Pitts (2009), immigrant representation in three important public sector occupations of managers, teachers, and police is also documented. Second, we examine how the percentage of state and local government workers who are immigrants varies across states. We hypothesize that percentages will be higher in states with more and better-educated Asian and Hispanic immigrants, especially in states with longer histories of in-migration, but we also expect a variety of state characteristics ? particularly political and economic characteristics ? to have an impact. Third, we will use logit (or probit or multinomial logit) analysis on individual-level data to see how immigrant and citizenship status affect one?s probability of holding a public sector job. Models will control for a variety of socioeconomic characteristics known to affect the probability of public sector employment ? e.g., education, work experience, gender, race, and occupation. Separate models for Asian and Hispanic immigrants will add English proficiency, arrival period, and country of origin to assess their impact on the probability of holding a public sector job.

### ***International migration on medical markets in Japan***

Shigeharu Nomura (Osaka University, Japan), Masaki Takayama (Osaka University, Japan)

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Japan's internationalization is far behind the world in every field. In particular, the foreign-born medical professionals have not been accepted at all in Japan. But it is the time for us to need the support of foreign-born medical professionals in the aging Japanese society nowadays. Furthermore, it seems that main cause of the recent stagnation of Japanese economy is not keeping up with the times. So it seems that open policy of these medical fields become a frontrunner in attaining the internationalization in Japan. In addition, this would prime the pump and a lot of able foreign students would enter Japanese universities (department of medical science). So, it seems that the liberalization of medical markets in Japan should be advanced.

### ***Migration from central urban Israel to its northern rural periphery***

Sara Arnon (Tel-Hai College), Shmuel Shamai (Tel-Hai College and Golan Research Institute)

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The research investigated the phenomenon of inner immigration of Israeli citizens to the northern rural peripheral area of the Golan Heights region (about 270 people per square kilometer), mostly from the central urban area of the Tel Aviv metropolis region (about 2,000 people per square kilometer). The change from urban to rural landscapes is in contrast to the usual movement towards urbanization in the modern world. The research sought answers to many questions: Who are the immigrants that make such a change in their residence location, in their way of life and in their landscapes? What were their main reasons for making such a change? What attracted them to the new area and pushed them away from the urban center? How did this change influence the environmental, socioeconomic, cultural and community aspects of their lives? What made them feel satisfied or dissatisfied with their new location? What kind of attachment to their new community have they developed in the short period that they have been living there? And what does this phenomenon tell about urban advantages and disadvantages? Data was collected from 2000 till 2006 by a survey questionnaire answered by 403 adult immigrants to the Golan region. The respondents were compared according to the kind of community they chose, communities which differed in size and type of communal life. Results showed that the main reason for these unusual changes was the quest for "quality of life", a concept that combined living in nature, enjoying beautiful natural landscapes and fresh air, and having more meaningful lives for families in a caring community. Attachment to the settlement and even more, to the whole area of the Golan Heights, and a strong sense of place identity developed after immigration. These results are dealt with in regard to the search for "life significance" in accordance with Inglehart's modernization theory (1990), and in relation to the counter-urbanization process (Champion, 1998) that takes place in the byways of the preferred peripheral rural landscapes and not along the main road of modern urban life

### ***Territoriality and Belonging: Differing Local Government Responses to Immigration***

Justin Steil (Columbia University)

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Many small cities and towns in the United States have experienced rapid immigration in the past decade, and it is municipalities that experience most directly both the benefits and challenges that immigration presents. Local governments experiencing the arrival of immigrants have responded in widely varying ways. In terms of legislative action, some local governments have responded by passing laws intended to encourage undocumented immigrants to leave and to discourage others from arriving. Other local governments have passed laws intended to support immigrants already there regardless of their immigration status, and potentially encouraging others to settle. Still others have initially tried to exclude immigrants only to change



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course once they succeeded. What factors can explain why similarly situated local governments have responded in such diverging ways to rapid immigration? This research is important both to shaping concrete policy interventions designed to respond to demographic change as well as to enhancing our theoretical understanding of the factors affecting municipal policymaking. Drawing on quantitative and qualitative approaches, the paper first analyzes a database of demographic data on cities across the country that have passed local laws regarding immigration before turning to qualitative methods to do in-depth case studies of four cities. The quantitative analysis explores whether particular demographic or structural characteristics of cities are correlated with the passage of specific types of immigration ordinances. The qualitative analysis pairs demographically similar towns (Hazleton, PA and Allentown, PA; Fremont, NE and Grand Island, NE) where differing types of policies were implemented. The paper analyzes semi-structured interviews conducted with local officials, community leaders and city residents, as well as city council meeting minutes, media coverage, and local archival data to better understand the dynamics that led to the passage of the diverging local laws. The comparisons of these municipalities raise significant issues for fair housing and civil rights laws. They are also important in enhancing our understanding of municipal policymaking and the construction of belonging, as well as the ramifications of each for social equity.

### ***Incorporating in their adopted cities: Mexican immigrant politics in America***

Miryam Hazan (University of Pennsylvania)

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This paper will explore Mexican immigrant politics in America by analyzing the origins, dynamics and patterns of action of first-generation Mexican-American organizations in four American cities: Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas and New York. I argue that despite the institutional variations across these cities, the organizations which Mexican immigrants have established during the past two decades are remarkably similar in their membership and political orientation, an orientation defined predominantly with reference towards Mexico. These similarities are the result of increasing interactions with Mexican institutions and authorities since the early 1990s and more limited interactions with local and national institutions and authorities in the host society. However, local context has also had an impact on the evolution and strength of these organizations as well as on the ways they have engaged U.S. local and national politics. In places where the institutional structure has created more incentives for them to participate, and where they have been able to get the support of important political allies (such as unions, religious organizations, and political parties) Mexicans have turned their attention more rapidly to the U.S. and their



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organizations are stronger. In places where those incentives are absent or where they lack the support of meaningful allies, Mexican organizations seem to be weaker, have tended to compete more one against one other, and have been less effective in articulating a political agenda towards the host society. Although focused on the specificity of immigrant politics, my analysis has major implications for the understanding of the future of the American political system. Because of their large and growing presence, the political behavior of recent immigrants from Mexico and the ways they incorporate in the political process will define the type of polity the US will be in the coming years: more or less inclusive, more or less democratic. How this group of people operates within the US political system goes a long way toward defining that system's character. The paper is based on a large and unique data set based on extensive fieldwork and numerous interviews in those cities, as well as national-level research in Washington, D.C. and Mexico City.

### 073 Place-Based Leadership and Public Service Innovation

#### ***Participatory budgeting at the state level in Mexico: The case of the state of Michoacan***

Arturo Flores (National Autonomous University of Mexico)

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When we see the way in which the public policy known as the “participatory budget” has evolved over the last 20 years, it is evident that it has been adopted with great sympathy by over a dozen of countries in Europe, North America and elsewhere. It has become one of the most accountable ways in which citizens and authorities can interact and prioritise over those projects needed by any community. Despite its popularity, in the case of Mexico, there have only been a couple of isolated efforts (mainly at the local level) where the initiative has been implemented; however, not with the same consistency which it has been taking place in other parts of the globe. One of the places where it has been recently introduced with a different angle is the state of Michoacan. The innovation of this practice -in this particular case- has been its orientation, since it has been dedicated to particular sectors such as peasants and indigenous communities rather than having a territorial basis including the general public. The aim of this paper is to present the case of the participatory budget in the state of Michoacan. Located in the southwestern part of Mexico, this place with an ancient participatory tradition (mainly in indigenous areas) has become the first one to implement participatory budgeting at the state level in the country. The paper analyses the instrumentation of the participatory budget in this context, covering such aspects as the main actors that have taken part, the amounts of financial resources



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invested, as well as its main participatory elements. This work expects to be of the interest of academics, practitioners and all those involved in the implementation of public policies with a “participatory-budget” inclination.

Three aspects that the paper will highlight are:

- 1) Exploring new roles for academics in the development of public policies.
- 2) The impact that innovation may have/or not in local civic leaderships.
- 3) The lessons that can be drawn from the implementation of public policies in different contexts.

### ***Innovative or Inclusive - or both? Participatory Process for Urban Development in Basel/Switzerland***

Philippe Koch (University of Zurich)

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Note: Paper for the panel 'Place-Based Leadership and Public Service Innovation' In the last decade or so local governments are actively seeking to involve citizens in the process of policy-making. In Switzerland a bulk of new forms of state-society interactions evolve in the field of urban planning and they operate alongside common patterns of decision-making (i.e. elections, referendums, assemblies). These interactive processes are an answer to two developments in local politics. First, the political engagement of citizens has been declining in the last two decades. Second, major urban development projects were defeated by the citizenry in direct democratic campaigns. As a result governments concluded that the involvement of the public in an earlier stage of the planning process would increase both the legitimacy and the innovative potential of the projects. However there is a tension between the inclusiveness (in terms of people and ideas) and the demand for viable policy outputs. The paper analyses this tension scrutinizing a participatory process for urban development in Basel/Switzerland. The process under study took around ten years (1996-2007) and the output in terms of policy measures was impressive. By 2006 more than 100 proposed measures were realized and around 50 policies were in process. One reason for the success can be ascribed to the overlapping leadership of political authorities and community organisations (i.e. innovation zone). However reservations have to be made. Some of the policy measures were not that innovative at all. Rather the public administration implemented already existing but once rejected projects - now legitimated by the participatory process. Second, the participation forums were dominated by middle class interests already well represented in the regular political process. In sum, the paper provides empirical insights on the strategic and political usage of innovative policy knowledge co-produced by political and community leaders.



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### ***Climate partnerships, social housing and place-based collaboration in the city of Odense***

Lars A. Engberg (Aalborg University)

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With a new social housing reform, Danish local governments currently develop new governance relations to the social housing sector with a particular emphasis on place-based strategies and interventions. The paper analyses a new city agreement process in Odense, the fourth largest city in Denmark. Together with the city's social housing associations Odense City Council has developed the agreement and a new collaborative framework in order to push for a modernisation of the local social housing stock. The framework enables tenants' representatives to become involved in a city wide collaboration process that acts as a driver in the development of comprehensive area-based strategies and interventions, with a particular emphasis on climate adaptation and the introduction of more ambitious energy efficiency measures at estate level. Also, the agreement process stimulates cross-departmental collaboration in city hall as well as cooperation between social housing associations. The paper analyses the innovative governance mechanisms behind this process, and explores how the new collaborative governance regime in Odense impacts the development of urban policy and specific physical renovations of housing estates and districts in the city. The paper forms part of the International Civic Leadership and Innovation Programme (ICLIP).

### ***The Role of Public Neighbourhood Centres in Local Social Capital Formation***

Jacob Norvig Larsen (Aalborg University)

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While the welfare state provides services to its citizens in a very broad range of areas, there is in Denmark also a strong civic tradition of community organising and voluntary associations. From the early 1970s and onwards local neighbourhood centres accommodating a variety of cultural, social and learning activities have been a central means of civic organising. In its essence the neighbourhood centre is a continuance of a more 100 years old tradition of founding cooperatives to meet local needs of farmers, workers, residents, etc. From the late 1990s neighbourhood centres were brought to the fore of public urban regeneration policy as they were seen as a means to expedite formation of social capital in deprived urban neighbourhoods. In the much used area-based or place-based policy approach neighbourhood centres were perceived as a major instrument to further local networking and sense of place thereby strengthen local social sustainability and cohesion. Whereas establishment of



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neighbourhood centres used to be associated with self-organising and sometimes politically radical groups it has now become a top-down policy response to urban areas in need of regeneration. As a consequence of this, a substantial number of neighbourhood or community centres aimed at the facilitation of cultural and other activity were established in Denmark during the years 1998-2010. Centre formation was financed by central government urban regeneration funds in combination with municipal investments. Taking its outset in existing theory on links between place attachment, neighbourhood ties and social capital the paper explores a number of cases representing a variety of centre types. Case studies analyse the actual use and activities, the institutional and economic sustainability, and neighbourhood effects of these centres. Cases were analysed by means of field observations, interviews, and through documentary studies. Results show that overall the existence of the centres was heavily dependent of public subsidy, that the dependence seems to grow over time as institutionalisation of the organisation grows, that there is a wide scope for variation in activity profile of the centres, and that neighbourhood effects existed but were difficult to document.

### ***Enabling collaborative innovation in local government: Learning from area-based programmes***

Jesper Rohr Hansen (Aalborg University)

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Much research on innovation to date has been on the private sector, although there is a growing awareness that an adapted version of the innovation perspective is equally relevant to the public sector. This paper looks at a single innovation project in The City of Copenhagen, a project that aims at formulating a comprehensive policy for area based programmes in physically and socially deprived neighbourhoods. This goal requires new ways of cooperating across intra-organisational boundaries. The paper analyses the innovation process from the perspective of 'collaborative innovation'. It argues that there is a strong case for local government capacity building, not just in terms of understanding collaboration processes from an innovation perspective, but also for understanding certain leadership functions as being distributed rather than positioned.

## 074 Gentrification





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### ***Exploring Resident Experiences of Displacement in a Neighborhood Undergoing Gentrification and Mega-Project Development: A Montréal Case Study***

Amy Twigge-Molecey (INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société)

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Gentrification is simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, that involves the 'invasion' of previously working-class neighbourhoods by middle or upper-income groups, and the subsequent displacement of many of the original residents (Hamnett, 2000). While much scholarly attention has focused on the causes of gentrification, its effects on specific neighborhoods and the consequences for existing residents remain relatively unexplored, in part due to the difficulty of measuring displacement (van Weesep, 1994; Slater et al., 2004). Gentrification is taking on increasingly diverse forms such as new-build gentrification (which will either take place as infill development or as the creation of entire neighborhoods on brownfield sites). In such cases, developers and municipal governments alike argue that displacement will not occur, as these developments create new additional housing units rather than rehabilitating existing housing, as was the case with traditional gentrification. However, others argue that displacement may still occur, but it will be 'indirect' (Davidson and Lees, 2004). My conceptual framework draws upon existing literature from a variety of fields to develop a typology of forms of indirect displacement. For example, social displacement, draws upon the social networks literature, to explore the ways in which long-term renters social networks might be upset by wider changes in the neighborhood. Cultural displacement explores the 'sense of place' held by long-term renters and how gentrifiers appropriation of the neighborhood effects incumbent residents comfort within neighborhood public spaces. Political displacement explores the interaction (or lack there of) of long-term and incoming residents within existing neighborhood organizations and whether such interactions lead to increased access to social capital or shifting power dynamics that leave incumbent residents on the fringe within such groups. This paper will explore resident experiences of neighborhood change in Saint-Henri, which is among Montreal's oldest working-class neighborhoods and is undergoing simultaneously gentrification and mega-project development. In particular, it will explore whether and in what ways long-term low and modest incomes renters experience displacement (i.e. in direct or indirect forms). Further, it tests through fieldwork the typology of 'indirect' displacement mentioned above, in order to assess whether this concept is a useful for understanding the experiences of long-term renters in a gentrifying neighborhood in Montreal.

### ***Exploring the Contours of Suburban Gentrification***



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Suzanne Charles (Harvard University)

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Originally defined as the middle-class rehabilitation of central city housing, the term "gentrification" now refers to a much broader phenomenon. Although few scholars have specifically studied the gentrification of suburban areas, evidence suggests that the incremental, private-sector redevelopment of single-family housing, observed with great frequency in suburban areas in the last ten years, may in fact represent a new form of the phenomenon within "third-wave" post-recessionary gentrification (Hackworth, 2007; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Niedt, 2006). The definition of gentrification has expanded in recent years to include many mutated forms; moreover, scholars contend that there is no longer an explicit distinction between gentrification through the rehabilitation of existing housing and through new construction (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Lees, 2003; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Smith, 1996). Scholars argue for a broadened definition of gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Phillips, 2004). However, broadening of the term to include the suburbs may run the risk of stretching the term too far, resulting in gentrification becoming a blunt concept devoid of critical meaning. This study builds upon recent research that examines the changing context of gentrification. Using original data of single-family residential redevelopment in 128 inner-ring suburbs of Chicago from 2000 and 2010, the paper examines whether the incremental redevelopment process occurring there should be conceptualized as gentrification. This paper outlines the case for and against the extension of the concept to include gentrification of suburban areas. It then makes an argument that, although not all instances of suburban residential redevelopment should be considered gentrification, evidence from the inner-ring suburbs of Chicago supports the extension of the concept to include suburban gentrification.

### ***Housing the Middle Class: A Global Dilemma***

Amy Armstrong (London School of Economics), Ingrid Gould Ellen (New York University)

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Several recent studies have found evidence of increasing income inequality in cities around the world. One of the potential consequences of rising income inequality is that the wealthy may bid up the price of housing and make the less wealthy worse off. Public policies aimed at addressing these rising housing costs have tended to target low and very-low income populations. The result has often been a lack of affordable, adequate housing options for the middle class which, in some cases, has contributed to an exodus of the middle class, further exacerbating underlying inequalities. This



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paper looks at the problem of, and various strategies for addressing, the housing affordability challenges faced by middle income earners in high cost, high inequality global cities. What role should local governments play in providing assistance to middle income households, if any? We explore this issue in-depth by focusing on two cities: New York City and Abu Dhabi. New York City's relatively rich history in this area provides many examples of strategies to build or preserve housing for the middle class, including the Mitchell Lama program and bond financing strategies. Abu Dhabi, on the other hand, is a newer global city, growing rapidly and facing these challenges for the first time. We will use the examples and lessons from New York City to develop a typology of policy responses, including taxation, land use regulation, and subsidies. We will then explore the opportunities and barriers that Abu Dhabi leaders face in implementing such strategies. The lessons from New York City and the opportunities and barriers faced by Abu Dhabi, however, will be broadly applicable for cities around the world grappling with how to maintain a thriving middle class and create cities of opportunity for all residents.

### ***Understanding Gentrification: The Role and Abilities of Community-Based Organizations in Changing Neighborhoods***

Myung-Ji Bang (University of Texas at Arlington)

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The goal of this study is to identify the roles and barriers of community-based organizations in post-disaster changing neighborhoods and to examine how community based organizations support residents in dealing with neighborhood change through the case of New Orleans, Louisiana following Hurricane Katrina. Drawing on a review of existing reports and conducting surveys with community-based organizations, this study first identifies how community-based organizations support existing residents and attempts to gauge the role of these organizations in representing low-income residents in New Orleans, LA after Katrina, 2005. I focus in particular on the potential role and the ability of community-based organizations—not only to prevent displacement but also as a way to ultimately create political linkages and social linkages with other groups—to assist low-income existing residents in changing neighborhoods. I found that the CDCs have built a potential ability to be a political linkage and social linkage through the development of and collaboration with partnerships as well as a catalyst for increasing civic participation and creating strong leadership of the communities. CDCs play important roles in supporting the residents dealing with changing neighborhoods but they do so in different ways. The findings of this study are expected to contribute in the field of gentrification as a solution to support low-income residents dealing with changing neighborhoods in gentrifying neighborhoods.



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### 075 Arts and Economic Development

#### ***Culture Inc. and the Urban Growth Coaliton: Montreal's Quartier des Spectacles***

Yuseph Katiya (Concordia University)

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While it has retained some of its social-democratic features, Montreal, like many American and Canadian cities, has adopted strategies characteristic of the neoliberal era. Financed by a private-public partnership, the Quartier des Spectacles (The neighbourhood of Spectacles), is set to host mega-events such as the International Jazz Festival. This new entertainment district is playing a central role in Montreal's transformation towards a neoliberal city. Entertainment districts and mega-events are not new strategies for post-industrial cities, however, the leading actors involved in this revitalization project might differ from the traditional urban growth coalition. In Montreal, a coalition of art foundations, cultural not-for profits and festivals have aligned themselves with traditional land-based elites and politicians. This group of elite cultural actors, whom I refer to as Culture Inc., highlight the entrepreneurial turn within Montreal arts community. In this paper, I attempt to map Montreal's particular urban growth coalition, and discuss some of the tensions that result from an alliance between cultural actors and traditional elites.

#### ***Making Money out of Rubble: Deindustrialization and the Political Economy of the Frontier Mythology in Braddock, PA***

Brett Story (University of Toronto)

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Much has been written about Braddock, PA in national news, touting the decimated city as a destination for young artists/entrepreneurs and an example of innovative local government striving to build anew in the (very real) rubble of the old. For many, Braddock is iconic in its present stature, and the historical injuries wrought upon the borough by profit-motivated power mongers continues, most recently in the withdrawal of the University of Pennsylvania's hospital facility in Braddock this January (managing also to remove the only ATM and cafeteria from the city). But artists and theorists of post-industrialization aren't the only populations honing in on the opportunities to be made out of Braddock's blight. More recently, Levi Strauss & Co. has launched an audacious \$55 million advertising campaign that puts the town of Braddock, its unemployed citizens, and the idea of the rust belt as the "new frontier," front and centre in a slick neo-nationalist branding strategy with major implications



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for how we think of the present - and future - of our deindustrialized communities. As Levi's ad writers have put it, "A long time ago, things got broken here. People got sad and left. Maybe the world breaks on purpose so we can have work to do." This paper explores the creative economy built in the ruins of the factory town, taking as its central focus of critique the Levi's appropriation of the real town of Braddock, PA into the narrative of a "new frontier." Using the example of Braddock, a town built and destroyed by a goliath industry with a history of decimating cities throughout the country by outsourcing labor overseas (Carnegie Steel) now being touted as a "frontier" by another massive company with outsourced labor, this paper will explore the complicated interrelationship between the "creative economy," neo-colonialism, labor and philanthropy in the context of the post-industrial town.

### ***Building Communities by Providing Fertile Ground for Informal Arts and Culture***

Meg Merrick (Portland State University)

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Although it has long been argued that arts and cultural institutions have economic multiplier effects in central cities, recent literature suggests that the presence of informal arts and cultural activities contributes to neighborhood stabilization, improvement, and vitality (Taylor, 2008). This is particularly true in low-income urban and rural communities where major established arts institutions are geographically or financially out of reach. Informal arts and culture include a wide range of activities that are more or less formal, nonprofit and commercial, spontaneous and planned. Activities may be spontaneous gatherings of musicians and dancers on local sidewalks, street fairs and parades, poetry readings, church choirs, for-profit art galleries, music, and dance schools, neighborhood-organized art walks, and art for sale in the local coffee shop. In spite of the benefits, planning agencies have largely overlooked their importance to local community development. Opportunities for informal arts and culture do not exist everywhere, however. Urban and suburban land use policies can act to either foster or suppress them. This paper describes an exploratory study for the Multnomah County Culture Coalition that sought to inventory informal arts and culture activities in eight study areas in urban and suburban Multnomah County, Oregon, to better understand the neighborhood conditions in which opportunities for these activities can thrive. The study's findings suggest that understanding the extent of informal arts and culture in any given neighborhood is difficult because of its informal and amorphous nature. Although the mix and frequency of informal arts and culture varied from study area to study area, the mix and frequency did not appear to be influenced by socio-economic factors. The presence of informal arts and culture activities appeared to be most influenced by land use. Where mixed-uses exist, either by design, current zoning policies seen in several of Portland's middle and



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upper-middle class neighborhoods, or as an historical artifact, where low-income communities are often found adjacent to major arterials or commercial and industrial areas, informal arts and culture were most likely to occur. Opportunities were much less frequent in homogeneous single-family residential neighborhoods of all income levels. Exceptions, however, include venues such as churches, schools, and parks that are often accessible in suburban and rural areas. Some of the implications for planning policy will be discussed.

### ***Participating in culture as a vehicle of integration? Immigrants and Brussels' Zinneke Parade.***

Joseph Costanzo (Université de Liège (BE) / University of Maryland (US))

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With its origins in the late 20th Century as a temporary cultural celebration, Zinneke Parade reflects a local (and now ongoing) commitment by Europe's Capital City to highlight its often contentious social and linguistic diversity. Zinneke Parade was selected in 2000 as part of Brussels' European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme. The ECOC programme was started by the European Commission to promote the economic development of selected cities through showcasing their unique cultural offerings and identities. The European Commission panel selected Brussels as a European Capital of Culture in 2000; then Brussels chose Zinneke Parade as one of its city's featured cultural projects. What began as a one-time and temporary event has now become institutionalized as a biennial fixture on the Capital Region's cultural calendar, and is maintained through combined public and private financial support. But what of its impact? Zinneke's stated goal is to "contribute to removing the social and political barriers that have fragmented [Brussels]...precisely to ensure that the public area is used as a place for living, dialogue, debates, and negotiations that are open to everyone...[and] to fully display the multi-cultural wealth of the different districts." (Zinneke Parade's Executive Director, Myriam Stoffen, interviewed in Urban Policy Review, 2007) Anecdotal evidence supports the notion that Zinneke Parade has been successful in narrowing some of the gaps across linguistically and spatially divided communities in the Capital Region. However, to date no study has been conducted that formally examines the Parade, its participatory ("open") planning process and its impact on the Capital Region and its residents. As part of my larger thesis project, this paper sets out to answer two questions?(1) Does participation foster community cohesion?, and (2) Can integration be achieved through collective "creative" action? In broader terms, does an initiative such as Zinneke Parade act as a vehicle through which different ethnic and linguistic interests and cultures can unite to articulate their own, unique voices while collectively exploring the possibilities of a region-wide, common goal? Though immigrants are the primary population of interest





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for this work, given the history of Brussels (and more broadly, of Belgium) its implications reach far beyond any one particular community. Thanks to such cultural initiatives, Europe has become a dynamic setting for discussion and action around creativity and innovation that link culture to economic and social reforms. These programs engage renewed and emerging debates about the social, economic, and cultural roles of immigrants in European society by ?developing integration strategies with migrants, not for migrants.? (Cities of Migration website, 2009, emphasis mine.)

### 076 Local Communities in Emergency Management

#### ***Access to Basic Needs: A random survey of Port-au-Prince households before and after the January 2010 earthquake***

Athena Kolbe (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), Harry Shannon (McMaster University), Royce A. Hutson (Wayne State University), Eileen Trzcinski (Wayne State University), Leah James (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), Marie Puccio (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), Naomi Levitz (Wayne State University), Bart Miles (Wayne State University), Roger Noel (MABO Childrens Home)

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On 12 January 2010 an earthquake of magnitude 7.0 shook Haiti causing widespread death, injury and destruction. Our aim was to understand some of the consequences for the population of the urban area of Port-au-Prince, the national capital. We had conducted a survey in the summer of 2009, which included 1800 households in metropolitan Port-au-Prince. Six weeks after the earthquake, we attempted to find these households and re-interview them. The questionnaire asked about mortality and injuries from the earthquake among members of the household, as well as food security, living arrangements, and crime victimization following the quake. Data analysis incorporated sampling weights and adjusted for clustering within households. The original survey had a 90% response rate; we reinterviewed 93% of these households. We found that children were at particular risk for death. Other serious problems in the post-earthquake period included sexual assault, severe food insecurity (19% of the population), lack of access to water and toilet facilities, and homelessness.

#### ***The Return of the City-State: New York City and the H1N1 Pandemic***

Lily Hoffman (R/H Program in Public Policy CCNY/CUNY), Michael W. Grant (CCNY/CUNY)

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The threat to cities from epidemics and infectious disease remains under-examined in the urban literature. The vulnerability of cities resides in their density, shared physical infrastructure and social institutions, as well as racial and economic inequality. The threat is not only physical safety, but fear and panic as both can disrupt the stability and functioning of the city. Until the emergence of AIDS, many had assumed that modern medicine had conquered or contained infectious disease. Expectations quickly shifted from an overly optimistic to a pessimistic scenario. In this scenario, most attention has been directed at the global nature of the threat, with the nation-state as the primary actor, using guidelines set forth by the supra-national World Health Organization. The role of the city as a unit of planning and response has been overlooked until recently. This paper, based upon interviews and documentary analysis, examines New York City's response to the challenge of an H1N1 pandemic in 2009 in the context of the organizational and ideological ramifications of post 9/11 security policy in the U.S.. The question is to what extent New York City's Department of Health retains control over health governance and if so, what allows it to do so? We argue that the renewed importance of events such as H1N1 has made for a rescaling of health governance from the federal to the local level; that public health has become an increasingly important function of urban policy and planning; and, in the case of New York City, this has meant that control largely remains local.

### ***Natural disaster, places and local communities The earthquake of L'Aquila: is possible to rebuild the city without the residents?***

Silvia Mugnano (Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca- Italy), Francesco Memo (Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca- Italy)

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In 2009, at the global level 335 natural disasters have been reported with 10655 deaths and 119 million victims. The overall economic impact has been estimated around 41.3 billion dollars. However, not all places are affected by a natural disaster in the same way. The disaster entity drastically varies depending on the local context. There is an important relationship between the natural elements and the cultural, social and economic organization of the affected society. The probability that a natural disaster has more devastating effects in one place than another depends on the local vulnerability of the place (Clutter, 2003). In other words, there is a correlation between the potential risk and the social resistance and reliance of a specific place (Kasperson, Kasperson and Turner, 1995; Cutter, Mitchell, and Scott, 2000). Therefore, the response to the disaster can vary depending on the society. key words: Disaster , vulnerability, social capital, local community The paper will argue that the three dimension of the local capital (social, economic and physical) are affected by the natural disaster at different degrees. Looking at the hazard cycle



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proposed by National Governors' Association (1979): - mitigation, preparedness, response, recovery-, the paper attempt to show how after the impact of a disaster the economic and the physical capital have a breakdown while the social capital modifies and often regenerates itself facing the new communities? questions opening in the response and recovery phase. The paper is specifically focused on the case study of L'Aquila, Italy. In the 6th of April 2009, an earthquake -magnitudo 5,8 MI- has killed 308, enjured 1500 people and evacueed 67.000 people. According to Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters 2010 at the global level the L'Aquila earthquake is classified in the top 10 natural disaster in 2009. The key questions the paper will deal with are: what are the pre-event conditions of L'Aquila regarding in particular the social and place vulnerability of the urban society? Did L'Aquila have the local capabilities and those have been taken into account in the response and recovery policies? During and after the emergency period how the residents have been involved in the decision process?

### ***Put Your Money Where Your Mouth Is: Is Intensive Investment Enough in the Wake of Disaster?***

Davia Downey (Michigan State University)

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This paper investigates the role race and class play in the economic recovery after Hurricane Katrina. Comparing the economic recovery of the state of Louisiana to New Orleans reveals distinctive differences in economic recovery of both places. Utilizing a panel analysis, this paper analyzes the effect FEMA dollars had on the recovery of jobs and housing post-Katrina. Results show that in the areas of job and housing recovery, money played little role in economic recovery even while controlling for the effects of race and class. These results inform the debate over recovery in economically depressed places and show the importance of connecting emergency and disaster planning, particularly the recovery stage, to economic development.

## **077 The Right to the City**



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### ***Human rights and the right to the city in the context of local anti-immigrant policies***

Kristen Day (Polytechnic Institute of New York University), Michael Powe (University of Washington), Guadalupe Vidales (University of Wisconsin-Parkside)

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Recent years have witnessed a proliferation of anti-immigrant policies and plans in the US at both state and local levels (National Council of State Legislature, 2008; U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement, 2010). Such local policies substantially impact the lives of immigrants and non-immigrants, in terms of housing, employment, mobility, and security. Activists and community organizations often frame their resistance to these anti-immigrant initiatives in terms of universal appeals to "rights to the city," a concept articulated by Levebre (1968). This concept bases the political rights to participation and belonging not "in national citizenship, but in urban residency" (Leavitt, Samara, & Brady, 2009). The right to the city includes principles such as the right to security, to take up space, and to participate in local decision-making. The concept of the right to the city is powerful for social mobilization, but its basis in a notion of "universal urban rights" has limited power for shaping local policies and plans. The right to the city can be more fully developed in the context of human rights for immigrants and displaced persons. Political scientists debate the legality and appropriateness of framing immigrant rights in terms of human rights. At the same time, positioning the right to the city in the context of international human rights may positively shape local dialogues over issues such as allowing apartment rentals by non-citizens and support for day laborer centers. This paper examines the impacts of US local, anti-immigrant urban policies and plans for Latino and non-Latino residents, focusing especially on the spatial impacts of these policies. The paper draws on surveys of Latino and non-Latino residents (169 before, 61 after), and interviews with 10 Latino leaders, conducted before and after the institution of several local, anti-immigrant initiatives in Costa Mesa, California. We conceptualize the impacts of anti-immigrant initiatives in terms of rights to the city, and develops the idea of the right to the city in the context of international human rights.

### ***L'homme dans la cité: Expo '67 and the Spatialization of Québec Identity***

Zakcq Lockrem (Harvard University)

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National identity is often presented as a dialectical production of society and history, ignoring the importance of space in the social production of identities. Following the "spatial turn" literature of Edward Soja and the Los Angeles school of urban theory, my research resituates the study of identity in Canada and Québec into what Soja



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terms the "ontological trialectic" of society, history and space by examining the role of the built environment in forming and sustaining national identity in Québec during the Quiet Revolution. I call this process the spatialization of identity and further posit that it occurs both endogenously through the discursive process of shaping and being shaped by everyday experience of the city and exogenously through state control over spatial disciplines, especially urban planning and architecture. While the second category includes mega-projects like Expo '67, the first is shaped by individual actors and includes many smaller scale interventions and experiences. As such, Expo can be seen as a contested space, exhibiting top-down and bottom-up expressions of both separatist-Québécois and federalist-Canadian identities, serving as a celebration of Canadian unity in addition to proof of Québec's preparedness to join the community of nations.

### ***Music, identity and contested spaces: Geographies of the re-politicization of youth subcultures in the Southern European cities (Lisbon and Barcelona)***

Jordi Nofre (New University of Lisbon)

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Along latter decades, consumption and leisure has become central in subcultures and youth identities. This fact has been considered by many authors as a high de-politicization of youth subcultures. This so-called post-subculturalists does not agree with the suggestion that the symbolic appropriation of a particular urban space by a youth group could be seen as youth identity construction. However, another authors suggests their re-politicization, as cultural producers write his own ideologies and their political positions in their products in order to pass them on to consumers have come suggesting a re-politicization of youth subcultures, although consumers may also be against these values, beliefs and opinions. Actually, cultural consumption shows a social and spatial segregation in many Southern European Cities cities, being based on the (re)production of social distinction/exclusion urban spaces. Focusing in the cases of Barcelona (Catalonia) and Lisbon (Portugal), this paper aims to discuss about the de-politicization or re-politicization of European youth subcultures, by exploring if the increasing social (politicized?) dualization of music consumption/production have to do with a hypothetic failure of social cohesion policies, the re-bordering of urban inequalities and the emergence of new topographies of power in Southern European cities.

## **078 Community Development—Innovative Strategies**



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### ***Collaborative Housing--A New Culture in the Cities? A Study of a Way of Living Beyond the Family***

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How do people live and dwell in different countries around the globe? Quite different depending on geography, economy, traditions, norms and rules, state regimes, classes, housing markets and so on. In this paper I want to describe and explain some features in Swedish living and housing in 2010. The focus of the study will be on alternative living in collaborative houses. My hypothesis is that in Sweden as in many other Western countries the ideal is to live in a nuclear family and in a self owned house. This kind of living is a representation of life happiness. This stereotype has been challenged at different times during the last two hundred years. Also today it is questioned by a new social movement that is working for a new way to live and to build houses. The main idea in this movement is to formulate a concept of collaborative housing, a concept that can be realized in society today. A collaborative house is defined as a house where people are living apart but together. The aim of the movement is a liberal one namely to emancipate people from repressing structures in everyday life achieving equality between men and women and a better balance between nature and society. Housing and living is seen as a tool in a political struggle at the same time as its strivings are lived or not lived just now. What does it mean to live in a cohousing today? Who prefer to live in a new way and why? What do they have to offer or to win in their new way of living? How are these different houses established and managed? What kind of negotiations is needed within the local society? Which actors are prepared to invest in these kinds of houses with private and semi public spaces? How are the residents organized to be able to live together and manage the building? What is it that makes cohousing to a new movement and not a gated community?. Is it possible to find economic profit interests in the idea of cohousing and how? There are a lot of opportunities and obstacles in trying to realize the idea of collaborative housing today. I am going to investigate the phenomena from a Swedish viewpoint to be able to discuss it in a broader perspective at the conference.

### ***Top-down or grassroots? Examining the political context of CDC's***

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The literature relating to community development corporations in the U.S. has a long history and is quite rich. Over time, we have come to understand that a number of factors are related to the successes of CDCs, including the role of intermediary organizations (Anglin & Montezemolo, 2004) organizational capacity (Frederickson & London, 2000; Glickman & Servon, 1998), and market forces (Ding, Simons, and Baku 2000; Simons, Quercia, and Maric 1998). In addition, a number of theories can be used to explain why CDCs are formed (i.e., government failure, market failure, and pluralism) (Young, 1998). Yet, there is a considerable amount of research that suggests that local politics and political institutions, where CDCs operate also plays an important role (Goetz, 1993; Keyes et al., 1996; Rohe, Bratt & Biswas, 2003, Schwartz et al., 1996; Ward, 2004), and we know that some cities have a vibrant network of CDCs (Goetz & Sidney, 1997; Krumholz, Keating, & Perry, 1997), yet in other cities we find that CDCs enjoy limited political or institutional support and struggle to survive (Bogart, 2003). Much of this research, however, relies on case study research (Gittell & Wilder, 1999; von Hoffman, 2001; Ward, 2004; Yin, 1998), studies of CDCs in within a single city (Hula & Jackson-Elmoore, 2001; Martin, 2004; Smith, 2002; Stoecker, 1996) or studies of samples of CDCs in selected cities (Dorius, 2009; Glickman & Servon, 2000; Keyes, Schwartz, Vidal & Bratt, 1996; Rohe, Bratt & Biswas, 2003; Walker, 2002). In this paper, we build upon the existing literature by exploring what accounts for the wide variation in the prevalence of CDCs in urban cities with a population of 50,000 or more in order to identify the political and institutional characteristics which seem to support or discourage networks of CDCs. Using data gathered by the National Center on Charitable Statistics, the U.S. Census Bureau, the U.S. Census of Governments and the International City-County Management Association, and federal/state election data, we explore whether the professionalization of government (council management form of government, nonpartisan elections, short ballot), fragmentation, representation on Congressional committees, and electoral politics play a role in the number and influence of CDCs in a particular municipality and the level of federal funding they receive while controlling for other community characteristics and market forces.

### ***De-coupling Community Development Organizations from Funder Demands during Tough Times***

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The current recession has forced community development organization leaders to re-think how they interact with their funders. With the resource environment being constrained, many organizations have fewer choices in funders. Whereas in better



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economic times organizational leaders have been able to push back on funder demands that may have seemed overbearing, today those same leaders may not have the same amount of discretion with their resource stakeholders. With this being said, not all organizations are situated similarly in their environments. This paper considers both (a) what types of organizations are better able to resist funder demands; and, (b) what strategies each type of organization is able to employ given those demands. We then develop two empirical case studies to illustrate how the new resource reality has drastically changed the options of community development organizations. The tough economic times have hit the nonprofit sector hard, resulting in many organizational leaders reconsidering how they should interact with their funding environment. Whereas previously discretion might have been possible for many organizations, a new reality has hit the nonprofit sector as a whole as well as the community development sub-sector in particular. This paper develops a typology of strategies that community development organizations potentially could apply vis-à-vis their funders, dependent on two variables of interest: (a) the location of an organization as service deliverer in a particular community (central vs. peripheral); and, (b) the strength of the ties between the organization and the funder. The resulting typology then points to leadership strategies that community development organizations can apply in negotiations with funders. The paper presents two divergent case studies of how community development organizations have sought to decouple from their resource environments. Drawing on multi-year data developed for LISC in a major metropolitan area, we illustrate the fact that successful organizations have had to rapidly re-think their place in that environment. In particular, we consider how organizations present program outcomes to funders in order to continue service delivery. We conclude by not only addressing how organizations have had to adapt in the past several years but also consider how the position of savvy funding bodies have changed.

### ***Community Based Organizations and Markets: Identifying CBO Market Strategies that Benefit Local Residents***

Ross Gittell (University of New Hampshire), Phil Thompson (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

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This paper will explore the changing political economic context in which community based organizations exist in the United States. We will analyze how the political economy affects and shapes the power and potential of community based economic development efforts and how, in turn, CBOs can influence the local political economy and the landscape of economic opportunities. The paper will identify the key political and economic factors influencing CBOs in low income neighborhoods and highlight



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potential strategies to enhance CBO effectiveness in an increasingly challenging environment. The economic development efforts of CBOs in San Diego (Market Creek Plaza) and in NYC working on an Emerald Cities initiative will be highlighted to illuminate and illustrate the political and economic challenges faced by CBOs and to suggest strategies that CBOs can use to effect change that benefits local residents. Emerald Cities is an effort to bring together trade unions and community groups to work with government and the business community to create mutually beneficial building retrofit programs. The initiative offers an opportunity to examine the role of political participation and coalition building in community development. The goal of Emerald Cities is to achieve reductions in the carbon footprint and energy consumption and costs and at the same time generate good jobs and lifetime construction careers and reduce urban poverty and chronic underemployment especially in communities of color. Market Creek Plaza is a partnership between community residents organized in eight working neighborhood teams and a family foundation. Together they successfully redeveloped an old factory site into a thriving market and business that created jobs and wealth for local residents. Local residents successfully created their own employment and wealth making opportunity with Market Creek and they own and control it. The ?cases? illustrate how CBOs can identify and take advantage of market opportunities and also how they can create market opportunities through political action and partnerships with others including other CBOs and with private companies and organized labor. The two cases offer different approaches with the Emerald Cities initiative more engaged politically and Market Creek more focused on retail and economic development. The paper will highlight the actual experience of CBOs that effectively engage residents, understand markets and act strategically in the context of the market economy and the local political context. The analysis will focus on economic change, political action, collective responses, and CBOs and discuss how CBOs can engage in markets to help local residents. The paper will highlight the importance of the local political economy for CBOs and the value of CBOs acting strategically in the context of the local political economy to bring about meaningful change.

### **080      Impacts of Affordable Housing on Neighborhoods**



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### ***Local economic development through housing revitalization in the Cape Breton Regional Municipality***

Andrew Molloy (Cape Breton University )

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This paper will focus on the work being done by the Affordable Housing Renovation Partnership (AHRP), a community-based housing organization. This organization is located in the Cape Breton Regional Municipality (CBRM) in Nova Scotia, Canada. With a population of 105,000, the CBRM covers 2,400 square kilometres, in one of Canada's most economically disadvantaged regions. This regional municipality is currently home to a large and growing list of vacant urban properties. A number of these vacant properties are former company owned coal miner houses, which the Heritage Canada Foundation recently included on its 2010 'Top 10 Most Endangered' list. The growing recognition that something had to be done about the proliferation of vacant homes in the CBRM and the possibility of salvaging some of those properties for the purposes of affordable housing, led to the development of the Affordable Housing Renovation Partnership (AHRP). The principal objectives of the Partnership are to encourage neighbourhood improvement and poverty alleviation through property revitalization. A number of pilot projects have begun in association with AHRP. These pilot projects include the use of a donated experimental 'sustainable house' (former Dominion Coal Company House #734) to develop an affordable housing model. It is anticipated that a student generated documentary video of the demonstration project will be available online for the UAA conference. Another project, HomeMatch (<http://www.homematchcapebreton.com/>) is a Service Canada, Homelessness Partnership Strategy funded initiative, which attempts to match vacant properties with the client and operational needs of local social agencies whose clients are at risk of homelessness. There have also been two Job Creation Partnership (JCP) projects funded by the federal and provincial government. A current JCP project is focusing on working with heritage community groups such as the Old Sydney Society and the Whitney Pier Historical Society to acquire historical properties for community economic development. This JCP project also involves exploring different building techniques and strategies for creating affordable housing. During the course of carrying out these projects, a number of difficulties have had to be overcome in the struggle to rehabilitate vacant properties in the CBRM. We will discuss these difficulties and assess AHRP's next steps in developing affordable housing using available building stock. If successful on a larger scale, AHRP may be instrumental in creating an equitable and sustainable affordable housing future for the CBRM. And some of these successful AHRP project outcomes may well prove useful for other community-based, affordable housing associations. The authors are founding officers of the Affordable Housing Renovation Partnership (AHRP).



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### ***A motive to mobilize? Neighborhood Organizations and Their Response to Affordable Housing***

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The growth of neighborhood organizations such as homeowner and neighborhood associations in the development of housing patterns in the United States has been termed a "quiet revolution" (Barton and Silverman, 1994). These organizations vary in terms of organizational and political power. Organization leaders are in a position to use their resources to lobby local governmental bodies for/against certain policies that may affect the neighborhoods they represent. Affordable housing is one policy arena where neighborhood and municipal government actors interact. City planners and elected officials continually address affordable housing issues, providing the political opportunity for organizations to mobilize their resources in response to pending decisions. This study examines the process of mobilization of neighborhood organizations in relation to land-use policies, particularly affordable housing. It provides further scrutiny to the basic social organization theory that neighborhood organizations mobilize to pursue their rational, self-interests. The research describes to what extent neighborhood organizations mobilize around affordable housing issues. We hypothesize that neighborhood organizations mobilize against affordable housing projects in their area and that this mobilization is a function of organizational strength and power. We also hypothesize that homeowner associations were more likely to preemptively oppose affordable housing policies using legal avenues within their covenants. The selected methods to achieve the aforementioned goals were document review and interviews. The former involved obtaining city council and planning department meeting minutes from city officials. The content of these documents was analyzed to understand the specific motivations of neighborhood organizations to attend and participate at these meetings. The second method involved interviewing neighborhood organization leaders and city officials to understand the extent to which neighborhood leaders contact city departments concerning issues related to affordable housing. The purpose of these in-depth interviews was to obtain information on the various participatory activities neighborhood leaders use in addition to attending city meetings.

### ***The Impact of Affordable Housing on Taxable Property Valuation in a Poor City***

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This research looks at the impact of affordable housing development on the tax base in a poor city. Viability of the tax base is a critical matter for municipalities to address as they plan revitalization strategies. Poor cities may include affordable housing development as a revitalization strategy to meet the needs of their housing cost burdened residents or to upgrade blighted or unproductive property. Prior research has looked at the impact of affordable housing on concerns such as concentration of poverty, crime, racial segregation, and resale value of nearby housing, but not tax base. While preliminary bivariate findings indicated that taxable property value increased at a greater rate in the zone closest to affordable housing development, the results of the discriminant analysis found that affordable housing had a minimal influence on taxable property value change, and that other factors were better determinants of the change. Quantitative and qualitative results suggest that in addition to prior taxable property valuation, social fabric within the community before affordable housing development is a better predictor of the change in tax value of surrounding property.

***Spillover of Rental Housing? The differentiated externalities of public housing, assisted rental housing, and unassisted rental housing on neighborhood***

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People generally oppose the entrance of new multifamily housing in their neighborhood. This attitude is based on the premise that low income households, who are assumed to be the residents of multifamily housing, negatively affect the quality of the neighborhood by creating problems like poverty and crime (Galster et al. 2003). However, whether multifamily housing has adversely affected neighborhoods is still a controversial debate. For example, Ellen et al. (2007) show that federally subsidized rental housing decrease the property value only in the short term and Pollakowski et al (2005) argue that mixed income multifamily housing does not have significant negative impacts on single family housing value. Studies that take into account different tenant characteristics of rental housing could help to clarify this debate. Since public housing and assisted rental housing have their own tenant income limitation, the income composition of tenants may be different from that of unassisted multifamily housing so each type of rental housing could have different impact on neighborhoods. Accordingly, externalities of multifamily housing ought to be addressed according to housing type. On the other hand, in examining the negative externalities, researchers usually use the housing price on the assumption that the externalities are capitalized into the price. However, focusing on housing price only, limits the understanding of the complex interaction between multifamily housing and





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neighborhoods. Thus, the relationships between the influx of multifamily housing and various social indicators of neighborhood quality such as housing price, employment, income, rent, the number of poor, and the number of minority need to be explored. In this paper two research questions will be addressed. 1) What kind of social indicator of neighborhood are affected by the entrance of multifamily housing? 2) How do public housing, assisted rental housing, and unassisted multifamily housing affect neighborhoods? To answer the research questions, this study uses canonical correlation analysis to identify the controlled correlation between change of social indicator and change of each type of rental housing stock from 1990 to 2000 in the main MSA in Florida. Also, difference-in-differences econometric models will be applied to examine the causality for the effect of multifamily housing on neighborhood quality. Census 1990 and 2000 data will be used to operationalize social indicators at the neighborhood level. The assisted rental housing inventory from Florida Housing Data Clearinghouse and property tax rolls from Florida Department of Revenue are used to measure the influx of multifamily housing. The results of this study will provide a better comprehension of the impacts of public and assisted housing on neighborhood quality. Ellen, I. G., Schwartz, A. E., Voicu, I. and Schill, M. H. (2007). Galster, G. C., Tatian, P. A., Santiago, A. M., Pettit, K. L. S. and Smith, R. E. (2003)

### ***Making sense of relocation: How engagement with the relocation process and community attachment shape residents' feelings about their neighborhoods***

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While HOPE VI is founded upon the idea that changing the neighborhood environment in which poor families live will change and improve their personal circumstances? (Goetz, 2010b, p. 140), its effectiveness for improving the lives of poor people is still a matter of debate. Most original residents end up being relocated rather than living in the new sites. Some international studies of programs very similar to HOPE VI have found that the majority of relocatees are ultimately satisfied with their new neighborhoods and housing (Kleinhans & Kruythoff 2002). However, these studies generally do not address the question of how residents' feelings about their original neighborhoods and how they understand, perceive, participate, and deal with the relocation process influence how they feel about their new neighborhood. Research has demonstrated that public housing residents have ambivalent relationships with their neighborhoods (Vale 2002). The way residents feel about their old neighborhood and how they understand relocation are likely to influence how they judge the quality of their new neighborhoods?one of the outcomes of relocation. These subjective and understudied cognitions and perceptions may critically influence



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how relocated residents perceive their new neighborhoods, no matter the actual quality. Indeed, these less tangible factors may be equally or more important than more objective measures of improved housing (larger size and better quality), and neighborhood quality (higher level of social organization). This study examines how residents' feelings about their original community and the relocation process influence their subsequent assessments of, attachment to, and satisfaction with their new neighborhood, focusing on the initial move out of public housing. In many HOPE VI target sites, residents have lived in the complex for many years, even decades, and feel a strong sense of community attachment (Manzo, Kleit, and Couch 2008). For these residents in particular, the process of relocating may be troubling ? made more so by the absence of any guaranteed right of return to the redeveloped neighborhood. An understanding of the ways that residents make sense of the relocation is a path to understanding how residents exercise agency in a process that denies them the even the possibility of not moving. Focusing on a HOPE VI site in Washington State, this paper will report findings from in-person interviews with a random sample of 175 relocated residents. We explore how their retrospective assessments about and attachments to their original site shape their perceptions of and satisfaction with their current neighborhood.

### **081 Representations and Inclusion: Thinking About Diversity in Multiple Ways and Places**

#### ***Covering Chaos: Representations of Haiti and Mexico during times of crisis***

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On January 12th 2010, an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.0 struck Haiti. As the earth stopped moving, survivors took stock of the areas surrounding them and were understandably troubled. The Inter-American Development Bank estimates the casualties of the earthquake range from 200,000 to 250,000 total dead and missing (Cavello, Powell, & Becerra, 2010). The same study estimates the economic damage to be \$8.1 billion to \$13.9 billion USD. In the days following the earthquake, news coverage of this environmental and humanitarian disaster dominated all media formats: print, television, Internet, at an international level. What were the representations of Haitian people and the government of Haiti within US media, in the aftermath of the earthquake?

In 2006, Mexico inaugurated President Calderon. Since that time, Mexico has endured a different "man-made" tragedy. A drug war, tied to the swelling demand for illicit



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substances in the US and the transportation of arms into Mexico, has created a fiery situation throughout Mexico, but particularly in the boarder region. Close to 30,000 Mexicans have been killed in this bloody war, with no end of the brutal killing in sight. The drug war has generated much media coverage in the US. This coverage is often coupled with immigration issues. Is the representation of the Mexican government and the drug war part of a one-dimensional discourse about Mexico and Mexican people?

The task of this paper is twofold: explain the source of the dominant discursive narrative about Haiti and Mexico and demonstrate the presence of that narrative in the media coverage of the earthquake and the drug war. Using critical discourse analysis, we will examine newspaper coverage of Haiti's earthquake (in the New York Times and the Miami Harold from January 2010 to present) and Mexico's drug war (in the LA times and the Chicago Tribune December 2006 to the present). We will examine the media representations of Haitian and Mexican migration, and how these representations have shaped common understanding of Haiti and Mexico and their people. We propose that despite an earthquake of catastrophic proportions in Haiti and an obvious US link to the drug war in Mexico that a set of pre-existing narratives about Haiti and Mexico and by extension Haitian and Mexican people were and continue to be at the center of the media coverage. These narratives reproduce stereotypes that impact policy decisions. We will make connections between these narratives and public policy as well as suggest alternative narratives that would result in different policies.

### ***Youth in Action: The Process of Youth Engagement in the Planning Process through Civic Engagement, Education, and Public Policy***

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While youth are often dismissed or excluded from planning processes, but there is growing attention to the need and desirability of including youth into planning processes, particularly disadvantaged youth. One example of this trend is the development of the Young Planners Network (YPN), an arm of Planners Network. The National League of Cities: Institute for Youth, Education, and Families, clearly argue that "young civic engagement can flourish in a setting that is conducive to citizen engagement in general, and specifically, goes the extra step to see youth as part of the community." Thus, the process of integrating youth in the planning processes is important, especially as youth continue to show interest and concern about issues having direct impact on their lives.



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My paper will first review the literature focused on youth and urban planning. Then drawing on my participation in the activities of three YPN organizations over the past year, I will present a detailed examination of their work, which included educational curriculums, nonprofit organizations, and local government strategies for involving youth in planning projects. Finally I will develop a model that might be implemented in the Champaign, Illinois's predominately African American community located in the North end of the city. I will create a community map that displays the numerous youth organizations that exist in the Champaign-Urbana community in addressing issues that affect at-risk youth. The map will be a source guide for those who are interested in finding resources for youth, social justice, community development, and progressive organizing.

### ***Intra-EU Labor Mobility: The current state of research and the neglect of the urban scale***

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The idea of a borderless Europe has accompanied the European integration process from its beginning in the 1950s. Since then member states of the European Union (EU) have gradually reduced the restrictions of cross border labor mobility between their countries. Today the freedom to move and reside within the territory of the EU is a fundamental right of all EU citizens. The potential for intra-EU labor mobility is now higher than ever.

This paper reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on seven fundamental aspects of intra-EU labor migration. These include the scope and spatial pattern of migration within the EU, the demographic characteristics of EU migrants, the socioeconomic implications of intra-EU mobility for migrants, the integration of EU migrants in their receiving communities, the economic consequences of intra-EU migration for receiving and sending locations as well as the effects of intra-EU migration on economic disparities across EU locations. Based on the literature review the paper identifies key future research questions about intra-EU labor mobility in the following five topic areas: social networks, knowledge exchanges, public policy and institutions, social recognition of migrants, cross-border regions, and student exchanges.

Finally, the paper stresses that most existing research on intra-EU labor mobility has failed to recognize subnational space as the crucial analytical unit for studying migration in the EU. It argues that urban scale research is necessary for developing a more profound understanding of the dynamics and consequences of labor mobility in



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the EU.

### ***Both Sides of the Story: Exploring University Relations with Local African-American Communities***

Melissa Pogonon (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

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Forms of engagement have become familiar in scholarly literature commonly linked to service-learning and civic engagement, all of which deals with addressing complex social issues ranging from educational reform to health disparities (Harkavy, 1999; Metzler, Higgins, Beeker, Freudenberg, Lantz, Senturia, Eisinger, Viruell-Fuentes, Gheisar, Palermo & Softley, 2003). Sponsoring this trend, federal funding agencies such as HUD's Office of University Partnerships (OUP) and private funding organizations such as Kellogg, Carnegie and Pew have rapidly accelerated the community-university partnership movement by supporting collaborative initiatives between institutions of higher education and local community organizations to address these social problems (Ostrander, 2007). Community-university partnerships and engagement efforts have emerged in multiple disciplinary approaches to improve the quality of life in local communities through methods related to service-learning and community-based participatory research. While there is a growing interest in academic engagement with local communities, a vast array of studies is heavily saturated with the university side of the story. This is unexpected given that community-university partnership is a collaborative effort. Boyle and Silver (2005) suggest that partnerships appear to be inclusive to maintain legitimacy of their sponsors in the guise of "community empowerment". To address this, Sorenson (2007) suggests acknowledgment of power disparities and expected benefits could encourage community to voice their expectations and demands. This narrative is often excluded in the literature and is as valuable as the university partners' experience. Consequently, perspectives from both community and university partners on their experience should be obtained as it provides agency for community partners to share their assessment of the community-university partnership.

After reviewing the above-mentioned literature in detail, I will provide preliminary research findings on the case of Champaign Illinois' African American community and its engagement with the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign. My intent is to capture the nuances of perception through one-on-one interviews with both university and community residents to understand how people make meaning of their experiences with community-university partnerships. Finally, based on the findings I will make recommendations ensure that community-university partnerships are more equitable. My research questions are (a) do African-American residents and academics



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perceive the benefits of participating in community-university relationships differently? (b) In what context do African American residents and academics agree? (c) If there are differences, do these differences create barriers to engagement efforts? Preliminary analysis of the interviews suggest a critical understanding of the remnants of historical experiences and stories embedded in recent memory, mutually beneficial relationships, and the intersections of race, class and space are important factors for consideration when pursuing community university partnerships.

### 082 Housing Mobility in Urban Contexts

#### *Rental Housing and the Geography of Opportunity*

Alex Schwartz (New School)

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"Choice" has been a key tenet of US housing policy for over a generation. Housing policy has emphasized rental vouchers so that low-income households can reside within a wide range of neighborhoods. However, the efficacy of vouchers as a means of residential mobility is constrained by the geography of rental housing, especially the geography of rental housing that complies with the voucher program's rent standards. If private rental housing is in short supply or not available altogether in desirable neighborhoods, vouchers will be of little to no use in helping families settle in these places. This study will examine the changing geography of private rental housing from 1990 to the mid 2000s to assess the extent to which the private rental housing market can enable voucher holders to reside in neighborhoods with low levels of poverty and low degrees of racial segregation. Drawing from the decennial census of 1990 and 2000 and more recent data from the American Community Survey, the study examines the percentage of private rental housing, including housing renting for no more than the federally-designated Fair Market Rent, in census tracts with varying income levels and varying degrees of racial segregation. The study tests the thesis that rental housing has become increasingly marginalized over the past quarter century, and is decreasingly available in relatively affluent, nonminority neighborhoods. The study will track the degree to which all private rental housing and rental housing priced at or below the Fair Market rent is available in census tracts with varying poverty rates, median family incomes, and percentages of minority residents. The analysis will cover the entire nation and will also look each geographic region, and cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas.

#### *Why displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods*

Hanneke Posthumus (Utrecht University), Gideon Bolt (Utrecht University), Ronald





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Urban restructuring ? in the form of large-scale demolition of often low-rent dwellings, followed by the construction of more upmarket alternatives ? causes forced moves. These displaced residents are forced to make a step in their housing career. Considering their often low socio-economic position, the steps they can take in this career are obviously restricted: their choices are in most cases confined to the most affordable parts of the housing stock. Since these dwellings are concentrated in a limited number of neighbourhoods, the choice in which neighbourhood the displaced residents settle is restricted as well. This means that displaced residents often end up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Previous research does show that displaced residents often move to rather similar neighbourhoods and as such do not succeed to move to neighbourhoods with more favourable characteristics. Despite the restrictions the low-income households face, some range of choice may however be available to displaced residents. The mechanisms that are responsible for the move to different kinds of dwellings and neighbourhoods have not been studied yet. It is for example not clear whether the moves of displaced residents to disadvantaged neighbourhoods are solely the result of the restrictions they face or also the result of other factors such as the preferences of displaced residents. This article aims to fill this gap and provides a detailed overview of the processes that cause the re-concentration of displaced residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The quantitative and qualitative data we collected in four Dutch cities offer us a unique opportunity to obtain a deeper understanding of the reasons displaced households have with respect to their move to other deprived neighbourhoods.

### ***A Relational Analysis of Mobility in Illinois' Housing Choice Voucher Program***

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The Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) is currently the nation's largest low-income housing subsidy serving more than 2 million households annually. At a time when national residential mobility rates are at an all-time low, low-income households continue to move at a rate higher on average than the general population. This study examines the nature of low-income residential mobility within the Housing Choice Voucher Program in Illinois in order to understand the dynamics of such mobility and the resultant outcomes for program participants. HCV program theory which has been informed heavily by large-scale quasi-experiments such as the Gautreaux consent decree and the Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing demonstration program, suggests that residential mobility can serve as a pathway to opportunity for



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participating households. This study brings together a 7-year longitudinal portrait of tenant residency for all Illinois households participating in the program constructed from administrative records with the results from a series of interviews with HCVP administrators, landlords leasing to HCVP tenants, and HCVP tenants who have made portability moves in between housing authorities with their vouchers. This research explores the ways in which the relationships between public housing authorities, landlords, and tenants interact in order to create supportive local environments for incoming Housing Choice Voucher families. This research finds that local relationships including those between housing authorities, landlords, and voucher households play an important role in impacting the ability of residential mobility to serve as a pathway to opportunity. The results of this research bear particular importance to program administrators, local government officials and policymakers as they continue to work to create high-quality, supportive communities for Housing Choice Voucher participants to call home.

### ***The Suburbanization of Housing Choice Voucher Recipients***

Michael Stoll (University of California, Los Angeles), Kenya Covington (California State University, Northridge), Lance Freeman (Columbia University)

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Policy makers and scholars have long been concerned about the geography of opportunity, about how characteristics of neighborhood and place can and do influence social and economic outcomes. Federal housing policy has been concerned about the geography of opportunity as well, especially regarding the use of tenant-based housing subsidies. Prior to the 1990s, The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) required that Section 8 recipients use the certificate/voucher in the jurisdiction of the issuing housing authority. Research indicates that as a consequence Section 8 recipients tended to settle in central city neighborhoods that were disadvantaged and where their race/ethnicity predominated. However, during the 1990s, HUD implemented a number of policy changes that may have dramatically affected the locational choices of HCV recipients, and thus influenced their ability to move closer to opportunity, particularly economic opportunity within suburbs. In this paper, we use Housing Choice Voucher recipient data to document the extent to which suburbanization of HCV recipients changed over the 2000-2008 period, whether suburbanization differs by the race of the HCV recipients or region of the metro area, whether it differs by the presence of state ordinances that ban landlord discrimination against HCV recipients, and to document the types of suburbs to which HCV recipients are moving. Suburban areas will be defined using Census Bureau definitions. We compare the suburbanization rates of HCV recipients across metropolitan areas in states with ordinances preventing landlord discrimination on the basis of HCV



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reciprocity to those metro areas in states without these ordinances. We do this by using a database identifying those states that have such ordinances. We also examine these comparisons by the race of the HCV recipient since such possible discrimination may be more pronounced for black, and to a lesser extent Latino, HCV recipients than that of whites. The suburbanization rates of HCV recipients should be higher in metropolitan areas in states with such ordinances, and that this should be particularly true for black HCV recipients. To explore the types of suburbs to which HCV recipients are moving, we characterize suburban areas by income level and by job availability using census tract data from the STF files for the 2000 and 2005-09 periods. We calculate income and job to population measures for each metro area included in our analysis. We then calculate income and job to population terciles (33rd, 66th percentiles) for each metro area to define high, moderate and low income (job to population) tracts. We then define high income (high job to population) suburban areas as those with suburban census tract median income (job to population) levels that fall above the 66th percentile of metro area, and so on and so forth for low and moderate income (job to population) suburban areas.

### ***Understanding Residential Mobility of Low-income Families and the Influence of Housing Assistance: Evidence from HOPE VI Revitalization***

Ashley Brown Burns (Duke University)

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A major premise of American rental housing assistance and contemporary revision of the public housing system is concern for whether low income families are able to navigate pathways out of chronic housing assistance and poverty successfully. Yet, we know very little about how policies' targeted families conceptualize innovations like the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program and the broader demolition of conventional public housing. The expansion of housing vouchers along with the demolition of large public housing sites characterize a policy intervention that seemingly offers low-income families more choice about where to live. What types of families benefit from living in revitalized HOPE VI areas? How do these newcomers construct community in the absence of displaced public housing residents?

This research examines the processes and experiences of homeowners who purchased single-family homes and condominiums in a transitioning conventional public housing community HOPE VI-targeted area in the U.S. South. In-person semi-structured interviews examine how affected families experience and construct community in the publicly designed, mixed income space. A primary aim is to illuminate what, if any, observable changes or differences exist among low- to moderate- income families



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who reoccupy the restructured conventional public housing area, and who, ultimately, benefit from the resources directed to the transitioning community. Finally, this research also illuminates how residents perceive the HOPE VI program and re-construct new community in the former public housing site.

Considering the evolving housing policy environment, it remains unclear how best to serve families in need of safe, decent, affordable housing. This study of a Southern City HOPE VI housing policy intervention provide unique insight to the implications of demolishing public housing, restructuring disadvantaged neighborhoods and the effects on their surrounding area, politics of gentrification, and social stratification.

### **083 Risk, Reward, and Real Estate: Doing Development in an Uncertain World**

#### ***Crisis Cities: Disaster, Risk, and Redevelopment in New York and New Orleans***

Kevin Fox Gotham (Tulane University), Miriam Greenberg (University of California, Santa Cruz)

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This paper applies risk society theories to analyze the form, trajectory, and contradictions of post-disaster redevelopment efforts since the 9/11 disaster in New York and the Hurricane Katrina disaster in New Orleans. Empirically, we analyze the ways in which state policy makers and agencies have formulated and implemented various policies to foster a local entrepreneurial culture, encourage inter-urban competition for jobs and investment, and support private reinvestment schemes. Drawing on a variety of data sources, we investigate urban rebranding efforts, government block grant programs, private activity bonds, enterprise zone initiatives, and other post-disaster redevelopment programs on the character and pace of urban redevelopment. One goal is to illuminate long-standing trends and novel features of post-disaster government policies and programs. Another goal is to identify the inequality-producing features of market-centered policies used to stimulate post-disaster rebuilding. Out of our comparison, we develop a new theoretical framework for analyzing post-disaster urban redevelopment as intensifiers of urban crisis, instability, and risk and vulnerability.

#### ***Structuring risk in the private market: the case of foreclosure sales***

Hannah Thomas (Brandeis University)

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The current wave of foreclosures (2007-2010) has left many communities across the country devastated with vacant bank-owned properties deteriorating in struggling neighborhoods. To date little research has been done to understand the market context of how such properties are sold, both at foreclosure auctions and post foreclosure (REO sales). Using interviews and observations from 2009 and 2010 in Boston, this paper will examine how the legal and market contexts of foreclosure auctions and bank-owned (REO) sales in Boston structure a particular market demand excluding certain buyers by the very structure of the sale (contracts, practice) established to dispose of the properties. These practices increase the risk of purchasing one of these properties, unwittingly recreating and potentially exacerbating the class and racial structures of the neighborhoods in Boston. Giddens documents similar dynamics within the sphere of the state in how risk is structured through policies of collective risk management. The case of foreclosure sales presents the case of corporate structured systems creating risk landscapes that homebuyers (owner occupants or investors) are subjected to and within which they take action becoming actors of class and racial spatial restructuring.

### ***Between Speculation and Regulation: Managing Risks in Real Estate Development in China***

Xuefei Ren (Michigan State University)

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Real estate development in Chinese cities offers a perfect example of a “risk society,” characterized by widespread speculation, murky land transactions, unpredictable government policy decisions, and the intertwined relationships among governments, banks, and developers. The risks in the real estate sector, whether real or imagined, result from a variety of factors, such as the transition from a planned to a market economy, the lack of transparency in government policy making, and the pace and scale of urban constructions in China. Using the domestic public debate in recent years over real estate bubbles as an example, this article examines how the risks of real estate bubbles are perceived, framed, and managed by different interest groups such as the central government, municipal governments, banks, developers, large investors/property buyers, and small investors/residents, and how the perception and management of risks by these different groups have in turn shaped the urban development trajectory in general.

This article highlights the various policies adopted by the central government, banks, and local governments to curb speculation and prevent a real estate bubble. From the late 1990s to the present, governments and the central bank (Bank of China) have passed a large number of ad hoc policies to restrain property speculation, with far-



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reaching repercussions outside the real estate sector, for example, on family relations, marriage, and divorce decisions. I will discuss how these policies have been counter-effective and introduced further uncertainties in urban Chinese society. I will also discuss how residents are caught between speculation by developers and investors on the one hand, and ad hoc regulations by governments and banks on the other, and have become the most vulnerable group in the midst of China's urban boom.

### ***Double Exposure: Examining the Consequences of Leveraged Lending for CDFIs***

Lynne Moulton (The College at Brockport, SUNY), Eric Kaldor (The College at Brockport, SUNY)

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Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) are one of the important sources of finance for urban development projects. They fund and support a wide variety of development efforts ranging from multi-million dollar housing developments to thousand dollar start-up loans to entrepreneurs in communities historically underserved by mainstream financial institutions. The most prominent business model for CDFI financing has been a leverage model where CDFIs borrow against their assets to engage in their missions. Over the last decade, this leveraging has led to extraordinary growth in the CDFI field. The problem is that the leverage model also left CDFIs doubly exposed during the financial crisis. These organizations were hit on the community side by increased delinquencies and defaults from borrowers as their communities were particularly affected during the crisis. They were also hit on the funding side by the credit freeze that resulted from the banking sector meltdown. In the aftermath as many CDFIs face capital crises that threaten their survival, we examine the implications of the leverage model in how risk is distributed in marginalized communities through efforts that are meant to stabilize and develop these communities. We argue that in community development finance, the types of arrangements that are used to establish and maintain leverage relationships with the private sector leave nonprofit sector organizations bearing most or all of the risk for development projects. Through such strategies as off-balance sheet lending, loan consortia, and loan guarantees, CDFIs have created lop-sided working relationships with mainstream financial organizations in order to get and keep getting their money. These arrangements led to particular vulnerability during the financial crisis that reveals the limitations of CDFIs as the financial lynchpin in urban economic development. In this paper, we also examine the way forward for this field given what we are now learning about the on-going viability and vulnerability of its organizations and the communities they serve.





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### 084 Public Housing Transformation and the Right to the City

#### ***Displacing Hope: Hope VI and the Destruction of Housing for Poor Families***

Andrew A. Beveridge (Queens College and Graduate Center, CUNY)

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Since the early 1990s, the running assumption, based upon little if any data or analysis, was that many of the problems of those living in Housing Projects were due to the nature of the projects and the fact that they "warehoused" the poor. Hope VI was launched with the rubric

of knocking down the projects, replacing them with less concentrated housing, and thus bringing "Hope" to the housing project residents.

In reality, much of Hope VI has been used to displace the poor and replace that housing with units that are not really designed to accommodate families. Using material from court cases affecting housing projects in the following cities: Camden, NJ, Mississippi County, MO, Hartford, Ct., Bridgeport, Ct, Newark, NJ, New Orleans, LA, Baltimore, MD, Mt. Holly, NJ, and Ventnor, NJ and Miami, FL, this paper examines who gains and who loses from these public housing transformation programs. Specifically, this paper investigates who was displaced, where did they go and what their post-move economic trajectories look like.

#### ***Imagined Communities, Contested Realities: How Residents Understand and Negotiate Space in Mixed-Income Developments***

Laura Tach (University of Pennsylvania)

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The federal HOPE VI program has created new mixed-income communities in the footprint of distressed public housing projects, complete with new physical designs and a new socioeconomic mix of residents. During the process of redevelopment, stakeholders develop new visions for how to use neighborhood space in order to create dramatic but inclusive transformations. This creates new possibilities for imagining neighborhood space but also new possibilities for tension if conflicting images emerge. Drawing from case studies of three mixed-income developments and interviews with residents, developers, and managers, this paper first describes the images different stakeholders have for their ideal new community and then uncovers instances when conflicting images arise. I find that conflicts over the use of neighborhood space most often result from class-based differences in: a) what behaviors are considered appropriate in public and private places, b) how the legacy



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of the old housing project should (or should not) be incorporated into the new development, and c) what neighborhood resources and amenities are most valued. After describing why residents' values come into conflict around these three issues, I document the strategies higher- and lower-income residents employ to deal with conflicts over space and the policies that project developers and managers have used to address such conflicts, with more and less successful results. I conclude by arguing that tensions over space in mixed-income developments are important because they have implications for crime and safety, social inclusion, and ultimately for the long-term stability of these emerging communities.

### ***Lessons from a Mt Laurel Subdivision: The Potential and Pitfalls of a Suburban Housing Mobility Program in New Jersey***

Len Albright (University of Chicago)

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The Mt. Laurel decision in New Jersey stands as a landmark legal case exploring the right to a life in the suburbs. The 1975 and 1983 state supreme cases not only challenged exclusionary zoning practices, but also gave each municipality in the state an affirmative obligation to provide for a fair share of the region's affordable housing needs. "Mt Laurel housing", which has been developed to meet these obligations, has been built throughout the state, although it continues to be met with legal and political resistance. Lessons regarding suburban mobility programs have been drawn from the Gautreaux program in Illinois and the federal Moving to Opportunity Program (MTO). However, this previous research focuses primarily on scattered site housing, and lacks an ethnographic portrait of life in a suburban affordable housing subdivision. This paper presents an introduction to the world of one such subdivision, comprised of 140 mixed income rental units, that was developed in a largely white middle-class town. Residents of the housing subdivision must adjust to their new home, surroundings, and a community context in which the rights to the suburbs are being brokered by public policy. I present the opportunities and challenges present for these residents. In this paper, I also focus on how the town's public schools responded to the demographic shift in the student population. The right to the suburbs is closely tied to a right to a quality public education, and struggles within each illustrate their character and interrelations. This understanding is essential to refining geographic mobility programs.

### ***Displacement, Relocation, and the Rights of Public Housing Residents***

Joanna Lucio (Arizona State University), Wendy Wolfersteig (Arizona State University)

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The foreclosure crisis and affordable housing shortages have hit the Phoenix metropolitan region extremely hard, leaving its most vulnerable residents at even more of a disadvantage. Similar to the increasing trend across the nation, creating mixed income developments is the strategy cities in the region have adopted for redeveloping low-income neighborhoods. The City of Phoenix is currently applying for its third HOPE VI grant. In anticipation, it has begun to relocate residents and make changes to the neighborhood prior to receiving the grant. In addition, the city has one HOPE VI grant completed and a second grant in phase III.

The purpose of this paper is to examine outcomes and the views of residents who have been displaced in the pursuit of mixed income housing and evaluate their rights during the process and aftermath. Specifically, it will examine their current housing and neighborhood environments, examine whether they participated in their displacement and the choosing of their subsequent location, whether they feel their current location is an improvement from baseline, and other questions related to their thoughts on housing and neighborhood conditions.

In order to answer the research questions, the study will draw on data from multiple sources. The City of Phoenix's tracking data will be reviewed to evaluate the changes residents have undergone from baseline and the moves they have made. The study also consists of interviews with samples of residents from all three sites—those living in the completed HOPE VI development and the residents who did not move back, those relocated to make room for the second HOPE VI development, and those in the process of being relocated to make room for a potential HOPE VI or other mixed income development project.

### **085      Urban Theory: Exploring Social Political Thought in Contemporary Urban Politics (Foucault, Derrida, Lefebvre, among others)**



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### ***Phenomenological City***

Raul Lejano (University of California, Irvine)

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City design has treated the urban as space for inscribing text. The result is a denial of context, in a way that alienates. Rather than conceiving of space-filling schemes for urban planning, we propose a phenomenological approach, one that understands place to be a constellation of relationships between and among human and non-human actants. This requires new policy instruments for analyzing impacts of urban renewal. A phenomenological approach, drawing from the work of Husserl et al., brackets notions of land use and value and, in their place, conceives of mutually reaffirming identities. We illustrate our approach by contrasting development planning frameworks for Santa Ana, one of the last urban barrios in California.

### ***Urban Space and the Moral Salience of Everyday Life***

Loren King (Wilfrid Laurier University)

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Much of the revival of interest in Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' focuses on the content of such a right. I want to consider what may ground such a right. Several scholars have explored the connection between Lefebvre's argument and the distinction between use and exchange values of (and in) urban space: whatever a right to the city is, it is best understood in terms of how we use urban spaces, not the market value of those spaces, and associated rights of ownership and exchange. For Lefebvre, this way of understanding the right to the city is sustained by the significance of everyday life. I want to explore this connection between the idea of a right, the ways we use (and produce through our uses) particular spaces, and the myriad habits and rituals of everyday life in, and through, particular places. Is Lefebvre's analysis sufficient to marry rights to use values, by way of the significance of everyday life? I suspect it is not, and that we must buttress Lefebvre's account with a story about the moral salience of the practices and expectations that become tied to particular places.

### ***Recording and Governance: Exploring the connections between archiving and biopolitics.***

Julia Nevárez (Kean University)

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The archival impulse that Derrida refers to, is a condition of modernity, where keeping



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records and collecting, exemplify the desire for order to a society in flux. Foucault examines a similar trend in his notion of bio-power as the emergence of technologies that function as vehicles for the governance of the population. Population control and cities are much intertwined since it is the urban context that is characterized among other factors, by population density. The purpose of this presentation will be to render identifiable those aspects of the archival impulse that can be located within the contemporary biopolitics of neo-liberalism. This presentation will first develop Derrida's notion of the archive, will define Foucault's notion of bio-power and will explore the ways in which issues of recording, collection and writing act as mechanisms for the efficient governance of populations. Examples such as surveillance, privatization, and the architecture of contemporary cities will be analyzed as emergent urban forms within the context of neo-liberal policies.

### 086 Brownfields and Industrial Restructuring

#### ***If You Clean It, Will They Come to Michigan? Predicting Brownfield Redevelopment Success in an Economically Depressed State***

Robert A. Jones (Eastern Michigan University)

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As a result of its unique geographic location in the Great Lakes region, its 19th and 20th century industrial heritage, and recent state, national and global economic transformations, Michigan has been left with a significant number of contaminated brownfield sites that, when properly managed for environmental health and safety issues, have proven to be desirable for a wide range of redevelopment projects. Over the past two decades the State of Michigan has developed numerous policy innovations and financial incentives to aid in both the environmental remediation and redevelopment of these properties. However, there has been little evaluative research done, particularly on the redevelopment aspects of these brownfield projects. This study of Michigan's brownfield redevelopment efforts began with a question formulated in meetings between interested stakeholders, including Michigan Department of Natural Resources and Environment (DNRE) representatives, academic research organizations, and various public officials. As refined by these parties: What are the causes, consequences and potential correctives of brownfields located in Michigan with an emphasis on common elements of ?successful? brownfield redevelopment projects? In scoping the project, this initial question was broken down into two constituent parts: what makes a brownfield redevelopment project successful, and what common elements do we find in successful projects? The paper analyzes efforts from six DNRE aid programs that have helped to fund environmental



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remediation efforts to support the redevelopment of approximately 365 sites around the state. Two questions are asked in this effort: First, has Michigan brownfield redevelopment been successful within the state environmental, land use, and redevelopment policy contexts? Second, can the lessons learned from this understanding of the causes and consequences of brownfield redevelopment success serve to enhance the likelihood of success for future brownfield projects? Through a series of 55 case studies of state-assisted brownfield redevelopment projects, this research effort focused on the relative level of success for individual brownfield redevelopment projects, examining a number of factors that have been critical in leading to a successful redevelopment effort. Six broad factors deemed critical to the success of these 55 redevelopment projects from around the state are identified and discussed within the political culture and policy climate of Michigan. The paper concludes that, in general, Michigan has been successful in its brownfield redevelopment efforts. However, there are shortcomings within the DNRE programs and in the state's brownfield policies. To enhance the chances for a successful redevelopment effort, the paper concludes with suggestions for possible improvement of the DNRE programs and policies.

### ***Exploring the Potential for Integrating Community Benefits Agreements into Brownfield Redevelopment Projects***

Courtney Knapp (Cornell University)

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Community Benefits Agreements (CBA's) are contracts negotiated between private developers and community coalitions whereby a set of public goods (determined by the coalition) are exacted in exchange for public support (financial and political) of a development project. Common public benefits negotiated through CBA's include affordable housing, community facilities, living wage jobs and workforce development programs, and public space. In theory, CBA's have the potential to revolutionize the community development process, both by virtue of engaging community-based stakeholders in a meaningful public goods negotiation process, and in the concrete public benefits extracted from developers who wish to build in a particular community. Brownfield redevelopment is another strategy for promoting the economic, environmental, and social revitalization of communities. Originally brought to the attention of policymakers by environmental justice advocates who wanted the public sector to hold private companies accountable to the contamination they create, brownfield redevelopment has increasingly become oriented toward traditional economic development and land use planning goals. In response to this trend, environmental justice advocates have called for a realignment of strategies and objectives so that the benefits that emerge from projects are returned directly to





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those communities that have suffered the legacies of economic and environmental disinvestment. This project develops a theoretical framework for arguing that CBA's should be integrated into brownfield redevelopment projects as a way to re-orient the brownfield redevelopment towards its environmental justice/equity planning roots. Additionally, the analysis explores some of the practical limitations to integrating the two, and concludes with a set of recommendations intended to help move beyond these constraints to ensure that brownfield redevelopment projects directly benefit the local communities where they're located moving forward into the future.

### ***Developing techniques to measure the social outcomes of residential brownfield regeneration – key findings, observations and analysis***

Jennifer Hall (University of Manchester)

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Beyond economic and environmental considerations, the UK brownfield regeneration agenda is justified through social objectives. In evaluating the effects of physical regeneration, social outcomes are frequently reduced to mere elements of particular economic and environmental goals; this denies the complexity of social behaviours. A positive or linear relationship may not exist between economic, environmental and social impacts. The social impacts of development may be multifaceted, influencing a wide array of compound issues including displacement, community cohesion, anti-social behaviour and extremism. To assume or determine the social impacts of development based on economic or environmental impacts alone is insufficient. Further investigation is required to understand the social effects of brownfield regeneration, to explore whether the effects of development activity are indeed in line with national social objectives (English Partnerships, 2007). This research applies notions of social capital to investigate to what extent the social ambitions of the brownfield agenda have been reached in the UK. One key rhetoric within the UK brownfield agenda is that new residential development on brownfield sites within deprived communities will attract 'new households with greater social capital' enhancing social, economic and environmental sustainability in one strike' (Mace et al, 2007, p.3). The physical regeneration of a site may influence individuals' lives through creating or limiting opportunities to form and develop interpersonal relationships by changing social or physical habits. It may be convenient to assume that in-movers into new developments will have higher levels of social capital than the resident population, and that new residents will fully integrate to share these benefits, thus supporting the social ambitions of brownfield regeneration; this may not be the case 'on the ground'. This research explores the social capital effects engendered by brownfield residential development within deprived urban communities in the UK, exploring four case studies reflecting different types of



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deprived urban communities within the Manchester urban conurbation in the UK (Robson et al, 2008). This paper thematically presents key findings and observations relating to social change and social capital. Initial analysis, reflecting upon the case studies and the social ambitions of the brownfield agenda, is explored. The paper concludes by outlining subsequent steps for completing the programme of research. English Partnerships (2007) National Brownfield Strategy: Recommendations to Government. UK: English Partnerships. Mace, A., Hall, P. and Gallent, N. (2007) New East Manchester: Urban Renaissance or Urban Opportunism? *European Planning Studies*, 15 (1). pp. 51-67. Robson, B., Lymperopoulou, K. and Rae, A. (2008) People on the move: exploring the functional roles of deprived neighbourhoods. *Environment and Planning A*, 40, 2693-2714.

### 087 Space, Place, and Preservation

#### ***Conservation Easements' Effects on Urban Growth***

Caitlin Dyckman (Clemson University), Mickey Lauria (Clemson University), Ryan Perkl (University of Arizona)

Presenter's email: none provided

A direct manifestation of neoliberal economic precepts in urban planning and geography, conservation easements have proliferated over the past thirty years adjacent to rapidly urbanizing areas. Their popularity corresponds to federal and state tax laws creating incentives for private preservation of natural and scenic resources with significant public benefit. However beneficial as a land preservation tool, cumulative private easement decisions are directly affecting public land use options, arguably without public input. This creates public subsidy of private actions with little to no planning oversight, limited (if any) public access to the private land under easement, and possible preservation of land with limited ecologic value. However individually and arguably socially beneficial as an open space preservation tool, cumulative private easement decisions may also directly affect municipal taxes and indirectly shape urban fabric through tax effects and raw land prices.

This research examines the relationship between cumulative conservation easements (adjacent to rapidly urbanizing areas) and both municipal property taxes and land prices. The researchers collected parcel-level property tax data and generated a GIS database with individual conservation easement spatial location and characteristics (e.g. easement size, location, pre- and post-assessment valuation, and distance to city center, as well as pre- and post-assessment valuation for all properties in the county) from two counties in two different states; namely, Sonoma County, CA and Boulder



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County, CO. The team also examined how public input during the easement process affected that spatial expression at the county level, as Boulder County utilizes public oversight in their easement determination. Controlling for state and municipal property and income tax laws, the team assessed neighborhood effects of conservation easements on adjacent and county-level land costs, using a combination of Immergluck (2008) and Galster et al.'s (1999) methodologies to test whether easements diminish the municipal property tax base and increase raw land prices in the long run. The findings support the critique of a purely neoliberal approach to land conservation, advance theory by quantifying the effects of conservation easements on municipal taxes and raw land prices, and provide evidence in the debate over local and regional planning oversight in the conservation easement process.

### ***Williamsburg Walks: Community Planning and Inequality in a Gentrified Neighborhood***

Sara Martucci (CUNY Graduate Center)

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Brooklyn is the largest borough in New York City--a diverse locale where people from all over the globe reside in close proximity to one another and in ethnic enclaves. Williamsburg, a neighborhood in northwest Brooklyn, has a rich culture comprised of Hasidic Jews on the south end, Latina/os in the heart of the district, and a clustering of Polish immigrants in the north. Over the past 25 years the "Northside" of Williamsburg has been one of the main sites of gentrification in New York. The former industrial neighborhood previously teeming with working class families became one of the hippest neighborhoods in the city in the 1990s, and now is being affected by a new form of gentrification: it is a destination for cultural consumption. Over the past few years thirty story condos have sprung up along the waterfront, yoga studios and daycare centers have opened, and the demographics of the neighborhood have shifted from blue-collar working class families to white collar cosmopolitans and young professionals. These demographic changes are manifested visually on the street as Laundromats, check cashers, and other necessities of the working class are replaced with cafes and restaurants designed for the leisure activities of the new wealthier residents. Less visibly, the tastes and values of the new residents are incorporated into the goals and strategies of community organizations in the area. Most popular has been the annual "Williamsburg Walks" event, a temporary pedestrian mall, which started in the neighborhood three years ago. The marketing materials for the closure stress the opportunity to "get to know your neighbors," and in the past there have even been ethnic food stations representing the local cultures, however the event is mainly attended by young White Americans. The methodology in this paper consists of field observations, interviews, photographs and content



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analysis. Using these techniques I explore the disconnect between how ?Williamsburg Walks? is portrayed as an opportunity for the community but can also be seen as an exclusionary event that maintains and even strengthens local class tensions.

### ***"That Places Goes Along with What We Do:" Architecture and the Perpetuation of Creative Practices and Traditions in Post-Katrina New Orleans***

Bethany Rogers (Louisiana State University)

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New Orleans has long been a city celebrated for its distinctive built environment and creative traditions from jazz music to second line parades to culinary arts to costume design. Hurricane Katrina not only left much of the city?s historic architectural fabric in damaged, tentative condition, it also left the city?s cultural community without spaces to practice, to perform, even simply to commune creatively. My ethnohistoric engagement with historic preservation in New Orleans prior to and through the initial after-effects of Hurricane Katrina, brought to light compelling processes through which the city?s cultural community adjusted to these creative-spatial voids and accordingly shifted or re-produced their ?vortices of creativity,? a conceptual notion influenced by performance studies scholar Joseph Roach that emphasizes the role architectural spaces play in channeling creative practices not only to express and share them, but, importantly within a preservation frame, to perpetuate them. From architectural spaces as diverse as formal music halls and working-class corner barrooms, this paper identifies and explores the workings of a network of post-Katrina creative spaces that provided a physical and performative continuity through which cultural bearers re-created the unique physical and cultural milieu of the city.

### ***Urban Tourism Development and Cultural Conflict: The Case of Street Naming in the Old City of Acre***

Noam Shoval (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

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There has been extensive research on place names, since they are one of the most significant markers of the intimate relationship between people and territory. However, most of those efforts were undertaken to explore and understand the historical and political implications of the names and less in regards to their more sociological and cultural connotations. The various motives behind street naming that have been recorded so far in the literature are capitalist modernization, colonial settlement, state formation, national independence and official commemoration. This article presents another motive for street naming: a means to enable the orientation of visitors to a historic city and to enhance the tourist development and attraction of a



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destination. However, as will be shown, in areas that are characterized by political, national, cultural and religious conflicts, issues concerning conservation and development become particularly complex.

The first section of this article investigates both the historical process of the formal street naming in the Old City of Acre, Israel, and the existing system of place names that is used by the local Arab inhabitants of the Old City. It is clear from this investigation that the process in Acre, unlike most other instances in modern Israeli history, was not implemented as part of the struggle to dominate the identity and nature of space as part of the ongoing ethnic confrontation. However, as the second part of the paper reveal, that despite this "neutral" process, the local population does interpret the place naming as a mean for domination over space.

The two methods implemented in this paper are archival research complemented with ethnographic fieldwork in order to analyse the reactions and attitudes of the local population in the Old City to tourism development by the Acre Development Company (ADC) in general and its recent initiative of setting up the official street names that were designated in the past in the streets and alleys of the Old City in particular.

### 088 Perspectives on Urban Governance—Part 2

#### ***How the Suburbs are Reshaping the City: A Philadelphia Case Study***

Carolyn Adams (Temple University)

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Urban scholars agree that the changing structure of metropolitan areas in recent decades has shifted economic and political power away from central cities to suburbs. So extreme is this shift, in the eyes of some observers, that it has reversed the traditional pattern by which central cities exerted influence on their hinterlands. In the postmodern metropolis, by contrast, the hinterland organizes the center. If we are to accept this assertion, we need to understand the mechanisms by which the suburbs are reshaping central cities to serve suburban needs and preferences. Using the Greater Philadelphia region, this paper will ask whether and how suburban influence is exerted upon the central city through the operation of special purpose authorities, commissions and other quasi-governmental entities. Other researchers have focused attention on special purpose authorities as vehicles that allow multiple local governments to cooperate in providing a particular service. They are often used, for example, when neighboring jurisdictions want to share the cost of water and sewer



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systems or trash pick-up. That is not the focus of this paper. Rather, I am interested in quasi-governmental or nonprofit institutions that take responsibility for central city facilities, projects and/or functions. I will focus particularly on quasi-governmental bodies responsible for shaping Philadelphia's development as (1) entertainment and cultural center serving the region; (2) transportation hub for the region's passengers and freight; (3) visitor center bringing conventioners and tourists to the region; and (4) producer of much the region's entry-level workforce. Some scholars, looking at the governance landscape of proliferating special purpose authorities, have lamented the fragmentation of public responsibility. Each organization sets its own agenda, raises funds, and spends them in accordance with its own goals – not necessarily the goals of the mayor, city council, or other democratically elected officials. In this institutional force-field, coordination of agendas is difficult to achieve. This paper will explore that depiction of a splintering institutional landscape. Using data describing the board composition of key organizations in the four development sectors listed above, I will look for overlaps and inter-organizational cooperation among the players. I hypothesize that there is more coordination than previously observed, albeit coordination that is forged outside the domain of democratic politics.

### ***Urban Governance: Are U.S. Cities Losing Power?***

Ann Bowman (Texas A&M University), Richard Kearney (North Carolina State University)

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Some scholars have contended that U.S. state governments have embraced the concept of devolution and empowered their city governments. Evidence from specific states suggests that some power shifting has occurred. For example, Fording, et al. (2003) examined local response to state-mandated ethics reform in Kentucky; Tadlock, et al. (2005) analyzed county implementation of welfare reform in Ohio; Sonenshein and Hogen-Esch (2006) explored local power from the perspective of secession politics in New York City and Los Angeles. These pieces and others like them raise provocative questions about the extent to which states empower localities, but thus far, there has been little multi-state, multi-policy research on this question. Our set of research questions includes: how do state and city officials perceive state-local relations? Do state and city officials differ in their assessment of the degree to which devolution has occurred? How do these assessments vary across policy areas? And importantly, what explains the degree to which these assessments coincide (or not)? To answer these questions, we have conducted a nationwide survey of city officials, state executive directors of county and municipal associations, and state legislators who chair local government committees in the House and Senate about recent shifts in state-local authority in 15 different policy areas. Our intent is to analyze the





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responses of these actors both within and across states. The paper will provide a fresh perspective on urban governance, and the compelling question of city power. By analyzing the perceptual data from multiple vantage points and across different policy domains, we can begin building a theory of evolving state-local power relations.

### ***State Government Efforts at Local Collaboration in Ohio: A Tale of How the Old Regionalism Ate the Lunch of New Regionalism***

Myron A. Levine (Wright State University)

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In 2009 and 2010, the State of Ohio created the Ohio Commission on Local Government Reform and Collaboration to "develop recommendations on ways to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of local government operations, to achieve cost savings for taxpayers, and to facilitate economic development." Ohio was following in the steps of New York, New Jersey, and other states that had initiated state actions to give greater support to enhanced interlocal cooperation and regionalism. This paper traces the work and recommendations of the Ohio Commission and explains the Commission's emphasis on traditional old-style approaches to efficiency gains as opposed to strong efforts to catalyze joint action for economic development and other "new regionalism" ventures.

### ***America's Leading Int'l Trade Centers & their Entrepreneurial Public Agencies: Historical Challenges & Strategies in the NY and L.A. Regions***

Jameson Doig (Dartmouth College), Steven Erie (University of California, San Diego), Scott A. Mackenzie (University of California, Davis)

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This is a comparative study of the distinctive ways in which the NY & L.A. regions have grappled with the challenges of int'l trade in the past 100 years. More generally, this history illustrates one innovative strategy that cities & states have employed to maintain econ vitality in their urban regions. During and after the Progressive Era (roughly 1900-1917), political leaders & citizen groups in both regions sought to insulate govt. agencies from polit pressures, so expertise might have a primary role in shaping public policy, and "efficiency" could be the std in carrying out public programs. This Progsve spirit shaped efforts in these regions to confront deterioration, inefficiency & polit patronage on the waterfront. The solutions in the two regions were quite different. State officials in NY and northern NJ agreed, after a long struggle, to create a centralized system, taking control from the cities and placing it in a semi-autonomous bi-state Port Authority. In contrast, L.A. developed a highly decentralized system, featuring semi-autonomous municipal depts in L.A. and Long



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Beach governing seaports & intl airports; in recent yrs, they jointly developed a rail system to move goods away from the cluttered port area. In both regions there has been a strong focus on growth; this has brought large environm'tal problems--esp air pollution and & congested streets--to nearby communities. We describe these different approaches as they have evolved & explore the results over the decades in terms of these questions: Why & how did state officials in NY and NJ resist the pressures from local officials who wished to maintain control over their maritime facilities, and why, in contrast, did local officials readily yield control over the important L.A. and Long Beach marine terminals and related facilities? What has been the impact of the original design on the ability of these agencies to respond to challenges in the 20th Century and current challenges? What are the pros and cons of each approach--in relation to attracting able staff, devising & using technological innovations, & enhancing regional coordination? Also, what are the pros & cons of each approach in achieving a reasonable level of democratic acct'bility? (What is "reasonable level" of acct'bility in a field in which long-term planning & capital investment are essential?) What strategies might enhance demo acct'bility, when agencies are designed to insulate policy-making & execution from political forces? How have city & state govts used various strategies to rein in these independent agencies, & with what results, positive & negative? How has the recent emphasis on goals other than growth (equity, a better environment, security) aided in achieving (or undermining?) dem acct'bility? To what extent have these agencies aided or subverted the search for a just & sustainable society. We will offer brief compar to other regions--Tampa, Phila, San Diego, SF & Seattle.

### 089 Local Crime Prevention: Strategies for Safe Spaces

#### ***Local Sensemaking of Policy Paradoxes--Implementing Local Crime Prevention in Sweden***

Monika Persson (Örebro University)

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There is a general trend towards urban crime prevention and community safety. The main policy ideas and instruments associated with this trend have spread widely in Western countries and in several developing countries. There are three significant features of the dominant community safety paradigm: it represents a merging of the criminal justice and social policy concerns; it emphasizes local solutions; and it aims at addressing not only crime and its prevention, but also public fear and perceived safety. This article examines community safety policies in various local contexts. By studying the Swedish national crime prevention strategy and crime prevention work



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at the local level in four residential areas in Stockholm, it examines the translation of national policy to local contexts. The study finds that local-level policy implementation is strongly influenced by local socio-economic context, especially concerning the understanding of social problems addressed by this policy. At the same time, the policy ideas and instruments provided by national authorities greatly influence local work. Contradictions and paradoxes are found to arise when local-level understandings meet the national-level problem formulations of community safety policy. The current trend towards situational crime prevention and community policing may in the long run exacerbate public fear, perceived insecurity and suspicion of strangers.

### ***Community Development and Gun Violence Reduction***

Jack Dustin (Wright State University)

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Law enforcement agencies since the mid-1980s have attempted to reduce gun violence through three approaches. The first approach involved aggressive law enforcement. These programs seek to deter gun violence through intensive surveillance, increased arrests, and aggressive prosecution (Fagan, 2003). New York City and Richmond, Virginia, have adopted this approach. The second approach to reducing gun violence involved community and social controls. For example, St. Louis implemented the Firearm Suppression Program. The city targeted youth and relied on voluntary searches of homes with parental consent (Fagan, 2003). The last approach combined elements of aggressive law enforcement and community and social controls. In these cities, the police and the community form cooperative arrangements to stop gun violence. Boston stands out among cities for this approach (Kennedy, 1997; Fagan, 2003; Braga, 2004; McGarrell et al, 2006). Boston's approach to gun violence has received most attention because statistical analysis concluded that gun violence decreased. Some analysts have questioned the evidence from Boston. For example, Jeffrey Fagan reported that Boston's drop in homicides (one attribute of gun violence) coincided with a drop in homicide rates nationwide. Yet, the evidence from Boston and other cities, such as Minneapolis and Indianapolis, convinced The Office of Criminal Justice Services in Ohio to support gun reduction violence initiatives in the state's larger cities (Ohio Department of Public Safety, 2008). Today, most major cities in Ohio have adopted or will adopt a gun violence reduction program. This paper focuses on a program adopted by Dayton, Ohio. The program is unique because it is regional and has a much stronger community focus. The author leads an "evaluation team" assessing the impact of Dayton's Community Initiative to Reduce Gun Violence and has closely followed the development of the program. The conference paper will 1) provide a theoretical premise for gun reduction



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programs; 2) summarize the impact of model law enforcement and community based programs; 3) detail how and why the Dayton program took an alternative approach to gun violence reduction; and 4) provide insight in to factors that should guide future gun violence reduction programs.

### ***Restorative Justice in the Age of Color Blindness: Structural Violence and the Politics of Denial***

Ragnhild Utheim (CUNY Graduate Center New York)

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The United States is emerging from almost forty years of mass incarceration and currently faces a great volume of people cycling out of the criminal justice system. Restorative Justice (and its practices) has come to represent an increasingly popular ?alternative? in the fight towards building safe and healthy urban communities that do not rely on prisons and punishment as a solution to the dislocations of advanced capitalism. This paper builds on ethnographic research conducted over a twelve-month period at a ?transitional? high school for court-involved youth in New York City, where restorative practices shaped the intervention response to reintegrating urban youth back into their communities, post-confinement. The study set out to examine the use of restorative practices for managing conflicts, and the extent to which the framework lives up to one of its central ideals: to bring about a more democratically oriented distribution of power in conflict intervention and give voice to all stakeholders. In probing this fundamental ingredient of the restorative approach (democratic participation) the research lens was redirected toward a ubiquitous ?politics of denial? in confronting the deeper roots of US social conflicts. The paper examines the emergence of restorative conflict negotiations as a field of practice that claims ?neutrality? and ?impartiality? in its deliberations, yet at once by and large entirely evades the reality of a politically and economically skewed ?playing field.? For restorative justice to remain true to its democratic processes and participatory dictates, its ?practices? must bring to bear the weight of history and how it has placed groups of people at highly differential advantages. The paper argues for the deconstructing of an exceedingly slanted (white) historical master-narrative, and the potential of restorative practices for navigating the political and psychosocial effects that this will provoke.

### ***Social Control of Urban Youth: Supervision, Social Investment and Delinquency Rates***

Tamara Leech (Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis)

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Current research on delinquency in urban neighborhoods draws heavily on the



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concept of informal social control. There is a multitude of evidence that the social control aspects of collective efficacy ? ranging from local adults? ability to identify local children to their willingness to intervene in fights or vandalism ? are associated low rates of delinquency. In this paper, I introduce social investment (neighbors? willingness to participate in youth organizations and mentor youth) as a separate indicator of informal social control. The data for the analyses focus on one urban area in Indianapolis spanning 92 census block groups. To create the dataset, I combined census and county court data with 603 interviews of local residents. I ran separate zero-inflated negative binomial models on juvenile felony, misdemeanor and status charges (i.e. actions, such as truancy and curfew violations, only considered illegal due to the offender?s age). Concentrated disadvantage, homeownership rates, size of the youth population, and concentration of households with seniors served as control variables. The results reveal that, while traditional measures of social control are related to status offenses, social investment is significantly correlated with misdemeanor and felony offenses. For all outcomes, a higher percent of homeowners in the neighborhood is associated with lower levels of juvenile charges. Supervision, on the other hand, is only consistently related to status charges. Furthermore, supervision is unrelated to misdemeanor charges or felony charges until social investment is considered. For misdemeanors, social investment serves as a moderating variable: the effect of supervision is only evident in areas with high levels of social investment. For felony charges, when social investment is considered, higher rates of supervision are actually associated with higher rates of felony charges. These results portray a complex relationship between informal supervision and juvenile delinquency. The informal social control elements of collective efficacy are directly related to status offenses, but the results on felony charges contradict the direction of this relationship or more serious crime. They suggest that informal social control may emerge when neighborhoods are faced with more serious forms of deviance among youth. Finally, in-line with ?on the ground? assessments, the results regarding misdemeanors suggest that adults? actions to intervene in youth behavior are most successful when there are preexisting social connections between youth and adults in the area. In sum, traditional models of social control may rely too heavily on indicators of intervention and supervision. Scholars concerned with non-status offenses should begin to expand their focus to social investment. Social investment may represent a way to amplify the effect of supervising undesirable behavior and/or prevent serious deviant behavior before it occurs.

### **090 Urban Employment: Economics and Equity**



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### ***Predictability, Flexibility, Stability: Economic Restructuring and Low-Wage "Women's" Work***

Marcia Bok (University of Connecticut)

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That women in the workplace continues to be an ongoing debate provides an interesting insight into current gender issues in the society. While there are obvious differences in obstacles faced by middle-class and poor women in the workplace, there are common elements that affect both groups, albeit in different ways. This includes, for example, issues of predictability in the workplace (i.e. the ability to plan ahead); flexibility (i.e. accommodation to employer and employee needs); and stability (i.e. lack of capriciousness in hiring and firing). Historically, middle class and poor women have grappled with home and work issues. For middle-class women, the male-dominated work environment and lack of shared home responsibilities by men, are frequent reasons given for work-home tensions. Low-income women, on the other hand, particularly unmarried mothers, have often been expected to change their behavior to solve these problems. Poor women are blamed for not upholding American values of marriage, personal responsibility, and work. While expected to work outside the home and not be dependent on government support, adequate and affordable child care are often not available and jobs often fail to fulfill self-sufficiency goals. In fact, poor women have always worked outside of the home, but with little recognition. Welfare reform of 1996 was meant to correct some of the more negative attitudes toward poor women, primarily by emphasizing work-first as a basic concept. While more poor women entered the workforce as a result of the legislation, they have tended to move horizontally through the workplace, with limited educational opportunities, low wage jobs and limited safety-net programs. As the economy has unraveled, work conditions for all workers have become progressively worse. But despite this background, there is ongoing belief that it is the characteristics of poor women that interfere with their economic security, economic mobility, and economic self-sufficiency. We want to challenge this characterization. With the myriad of problems in low-wage work, including inadequate wages with few or no benefits, as well as lack of predictability and stability in the workplace, major change is needed in the job market. Economic restructuring has occurred in the workplace so that there may be new opportunities for all employees. In this paper, which focuses on low-wage women in the workplace, we conclude by suggesting that it would be empowering to all women, with positive ramifications for workers and employers, if similarities, rather than differences among women were emphasized and common goals were identified and implemented. Otherwise, it is low-income women who are often excluded from the conversation.





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### ***Contemporary Issues in Accessible Public Transportation and Unemployment in Selected Deep South Urbanized Areas: An Application of the Spatial Mismatch***

Catherine Estis (University of Louisiana)

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Abstract - The study highlights the how the lack of affordable transportation affects the poor living in the inner city from “emerging job markets.” Specific consideration is given to the role of transportation access, local government’s role in developing transportation policies for linking job access and low income communities. In the central cities of urbanized areas public transportation infrastructure has changed little over time, even as job and residential growth has shifted outward to ring cities. The lack of innovation in city government transportation policy is an economic barrier to the poor who live in the inner city and rely on public transportation as a primary mode of travel to emerging job markets in the suburbs. The need for better public transportation networks to suburban communities is becoming increasingly more pressing as the region’s economic development moves outward and away from the central city. Study results indicate that the primary job growth in urbanized areas is occurring outside of the existing public transit service area which is constrained by the boundaries of the central city. Therefore, the likelihood of individuals who rely on public transportation as a primary means of mobility to secure and maintain jobs outside of the city is extremely remote. The importance of the linkage between jobs and transportation is often cited as the primary quality of life determinant for individuals and families in terms of healthcare, education, childcare, as well as other needs. Social demographics of the urbanized areas indicate that a significant number of those trapped inside the central city are minorities and the less affluent persons who do not have the means to escape (economically or socially) the severe poverty conditions. This research evaluated the existing public transportation routes and the accessibility of the underclass to the emerging job markets in selected urbanized areas of the Deep South. The study builds on existing research that has been conducted in other regions of the United States, but not particularly in the South or in small to medium-sized cities. The South offers significant differences in terms of politics, geography, resources, ethnicity, culture, and values that make providing for the needs of the region’s inner-city poor more of a challenge. Findings from the study should offer guidance in developing specific transportation policies that will provide the necessary linkage between job access and low-income neighborhoods in the South. The goal of this research was to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the crosscutting issues of transportation which are ecological to southern urban areas because of the unique southern cultural context.

### ***The Happiest Sweatshop on Earth: Changing Labor Patterns in the Disney City***



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The Walt Disney theme parks in both the United States and abroad constitute extensive urban developments that incorporate many of the conditions and challenges of urban space. They typically occupy hundreds if not thousands of acres, employ a workforce of thousands, and entertain tens of thousands of guests on a daily basis. Their location at the edges of large metropolitan areas – the greater Los Angeles region in California, Orlando, Florida, Paris, France, and two locations in China, Hong Kong and Shanghai (projected opening 2014) -- ensures that whatever Disney does will have impact on a much larger urban area. From the standpoint of a large regional employer, Disney has extraordinary power to shape both regional labor patterns and the culture of labor. This paper investigates the changing nature of the Disney labor force in terms of the impact on surrounding urban areas and the labor culture(s) created and contested on site. I use Walt Disney World in Florida and its rapidly globalizing College Program employee workforce for my case study. The Disney parks have long attracted the attention of academics as both the symbolic and material embodiment of cultural, economic, and political forces. Numerous aspects of their architecture and urban design, political machinations, economic strategies, and cultural meanings have been researched. Disney has also attracted the attention of both management science and the popular media as having mastered the art of successful labor relations – in other words, and often in the face of a compelling evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that through their superior management techniques and a bit of pixie dust, Disney is immune to the same labor conditions that characterize capitalist organizations in the neoliberal era. This research explores the contradictory landscape created by the strong cultural messages shaped by the Disney Company as they intersect with the labor realities experienced by one subset of their workforce, Disney College Program interns. Effectively minimum wage seasonal workers with very little employment protection, the College Program interns constitute approximately 10% of the entire Walt Disney World workforce at any given time. They are made to live on Disney-owned property, required to adhere to Disney-imposed lifestyle rules, and their rent is garnished from their paychecks. It is in many ways a postmodern company town that has earned its nickname “Mousecatraz.” Through a combination of descriptive analysis of regional Disney-related employment patterns and ethnographic research involving on-site College Program interns, I argue that far from being a workplace utopia insulated from modern and postmodern labor conditions, Walt Disney World reproduces the same conditions of labor it purports to overcome.

### **091 Building More Resilient Communities. What Does That Mean? Part 1**



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### ***What if the phoenix was wounded?***

Taïka Baillargeon (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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Literature about resilience often refers to rebuild cities or sites as extraordinary survivors, using the metaphor of the risen phoenix and thus, giving the impression that resilience is more of a miracle than a process. On the other hand, most authors would agree that there are necessary steps to achieve resilience, which generally include a period of emergency recovery, of restoration, of resurgence (back to normal) and a period of improvement. But between the myth of the risen city and the rigid schematization of the resilience process, where does the wounded city belong? What happen when reconstruction is layered, parceled out in time and space and therefore incomplete? And what if this wound remains as part of the urban landscape after the reconstruction? Can a partly rebuild city be considered resilient or will it stay paralyzed, between destruction and revival? And most importantly why does it happen? It is established that countries' financial incapacity has a great impact on the evolution of reconstruction, but the problem is much more complex than that and this complexity needs to be portrayed and understood in order to find new ways to address such problem.

In order to make such portray and look through this issue, I would like to present the case of Belgrade's military headquarter (QGM), bombed by NATO in 1999. Although the city was only partially bombed it was never fully rebuild and the Serbian capital remain highly wounded today; more than ten years after the bombing, the QGM remains in ruins. Moreover, there are many actors publicly implicated in the case (city representatives, architects, heritage council and investors), but there is still no future planned for the building.

### ***The Landscape of Memory in Post-War Reconstructions: Its Role In Urban Resilience***

Yona Jébrak (University of Québec in Montréal)

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As their buildings and infrastructures inherited from the post-second World War reconstruction period age, many European cities are facing the ever evolving challenge of their urban and architectural heritages. To the exception of a few, one of the most recent being Le Havre in France, most haven't capitalised on the cultural potentials their landscapes offer, often oblivion today of the intentions of the 1940s architects and urban planners. By doing so, they therefore often create a diachronic history where the Reconstruction years come as a clash to the long-run urban history.



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The destruction of the city landscape, palimpsest of sites, life stories and identities causes for both horror and consternation; It disturbs the spatial representations and the memorial links residents keep with their city. Thus, the destroyed city, as a community, has to adapt itself to its new urban form in order to be fully resilient. How such a change of the landscape of memory is absorbed in the reconstruction process? Can the reconstruction of a new landscape creates the basis of a new built heritage for the generations to come?

This lecture proposes to understand how the landscape of memory of a city to-be-rebuilt and then in reconstruction participates in the resilience of a city by analysing its presentation in local newspapers. The case study of the town of Coventry, in England, between 1940 and 1948, is particularly interesting regarding this matter. Although local and national authorities first implemented emergency measures, the interest for the long-term reconstruction rapidly raised: after lingering on ruins, public discourses, constantly nourished by the national and municipal propaganda, started orienting their attention on the reconstruction itself. Most importantly, the local newspaper participated immensely in the process by publishing articles on the various plans and sites to be rebuilt, proposing contests and co-organising exhibits. Discourse on post-war Coventry became a tool to restructure space and help residents to re-appropriate their urban environment. This case study hence offers an insight of the symbolic and pragmatic dimensions of reconstruction as they are linked across spatial and temporal scales. Understanding the complex mechanisms of creation and recreation, of interpretation and reinterpretation of the urban landscape would help better apprehend contemporary cases of reconstruction on one hand, and their future on the other.

### ***Machining a more resilient Montreal: Manufacturing and the economic resurgence of the city***

Alex Carruthers (McGill University), Stephen Charters (McGill University), Jill Merriman (McGill University), Lisa Bornstein (McGill University)

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This paper examines one aspect of the social and economic resilience of cities: manufacturing. While manufacturing activities have shifted away from North American cities since the late 1970s, many products are still made in large cities and manufacturing, even at the smallest scale, is still a critical element in urban economic growth. What role does local manufacturing play in the long-term resilience of cities and the communities within them? What types of manufacturing activities – and what relations among firms and other actors – are essential to resilience?



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This paper focuses on Montreal, where the manufacturing sector is one of the sectors playing a key role in the city's resurgence after decades of decline. The discussion draws on three analytical approaches: historical analysis of the economic resurgence of the city, neighbourhood analysis of how manufacturing has contributed to community resilience, and action research via a student initiative Made in Montreal. We show how location within a French-language province has aided the adaptation and subsequent growth of industry, how access to manufacturing jobs and the interventions of community organizations have allowed the working class neighbourhood to weather gentrification, and how Made in Montreal is fostering networking opportunities for local producers, allowing potentially advantageous supply chains to develop, and promoting 'buy local' practices.

### 092 Community Development and Capacity Building

#### ***Participatory Action Research and Advocacy Planning: An Approach to "Reclaim" City from New Urbanism Practice?***

Erualdo Gonzalez (California State University, Fullerton), Carolina Sarmiento (University of California, Irvine), Ana Urzua (Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development)

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This article examines the challenges and opportunities to integrate participatory action research (PAR) and advocacy-planning models in response to perceived limitations of a New Urbanism charrette process and proposed redevelopment schemes. We show how a community collaborative generated and integrated knowledge from PAR and advocacy planning models to produce redevelopment policy recommendations and negotiate with city officials and their developer. It also outlines how the collaborative addressed challenges to practice the two models. Using participant-observation, primary texts, a community survey, and focus groups, this article draws from a recent case study of the New Urbanist inspired Draft Renaissance Plan (?DRP?) and its offshoot Station District Plan (?SDP?) of the City of Santa Ana, California—an area that ranks number one in one national urban hardship index and is described by some as the ?poster child? for America?s national immigration debate. One finding is that multiple planning methods designed and carried out by the community collaborative generated finer grained knowledge and policy recommendations than that produced by the New Urbanism charrette. While the collaborative influenced some changes in proposed urban policy, there are questions about local government?s receptivity to urban participatory reform and willingness to negotiate redevelopment through Community Benefits Agreements. There are also



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practical and ideological tensions to combine the PAR and advocacy planning models. The research leads to some lessons for practitioners, such as the need to build "on-going" elements into the hybrid model. Lastly, we reflect on implications of this model for local government public participation reform.

### ***What Will the Neighbors Say?: The Evolution of the Process of Securing Public Benefits and the Emergence of the Community Benefits Agreement Trend in Select Locales***

Ralph Rosado (University of Pennsylvania)

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The pluralistic, capitalistic nature of the United States shapes its unique planning culture. Over time, planning in the US has changed from a relatively insulated, technocratic, local-government-driven process to one mandated to consider a multitude of often-conflicting public opinions. A government entity attempts to achieve consensus among three influential sectors: the state, the market, and civil society. Development thus encompasses publicly and privately funded efforts molded by citizen interests.

Although taxpayer dollars often subsidize economic development projects, they sometimes produce mixed results for existing residents, especially those living near project sites. Through the land-use regulatory process, local governments have increasingly made project approvals contingent upon developer agreements to contribute parks, low-income housing, and job training, among other public benefits. During the past decade in select cities and counties, community groups have assumed the role of negotiator on behalf of their communities, espousing the view that economic development efforts should significantly improve the lives of affected residents. Since 2001, community groups and labor unions in several US cities have entered into community benefits agreements (CBAs) with developers and/or governmental bodies, in order to meet community needs. In return, the groups support the projects' requests for governmental approvals and/or subsidies.

Although CBAs hold the promise of redressing decades of neglect inflicted upon struggling communities throughout the US, they have emerged in relatively few communities. In addition, they have taken different forms in different places and have altogether failed to appear in various places, despite their proponents' efforts. To better understand the crucial differences between these diverse planning cultures, this work will analyze and contrast public benefits negotiations in several major US cities, including Chicago, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Denver, New York City, and Miami, shedding light on the distinctive ways in which these communities participate in – and





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outside of – traditional land use planning processes.

### ***Struggle and transformation in urban rebuilding: 10 years of the Wheeler Arts Community***

Timothy Maher (University of Indianapolis), Jillian Schleicher (University of Indianapolis), Amanda Belcher (University of Indianapolis)

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Over the past thirty years there have been many successful attempts to counter long-term divestment in urban areas, leading to affluent gentrified enclaves in the centers of most American cities. Successful urban rebuilding initiatives that include a commitment to low-income populations are unfortunately rare. This paper looks at an experiment in urban rebuilding based on an innovative community - campus collaboration in Indianapolis, IN. A community building and learning model of civic engagement provided a framework for the on-going development of the Wheeler Arts Community. The need to re-use an abandoned factory in the urban neighborhood of Fountain Square, the lack of affordable housing, a desire to nourish a budding artist community, and the plan to building meaningful and transformative learning experiences for university students lead to the creation of the Wheeler Arts Community in October of 2000. For the past 10 years, the Wheeler Arts Community has been a low income, HUD subsidized residential project of 36 live/work spaces anchored by University of Indianapolis classroom, office, and theatre spaces. This report is a review and analysis of the first 10 years of this unique community - campus collaboration. It will focus on the process of community building, funding issues, changes in approach over time, influence on other developments, impact on student learning, and future prospects.

### ***Do CDC's Foster Citizen Participation?: The Community Stakeholder Perspective***

Tia Gaynor (Rutgers University)

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Community Development Corporations (CDC) were formed in the United States to address issues related to communities often forgotten or neglected by numerous public organizations, including government. In some communities these organizations sought to rebuild and revitalize following social unrest (Gittell and Wilder, 1999), while others reacted to the lack of or inadequate government programs designed to address the economic and social maladies of urban communities. (Fisher, 1994; Stoecker, 1997; Gittell and Wilder, 1999) Concurrently, government is accused of including citizens or residents in political decisions in the later stages of planning. (Yang and Callahan, 2007) This design ensures the agendas of public officials are met rather than



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the desires of those residing in the local communities. Furthermore, established political structures are designed to keep citizens and residents the furthest away from an issue or decision (King, Feltey, and Susel, 1998) decreasing their ability or willingness to be actively and integrally involved in the political process. The nature of CDC work requires close relationships with local governments ? giving the development corporation a connection to key political decision makers - and community residents ? providing a trusting relationship that empowers the organization and residents alike. This research examines these relationships to identify the role CDCs play in developing and/or strengthening citizen participation in local politics. This study focuses on studying perspectives ? that of community residents, CDC executives, and local public officials. I argue that, an unintentional result of CDC work is citizen empowerment and increased and/or strengthened participation. Through the use of Q-Methodology, a scientific study of human subjectivity (an individual?s view point or perception), I am able to empirically measure viewpoints on CDCs influence on levels of political participation. This work will primary seeks to answer the question, How do community stakeholders perceive Community Development Corporations? (CDCs) role in fostering citizen participation in local government? Fisher, R. (1994). ?Community Organizing in the Conservative 80?s and Beyond.? Social Policy 25 (1): 11-21. Gittell, R. W., Margaret (1999). "Community Development Corporations: Critical Factors That Influence Success." Journal of Urban Affairs 21(3): 341-362. King, C. S., K. M. Feltey, et al. (1998). "The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Pubic Participation in Public Administration." Public Adminstration Review 58(4): 317-326. Stoecker, R. (1997). "The CDC Model of Urban Redevelopment: A Critique and an Alternative." Journal of Urban Affairs 19(1): 1-22. Yang, K. and K. Callahan (2007). "Citizen Involvement Efforts and Bureaucratic Responsiveness: Participatory Values, Stakeholder Pressures, and Administrative Practicality." Public Adminstration Review 67(2): 249-264.

### **093 Race, Ethnicity, and Neighborhood Change**



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### ***Race, Ethnicity, and Homeownership***

Scott Cummings (Saint Louis University)

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Homeownership in the United States is examined by race and ethnicity. The 2000 PUMS file shows wide differences in homeownership by ethnic group within racial groups. Ethnic differences within racial groups are wider than differences between racial groups. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for theory and social policy.

### ***Restructuring, Race and Real Estate: Changing Home Values and the New California Metropolis, 1988-2010***

Jake Wegmann (University of California, Berkeley), Alex Schafran (University of California, Berkeley)

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Scholars concerned with the social composition of the American city have long recognized that geography matters. Since the early days of the Chicago School, researchers have paid close attention to issues of segregation within a metropolitan context. Over the past decade, scholars on multiple fronts have reengaged with metropolitan segregation ? historians have been working to undo the overblown urban/suburban dichotomy (Kruse and Sugrue 2006), while social scientists have been both tracking the suburbanization of poverty (Vicino 2008; Short, Hanlon, and Vicino 2007; Hanlon, Vicino, and Short 2006) and questioning the role of politics and public policy in both producing and coping with these new patterns (Goetz 2003; Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001). The nexus of race and real estate has been central to the segregation question from the beginning ? from racial covenants to racialized lending practices, the human geography of the U.S. metropolis has been carved from this most American of stones (Massey and Denton 1990). In the wake of an ongoing foreclosure crisis that has disproportionately impacted communities of color (Rivera and United for a Fair Economy 2008), it behooves us to examine the intersection of new racial geographies with a historicized look at home values ? still the barometer of the primary source of wealth for American families. Using a broad ?megapolitan? geography determined by ethnographic field work and cultural and commuting patterns rather than census definitions, this paper uses a ?price multiple? metric to examine the change in median home value at the zip code level in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles regions over the past two decades, and its relation to changing racial geographies. Initial findings indicate some disturbing patterns ? zip codes in the ?exurban? areas of both regions, areas which have been net receivers of



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minority residents in general and African Americans in particular over the past two decades, have lost significant value both in absolute terms and relative to the urban/inner suburban core. This is not simply a bubble phenomenon ? when examined over two decades, it indicates a potentially longer-term trend that portends a new geography of segregation rather than a desegregated metropolis. The authors propose to overlay the aforementioned real estate data with forthcoming 2005-2009 zip code-level American Community Survey data (to be released in late 2010), with the analysis informed at every turn with qualitative work from the San Francisco Bay Area, in order to untangle new intersections of race, class and emergent zones of marginality on the exurban fringe.

### ***Community Inclusion and Conflict: Multiracial Gentrification in Washington, DC***

Derek Hyra (Virginia Tech University)

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In the last two decades, the U.S. has experienced an increase in the number of racially and economically diverse urban communities. However, little is known about what occurs politically when diverse populations come together within a community that is experiencing multiracial gentrification, an influx of upper-and middle-income whites, blacks and Hispanics, both straight and gay, into a low-income black neighborhood. By utilizing a case study design and applying an array of ethnographic techniques, this research investigates how race, class and sexual orientation frame community debates and conflicts within Washington, DC's Shaw/U Street neighborhood. While past intersectionality research has focused on how multiple social categories are embodied in individuals, this research investigates the processes by which the concepts of race, class and sexual orientation become embedded within local civic organizations, such as neighborhood planning bodies and associations that attempt to influence community conditions. Findings from this research will help policymakers better identify, understand, and minimize tensions and conflicts in racially and economically integrated urban communities.

### ***Amigos y Barrios: Spatial Assimilation and Anglo-Latino Friendship in Houston***

Marcus Britton (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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Spatial assimilation theory posits a strong association between residential segregation and social distance. Like human ecology, however, spatial assimilation theory is agnostic about whether there is a causal relationship between physical and social distance. This paper explores the causal implications of spatial assimilation theory by examining whether residential integration and the consequent residential proximity



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between Anglos and Latinos is associated with a higher incidence of Anglo-Latino friendships. The analysis makes use of a unique dataset that provides two alternative measures of close interethnic friendship, thereby permitting an explicit assessment of the impact of social desirability bias on the observed relationship between spatial assimilation and interethnic ties. Two key findings emerge. While spatially assimilated Latinos are significantly more likely to have close Anglo friends, this association is fully explained by socioeconomic variables that shape both residential attainment and interethnic friendship. Conversely, the relationship between residential integration and interethnic ties is weaker among Anglo respondents. Moreover, models that take selection bias into account suggest that, net of unmeasured factors such as preferences for residential integration, Anglos living in neighborhoods that provide high levels of exposure to Latinos are actually less likely to have close Latino friends. This latter finding is consistent with group position theory, which posits that, as the dominant ethnoracial group in American society, Anglos will often perceive residential integration as an affront to their privileged position in the residential stratification system of U.S. metropolitan areas.

### ***Social diversity and cohabitation in gentrified neighborhoods: the experience of children***

Sonia Lehman-Frisch (University of Cergy, France), Jean-Yves Authier (University of Lyon 2), Frederic Dufaux (University of Cergy, France)

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Gentrification impacted many large cities in the world in the past decades. New middle-class residents flocked into formerly working-class inner-city neighborhoods and transformed their urban environment. They also caused the social diversification of their neighborhoods, if only temporary, and this is an issue that gentrification researchers have recently turned to. In this perspective, most studies focus on the process of displacement of low-income residents that is masked by the consensus on the 'virtues of social mix' (Lees, 2004). Yet it remains that few and far between are the studies concentrating on the everyday experience of cohabitation between gentrifiers and the gentrified (Rose, 2010). This paper will investigate how social mix is experienced by children in a Paris gentrified neighborhood. Even though children are still vastly underestimated in the gentrification literature (Butler, Robson, 2003; Karsten, 2003), we will argue that they are a key agent in the transformation of neighborhoods and that social diversity cannot be understood without taking them into account. This paper will analyze the ways children experience social diversity in their everyday lives and how they are encouraged or restrained by their parents in this regard. By so doing, we will also explore the relationships of their parents to the social diversity of their neighborhood: we will determine how the gentrifiers's perspectives



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differ from the gentrified?s and we will also show that different groups of gentrifiers and different groups of gentrified experience different ways of cohabitating. This paper draws on partial results of a comparative research conducted in three large cities: Paris, London and San Francisco.

### 094 Environmental and Economic Development Issues

#### ***Exploring the Role of Participatory Democracy in Local Economic Development Decisions: The Brownfields Institute, Louisville, Kentucky***

Allison Turner (West Chester University)

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Decision makers and affected parties engaged in solving contemporary governmental problems, associated with local economic development processes, specifically land use planning and environmental issues, are recognizing that traditional decision making strategies are insufficient. Because a participatory democracy approach to public participation has been offered as a potential solution to these problems, a more sophisticated understanding of its role in local development decisions is necessary. This study attempts to meet that need by defining a more substantive brand of public participation, identifying significant barriers to its implementation and providing specific recommendations for practice. This study explores the role of participatory democracy in local economic development through a qualitative analysis of Louisville, Kentucky's Brownfield Institute, a series of community public workshops designed to develop, through a community participatory process, innovative methods to encourage and support economic revitalization and brownfields redevelopment in West Louisville. The overarching research question guiding this inquiry is what is the role of participatory democracy in local economic development decisions? More specifically though, this research asks how the underlying theoretical premises of participatory democracy are expressed in a particular local context, the Brownfields Institute; how the Brownfields Institute stakeholders perceive the participatory democracy approach to public participation; and, what conditions enhance or impede the overall efficacy of a participatory democracy approach to public participation and local economic development. Guiding this context-specific examination of a participatory democracy approach to public participation is a broad set of evaluative criteria based on a review of the public participation and participatory democracy literature. The paper begins with a discussion of the study's theoretical framework and relevant literature from the fields of participatory democracy, public participation and community economic development. To illuminate the study's context-specific nature, a description of Louisville's political economy as well as details about the





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Brownfields Institute structure and objectives are provided. The study's research methods are then outlined followed by a presentation of significant findings. Finally, the study's conclusions, including a comparison of conventional public participation and the newly defined substantive participation, barriers to the implementation of substantive participation and specific recommendations for practice, are presented.

### ***Envisioning Vacant Land as a Green Asset***

Megan Heckert (Temple University)

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Vacant urban land has generally been viewed in one of two ways ? as a problem or as an opportunity. Those who see vacant land as a problem point to the negative impacts it can have on surrounding communities, such as reducing property values, increasing crime, and deterring investment, creating a vicious circle of abandonment and decline. Those who see vacant land as an opportunity have, until recently, almost exclusively focused on vacant land as an opportunity for new development. But as the push for sustainability has taken hold in cities across America, a new view seems to be gaining ground. In this new approach, vacant land is an asset not due to its potential for new development, but precisely because it is undeveloped. Some of America's oldest cities are leading the way towards a new vision of urban redevelopment in which vacant land becomes intentional open space, and in so doing helps to reshape cities into more sustainable landscapes, improving communities and contributing to economic development. This paper will look at recent programs developed in Philadelphia and Cleveland that explicitly incorporate greening into vacant land policy. It will explore the factors that have contributed to the development of these new programs and review the challenges of developing and sustaining an alternative vision of redevelopment.

### ***The Interaction of Environmental and Economic Development Issues With Military Bases***

Andrew Glassberg (University of Missouri-St. Louis), Harry Kelso (Baseclosures.com)

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This proposal examines issues at the boundary of economic development and environmental issues. More specifically, it focuses on the reuse of closed military bases, and particularly on the environmental challenges and controversies that have delayed reuse on many long-closed bases. Bases in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas are reviewed. The issue of the extent of cleanup, both required and practical, has been a continuing issue. Must closed bases be "completely" cleaned (e.g. to "unrestricted" use - even residential - including impacts on human health,) or



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must they "only" be cleaned to a level that will support a particular reuse plan? To what extent should/must reuse plans take into account the possibilities (including financial costs and time costs) of cleanup activities. This paper will present data on how these questions have been answered over the five iterations of the modern military base closing process, BRAC. It will also examine the impact of these differing answers on the nature of economic redevelopment efforts. Data for this analysis is drawn from: the database included in the Department of Defense Annual Report to Congress on Defense Environmental Programs; the Office of Economic Adjustment database on jobs lost and regained on closed military bases; the numerous Government Accountability Office studies on these issues; and the personal data collections of the authors. In addition, a comparison is made with environmental issues on active military bases. These locations are also expected to engage in environmental remediation, while at the same time maintaining their military mission. The impact of active bases on their neighboring communities is, therefore, twofold -- the "economic" impact of base activity, seen as a significant positive factor by most communities, and the environmental impact of base activity on the entire area of the host community. With the potential for additional base closures in the future, (through various legal approaches including the BRAC Commission process,) communities have a stake in on-base environmental policy. This may impact future use and the local economy if the base were to be closed at some point in the future. This is in addition to "spill-over" impact during current active military use. Because environmental issues on closed military bases are primarily a federal responsibility (but also impacts states and communities,) examining how remediation and economic development operates in this context can be compared to other major environmental events that have elicited both community and federal response. Hurricane Katrina and the Gulf oil spill are obvious examples. The two authors of this proposed paper have extensive experience on the academic and practitioner side of the base closing process, and on planning for active bases.

### ***Economic and Environmental Concerns in Participatory Brownfield Redevelopment***

Jill Eshelman (Northeastern University)

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The Environmental Protection Agency's Brownfields program provides funds for the redevelopment of heavily polluted and abandoned industrial buildings. Such redevelopment provides numerous environmental benefits, such as the elimination of urban blight and hazardous waste, and the prevention of additional sprawl through reuse of sites in developed areas. It also provides economic opportunities, such as job creation and a stronger tax base. When applying for the Brownsfield program, property owners and city governments often utilize a participatory strategy in which



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community groups such as neighborhood associations become directly involved in the redevelopment process. This paper will explore the relation between corporate, government, and community resident participants in the redevelopment processes of two brownfield sites. The paper compares the environmental concerns in the initial brownfield clearing process and the extent to which various actors embrace green development practices in the redevelopment stage. The study also explores how these environmental concerns relate to the economic realities of private industry and to fiscally strapped local governments. The goal of the research is to address the duality of the Brownfields program as an economic development program and an environmental program.

***A study of the difference in housing prices which are affected by various types of green area amenity factors (The city of Lincoln, Nebraska)***

Jeehoon Kim (University of Nebraska-Lincoln), Yunwoo Nam (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

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There are many factors that affect housing prices. The amenity factor is one that affects housing and building prices which are different from land prices. And also, there are many different kinds of amenity and amenity issues such as facility amenity, governmental policy related to amenity, green area amenity, and so on which are of interest to people doing research regarding amenity. In these days, most people already know the importance of the green area amenity factor in determining housing prices, and know the types of green area amenities (golf courses, parks, and open space), too. However, most people do not know how each green area amenity influences housing prices. Therefore, the main object of this paper is to know about the relationship between the types of green area amenity and housing prices, and to know how each type of green area amenity affects housing prices. The assumption is that, depending on the type of the green area amenity, housing prices in a residential area will be different because the housing is located near different types of green areas, which means that each green area has a different influence on housing prices. To put it concretely, the price of housing near golf courses is higher than the price of housing near open spaces or parks because golf courses have a stronger influence on determining housing price than other green area amenities. The reason a golf course has more influence on determining housing prices is related to the special purposes for which it is used. The purpose of each green area will be one of the most important things affecting the rank of each green area amenity. To figure the value of each green area amenity factor in determining housing price, the hedonic land price model, ArcGIS, and statistic program (SPSS) were used in the paper. Based on the hedonic land price model, data were collected by using ArcGIS, and SPSS was used to plot the



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validity of each green area amenity factor. According to the process and result, we can arrive at the conclusions. First, the green area amenity factors are valid for determining housing prices in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska Second, it is possible to classify the green area amenity factors into three types, specifically, golf course, park, and open space. Third, the most influential green area amenity factor is the distance from a golf course.

### 095 Housing Tenure and Type for Low-Mod Households

#### *Castle or Dungeon? Type of Residence and the Well-being of Low Income Families*

Edith Barrett (University of Texas at Arlington)

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For the past three decades, the federal government has been pursuing policies to move low income families out of concentrated public housing developments and into less densely populated mixed-income developments. Hope VI was the largest program, but even housing authorities that did not get Hope VI funding sought to close their large projects in favor of smaller developments or scattered site housing. Often in the redevelopment schemes, apartments in large developments are replaced with apartments in smaller complexes or with rows of townhomes. Families using Housing Choice Vouchers are occasionally able to lease single family houses, but the opportunities for living in a single family house are few. Despite the improbability, low income urban families nonetheless often report that they would prefer living in detached houses. According to the 2009 American Housing Survey, overall 71% of Americans live in detached single family houses. That number masks the discovery that 74% of non-poor households live in single family houses as compared to just 49.5% households below poverty. And although the percent of Americans who live in apartment complexes with 50 or more units is a low 3.6%, poor households are more than twice as likely as the non-poor to live in such units (6.6% as compared to 3.1%). To be sure, detached houses are more the norm in the Midwest (74.6%) and South (72.1%) than West (68.9%) and Northeast (64.7%), but they remain the most typical type of dwelling for the majority of American families, except among the poor. For most, the single family house epitomizes the fulfillment of the American Dream, yet for many low-income urban families, a house isn't even a possibility. Using data collected from the "Welfare, Children, and Families" (see Note below) study funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, this paper will explore the relationship between dwelling type (taking into consideration neighborhood) and the psycho-social well-being of low income parents. Because data were collected in an east coast city (Boston), a midwestern city (Chicago), and a southwestern city (San



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Antonio), it is possible to examine regional housing expectation differences as well as regional racial and ethnic factors. This paper represents the beginning stages of what will likely become a larger study investigating the ups and downs of housing experiences among low income families. NOTE: Angel, Ronald, Linda Burton, P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Andrew Cherlin, and Robert Moffitt. Welfare, Children, and Families: A Three-City Bibliographic Citation: Study [Computer file]. ICPSR04701-v7. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2009-02-10. doi:10.3886/ICPSR04701.

### ***Role of Life and Housing in the Mississippi Delta***

LuFunya Robinson (Jackson State University), Valerie Purry (Jackson State University)

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The issue of dilapidated housing in the Mississippi Delta places many individuals in deplorable living conditions. The economic and social distress positioned the poorest families to live in homes without electricity, toilets and even running water (Morton, et. al, 2004). This is a disadvantage to those aging citizens who have resided in their homes for ages and have not been able to update their homes and must endure the terrible condition of their home. Even to young people who are getting their first home and cannot afford undeveloped land into new housing construction, due to their changing financial situations of unemployment or underemployment. However, living in the rural part of Mississippi would provide a more relaxed atmosphere that gives the fast paced urban dweller a life stress free. ?Our society according to some psychologists and leading analysts, writes James A Steele in Rural Living: Life in Rural America, (2008), has changed from a progressive society based on domestic harmony into that of a short sixty second society. People feel that something is missing in their lives, and reach out to the simple country life for a change in pace.? Rural housing is a logical exploration and engagement that should undoubtedly prove to be a subject of immense analytical and assessed driven discourse. Writings by Kenneth Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: the Suburbanization of the United States (1987), David B. Danbom?s Born in the Country: A History of Rural America, Rural Housing Adequacy and Civic Structure by Lois Morton, Beverly Allen, Tianyu Li, in the Sociological Inquiry journal provides interpretive contexts for focused engagement regarding the subject of housing in rural America. An added dimension to further expose the enduring societal move to explore the offerings that rural America has seems to have been abandoned. Communities that have well-known ?catch phrases? in our American culture, such as urban decay, suburban sprawl, small town emigration, cities have experienced white flight. The rural part of America is a forgotten jewel of the ?American dream? when it comes to homeownership and the possibilities with the open space. Homeownership has always been based on family income and this



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indicator has a significant outcome (Conley, 2001) when a family wants to attain their own home and a better quality of life. When anyone speaks to the proposal of rural living it is not a topic of significance. What type of economic development, tax contribution, or jobs can be supplied in the rural parts of America that would attract middle and upper class households? The demographic middle and upper class subscribe to a low population density, homeownership affordability, entertainment accessibility, good schools and safe neighborhoods. Rural is defined as "an area that is sparsely settled with wide open spaces, with its population engaged in resource-based occupations and its lifestyle and culture distinct from urban places?" (Bel

### ***Affordability and Location Decisions of LMI Homebuyers***

Roy Heidelberg (Ohio State University), Stephanie Moulton (Ohio State University)

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We review over 23,000 first-time, low- and moderate-income (LMI) homebuyers purchasing through a statewide affordable housing program. Our dataset includes affordability characteristics such as credit score, debt-burden, and income. We also assign each household to the appropriate school district, both before their purchase (based upon the rental address) and post-purchase. Following other literature, we first determine the extent to which these LMI households move to better school districts. To measure this, we use performance index scores from the Ohio Department of Education. We also segment our population into three categories: those renting in the lowest decile of school districts, the middle decile (10th-69th percentile), and the highest deciles. Using multinomial logistic regression, we explore the relative influence of affordability and household characteristics upon the likelihood of our population moving to higher-quality school districts. Our findings suggest that LMI first-time homebuyers do, on average, purchase homes in lower-quality districts. Moreover, the most important factors in the likelihood that a household moves to a better district are not limited to affordability. We also explore the apparent policy paradox in which affordability strategies seek to enable homebuyers to purchase, implicitly encouraging them to buy in better areas, while macro-level policies seek to use ownership as a means to community development. So, while micro-level policies encourage leaving bad neighborhoods, macro-level policies encourage ownership in them to foster positive outcomes. Previous literature is certainly mixed concerning the outcomes for LMI households when entering ownership. Measuring the quality of the move is problematic because it presumes preferences are equal across populations. In our case, we use school districts for two reasons. The first is that it provides a straightforward, comparative measure across jurisdictions. Second, and arguably more importantly, school districts are meaningful boundaries that are both recognized and considered by homeowners, responsive to other quality indicators through indirect





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influences on property values, and a jurisdiction that lends itself to policy interventions. Rather than constructing quality indicators, we demonstrate that our population also moves to tracts with conventionally accepted quality indicators lower than their renter area and to areas with lower home values. Affordability is only part of the equation ? indeed, factors such as household size, the quality of renter districts, and minority status have a profound influence upon the likelihood that a household will move to a higher-performing district. Future research should consider the personal and path dependent reasons for location decisions. We suggest how policy should target more directly community development and stability rather than encourage ownership as an indirect means toward development.

### ***Moving on Up: The Returns of Low-Income Homeownership on Residential Mobility and Neighborhood Quality of Life***

Anna Santiago (Case Western Reserve University), Amy Roberts (Case Western Reserve University), George Galster (Wayne State University), Ana Sanroman (Wayne State University), Jung-Eun Kim (Case Western Reserve University)

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During the past several decades, federal housing policies have encouraged the residential mobility of low-income, subsidized households as an anti-poverty strategy and more recently as an asset building tool. Programs like Gautreaux in Chicago, Moving to Opportunity, and the Housing Choice Voucher Program (formerly Section 8) have been used to increase the housing opportunities available to low-income families in low-poverty neighborhoods. An array of programs supporting low-income homeownership significantly increased the numbers of homeowners in the lowest-income quintile in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, for both low-income renters and homebuyers, there are concerns about the effectiveness of these programs to increase residential mobility and improve neighborhood quality of life. Recent studies suggest that both rent-subsidized households and low-income homebuyers experienced limited gains in residential mobility and neighborhood . The ongoing economic and housing crises of the past few years continue to raise concerns about the ability of such programs and policies to generate such improvements. Using longitudinal data from the Denver Housing Study, we examine the extent to which residential mobility and improvements in neighborhood quality of life may be attributed to participation in a pre-purchase homeownership counseling and asset building program (HOP) operated by the Denver Housing Authority (DHA). Specifically, we examine the extent to which (1) residential mobility has been fostered for both renters and homebuyers; and (2) improvements of neighborhood quality of life has occurred as a result of participation in HOP. Our sample consists of 555 public housing residents: 264 of whom participated in the HOP Program administered by DHA -- 140



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who graduated from the program; the remainder dropping out and renting. The other half of the sample (N=291) were residents who purchased homes without assistance from DHA and serve as a control group. Data used in the study include quantitative and qualitative data gathered from interviews with homeowners, administrative and real estate transaction data, systematic social observations of local neighborhood conditions, longitudinal census tract data for the City and County of Denver obtained from the Neighborhood Change Database. Our analyses revealed that for both homebuyers and renters, HOP program participation enhanced residential mobility although mobility was greater for homebuyers. For both HOP and non-HOP homebuyers, post-purchase neighborhoods were superior to the ones they lived in prior to homeownership and superior to those of renter households. Gains in neighborhood quality were significantly higher for HOP homebuyers; significant ethnic differences in these gains were noted as well. Finally, we found that these program effects remained significant after controlling for changes in respondent and household characteristics.

### 096 Governance Challenges

#### ***Institutional Frameworks for Urban Policy Transfer: Decentralization, Fast Policy, and United Cities and Local Governments (Asia Pacific)***

Michael Glass (University of Pittsburgh)

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The paper describes how the United Cities and Local Governments Asia Pacific section (ASPAC) facilitates the policy transfer of decentralization and local governance strategies from Southeast Asia to developing countries in Africa. Governance reforms in Southeast Asian city-regions over the past fifteen years have sought to improve local democratic representation and service efficiency by decentralizing powers and responsibilities from the central state. Such policy goals are not isolated to the Asian context, and are instead related to broader neoliberal strategies of state rescaling in North America and Europe. The transnational transfer of urban policy ?best practices? is of considerable interest in both public administration and political geography, which share an interest in understanding the barriers and conduits to urban policy transfer. Successful policy transfers rely on commonalities between the ?exporting? and ?importing? systems, the commitment to transfer, and the institutional intermediaries that lubricate the process of policy exchange. ASPAC acts as one such intermediary, and their activities indicate that Asian decentralization models are now traveling to city-regions across the global south. This paper describes the role of ASPAC and its global partners in promoting decentralization policies beyond Southeast Asia, and



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evaluates how this policy transfer correlates with the so-called 'fast-policy' regimes outlined in recent geographic research.

### ***What is a "Local Issue"? Defining a Sphere of Local Influence in an Interdependent World***

Brian Adams (San Diego State University)

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Decentralization of policy making authority has been promoted by many international organizations as a way to enhance democracy, governmental efficiency, and economic growth. Yet, our theoretical understanding of what types of issues are best dealt with on a local level is limited. The goal of this article is to develop a theory of which policies should be devolved to local governments: what types of issues are local governments most competent to handle? I begin by identifying four criteria used in the literature to answer this question: comparative efficiency, scope of influence, democracy/efficiency tradeoffs, and the extent of interlocal relationships. Based on an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches, I develop a theory that focuses on the variability of constraints, resources, and interlocal relationships across policy issues. Local governments can bring important resources to the policy making process, but the value of these resources will vary depending on the nature of the policy issue. Likewise, constraints arising from the mobility of capital and interlocal competition will reduce localities' problem-solving capacity for some policy issues, but may not be a major obstacle for others. The value of decentralization is contingent upon the specific mix of constraints, resources and relationships that are present within a given policy area. Assessing the merits of decentralization, therefore, requires that we develop a framework for weighing constraints against resources and empirically studying how they manifest themselves in the local policy making process. Towards that end, I conclude the paper by using my theory to generate a series of hypotheses that can guide future research on decentralization.

### ***Post Disaster Regional Governance and Urban Resilience: International perspective from two major cities in Indonesia***

Doddy A. Iskandar (University of Louisville)

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This paper examines the ability of city and regions to recover from major natural disaster into its original spatial structure and size. By examining urban resilience in the cities hit hardest by disaster, it seeks to analyze the relationship between post-colonial urban governance and the ability of the city and the local community to recover around a new set of structures and principles. Two cities are chosen as a focus



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of comparative analysis, Banda Aceh and Yogyakarta, which were hit by earthquake and tsunami in 2005 and 2006, in which both regions where these are located are granted special autonomy by the central government. By looking at their historical trajectories in the urban development and regional governance process before and after the catastrophe, I argue that socio-demographic, local economy and political factors contribute to the development of urban resilience. These are urban communal network, local cultural economy and the dynamic relationship between state and local government and national policies enacted, interwoven together over the course of time. The degree of resilience in these two cities is influenced most by urban social fabrics and communal network and the ability of the region in the governance process during the rehabilitation and reconstruction process. Of these, urban social fabrics and communal network evidently speed up the process, while state government intervention through centralized policies tends to disrupt the recovery process at regional and local level.

### ***The Foreclosures Crisis in the Northern San Joaquin Valley, CA***

Hugo Lefebvre (Institut Français de Géopolitique), Frédérick Douzet (University of Paris 8)

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The Northern San Joaquin Valley in California (San Joaquin, Stanislaus and Merced county) has been the epicenter of the subprime crisis. Four years after its beginning, the area is devastated to the point that the Republican candidate for Governor, Meg Whitman, recently compared Stockton to Detroit. The region has indeed some of the highest rates of foreclosures nationwide and its local governments are facing worrying budget deficits worsened by the State budget crisis. This paper analyses the impact of the subprime crisis on the San Joaquin Valley of California and the conflicts of power it has generated. It is based on extensive fieldwork, qualitative interviews and an original dataset elaborated from various local and regional sources. This unique dataset provides a detailed picture of the impact of the subprime crisis unavailable through national statistics, allowing me to draw numerous and accurate maps. The study shows that the San Joaquin Valley was particularly strongly affected because the subprime crisis broke out after a period of over a decade of fast demographic growth and rapid urbanization. The geographic structure of the crisis in the Valley is similar to the rest of the nation but bears some specificities: predatory lending led to high foreclosure rate in lower-class and minority neighborhoods; yet middle and upper class? neighborhoods are at least equally?and sometimes even more?affected as many families priced out of the Bay Area bought houses they couldn't afford or refinanced too many times. Many people adopted strategic default to walk away from houses that had lost too much value, leading to even greater devaluation. Local



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governments resources dropped as a result of the collapse of the housing market and the demographic and economic decline it generated. They now face a downward spiral that they cannot stop. Our data shows that the Federal programs designed to help them fight the crisis, such as the Neighborhood Stabilization Plan, were distributed according to inaccurate estimations from HUD and therefore largely underestimated for the San Joaquin Valley. There is therefore great resentment among local actors encouraging conflicts between them and federal institutions.

### ***Hollowing-out Neighbourhood Governance? Re-scaling Revitalization in Baltimore and Bristol***

Jonathan Davies (University of Warwick)

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The neighbourhood has been a prominent arena for revitalization in recent times, and also for studies by scholars debating the significance of new modes of networked governance as the means of public service coordination, democratic voice or social control. This study of the governance of neighbourhoods in Baltimore and Bristol suggests that there may be a need to rethink these perspectives, as Bristol begins to converge with Baltimore on the terrain of exclusionary city governance and neighbourhood disinvestment. If the study is representative, it may point towards the revival of 'roll-back' neoliberalism and the possibility that in an era of austerity, economically 'unviable' neighbourhoods will increasingly be left as 'ungoverned' spaces.

## **097 Community Gardens and the Sustainable City—Part 2**

### ***Analyzing the Effect of Food Sources on Property Values in Baltimore County, Maryland***

Katrin Anacker (George Mason University), Caitlin Kovalkoski (George Mason University)

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Over the past few years, nutrition, the food supply, food security, and food policy have gained more traction in many metropolitan areas due to increasing food and energy prices during one of the most severe recessions the United States has experienced. While many may appreciate food sources nearby, not many sources have analyzed the effect of food sources on property values. This paper fills this gap and analyzes the effect of different types of food sources on property values in Baltimore County, Maryland. We differentiate among (1) supermarkets, (2) bodegas, (3)



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community-supported agriculture delivery points, (4) community gardens, and (5) other types of food sources. We use the following data sources: (a) 2000 to 2009 Metropolitan Regional Information System (MRIS), (b) the Greater Washington blog post for supermarkets and bodegas, (c) LocalHarvest Online for a listing of community-supported agriculture delivery points, (d) the American Community Garden Association's Bi-National Community Garden Database, and (e) other sources. We will use Ordinary Least Squares and other regression analyses to investigate the influence of food sources on single family homes. Very preliminary results indicate that the impacts are positive yet modest and that there are differences among different types of neighborhoods in Baltimore. Once more reliable results are obtained, the authors will to create a neighborhood typology in terms of food sources that will be applied to other metropolitan areas.

### ***From Sustainability to Sustaining: Community Gardens as Environmentally (In)Just Processes***

Sig Langedegger (University of Colorado at Denver)

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Community gardens nest in precarious positions within the neoliberal city. They most often occupy terrain vague—vacant lots, abandoned infrastructure—in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Their placement in the material space of these neighborhoods, as well as in the lived spaces of their contingent communities, works towards ameliorating environmental injustice. By populating working-class neighborhoods with green spaces, and providing access to healthy foods and to recreational opportunities along with creating prospects to grow social capital, they empower communities, literally grounding social networks within neighborhoods. Unfortunately, these emergent efforts to improve neighborhood life can cut both ways. Green begets green. Urban green increases property values and increasing property values invite gentrification. By definition gentrification displaces working-class residents—often those who planned, planted and cultivated community gardens—and replaces them with middle-class residents, with the gentry. Furthermore, due to insecure land tenure, most community gardens, spaces of extraordinarily high use-value, are often, figuratively and literally, bulldozed by the “highest and best use” mantra of exchange-value interests. It seems that by thinking with nouns—with words like sustainability, land-use and participation—planners and policy makers remain blind to such environmental injustices. Moreover, without the means by which to conceptualize space as a collection of social practices instead of a mere assemblage of people and things, use-value, or better valuing use, remains a stubbornly slippery notion. Using Michel Foucault's theory of heterotopia and John Searle's philosophy of power as conceptual wedges, all the while focusing on





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community gardens, this paper works towards developing a vocabulary for restating planning questions with verbs instead of nouns, for rephrasing questions like “is the city sustainable?” to “can the city sustain life?”, “can it sustain just living conditions?”, “can it sustain cultural diversity?”.

### ***Food Insecurity and Spatial Inequality in Lower-Income Urban Neighborhoods: Analyzing the Role of Community Gardens***

Mahbubur R. Meenar (Temple University)

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Food insecurity, hunger, and spatial inequality exist in many lower-income urban neighborhoods. Besides, the historic land use change has had important impacts on urban natural systems and the foodshed. Increasing productivity of the foodshed can be achieved without further adverse impacts to the urban and regional ecosystem. Many old industrial U.S. cities are trying to address food insecurity issues by providing better access to healthy food and emergency hunger relief to their most vulnerable residents. These residents live in neighborhoods that are blighted by vacant lands, which make these neighborhoods unattractive investments. However, community gardens, which have been primarily developed in such vacant properties, are important agents of urban food systems and unique examples of overall urban sustainability and community development. Within this context, this study explores and analyzes the importance of community gardens in addressing the issues of food insecurity, social justice, community organizing, and land management practices in many lower income neighborhoods of the City of Philadelphia. In particular, the role and influence of community engagement in reducing spatial inequality in these neighborhoods through various programs, supported by non-profit organizations, are evaluated. The study methodology is based on survey interviews and GIS-based spatial analysis.

### ***More than a placeholder - Establishing community gardens as integral part of the urban landscape***

Doris Gstach (Clemson University)

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Community gardens in urban environments have gained increasing attention in planning and design over the past years. Their contribution to a more sustainable food production and human health, their support of empowerment processes and the integration of minority groups, of community building, open space provision, and place making is appealing. Despite these widely accepted benefits, community gardens are rather seen as a transitory and coincidentally appearing amenity. They



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seem barely more than a welcome interim use, which upgrades the value of abandoned land.

Along a range of cases from the US, Canada and Europe, this paper explores different settings of community gardens. It is discussed, how these settings influence the various mentioned potentials of a garden. Beside the time horizon of a garden project, aspects such as written and unwritten rules of use, the inclusion in other programs and initiatives show high relevance for certain benefits. It also becomes obvious that certain framing conditions existent in the city, supportive organisational structures, incentives, and the consideration in city wide policies and regulations can promote not just the establishment of gardens but also promote specific benefits.

Despite the manifold benefits of community gardens, they still show to be a coincidental niche phenomenon. Whereas this might, similarly to the development of the allotments gardens in Northern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, have to be seen as an initial stadium, a next step is requested now which supports the establishment of community gardens as integral part of a sustainable urban landscapes. Identifying specific settings which are able to support their potentials is seen as a contribution in this direction.

### **098 Re-Bordering Urban Inequalities, Re-Thinking Urban Coexistence: A New Droit à la Ville?**

#### ***Rebuilding Post-War Sarajevo: International Strategies on Urban Reconstruction and Ethnic Homogenization***

Jordi Martín (University of Barcelona), Jordi Nofre (New University of Lisbon)

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Since the end of its war, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a priority for the International Community to stabilize Western Balkans in social and geopolitical terms, becoming the most intervened state in Europe. In fact, physical reconstruction plays a main role in peace-building efforts largely due to the national symbolism of new urban elements built along post-war period. Thus, some authors pointed out how Bosnian urbicide was one of main war strategies which deliberately targeted its urban fabrics in order to destroy elements of urbanity by comprising the destruction of the possible conditions for the heterogeneity.

This paper aims to highlight “non-visible” strategies carried out by the International Community in both processes of physical reconstruction and ethnic reconciliation in



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post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on four years-qualitative fieldwork, this paper begins analyzing the spatial transformations carried out in the reconstruction of Sarajevo. In this sense, the paper will show how the International Community has reinforced the implementation of a neoliberal agenda in Bosnia in order to face up those great reforms necessary to increase foreign private investments, even though the return of thousands of refugees is troubled largely due to the uncompleted physical reconstruction. Secondly, this paper will analyze how such strategies implemented by the International Community and Muslim local elites are actually consolidating the ethnic cleansing, for instance, through islamization of Sarajevo and its urban space. Furthermore, this paper will intend to highlight how these new monoethnic Bosnian cities are considered as the most successful ones in the post-war urban and regional planning than those multiethnic ones, with a great number citizens belonging to ethnic minorities. As conclusion, the paper will intend to open a debate about the logic of international management during crisis and the consequences of its policies on both urban space and social dimension.

### ***Crafting Agreements: Shaping Spaces for Coping with Uncertainty? The Case of Partial Plans of Downtown Renewal in Colombia***

Catalina Ortiz (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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Do the agreements for large urban projects in Colombian downtowns cope with the uncertainties of informality? Central areas in most Latin American cities are the settings of intricate customary ownership fragmentation, a high concentration of vulnerable population, low-income renters, and intertwined informal/formal activities taking place in the public space. In 2000, Over 4,000 hectares of downtown fringes in the main Colombian cities have been designated as urban renewal areas to be redeveloped using a novel land management tool called [WINDOWS-1252?]'partial [WINDOWS-1252?]plan'. Partial Plan (PP) is a land management tool that enables parcel assembly and self - funding mechanisms for large urban projects. This paper exposes how planners manage informality and its embedded politics of uncertainty through plan composition from a pragmatic approach.

This paper will explore two approaches for conceiving the uncertainties of informality based on the works by Marris (1996) and Roy (2008, 2009). In addition, the planning practice will be explored as the collective management of uncertainty through the lenses of the pragmatic approach to plan composition based on [WINDOWS-1252?]Hoch's work (2009). Theoretical perspectives will be exposed in a comparative case study of two partial plans of renewal in Colombia: the publicly led PP Ciudad Victoria in Pereira and the community led PP Corazon de Jesus in Medellin. I argue



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that planners, operating within states as informalized entities, in order to provide advice require converging more on adaptability and commitment rather than prediction to cope with complexity and uncertainty.

### ***Between Segregation and Inclusion. Experiences from Lisbon***

João Martins (New University of Lisbon), Pedro Almeida (New University of Lisbon),  
Inês Vieira (New University of Lisbon)

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Social inclusion has become a main concern in the European policy-makers agenda. Increasingly cultural diversity in most Western cities has involved new political and social challenges which have especially emerged in low-income and under-qualified suburban areas. This paper aims to show the volatile continuum between segregation and inclusion dynamics in global metropolitan contexts by focusing in two case studies from the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. It should be noted that this metropolitan area still receives more than half of the documented migrants in Portugal, assuming itself as the most attractive place for immigrant populations. Nonetheless, it involves new dilemmas for the achievement of social justice. In that sense, this paper will show two case studies of example of the emerging of these new dilemmas and opportunities. On the one hand, it will show the case of Bairro da Liberdade, a residential context of rapid urbanization highly characterized by the effect of concentration of low-income migrant populations. It is characterized by a strong spatial segregation, the marginal position of certain social groups in the city and the confrontation with the government and private achievements in the area. However, other results have been met in the same Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Over latter 70's and throughout the 80's, city of Cacém grew significantly also thanks to Portuguese African former colonies. As a response to increasingly urban and social inequalities, the CacémPolis (2000) was created with the objective of improving the quality of life of both city inhabitants and other city users. It was achieved through a (re)qualification of its public space oriented by environmental guidelines. This paper will also show how, despite some improvements on these urban everyday life contexts, social segregated urban spaces still persist. It will end by offering new opportunities for the improving of main social policies, programs and good practices which are settled in order to enhance the principle of inclusion.

## **099 Post-Disaster Recovery Planning**



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### ***Tears From the Democratic Republic of Congo***

Wakeelah Gilmore (University of North Carolina at Pembroke), Judi Haberkorn (Ohio University)

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Within two years of its inception, the war in Rwanda began to spill over into the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC] (The War Within, 2002). Rwanda is comprised of three distinctive ethnic groups; the Hutus (88%), the Tutsis (11%), and the Twa pygmies (1%) (Global Security Rwanda, 2010). Rwanda Hutu militia forces fled Rwanda and were using Hutu refugee camps in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to plan attacks against the Tutsis militia group (Global Security Congo, 2010). Rwandan soldiers, their opponents-Mai-Mai, Rwandan Hutu, Burundian Rebels of the Forces for the Defense of Democracy, and the Front for National Liberation all frequently use rape as a tactic of war (The War Within, 2010). This weapon of war has resulted in the systematic rape of women and children of the DRC, resulting in a near sexual genocide (Gilmore, 2010). This war has resulted in the decimation of the people of the DRC well as the infrastructure and the natural resources. (The War Within, 2010). Developed nations have been providing donations to ameliorate the devastating effects of this war, however given the use of rape as a tactic of war, the donations to the DRC dwarf in comparison to other war-torn countries. It is the researchers hypothesis that the use of rape as a tactic of war has negatively affected the amount of aid and level of response from developed countries as compared to other war-torn countries such as Israel. For example, Israel is the United States largest cumulative recipient of foreign aid since World War II (Sharp, J. p. 1, 2009) whereas the war in the DRC began in 1996. This paper will examine secondary data to enumerate the funding from developed countries to both the DRC and Israel. An analysis of the data will result in a categorization of the aid from developed countries to the DRC and Israel as well as a comparison of funding between the two countries. This paper will illustrate the vast discrepancy in aid between Israel and the DRC and the great dearth in funding to not only sustain the people of the DRC but also to develop their war torn home.

### ***Visions of Haiti: Using Firsthand Accounts to Explore the Issues Facing the Haitian People since the Earthquake of 2010***

Sandy Lizaire-Duff (Rutgers-Newark The State University of New Jersey)

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Haiti was the jewel of the French Empire and the envy of rival empires during the slave trade. It was the largest and most prosperous slave colony in the Caribbean,



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producing sugar and coffee (Fleming, 2003). Since its independence from slavery, ending France's reign in the Caribbean and inspiring a wave of black uprisings, particularly in Cuba, the United States, Brazil and Jamaica, Haiti has been subjected to injustice and unfair foreign policies (Fleming, 2003). In addition, the Haitian people experienced a devastating earthquake of 7.0 magnitude on January 12, 2010. This catastrophe has raised awareness of the injustice that Haiti has suffered and focused attention on the plight of the Haitian people. The immediate response from the world to the Haitian people has been overwhelmingly generous: private citizens and government agencies have pledged their support for the country. Many organizations and institutions have held fundraising events on behalf of the Haitian people. Many individuals of various professional backgrounds from all over the world have gone to Haiti to volunteer their resources, expertise, time, energy, and in some instances their own money to help with recovery efforts. This paper presents firsthand accounts of individuals who have traveled to Haiti to assist in recovery efforts. These individuals have witnessed some of the issues that the Haitian people have been facing in the aftermath of the earthquake. I intend for this paper and this conference session to spark discourse about justice, immigration policies and recovery efforts when dealing with disenfranchised groups.

### ***What Happens after a Bridge Falls Down?***

Judith A. Martin (University of Minnesota)

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The I35W bridge just east of downtown Minneapolis collapsed in August 2007. It was quickly rebuilt and has been reopened for two years. This paper examines the unintended social and financial impacts of the bridge collapse on surrounding neighborhoods. As things return to "normal" and the expected memorial is designed, what have Minneapolis and other cities learned from this experience?

### ***Reclaiming Concepción: In the Aftermath of an 8.8 Earthquake***

Emilio Armstrong Soto (Universidad del Desarrollo)

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In February 2010, Chile experienced one of the most severe earthquakes in recent history. The earthquake rated a magnitude of 8.8 on the moment magnitude scale, and it lasted over 90 seconds. Concepción, the second largest city in Chile, suffered much damage. The earthquake triggered a tsunami which devastated several coastal towns in south-central Chile and severely damaged the port at Talcahuano, the port city for Concepción. Seismologists estimate that the earthquake was so powerful that it may





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have shortened the length of the day by 1.26 microseconds and moved the Earth's figure axis by 8 cm or 2.7 milliarcseconds. Precise GPS measurement indicated the telluric movement moved the entire city of Concepción 10 feet to the west.

Immediately following the earthquake, the Board of the Urban Committee of Concepcion organized round table discussions regarding the most important subjects such as infrastructure to formulate the main plans for reconstruction of the built environment and development of the regional industries. As a result of the round table discussions, it was agreed that reconstruction would result in different and better building practices, with young professionals contributing heavily to rebuilding the future of Bio-Bio. The Board investigated every aspect of the 2010 disaster: what led to it, why some buildings suffered more destruction than others, the sociological impact of the disaster, and reconstruction efforts. The Chilean government collaborated with the schools of architecture in Chile, collecting information from schools of engineering in Chile and the Chilean Chamber of Builders.

Researchers compiled dates and statistics of previous earthquakes and tsunamis, and in particular made comparisons between the earthquakes in Chile and Haiti. Government planning took into account social behavior after the earthquake. This paper will provide a report of the earthquake, including epicenter, waves, intensity, accelerations, and ground quality. It will discuss variables that affect the building structural criteria for architects in Chile and damage that occurred most commonly in medium rise buildings and those with bad building practices. In this presentation, we will present information about seismic building code for urban areas, its evolution and future, as well as architectural guidelines for coastal areas and Chile's reconstruction plan for coastal towns.

### **100      Emergency Management and Vulnerable Populations**



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### ***Flood Affected Poor People in Bangladesh***

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1.1 Introduction Flood is one of the main natural calamities of Bangladesh. Almost every year Bangladesh is being affected by flood. No country is as profoundly influenced by flood as Bangladesh. Bangladesh is probably the world's most flood-prone country. It mostly comprises the combined delta of three major rivers: Brahmaputra-Jamuna, Ganges, and Meghna. These rivers drain combined catchments of some 1.55 million square kilometers, 11 times greater than the area of Bangladesh itself. The low deltaic terrain, extreme rainfall, in nearby hills, and high flows from these large catchments mean that over 20 per cent of Bangladesh is inundated in a 'normal' flood year; more severe floods regularly cause loss of life and economic suffering. In addition, flood creates many social, economical and environmental problems. In the last rainy season, approximately 10 million of people were affected by it (Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief. 1998: 79-119). They suffered a lot socially, economically and physically. All cultivated land of the affected area was drawn by water and farmers lose all. In recent years, the frequency of abnormal floods has increased substantially, causing serious damage to crops and property. As a result, it has become crucial that some preventive measures are taken (Chowdhury 1988; Alexander 1989; Khalequzzaman 1989). The floods of 1974, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1998 and 2004 were all above normal (Brammer 1989; Huq 1989; AH and others 1989; Rashid and Pramanik 1990). The most devastating was the 70-year flood of 1987 and the 100-year flood of June-September of 1988 (Chowdhury 1988). The flood of 1988 is considered the worst in the modern history of Bangladesh (Chowdhury 1989). It devastated the economy and according to some estimates submerged 75% of the country. The severity of the flood stunned the entire world (Brammer 1990; Khalequzzaman 1991). Last year, 39 out of the 64 districts in the country were affected by the flood, forcing many people to migrate to other areas. Approximately 700 people have died because of the flooding. The flooding started in the eastern part of the country and gradually spread through the north and central part. Two-thirds of the country went under water, and became polluted with sewage. Water supplies have become contaminate, resulting in mass dehydration, whilst diarrhoea and other water-borne disease are spreading among the affected population. Poor people are one of the main affected groups at the flood time. The most death case was occurred to them. Many poor people suffered from many diseases like diarrhoea, cholera and other water-borne diseases. Medical facilities were insufficient and its supply and distribution was not properly. Food and pure drinking was not available for them. The local people failed to supply these emergency needs to them. The Government and voluntary organizations took initiative programs to aid them. Nevertheless, in many



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cases they could not able to r

### ***Emergency Preparedness for Vulnerable Populations: Findings from a Resident Survey in Savannah, GA***

Deden Rukmana (Savannah State University), Emily Bentley (Savannah State University), Terri Clay (Savannah State University)

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Recent disasters have increased public awareness about the need to prepare for catastrophic events. Disaster or emergency preparedness aims to reduce the adverse affects of disasters (Keeney 2004). Emergency preparedness is an ongoing process that refers to the readiness of a political jurisdiction for a well-coordinated plan of emergency action to minimize the impacts of disasters (Gillespie and Colignon 1993; Perry and Lindell 2003). The degree to which populations are vulnerable to disasters is not primarily dependent on proximity to the source of disaster. Cutter et. al. (2000) found the most environmentally vulnerable places are not always overlap with the most vulnerable populations. Economic losses might be large in highly vulnerable areas, but its residents may have greater safety nets to respond to and recover from the impact of the hazards quickly. Conversely, it would take only a moderate hazard event to disrupt the well-being of the majority of vulnerable populations. Vulnerability is linked to poverty and compounded by race (Curtis et. al. 2007; Laska and Morrow 2007). Hispanics and African Americans encounter the disadvantages because of segregated residential that increase their vulnerability to poverty (Culhane et al. 1996; Lee et al. 2003). Poor people have a very low ability to enhance resilience to the impacts of hazards. They have limited resources to respond to and recover from disasters. Single mother households are more likely to be poor and lack the resources to respond to and recover from disasters. Women also can have a more difficult time during recovery than men, due to lower wages, informal employment and family care responsibility (Cutter et. al. 2003). The elderly are more vulnerable in the event of a hazard. The poor physical health of the elderly often limits their inability to respond to disaster (Cutter and Finch 2008). Understanding the characteristics of vulnerable populations is necessary to develop an effective emergency preparedness. This study will identify the emergency preparedness for vulnerable populations in Savannah, GA. This study will examine factors that contribute to the awareness of vulnerable populations about the need to prepare for possible emergency situations. Data were obtained through the face-to-face survey conducted in Savannah in 2009-2010. A total of more than 320 respondents have participated to the survey. The respondents include residents of low income and predominantly African-American neighborhoods, single mothers, residents of senior living facilities and non-English-speaking residents in Savannah, GA.



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### ***Evacuation and Social Exclusion***

John Renne (University of New Orleans)

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Evacuation planning has become an increasingly important topic in the United States since Hurricane Katrina. The evacuation of New Orleans for Hurricane Katrina in 2005 proved to be incredibly successful with an estimated 1 million people fleeing by automobile in about 48 hours. This success was overshadowed because many of the carless, which included vulnerable populations, were unable to leave. The evacuation of New Orleans during Hurricane Gustav in 2008 went relatively unnoticed by the national media despite being one of the most successful evacuations in US history, as it was arguably the largest publicly funded and assisted evacuation. The City of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish, and State of Louisiana implemented the City Assisted Evacuation Plan (CAEP), which resulted from two and a half year ongoing planning process, post-Katrina, that included hundreds of stakeholders from all levels of government, as well as nonprofit and private organizations. While not perfect, the CAEP corrected many of the problems during Katrina. This article will document the relationships between evacuation and social exclusion, particularly for low-income and vulnerable populations.

### ***Effects of Social Support and Social Capital on Disaster Evacuation Preparedness among Persons with a Disability***

Michael Zakour (West Virginia University)

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Little is known about how to promote disaster evacuation of persons with a disability. This presentation will report on research addressing the effect of social support / capital on preparedness for disaster evacuation of persons with a disability. Levels of social support and capital are examined to predict preparedness and disaster resilience. The study sample is individuals with a disability, contacted for an interview using random digit dialing or a mail questionnaire using random digit dialing and lists of CILi's consumers and Medicaid waiver individuals (N = 1162). The preparedness variables examined are knowledge of a specific evacuation destination, a household plan for what to take in an evacuation, knowledge of a public shelter, a plan to stockpile vital medications, household capacity to evacuate for several days, and actual disaster evacuation. The social support / capital variables in this study are level of social support in a crisis, level of social support in a disaster, total number of types of organizational memberships, organizational support received in disaster, and use of a caregiver for assistance with daily activities. Findings: Social support in an disaster



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and knowledge of a specific evacuation destination are positively associated (Pearson  $\chi^2$  value = 35.78,  $\eta^2 = .18$ ). Adequate social support in a crisis is positively related to having a plan for what to take in an evacuation ( $\chi^2 = 25.73$ ,  $\eta^2 = .15$ ), knowledge of a public shelter ( $\chi^2 = 17.67$ ,  $\eta^2 = .13$ ), and a plan to stockpile medications ( $\chi^2 = 29.52$ ,  $\eta^2 = .19$ ). Caregiver use is positively associated with preparedness to evacuate for several days or more ( $\chi^2 = 22.02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .17$ ), and evacuation in a disaster ( $\chi^2 = 20.77$ ,  $\eta^2 = 0.21$ ). Total number of organizational memberships is positively associated with knowledge of a specific destination ( $\chi^2 = 16.94$ ,  $\eta^2 = .12$ ) and of a public evacuation shelter ( $\chi^2 = 16.16$ ,  $\eta^2 = .12$ ). Organizational support in disaster is positively associated with an evacuation plan ( $\chi^2 = 34.89$ ,  $\eta^2 = .20$ ), and a medication supply plan ( $\chi^2 = 8.80$ ,  $\eta^2 = .10$ ). Five preparedness items are summed to create a scale ranging from 0 to 5, with 5 indicating that the respondent is prepared in each of the six dimensions. Linear regression analysis using the summative preparedness variable as the dependent variable shows that adequate support during a crisis and caregiver assistance explained 12% of the variance ( $p < .001$ ). Implications: Persons with the lowest levels of social support /capital need the most assistance and additional resources for evacuation. Results also suggest that the provision of social support and fostering of social capital increases level of resources for evacuation, evacuation preparedness, and resilience of persons with a disability.

### 101 The Future In and Of HOPE VI Developments

#### *The Uncharted, Uncertain Future of HOPE VI Redevelopments*

Diane K. Levy (The Urban Institute), Martin D. Abravanel (The Urban Institute),  
Margaret McFarland (University of Maryland, College Park)

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The HOPE VI program has generally been effective in supporting the demolition of many of the largest, most dilapidated, and highly concentrated public housing developments in the nation and replacing them with smaller-scale, visually appealing, mixed-income properties. Public investment in HOPE VI has been substantial; the private investment has been even greater. While the importance of a program that redevelops dilapidated and obsolete housing is generally acknowledged, more than a decade and a half after the program's initiation it is not a foregone conclusion that properties redeveloped under it can be sustained over time.

Sustainability depends on having sufficient operating income for the entire rental portion of a redevelopment, from both ongoing subsidies and rents, to maintain it for



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the particular market for which it was intended. Worst case scenarios at any future point in time would involve a redevelopment becoming the property it replaced, condition wise, or becoming transformed into housing exclusively for households able to pay market rates. Either outcome would be contrary to program objectives. Sustainability is not simply a function of the redevelopment underwriting or financing that is utilized or the architectural attractiveness of the buildings that result, but also of significant challenges inherent in the program. The latter derive from the public-private relationships that are involved and the mixed-income and mixed-tenure character of the redevelopments. These features are both program strengths and challenges to project management and financial stability.

Based on input from housing practitioners and insight gained from exploratory case studies of two redeveloped properties, this paper presents key challenges to the sustainability of affordable housing units in HOPE VI redevelopments and argues that an independent, third-party assessment of such properties is critical to help their owners and public agencies sustain this valuable resource.

### ***The Role of Supportive Services at Reoccupied HOPE VI Sites***

Laura E. Harris (University of Memphis), Jim Fraser (Vanderbilt University)

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This paper examines the role of supportive services in HOPE VI relocation and reoccupancy across eight sites, with a focus on the implications for sustainability in the new developments. The HOPE VI program has myriad goals in addition to resident relocation and improved economic self-sufficiency, including dispersed economic redevelopment in the nearby areas and the creation of new mixed-income communities. Resident services are often not the central focus of the overall initiatives, and vary widely from city to city. Drawing on research in Memphis and Nashville, the authors analyze the services at these eight HOPE VI sites using the framework of the five components of organizational capacity as described by Glickman and Servon (1998): resource, organizational, programmatic, network, and political. Comparisons are made between the two cities, but more significant findings pertain to the structure of service delivery along with the values and informal networks of managers and other leaders at individual sites. The data for this paper draw on a range of sources: a detailed case management data system (for a limited number of sites); in-depth interviews and surveys with residents; and, focus groups with residents, case managers, and higher-level stakeholders.

### ***Participation, deliberation, and decision-making: The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in mixed-income public housing communities***





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Robert Chaskin (University of Chicago), Amy Khare (University of Chicago), Mark Joseph (Case Western Reserve University)

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Part of the argument for mixed-income development as a response to concentrated urban poverty concerns the promise of inclusion, and the presumed benefits that accrue by integrating poor people into safe, well-functioning, better served and better connected neighborhoods. Considerations of inclusion and integration into such contexts might focus on at least two issues. One concerns access to the resources, institutions, spaces, social arrangements, and opportunities afforded by membership in the community. Another concerns participation in processes of association and deliberation regarding inputs, resource allocation, norms of behavior, rules, and relationships that concern community members and, through such participation, influence on the decisions taken in relation to these issues. This paper explores the mechanisms, processes, and dynamics of participation and deliberation in three mixed-income communities being built on the footprint of former public housing developments in Chicago. It pays particular attention to the ways in which deliberative processes include relocated public housing residents and other low-income people, and the extent to which they offer mechanisms for inclusion and influence in these newly emerging neighborhoods.

### ***Defining "Social" in Socially-Mixed Communities: An Analysis of Individual Processes and Neighborhood Mechanisms That Shape Neighbor Interaction***

Kelly Owens (University of New Orleans)

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The shift toward mixed-income housing such as HOPE VI developments has created scores of studies on the role of urban housing policy and the expected outcomes for lower-income families. Many debates focus upon the fate of public housing residents who are believed to lose social capital as a result of the displacement that occurs during the redevelopment process. Social capital has been found to be important to sustaining healthy communities ? it helps to increase self-sufficiency among individuals while collective social capital has been found to deter crime and effectuate better public service provision (Campbell et al. 2010; Wilson 1987; Putnam 1994). In theory, any loss of social capital among public housing residents is mitigated by the incorporation of working- and middle-class families who are to create positive outcomes for public housing families (Popkin, Levy, and Buron 2009; Wilson 1987). This, however, presumes that neighbors will interact-- a presumption that contradicts the findings of scholars who conclude that neighbors of different backgrounds are not likely to socialize. (Lees 2008; Galster and Booza 2007; Putnam 2007). Potential



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barriers to restoring social capital among public housing residents may also stem from evidence that neighbors in traditional neighborhoods are becoming socially distant, possibly because of time spent commuting and the preference for high-tech entertainment (Putnam 1995). I question whether this phenomenon plays out in similar fashion in HOPE VI communities or if neighboring takes on different form. HOPE VI projects are typically designed using New Urbanist principles aimed at fostering social interaction; management companies plan community events and meetings with the intent to create opportunities for social interaction; and working- and middle-class families knowingly choose to live alongside lower-income neighbors. How do spatial proximity, organized events, or HOPE VI ?buy in? shape neighbor interaction? What are other mechanisms that influence neighbor interaction? What is the nature of cross-class interaction? Through observation of a 5-year old New Orleans HOPE VI community and interviews with 50 residents of various housing tenure, I unpack the micro-processes that shape social interaction, identify the mechanisms that cultivate social ties, and analyze how social boundaries are constructed. This study provides insight into the neighboring patterns to be expected in two new HOPE VI communities in New Orleans as well as similarly structured mixed-income communities across the U.S. I offer a synopsis of challenges and potential strategies towards boosting collective social capital via neighbor interaction within such communities. These findings will be of interest to researchers, policymakers, PHAs, and developers as well as entities involved in the Obama Administration?s Choice Neighborhoods initiative which is currently being piloted as HUD?s replacement for HOPE VI.

### ***Generational Differences in Experiences of Public Housing Residents: Effects of Culture, Immigration Status, and Length of Residency in a HOPE VI Development***

JoDee Keller (Pacific Lutheran University)

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What are the needs of families with children in public housing? How do immigrants view the role of public housing when it comes to meeting needs of their families? What are the services and amenities that parents desire for their children? How do their experiences and expectations of housing differ from that of their children? What are the parents' hopes for their children and how are the children's goals different from those of their parents? How have children and youth adjusted to relocation?

Using both quantitative and qualitative data obtained through surveys, interviews, and focus groups of public housing residents in one HOPE VI redevelopment in the Pacific Northwest, this paper explores needs and expectations of families with children. More than half of the residents of this particular housing development are



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immigrants, coming primarily from Cambodia, Vietnam, Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. Many types of families are represented, including two-parent, multigenerational, single parent, and grandparents raising grandchildren. Interesting differences perceptions and desires emerged when looking at such variables as age/generation, culture, immigration status, length of residency in public housing, homeowner vs. renter. Common themes of sacrifice for family, obligation & loyalty to family members, and concerns with community safety were apparent; while there were differing perspectives on the neighborhood, the role of public housing, desired community services, and attachment to the community.

Parents, regardless of culture, want their children to have more opportunities than they have, and make many sacrifices to make this a reality. However, there are differences in the meaning ascribed to these sacrifices. Conversely, adolescents and young adults are keenly aware of sacrifices their parents have made and often feel a sense of obligation or duty to their parents, expressed in a variety of ways, depending upon age and culture. Feelings of attachment to the community also are impacted by family transitions: parents feel bonded to the community where they raised their children; young adults feel nostalgic for the neighborhood where they grew up. Safety also emerged as a theme, related to level of comfort with and trust in neighbors, perceived crime and drug activity, quality of housing, traffic concerns, and perception of the quality of housing security officers.

When considering that families are the main providers of social services, in the sense of caring for dependent members of society, the data suggest ways in which public housing authorities can be more supportive in meeting the needs of families.

### **102      Detroit: The Challenge of Prolonged, Structural, Economic Decline**



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### ***Small-Scale Urban Developers and Landlords as Agents of Neighborhood Stabilization***

Avis Vidal (Wayne State University), Rayman Mohamed (Wayne State University)

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The mortgage foreclosure crisis has both highlighted and exacerbated threats to neighborhood stability in weak housing markets. Most housing economists expect historically strong housing markets, hard-hit now because housing prices there were severely inflated, to 'self-correct' after owners take their losses. Population growth will rekindle demand and building housing will again become profitable. Weak markets, where demand for housing has been stable or declining for a considerable period, present a different set of circumstances. Vacant land, empty buildings, and housing with visible signs of deterioration all send strong negative signals to potential investors. Pockets of decay foster market uncertainty, undermine the value of existing investments, and—as tax bases contract—create numerous problems for local governments in central cities and inner ring suburbs.

Detroit exemplifies all of these conditions. Nevertheless, pockets of urban residential development are noticeable in a few neighborhoods, both in Detroit and its surrounding suburbs. Most visible are sizeable developments done mainly by the types of developers that typically predominate in strong markets. Less visible is the work of small-scale developers, both for-profit and nonprofit, working in selected moderate- and low-income neighborhoods. Further, despite falling household incomes in the poor economy, many landlords have continued to provide market-rate rental housing. Similar activities have been observed in numerous second tier Midwestern cities.

Unfortunately, we know very little about these small-scale operators. Real estate research focuses overwhelmingly on large-scale developers, particularly in the suburban context. This literature suggests that they find market niches as a risk reduction strategy, and adapted to rising construction costs by shifting toward production of homes for wealthier households. Whether and how these strategies translate to weak central city markets remains to be determined.

Existing literature on small for-profit developers and landlords in urban areas is scarce and outdated. Research done during the 1960s and 1970s suggested that the presence of low-cost "slum" housing could be traced to the low profit margins that existed in depressed urban cores as low income residents remained behind while wealthier households left for the suburbs. It seems likely that this situation persists.

More literature examines the role of nonprofit community development corporations



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(CDCs). Their numbers grew dramatically between 1980 and 2005, and they now develop a sizeable percentage of the nation's subsidized housing. Evaluation of the work of a small number of exemplary CDCs produced solid evidence that sustained, focused CDC-led investments in neighborhoods in strong market cities produced measurable improvements (Galster et al., 2005).

However, much of the literature seeks to document and explain best practices, and therefore generally pays little attention to CDC performance in weak market cities, where disinvestment is widespread and it is much harder for even quite capable CDC developers to demonstrate lasting impact and attract private investors. In such environments, CDCs are often forced to compete for dwindling resources even as the demand for their services increases; it appears that this situation has worsened because of the recession.

This paper is a first step toward filling these gaps in our knowledge. It will be based primarily on data gathered during semi-structured interviews with small-scale for-profit developers, senior staff of CDCs, and their partners in Detroit. Interviews with for-profit developers will pay particular attention to their business models and to factors that promote successful entrepreneurship. Interviews with the nonprofit sector will give more emphasis to how they are adapting to the rapidly changing funding environment they face and the new challenges facing their communities.

### ***The Dialectical Structures of Political Fragmentation, Social Stratification, and Economic Decline: The Tragedy of Post War Detroit***

Richard C. Sauerkopf (Michigan State University)

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This paper explores some of the potentially dialectical relationships that appear to be operating between the changing political geography of the Detroit Metropolitan region and the accelerating rates of social segregation, stratification, and material decline that have increasingly come to define the area through the course of the post-war era. Essentially, the paper shows that the structure of Detroit's political geography, which has been marked by the proliferation of ever more distinct localities, has tended to intensify the very social, political, and material forces that have been so important to the construction of the region's political structure. In short, this paper advances the position that in Metropolitan Detroit, at the very least, place matters, where place is understood essentially as a politically constructed and politically effective system of increasingly numerous and distinct localities. This is especially the case when it comes to the region's intensifying structures of social stratification and segregation, along with the material decline that is presently



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spreading well beyond the boundaries of the region's urban core. Since this paper advances the view that the decline of the region's economic fortunes, along with the intensification of other social challenges that are affecting the area, is incomprehensible outside of the context of the region's fragmented metropolitan political structure, the case is made for addressing the fragmentation of the area as an essentially significant problem that has the potential to determine the very sustainability of the region. In so far as Detroit is representative of urban America as a whole, the American economic enterprise is, ultimately, dependent upon the ability of urban policy-makers throughout the nation to address the structures of metropolitan political fragmentation that define and divide their regions respectively. This paper will explore the structures of urban fragmentation and decline in Detroit principally through a longitudinal analysis of the political, economic, and social structures of Detroit's metropolitan geography, using aggregate contextual and electoral data drawn from the Bureau of the Census and locally tabulated national election returns. The paper will also draw national comparisons, as data from the author's Detroit Electoral Study will be compared to preliminary information gathered for the Metroamerica Votes and Urban Cultural Survey Project, which will eventually include the Detroit Election Study and which has been proposed and begun by scholars working out of the Global Urban Studies Program, at Michigan State University. This work will be facilitated especially by the application of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology.

### ***Degrees of Emptiness – Measuring Abandonment in Detroit, Michigan***

Robin Boyle (Wayne State University)

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Andreas Duany's urban "transect" has gained considerable attention in architecture, urban design and, in a modified format, in contemporary master planning. This simple continuum of density, often capturing a density "slope" from the CBD to the ex-urbs, is adapted from an environmental/ecological transect developed and applied by landscape designers, including but limited to Ian McHarg, some 40 years earlier .

Taken together, these two interpretations of a similar organizational/analytical device might usefully be applied to a city that demonstrates varying degrees of density, but not one that follows a center-periphery trajectory. Instead, within the city, neighborhoods in Detroit illustrate a range of conditions from completely abandoned and often devoid of any structures to intact communities, with a dense urban form.

This exploratory paper, after setting the now well-documented decline of a large central city, will address the following questions:





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Could an adapted transect help in re-imagining the possibilities for the city?

How might this work across such diverse and complex places?

Can the design and the ecological transect capture the socio-economic characteristics of the different neighborhoods found across the city?

Can the transect(s) help in better understanding and planning for quite different neighborhoods in Detroit?

Could the use of a transect introduce a variety of densities for the post-industrial “city” of the mid-twenty-first century?

### **103 Public Housing Transformation, Housing Choice Vouchers and Crime in Urban Neighborhoods**

#### ***Assessing the Impact of the CHA’s Plan for Transformation on Crime in Chicago***

Susan J. Popkin (The Urban Institute), George Galster (Wayne State University), Christopher Hayes (The Urban Institute), Leah Hendey (The Urban Institute), Wesley Skogan (Northwestern University)

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Since the Plan for Transformation was launched in 1999, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) has been striving to replace its high-rise developments with new mixed-income housing that reflects the current thinking on how to provide affordable housing without creating concentrations of poverty. As of the end of 2008, nearly all of the CHA’s family high-rises had been demolished. Since the Plan for Transformation began, newspaper accounts and community groups have periodically alleged that relocated CHA residents were bringing crime and drug trafficking to their new communities. Using panel data including the move history and individual characteristics of CHA voucher holders and quarterly crime incidents from 1998 to 2008, this study builds on the methodology developed by Galster, et al (1999) to investigate the impact of vouchers on property values. It moves beyond simple correlation-based analyses and controls for pre-existing trends and other causal factors, selection and endogeneity bias, and spatial autocorrelation in order to accurately estimate the effect of public housing residents who were relocated with vouchers and other voucher recipients on crime.



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### ***Atlanta Murder Mystery? Assessing the Effects of Public Housing Transformation on Neighborhood Crime***

Michael J. Rich (Emory University), Elizabeth Griffiths (Emory University), Moshe Haspel (Emory University), Michael Leo Owens (Emory University), Lance Waller (Emory University)

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Over the past 15 years the city of Atlanta has experienced a dramatic transformation of its public housing, becoming the first city in America to eliminate virtually all of its conventional public housing. Utilizing resources from the federal HOPE VI program and its participation in HUD's Moving to Work demonstration, the Atlanta Housing Authority has demolished nearly all of its family public housing developments. About half of these have been replaced with mixed-income housing developments and the remainder of the sites—now vacant land—remain to be developed. During this transformation process the vast majority of existing public housing tenants were relocated and qualified for housing choice vouchers that resulted in a significant redistribution of the city's low-income population, though most (more than 90%) chose to remain in the city.

The Atlanta Housing Authority's efforts have been extremely controversial, and advocates and critics have raised serious concerns about the potential impact on residents and communities. Similar concerns have been raised in other cities undergoing public housing transformation, perhaps most notably Memphis, where an article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "American Murder Mystery," generated vigorous debate about the relationship between housing choice vouchers and crime, suggesting that crime was rising most sharply in those neighborhoods experiencing a large influx of housing voucher recipients.

Our analysis, based on micro data on housing voucher recipients and crime incidents in the city of Atlanta during the period 1997 – 2010, will provide a rigorous empirical examination of the effects of public housing transformation on the crime trends of destination neighborhoods (and other indicators of neighborhood well-being) during this period of transformation. In addition, our quantitative analysis is supplemented with qualitative findings based on focus groups held with residents in those neighborhoods experiencing the most dramatic increase in the number of housing voucher recipients and with interviews conducted with former public housing residents. Our analysis, which closely parallels similar research being done in Chicago, will make a significant contribution to this debate, providing credible evidence on how large scale public housing relocation affects crime trends and the dynamics of urban neighborhoods.



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### ***Moving to Safety? The Neighborhood Crime Exposure of Section 8 Voucher Households.***

Michael Lens (New York University), Ingrid Gould Ellen (New York University),  
Katherine O'Regan (New York University)

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Governments increasingly rely on vouchers to assist low-income households with housing, with the hope that they will use these subsidies to access higher opportunity neighborhoods. Using census tract level crime data from 91 cities in 2000, I estimate crime rates in the typical voucher neighborhood, and offer comparisons to public housing, low income housing tax credit, and poor renter households. I augment these analyses with two seven-city samples. The first is a longitudinal sample that allows me to observe changes in crime exposure from 1998 to 2008. The other contains 2004 census tract crime rates in order to use 2004 household level voucher data and estimate crime exposure rates for voucher households from different racial groups, with and without children, and those that used a voucher to move in 2004. I find that voucher households, though occupying higher crime neighborhoods than the average household, live in neighborhoods with much lower crime rates than those in tax credit or public housing units. Poor renters were similarly exposed to crime as voucher households. Interestingly, voucher households lived in neighborhoods that contained similar proportions of poor and minorities as other subsidized households, suggesting that such households, when given the choice, choose neighborhoods with lower crime rather than choosing to avoid minorities or the poor. Longitudinal results suggest that voucher crime exposure improved considerably from 1998 to 2008, however, these improvements were not due to voucher households moving to lower crime neighborhoods. Rather, the neighborhoods where they lived at baseline became a lot safer. Regression models suggest that cities with larger populations, lower poverty rates, lower median rents, higher levels of racial segregation, and location in the northeast region of the country have higher voucher crime exposure, controlling for the overall city crime rate and other city-level factors.

## **106     Transportation, Land Use, and Accessibility**



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### ***Growth Forces in the I-35 Corridor***

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Poorly managed and disjointed urban development can have deleterious environmental, social, and economic consequences for rapidly growing U.S. Sunbelt urban regions. The environmentally fragile western portion of the I-35 Corridor in central Texas has been the favored location for urban development in spite of planning efforts to encourage growth to the east in the Blackland Prairie, which is more suitable for development. The recent construction of Highway 130, a public-private ?partnership? toll road between Austin and San Antonio, is pulling growth away from the hilly terrain and Edwards aquifer recharge area of the region. This new highway was ?sold? to the public as an alternative to the congested I-35 freeway, but in reality illustrates how economic forces, rather than planning, open up more suitable areas for development. But what type of development will it be? An understanding of the theory of the secondary circuit of capital, and the interplay of public policy (or the lack thereof) and private investment in the development of Highway 130, sheds light on the driving forces on how land is used, developed, and changed in the Texas political and economic climate.

### ***Streets Paved With Gold: Urban Highway Building and the Global City***

Matt Hern (Simon Fraser University), Anthony Perl (Simon Fraser University)

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Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are Canada?s only significant examples of Global City formation. Each of these three cities is characterized by an above average diversity of transportation options, at least in a North American context. The route that each city has taken however to realizing these mobility mixes has been governed by very different histories with inner-city highway building. These sharply diverging histories have greatly contributed to the land-use patterns and development trajectories that have unfolded since each city made its decision as to how much public space to allocate to limited access highways: Montreal has a comprehensive inner-city highway network; Toronto?s attempt at highway building was partial, with an expressway that would have divided the central city halted at the mid-point of construction and abandoned; while in Vancouver the proposal to build the Strathcona highway through the heart of the city was never built. Interestingly, each city faced their crucial highway-building decisions at essentially the same time: the late 1960?s and early 1970?s ? when a boom of highway and freeway building was happening all over North America. The success of each of these three cities in realizing their



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proposed highway systems is directly linked to their level of Global City formation at that specific time. Montreal was fully integrated into world economic networks, and thus was able to leverage this global prominence to complete its highway system; Toronto had only vestigial Global City characteristics and thus could only summon the capacity to partially complete its inner-city highway intrusions; while Vancouver was only a minor regional centre and had essentially no Global City formation at all, which made it possible for the highway proposal to be defeated by local activists and community organizers. Once the primary decisions around the highway building were played out in each city by the mid/late 1970's, it became exceedingly difficult to change course. The core story from Canada's major urban centres is that each of these three city's highway building histories is a result primarily of the needs, availability configuration of global capital, and that the decisions behind each city's mobility and transportation policies are contextual, locational and only principled to the extent that the disengagement of global capital provided the room for local initiative to deviate from the modernist norms of the urban expressway.

### ***Evaluating accessibility in aging suburbs: the case of four neighborhoods in the Montreal's Metropolitan Region***

Paula Negron (Université de Montréal), Philippe Apparicio (Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique), Anne-Marie Seguin (Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique)

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Most of typical suburban environments in North-America have been designed considering a generalized use of automobile. For this reason, many of these environments have a low density urban space, with an important separation between urban activities. In order to offer the best car-accessibility conditions, retail commerce is often concentrated on large streets and boulevards with important parking lots or in large shopping centers. As in many other metropolises in North-America, the inner suburbs of Montreal's Metropolitan Region are aging; even if some elderly people move to senior communities, most of them wish to continue to live in their neighbourhood. Under these circumstances, inner suburbs will eventually concentrate important proportions of elderly. Even if elders continue to drive later in life, the health decline that comes with aging eventually forces them to renounce to drive, making other forms of transportation, such as walking or transit, essential to maintain their mobility projects. Until now, accessibility analysis have been mostly a matter of distance and time; but to evaluate the real accessibility levels in these aging suburbs, it's necessary to integrate in the accessibility analysis the mobility capacities of the aging residents. Two main questions then arise: Do suburban environments in Montreal's Metropolitan Region offer good accessibility levels to day-to-day services?



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Do these environments have physical characteristics that can actually impede or diminish the mobility by foot of elderly? We study four territories developed mainly after 1950's: Saint-Michel and Lachine, which are located in the city of Montreal, and Vieux-Longueuil and Laval-des-Rapides, which are located on the island of Laval and Montréal's south shore. The evaluation of accessibility comprises two steps. First, utilizing accessibility measures computed using GIS, we evaluate accessibility by foot to day-to-day goods and services. Second, we make an analysis of the characteristics of urban fabric in commercial concentrations (density, urban form and design issues). The analysis shows important disparities in accessibility levels not only between the four neighbourhoods but also inside each one of them. In order to be sure that these urban environments will respect the equity dimension of a sustainable mobility, some transformations will be necessary in these neighbourhoods.

### PS01 Poster Session

#### ***County Administrators and Public Sector Union Relationships in Michigan***

Brian Cherry (Northern Michigan University), Douglas Ihrke (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Nathan Grasse (Georgia Southern University)

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Financial pressures on local governments have been steadily increasing over the last few years. At the same time revenues are decreasing as the result of the national recession, personnel along with other expenditures are increasing. Personnel accounts for approximately 70% of local government budgets with health care cost projections for 2011 to increase by 17%. This combination of decreasing revenue and increasing expenditures are forcing most local governments to either cut or identify alternative methods to provide public services. While this is being posed to local communities as a way to improve service delivery and decrease cost via competition, public sector unions believe they are under attack. In 2009, nationally 39% of state and local government workers were members of unions. In Michigan, 58% of state and local government workers are members of unions (tied with California for the highest in the nation). In addition, many governments continue to increase compensation for public sector workers, while private sector wages and benefits have stagnated. Coupled with the public's anti-tax sentiment, managers are feeling the pressure to provide services while maintaining or even decreasing cost. Positive labor relations and collaborating with unions to find mutually acceptable solutions will be vital to survival. The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between public sector unions in Michigan and County Administrators and how that relationship affects efforts to use alternative methods of public service delivery. In order to examine these issues we have





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developed a survey that will be sent to all 83 counties in the state of Michigan. We believe positive union relationships with county administrators will decrease the pressure to use alternative means of service delivery. And at the same time produce innovative solutions to reduce cost and still maintain services.

### ***Establishing Areas of Importance for Safe Routes to School Implementation in Prince George's County, Maryland***

Pam Eichenbaum (University of Maryland, College Park), Gregory Vernon (University of Maryland, College Park)

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Safe Routes to School is a federal initiative, authorized under SAFETEA-LU (2005), which provides funding for State Highway Commissions, to create safe environments around schools and encourage children to walk and bike to school. These funds provide an opportunity for communities to improve infrastructure within the school environment, educate children on safety issues, and promote physical activity through walking and biking. Within this broad framework, local municipalities have considerable flexibility in creating a safe route to school. In essence, there is a state application process, whereby local jurisdictions can ask for funding from the Commission to implement a Safe Route to School program. Using Prince George's County, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, DC, as a case study, this research examines the relationship between the built environment and social conditions in the vicinity of public elementary schools. Currently, Prince George's County has yet to seek state funding for a Safe Routes to School program, but three county municipalities, College Park, District Heights, and Greenbelt have requested state assistance. Exploring the characteristics of public elementary schools will provide strategies to successfully implement a Safe Routes to School program. The analysis proceeds in two phases. Using recently obtained Geographic Information System (GIS) data from the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC); a spatial analysis of the physical environment surrounding the County's elementary schools is conducted. As part of this analysis we use spatial analytic tools to compare street patterns surrounding schools and developed a street to sidewalk ratio. Additionally, utilizing school specific data, emphasizing the free breakfast and lunch programs, English as a second language classes, and attendance records, we assess the social capital of the elementary schools. Based on the combination of these results, the County's 126 public elementary level schools are ranked according to their physical and community assets. In this light, we review how the three municipalities, Greenbelt, College Park, and District Heights fare according to the County wide rankings, as well as how their strategies respond to the strengths and weaknesses of their environment as identified by our analysis. The results from this study provide a



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framework for Prince George's County to encourage applications from and allocate funds to schools that are most in need. In addition, we examine possible reasons as to why those schools most in need have not availed themselves to Safe Route to Schools support.

### ***Policy Devolution, Civic Networks, and Urban Governance: The Case of Affordable Housing in Los Angeles***

David A. Gastwirth (University of Southern California), Christopher Weare (University of Southern California)

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Collaborative governance, in which networks of public, non-profit, and for-profit organizations coordinate social problem solving activities, is widely cited as an approach that is better suited than traditional, top-down government interventions for addressing social ills and, in particular, "wicked" policy problems. Robert Agranoff, in "Managing Within Networks" (Georgetown U. Press, 2007), highlights the ways in which networks serve public ends, including: problem identification/information exchange, extant technology identification and adoption, knowledge infrastructure improvement and implementation, capacity building, reciprocal programming/joint strategy, and joint policymaking. The extent to which networked governance can achieve these benefits, however, depends on how interaction is activated, arranged, structured, brokered, and facilitated (Kickert & Koppenjan, 1997). These processes, in turn, depend on a number of features of the civic networks public officials wish to activate. These include: 1) the density of non-profit and for-profit organizations, 2) their interest in and ability to coordinate their activities and 3) the extant network of relationships that connect these organizations. This presentation critically examines these implicit assumptions through the analysis of the civic networks connecting organizations that work on problems of affordable housing in Los Angeles. Affordable housing is an important case because the problem is "wicked" in terms of its complexity and intractability and is increasingly addressed through networked forms of governance. This study utilizes an original data set of 145 Los Angeles-based affordable housing organizations active in central Los Angeles. Survey respondents were asked about their inter-organizational collaborations, specifically in regards to working on joint projects, information sharing, and resource exchanges. Additionally, a complementary data set of organizational participation and inclusion in affordable housing-related coalitions and funding groups is considered. We examine this network to test the degree to which it conforms to the expectations of networked governance. Specifically, we test whether the network is connected in a single coherent whole or is fractured into distinct subgroups. If subgroups are observed, we will test which organizational characteristics, such as geographical location or sector, are associated



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with the formation of subgroups. We also examine the role that public agencies, including the city council and community redevelopment agency, play in connecting disparate sub-groups among these housing organizations. We relate our findings back to the theory of networked governance and explicate how the network characteristics, relationship patterns, and actor properties can and should be measured and interpreted by public managers.

### ***The Possibility for Spatially Clustered Developments of LGBT Neighborhoods in Poznan, Poland***

Weronika Kusek (Kent State University)

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Poland's significant economic and political success, crowned by the 2004 membership in the European Union, can be contrasted with many social issues which remain a heated subject in the public forum. One of these issues is the social situation of the LGBT community in Poland. Through an analysis of the possibility of creating a dedicated LGBT district in Poznan, Poland, this study attempts to provide a new, utilitarian perspective on the LGBT debate.

This research is based on a non-statistical survey distributed among representatives of the LGBT community in Poland. The survey, a substitute for individual interviews, provides insight about this group's support for a dedicated LGBT district in a Polish city, as well as a general picture of the characteristics such a district would have.

This research demonstrates that there is significant approval for a LGBT district in Poland among the Polish LGBT which could provide a variety of services targeting a well educated, relatively prosperous, and currently dispersed group of consumers. Simultaneously, a LGBT district in Poznan, Poland could also further strengthen the city's business community, and increase its global attractiveness. However, existing level of homophobia in Poland causes some concern about the viability of an openly gay district.

### ***McKinney: How and Why an Affluent Suburb Integrates Socioeconomically***

Daniel Ledbetter (University of Texas at Dallas)

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With the recent Seattle and Louisville Court decisions school districts are now expected to no longer rely on race as a factor in attendance decisions. Instead, many of the districts relying on race previously are looking to socioeconomic status as a factor for integration. There are currently forty districts in the United States that have



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socioeconomic integration plans. McKinney, Texas, a rapidly growing suburb north of Dallas, is unique among the forty in that they are one of only a few that has had a plan in action before the Supreme Court eliminated the use of race as a factor. The following is a case study of McKinney Independent School District's (ISD) socioeconomic integration plan and how and why the district chose to socioeconomically integrate. The paper will address both political and administrative challenges along with an analysis of student achievement since the integration. This paper will add to the integration literature by providing an analysis of the administrative and equity challenges of utilizing attendance boundaries to integrate.

### ***Public Policy Preferences of Local Government Planners: Findings from a National Survey***

Suzanne Leland (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Dustin Read (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Emil Milizia (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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Planners employed by local governments are responsible for solving some of the most challenging problems facing cities and counties today, yet little is known about the role their attitudes play in the public policy process. Communicative theories of planning recognize that the process is inherently political (Ozawa and Seltzer 1999), and that it is the public sector planner's responsibility to facilitate communication among interest groups in an attempt to find common ground upon which consensus can be built (Huxley and Yiftachel 2000). However, scholars have also long recognized that it is unrealistic to expect planners to act in a value neutral manner when these professionals have opinions and beliefs that are reflected in their policy recommendations (Davidoff, 1965 and Altshuler, 1965). The purpose of this research is to gather and analyze information about city and county planners across the United States to better understand the impact of their social characteristics on attitudes towards land use planning, regionalism, growth and public-private partnerships. Variables such as age, gender, education, work experience and political orientation are all anticipated to influence planners' attitudes and ultimately their professional behavior. To the extent public sector planners exercise administrative discretion and attempt to balance personal values and beliefs, their attitudes have an impact on policy formation and implementation.

### ***Historical Dry Cleaners in New Orleans: A data collection model for locating small-parcel brownfields based on industry***

Aram Lief (University of New Orleans), Dale Thayer (University of New Orleans)

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Smart growth principals in community planning can be effectively implemented through the redevelopment of brownfields parcels. Since the early 1980's, the redevelopment of areas affected by industrial activities has been central to community planning in the United States, especially in urban areas where living space is limited and costly. Brownfields are parcels of land that had a history of or were affected by industrial activity, and can range from large-scale industrial complexes, such as military bases, to small parcels of land like, former automotive filling stations and dry cleaners. By 2006, nearly 500,000 brownfields were estimated throughout the nation. Redeveloping these brownfields sites can significantly reduce hazards to human health and environmental quality, reduce urban sprawl, and promote urban renewal by reintroducing abandoned or idle properties back into commerce, thus increasing tax revenue for further economic development. However, potential investors are often reluctant to participate in brownfields redevelopment because of perceived liability. This perception can be ameliorated through proper understanding and knowledge of current ASTM standards, and the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA), and its Brownfields Amendments (2002), which provide a specified level of protection for landowner liability. The City of New Orleans, like many other municipalities, had concentrated efforts on large parcel brownfields re-development rather than smaller parcels of land, and therefore needed an accurate data set of potentially contaminated parcels, concentrating on former dry cleaners. The purpose of this research was to address the overall dearth of available data by locating and describing former dry cleaners sites in Orleans Parish. An industry-based data collection model was created and utilized to identify over 1,500 potential dry cleaner brownfields sites between 1940 to the present. The investigation led to the discovery of additional, site-specific data, as some dry cleaners were located on sites that were on or near former automotive filling stations that may have underground storage tanks. The model can also be utilized to identify former automotive filling stations, or any other industries associated with the release of contaminants of concern (COC) that operate on small parcels of land, but in large numbers within a given municipal district. It functions as a tool for urban planners who are trying to solve problems regarding infill, for example, whether at the neighborhood level, or in larger commercial tracts to help achieve the ultimate goal of redevelopment. Private property owners and local residents, municipal government, realtors, and the environment benefit from the remediation of small parcel brownfields. The model is designed to assist in putting unused parcels of land back into commerce by speeding up the overall process.

### ***Promoting Redevelopment of Brownfield Sites using a GIS Information Delivery System***

Peter Lindquist (University of Toledo), Sarah Schafer (University of Toledo)



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The project documented in this poster deals with the design, development and implementation of a prototype web-based information distribution system to promote the redevelopment and sustainable utilization of brownfield sites in Lucas County (Toledo), Ohio. This system is designed primarily to describe the localized characteristics of these sites, including such attributes as acreage, property ownership, phase I & II environmental assessments, remediation status (where available), structures present, tax rates, parcel value, utility improvements, etc. In addition, the system will feature each site's local zoning categories, surrounding land uses, connections to local business establishments, local population characteristics, utilities and municipal services, connectivity to the regional transportation network and relevant characteristics of the surrounding transportation infrastructure such as weight limits, Hazmat routes, intermodal connections, geometric design characteristics and travel characteristics (e.g., at-grade rail crossings, bridge clearances, signalization, etc.). The contents of the repository will be delivered in an interactive web-based information delivery system that uses online maps, query functions, text boxes, and basic routing and network linkages between sites and the transportation network. In addition, the system will provide detailed contact information to property owners, local governments, commercial real estate firms, and related organizations pertaining to brownfield redevelopment and regional economic development. As a result, users will be able to search for desired site locations through query functions that provide prompts for entry of desired site characteristics; the system will then search the database to display all sites on an online map that meet those desired search criteria. The primary benefit of this system is that it can serve a wide range of needs for economic development efforts in the county due to the volume of data in the repository. This resource can also assist potential developers and business officials with site selection for industrial, warehousing, and other uses. In addition, the system can aid in transportation planning efforts for infrastructural improvements; planners and economic development analysts can use the system to target infrastructural improvements for connecting brownfield sites to major links in the transportation network. If proven successful, this system will be extended other urban regions in the State of Ohio.

### ***Embodiment, Pleasure, and Utility Cycling: An Examination of Motivations for Traveling by Bike in Charleston South Carolina***

Deborah McCarthy (College of Charleston)

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The aim of this study, which is based on analyses of 41 qualitative interviews collected





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in 2006, is to provide a rich and detailed account of the motivations of utility cyclists in Charleston South Carolina. Academic and policy attention has focused, understandably, on the potential of bike riding as a sustainable form of transport and on how urban infrastructure might be improved to make cycling more feasible. Very few sociological studies, however, have examined the motivations of utility cyclists and even fewer studies have attempted to understand utility cycling as an embodied activity. More research on why people choose to utility cycle would inform a wide array of programs and policies (like new urbanism) that are attempting to promote non-motorized transit. The analysis that I'll be presenting in the poster session attempts to fill part of this gap in the literature.

### ***Public Participation in Planning Practices: A Case of Phoenix from 1980 to 2010***

Somin Shin (Arizona State University)

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Public participation in planning practices has been a growing movement since the 1960s as a way to actualize democratic society. In spite of the fact that most public agencies are mandated to involve the public in a development process, studies on public participation lag behind its practices. Studies on the topic are fragmented and tend to rely on few case studies. While neither researchers nor practitioners have conducted systematic evaluations of public participation practices, city planners are moving ahead despite limited information about its most powerful implications under a given set of circumstances. As cities continually adopt public participation as a strategy to share knowledge of different groups of people, it is time to ask what is the current state of public participation in planning practices. With this purpose in mind, this study render a portrait of local government level activities by examining the evolution of public participation in planning practices, as well as assessing its ability, efficiency, and fairness. In order to do so, it pursues three questions: (a) what is the trajectory and character of public participation, (b) how planning at the local government level implements their participation, and (c) why does it strengthen or undermine its social objectives. The study focuses on Phoenix's use of public participation from 1980 to the present. The former bound of the date range marks a key era where the city faced several interrelated changes. The previous General Plan of Phoenix was based upon the urban village concept adopted in 1979 to promote the balance between jobs and housing. In this plan, planning professionals embraced participatory planning as a way to support democratic decision making. The point in time of this plan corresponded with the communicative turn of the 1980s and 1990s when planning theorists emphasized collective problem-solving. Also, Phoenix provides an interesting and important case for studying the practices of public participation in planning, in terms of its size and growth rate, as well as its diverse



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characteristics among each village. They are different in income level, density, industry, and balance of jobs and residents. Moreover, Phoenix consists of old neighborhoods, where various interests groups are intermingled with each other. This study follows a three-part strategy. First, a historical analysis of planning practices and use of public participation in ten villages provide a depiction of the trajectory and character of the phenomenon. Based on the outcome, cases which represent different social characteristics are selected. Second, a method of evaluating its successes or lack thereof are developed and tested. Third, I outline the public participation implications, and identify the forces that hinder/propel the use of public participation. Overall, my findings reveal public participations? potential as a way to achieve social goals.

### ***Children's Engagement in Governance: An International Analysis of Child-Friendly Cities***

Jennifer Tang (City University of New York)

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Around the world, the confluence of two trends is posing additional challenges to our aim of building more equitable and sustainable communities: the growing proportion of youth within a population, and the migration of people from rural to urban areas. Many cities are not designed for, nor are equipped to deal with these pressures. Recognizing the need to be responsive to these changes, governments are seizing the opportunity to build their cities to respect the rights of children. Respecting the rights of children in urban settings includes provision of basic services, protection from violence, as well as according their right to participate in matters that affect them. Children?s participation in governance includes the right to speak, to be heard, and to have their opinions taken into account. In an effort to enact good municipal-level governance that respects the rights of children ? including their right to participate in governance ? cities around the world have joined the Child Friendly Cities Initiative as a means of promoting these principles. While many cities are committed to participatory governance with children, each city government employs different systems and processes to engage young people in decision-making about their city. Unfortunately, there has not been any systematic documentation and comparison of the existing models nor an analysis of the fit of these models to their particular political and cultural context. This poster presents cases that demonstrate the various models employed by cities to include children in their governance drawn from reports catalogued through the Child Friendly Cities database. A critical analysis will then be conducted of these cases in terms of their promotion of children?s right to participate and participatory governance. The tensions between the search for best practices that exemplify these principles, and the demands of adapting to the diverse cultural



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and political contexts where systems of governance are implemented will be discussed.

### ***Political Implications of Emergency Management***

Talya Thomas (Texas Southern University)

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This paper will review three broad types of political implications of emergency management, since historically emergency management was considered only a function of law enforcement and fire departments, with the support in the event of a major catastrophe from public health and civil defense organizations. In an average year in the United States, floods will cause \$2 billion to \$3 billion in damage. Tornadoes will leave over 100 people dead. Fires will kill more than 6,000. These emergencies occur regularly and others are waiting to happen. There are 9,000 high hazard dams in the country. Four billion tons of hazardous materials move through transportation systems each year. Thirty-nine states are at risk from earthquakes and 22 metropolitan areas from hurricanes. The issue is not whether governments will be required to respond to emergencies but rather when and how frequently. The time to think about emergencies is before they happen. Despite some significant weakness in the overall approach, political implications offer many benefits and provide various options for community development corporations (CDCs) to get involved in disaster recovery and or emergency management. Based upon a generally positive evaluation, the paper concludes that emergency management must become a central activity, whether at the federal, state, or local or as an intergovernmental activity. Hopefully for the future the government does not have to wait for a disaster to strike for one to put a policy into place, since we have had several over decades to occur. The government should be ready to take on any disaster if it occurs with the following policies and procedures that are in place.

### ***Speaking the Language of Organizational Growth***

Catherine Vu (University of California, Berkeley), Amanda Lehning (University of Michigan), Maria Hernandez (University of California, Berkeley)

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Background: Studies grounded in cultural competency theory suggest that the provision of multi-lingual services can contribute to positive outcomes for individuals. However, little is known about the impact of language provision and the outcomes of human service organizations. The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between a human service organization's capacity to provide bi-or multi-lingual services and revenue growth over a three year time period. It is hypothesized



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that organizations that are able to provide services in one or more languages are more likely to increase revenue growth than those that only provide mono-lingual services. Methods: This analysis utilizes data from the Los Angeles Nonprofit Human Services Survey collected by the Center for Civil Society at UCLA. Organizations included in the study population were gathered from a number of organizational databases that provided a sample of about 6,850 nonprofit human service organizations in Los Angeles County. A random sample was then selected and stratified by organizational income and location. One hour telephone interviews using a structured instrument were conducted with the CEOs of the organizations. A total of 707 interviews were completed yielding a response rate of 53%. The present study sample included the 593 organizations that provide services to individuals. Following the strategy suggested by Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000), a series of regression models including different confounding factors and interaction terms were tested and compared via the likelihood ratio test to investigate the relationship between a human service organization's capacity to provide bi- or multi-lingual services and revenue growth over a three year time period. Regression models also explored potential confounding and interaction by such factors as source of funding, staff ethnicity, client ethnicity, and if the organization is faith-based. Results: In the final model, as determined by the Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness of fit test, organizations that offer bi- or multi-lingual services have an increased odds of having experienced financial growth (OR=2.16,  $p<.0001$ ) when controlling for source of funding and staff ethnicity. In addition, those organizations that receive the majority of their funding from government sources (OR=5.57,  $p<.005$ ) and employ Hispanic/Latino staff (OR=2.02,  $p<.0001$ ) also have an increased odds of experiencing financial growth over the past three years. Implications: Results suggest that organizations that offer services in languages other than English will experience financial growth, which in turn will allow them to serve more individuals in the community. Authors discuss implications in terms of organizational theory and the cultural competency framework.

### **107     The Impact of Foreclosures on Children and Schools in Three Cities**



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### ***On the move again: What happens to public school students affected by foreclosure in the District of Columbia?***

Jennifer Comey (The Urban Institute), Michel Grosz (The Urban Institute)

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As foreclosures have been sweeping the nation in the past few years, the effect of the crisis on children tends to be overlooked. In a two-phased study, we first analyze the foreclosure trends of families with public school students living in Washington, D.C. between 2003 and 2008. We describe the demographic makeup of the students affected, the type of housing and neighborhoods in which they live, and the schools they attend. In the second policy brief (scheduled for completion in December 2010), we will describe the rates of residential and school mobility among students in foreclosed properties versus other students between 2007 and 2008. We will also compare the students' school and neighborhood characteristics pre- and post-foreclosure. We conclude with recommendations for both the housing and education sectors in mitigating this crisis as the number of foreclosures and the number of children affected continues to rise.

### ***Where Do They Go? The Effects of Foreclosure on Children's Mobility and School Performance in Baltimore***

Matthew Kachura (University of Baltimore)

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Over the past several years, Baltimore City and the nation have experienced a massive increase in foreclosures. Much attention has been paid to the loss of homes, wealth, and effects on the neighborhood, but little has been focused on how foreclosures have affected children. In this report, we discuss how foreclosures have affected Baltimore City Public School students between 2003 and 2008. In particular, we describe the demographic makeup of the students affected, the neighborhoods where they live, the schools that they attend, and their housing. We also examine the characteristics of neighborhoods pre- and post-foreclosure from 2003 to 2008. Using a longitudinal database of students in Baltimore City, we examine the rates of residential and school mobility between students in foreclosed properties and other students, as well as additional indicators of student performance. We conclude the report with recommendations for both the housing and education sectors in addressing the foreclosure crisis in Baltimore City.

### ***The Costs of the Foreclosure Crisis for Children: What Education and Housing Policy Makers Can Do to Minimize the Harm***



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Kathryn Pettit (The Urban Institute), Jennifer Comey (The Urban Institute), Michel Grosz (The Urban Institute)

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This report summarizes the findings across three cities (Baltimore, Washington, D.C. and New York City) on the effects of foreclosure on public school children. Since the previous two site-specific briefs will have covered their findings on trends and mobility, this presentation will add in the unique case of New York City and draw conclusions about how the local policy context and housing markets relate to how many children are affected by foreclosure-related school or home moves. It will also discuss how local and national housing and education policies could reduce the potential harm to the children in families going through foreclosure.

### 108 Building More Resilient Communities. What Does That Mean? Part 2

#### ***Culture: a key factor of urban resilience?***

Hélène Bélanger (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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Cities have proved to be resilient. They have succeeded in overcoming obstacles, rebuilding and evolving to better face new challenges. Since urban planning may affect urban resilience, good land use planning and management, in addition to good supervision of property rights, may help urban communities face new challenges. However it is important not to forget the human element in this equation. Cities are more than simply a physical environment; they also consist of their populations.

Identity (and space identity, as an element of identity construction of individuals and groups), is one of the factors that explains the way individuals and groups use, appropriate and modify their environment through their daily activities, or in the way they react to the physical and social transformations of their living environment. But culture, as a form of knowledge, values and norms transmission, is also part of identity construction. This is an aspect I propose to explore further: culture as a key factor of urban resilience.

What is the role of the culture factor in understanding urban resilience? Urban (or community) resilience also means the capacity of individuals and groups, who create the social environment of cities, to evaluate risks and options and make decisions. The culture factor influences not only the level of vulnerability of populations to different challenges and the way they will anticipate and respond to events shock, but also the





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way cities are and will be planned, shaped, managed, used, and appropriated.

This paper will focus on culture as a key factor of urban resilience by revisiting the results of an investigation made in Pointe-Saint-Charles (Montréal, Canada), a traditionally working class neighbourhood that is witnessing important physical and social transformations following the revitalisation of an important linear park along one of its borders.

### ***Dealing with Residential Turnover and Transition: the Case of Montreal's Cité-Jardin-du-Tricentenaire***

Sylvie Paré (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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This research focuses on the impact of residential turnover in Montreal's Cité-Jardin-du-Tricentenaire, an on-going process which began in the 1990's. Cité-Jardin is a garden city similar to that of Radburn, New Jersey, designed by Clarence Stein. The City of Montreal has implemented a set of specific architectural rules (PIIA) in order to protect and preserve the unique character of one of the only garden cities built during the 1940's in North America. The general plan of the city has identified this area as an exceptional site for preservation, as a natural urban area and as an authentic neighbourhood inspired by the Ebenezer Howard Garden City and the City Beautiful Movement.

Despite the requirements of the PIAA, the recommendations of the Heritage Council of Montreal and the pressure exerted by the Residents' Association, not much has been done to prevent major transformations in the neighborhood. Signs of transition away from the heritage sites are numerous: (1) significant enlargement of original buildings, (2) demolition of heritage houses and reconstruction with only minimal, superficial similarities, (3) destruction of mature trees and replacement with suburban-style landscaping.

These transformations are reflected in the conflicting values of previous residents and those most recently arrived. The City of Montreal appears to be encouraging this type of residential transformation because it expands the market for housing in the Cité-Jardin, leading to a substantial increase in property values and correspondingly, taxes.

Our research project aims to identify the parameters of these conflicts, to analyze the capacity of resilience of residents and to identify the major impacts of residential transition on the neighborhood itself. The objective of this presentation is to introduce the subject of our research and the methods we will use to accomplish the



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study.

### ***The relationship between vulnerability, resilience, and memory in New Orleans, 5 years after Katrina***

Nada Toueir (University of Montreal)

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Hurricane Katrina affected the city and the people of New Orleans. As it has been shown in many publications and on the media, the city was very vulnerable and unprepared for the disastrous consequences of the hurricane. Five years later, the city is being rebuilt and people are picking up the pieces and moving forward. Therefore, after all they have endured; both the city and the people have proven to be resilient. In this discussion, I will develop the idea that resiliency is influenced not only by the strength of the urban fabric but also by the strength of the social networks and the attachment that people have with their environment

## **109 Concepts and Theories of Neighborhood Change**

### ***Rethinking Local and Community Economic Development***

Roland Anglin (Rutgers University)

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Contrary to prevailing conceptions, the United States has evolved a coherent people-and-place-development policy to address poverty and blight. After forty plus years of trial and error, a policy framework has evolved composed of many interlaced strategies (for example, promoting access to capital, workforce development, organizing communities for development) and institutions (financial and technical assistance intermediaries). Now, this articulated community economic development (CED) structure is further evolving to address challenges limiting the impact of contemporary people and place strategies. Movements and ideas, such as school reform, youth development and environmental sustainability are increasingly central to enhancing CED policies and strategies. Through case studies, this paper argues that there is an intentional shift by policy makers and other stakeholders to building a broader CED regime. The paper's summary message is that while the broader conceptions of CED are intriguing, ultimately the parts of the regime, both old and new, have to form more strategic connections that do not presently exist at a local and regional level.

### ***The Old Neighborhood? What has changed? What hasn't?***



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John Betancur (University of Illinois at Chicago), Janet Smith (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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Neighborhoods provide a site to examine urban change. Over time, various models and theories were developed to make sense of the factors that alter the neighborhoods? status quo. Traditional theories -- invasion-succession, filtering, the life cycle model, racial tipping, gentrification and revitalization ? identified physical, social and institutional factors. Generally, these theories share assumptions about what makes a ?good? neighborhood (e.g., majority high income) and conversely a ?bad? one (e.g., majority low income) (Smith 1998). In either case, neighborhood homogeneity is modal. The difference between good and bad neighborhoods is a value judgment based in hegemonic (even moral) positions about what constitutes a positive urban space. For example, a report on neighborhood change in the mid-1970s assumed a ?healthy,? stable neighborhood was relatively homogeneous across income, tenure, race, ethnicity and even household types, and that higher income levels and rates of ownership were important to maintaining stability. Conversely, an ?unhealthy,? declining neighborhood was ethnically or racially mixed and with higher portions of lower-income households as well as renters (Mitchell 1975). Anticipating the 2009 American Community Survey and 2010 census, researchers are preparing to examine how our neighborhoods and urban areas changed over the last decade. Obviously, much has occurred that will require new ways of thinking about change. This includes gentrification in unexpected places, foreclosure in upscale as well as low-income neighborhood, and mixed income communities replacing public housing?s ?concentrated poverty.? In this paper we ask: how should we study neighborhood change today? Not solely to better understand the changes that have occurred ? though these are clearly of interest ? but rather to examine closely the assumptions about why neighborhoods change and specifically to problematize homogeneity. We will develop a framework to assess ?traditional models? and new/alternative models evolving the past few years. The latter includes measures developed by the authors and others (Talen 2006; MCIC 2009) to examine Chicago neighborhoods. For this framework, we focus on neighborhoods as sites of consumption (Logan and Molotch 1987, Harvey 1989) and places for flexible accumulation (Lefebvre 1991). In part, this exercise stems from a concern that little consideration has been given to how traditional ideas about neighborhood change affect analyses of urban areas. However, we also want to move forward on new ways of thinking about urban spatial patterns using data commonly employed by urban researchers. We begin by briefly reviewing models and theories of neighborhood change. We then develop our framework drawing on the work of Harvey (e.g. 1973 & 1989, Lefebvre (1991 and 2003), Mollenkopf and Logan and Molotch (1983), which is then used to 1) re-interpret



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theories and models of change focusing on the concepts but also

### ***Do Neighborhood Housing Market Typologies Matter? Developing a Neighborhood Housing Market Typology for Baltimore, MD, to Evaluate Neighborhood Change***

Lynette Boswell (University of Maryland)

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Over the last decade, an increasing number of cities, such as Baltimore, Maryland, Richmond, Virginia and Cleveland, Ohio, have begun to address the slow shrinkage of their post industrial cities suffering from an abundance of vacant properties and substantial disinvestment. Beyond traditionally investing in the most distressed housing markets, these cities are using housing market typologies to guide federal investments at the neighborhood level. Through quantitative analysis, planners use typologies to classify neighborhoods according to housing and socio-economic characteristics and to identify those neighborhoods that hold the greatest potential for economic revitalization. The growing use of such place-based analyses is based on the widening assumption that by examining existing neighborhood conditions, practitioners can forecast, with reasonable accuracy, the potential effectiveness of future financial investments. However, this assumption has not been explicitly tested to present a clear connection between existing neighborhood housing market types and the effectiveness of municipal neighborhood investments. This research initiative is intended to fill that knowledge gap by examining the extent to which there exists a link between the impact of government investments and neighborhood housing market typologies. To date, a vast number of government-funded community development programs have been created and introduced nationwide. This research analyzes the impact of one such program: the HOME Partnership Program. The HOME program is administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and is designed to help State and local governments carry out housing redevelopment projects and establish affordable housing for low-income residents. Given the increasing number of cities using typologies to guide neighborhood investments, like those made through the HOME program, there is a tremendous need to examine whether or not the outcomes of neighborhood investments are influenced by neighborhood housing market taxonomies, and if so, to what extent. The effectiveness of HOME program investments will be evaluated using the typology method to analyze historical data for selected neighborhoods in Baltimore, Maryland, for 1990, 2000, and 2005. Each typology will identify neighborhood taxonomies according to the statistical cluster methodology. Descriptive analyses will then be used to determine the likelihood of selected neighborhoods to experience change by comparing and contrasting each to similar adjacent neighborhoods. Common typology determinants ? identical to those employed in the field ? will be used, along with



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additional variables that may impact neighborhood home sale values. Finally, to identify which Baltimore neighborhoods present the greatest benefits from such investments, the actual outcomes of HOME neighborhood investments will be evaluated against the forecasted outcomes in each typology analysis using a mult

### ***Challenges of Business Development in a Wilmington, DE Neighborhood***

Karen A. Curtis (University of Delaware)

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This paper describes the results of a survey of businesses in a low-income neighborhood in Wilmington, DE, known as Southbridge. The purpose of the study is to determine how business owners/managers perceive the business climate in the neighborhood, what they believe to be the most important actions needed to strengthen business activity, and what efforts might be made to strengthen the relationship between area businesses and the residents of Southbridge. We worked with the Southbridge Civic Association to recruit and train Southbridge residents as paid community-based enumerators and interviewers. Results of structured observations of business locations and showed that the condition of the signs, windows and building facades of the businesses in Southbridge were found to be in good or fair condition, while sidewalks and streets were in fair to poor condition. Interviews with local business owners or managers revealed that these businesses perceive the most important issues facing their business to be the slow economy and loss of business, neighborhood problems, taxes and regulations. Many see a need for new retail services in Southbridge and a need for expansion of existing businesses. Very few Southbridge businesses employ Southbridge residents. The majority of the surveyed businesses do not belong to business associations. Virtually none of the surveyed businesses have used existing federal, state or local incentives for businesses or business services offered by city, state or federal government. Most were not aware that these types of incentives and services existed prior to our study. Several recommendations were made to the Southbridge Civic Association: explore ways to improve the physical condition of local businesses and their surroundings; invite Southbridge businesses to participate in neighborhood development and improvement programs; actively encourage the formation of a Southbridge Business Association and avenues for inclusion of Southbridge businesses in existing business associations; and, develop relationships between city, state and federal government business services and Southbridge businesses.

## **110 Is There Anything New Under the Sun? Examining "Innovation"**



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### ***From Shelter to Scattered-Site Permanent Supportive Housing: Innovative Alternatives for Ending Homelessness***

Yanmei Li (Florida Atlantic University), Rebecca Walter (Florida Atlantic University)

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Since the late 1970s, the rising trend of homelessness has significantly challenged local, state, and federal government policies. It is estimated that 3.5 million people, including 1.35 million children, are likely to experience homelessness in a given year (National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty 2004). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD 2009) estimated that there were 643,067 sheltered and unsheltered homeless persons in the United States on a single day in January 2009. Based on a survey conducted by the National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH), during the Great Recession of 2007-2009, about two-thirds of the local and state homeless coalitions reported that homeless people have increased due to the foreclosure crisis (NCH 2008). The majority of the homeless are usually able to find permanent housing in a short period, leaving a small portion (about 25%) experiencing chronic homelessness which can last over four years (Burt et al. 2001). Strategies for ending homelessness vary across different localities. Models of homeless housing have changed over time, evolving from the traditional shelter model to supportive housing models such as Housing First (rapid re-housing), "transition-in-place", or Safe Havens programs (National Alliance to End Homelessness 2006). Scattered-site permanent supportive housing, such as the Pathways to Housing program, was widely replicated and thought to be an effective alternative to end homelessness (Tsemberis et al. 2004). However, little academic research has thoroughly evaluated these programs, particularly those with innovative features and concepts such as onsite employment and green initiatives. To fill the gap, this research explores literature in innovative housing projects and studies three cases in three states with the largest homeless population: Supportive Housing Network of New York (The Times Square Apartments), San Francisco's Direct Access to Housing Project (Single Room Occupancy hotels), and Miami-Dade County Homeless Assistance Centers (Verde Garden). Supportive Housing Network of New York and San Francisco's Direct Access to Housing Project are typical supportive housing models, which provide onsite supportive services and permanent housing to formerly homeless adults and families. Verde Gardens in Homestead, Florida advances this model to a more holistic "one-stop shop" approach by providing onsite supportive services, organic vegetable and fruit gardens, and a farmers' market to formerly homeless families with at least one disabled family member. Interviews and surveys will be used to collect data about project construction, program operation, and the effectiveness to stabilize housing for the formerly homeless. The research will identify obstacles and success factors to these models. This research will contribute to innovative housing models for the





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homeless, and shed light on the new directions of housing policies to prevent and end homelessness.

### ***'The Big Society': Bold new idea or a bankrupted concept***

Yasminah Beebeejaun (University of Manchester), Paul O'Hare (University of Manchester)

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Recently, a new term has been introduced to the lexicon of UK civil society 'the Big Society'. Coined by the 2010 incoming Conservative-Liberal Democratic in the United Kingdom, the rhetorical momentum of the phrase seems destined to assume the ubiquity and potentially the opaqueness of social policy buzzwords that have preceded it. The rhetoric is of genuine power being given to communities. The British Prime Minister's recent speech on the Big Society detailed three strands: social action; public service reform; and community empowerment. Observers of New Labour's regeneration policy since 1997 will recognise such terms. What distinguishes these recent developments is that they are to be achieved at the same time of a retreat of the state; the government has been adamant that the Big Society must thrive (and indeed may be facilitated by) a retreat of 'Big Government'. This article uses the dawn of the 'Big Society' to raise questions for the future of regeneration practice and social development, drawing upon critiques of previous policy initiatives. In particular we question how the potentially amorphous policy agenda of the 'Big Society' can learn from lessons arising from recent schemes that benefited from extraordinary levels of State funding. How will this impact upon some of the most deprived communities in urban areas concentrated in UK cities? How can power be given to communities and to do what?

### ***Hidden Costs: How has the Policy Shift to Tenant-Based Housing Subsidies Affected the Economic Well-being of Urban Neighborhoods?***

Ann Owens (Harvard University)

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This paper examines the impact of the shift in subsidized housing policy from project-to tenant-based aid on the economic well-being of urban neighborhoods and city-wide economic inequality in 12 cities across the U.S. The adoption of housing voucher and mixed income development policies and the demolition of large-scale housing projects drew on research on the deleterious effects for individuals of living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. Considerable research has evaluated the impact of this policy shift on tenants' well-being, but less is known about how this policy shift affects neighborhoods. Coinciding with these policy changes has been a



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decline in the number of very poor neighborhoods but an increase in the number of moderately poor neighborhoods?with poverty rates in the 10 to 40 percent range. In this paper, I estimate the role of the changing geographic dispersion of subsidized housing units in increasing poverty rates in low and moderately poor urban neighborhoods. I identify how the move from project- to tenant-based aid has led to the ?tipping? of neighborhoods into higher poverty concentration categories. I also assess the impact of the policy shift on city-wide economic inequality. Data come from HUD?s Picture of Subsidized Households in 1977, 2000, and 2008, which provide Census tract counts of subsidized units by program type (public housing, vouchers, Section 8 projects, LIHTC projects, etc). I link this data on the geographic distribution of subsidized housing units with 1980 and 2000 Census data and 2005-2009 American Community Survey data on poverty rates in urban neighborhoods. I assess the relationship between subsidized housing policy and poverty during three time periods: 1980 to 2000, 2000 to 2005-2009, and the overall period from 1980 to 2005-2009. Analyses are conducted separately by city and pooled, controlling for city-level covariates. The first set of analyses predicts changes in family poverty rates in each Census tract from changes in subsidized housing rates (total and by program type), controlling for initial family poverty rate and other covariates associated with poverty. The second set of analyses predicts the likelihood of a neighborhood entering a higher poverty category (10 to 20%, 20-30%, 30-40%, 40% plus) based on changes in subsidized housing rate. The third set of analyses uses results from the previous analyses to conduct simulations estimating the impact of the changing geographic distribution of subsidized units on city-wide economic inequality, measured through poverty concentration rates, economic segregation indices, and the dispersion of poverty rates among tracts in a city. Overall, results suggest that expanded voucher use has played a role in increasing the poverty rate in already moderately poor neighborhoods. While the city-wide concentration of poverty declined, consequences of the rise of moderately poor neighborhoods must be considered.

### **111      Cities, Crime, and Safety**



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### ***The Role of Place in Predicting Changes in Municipality Crime Counts in a Metropolitan Area***

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Using over time data for the 353 municipalities of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, this paper examines models for predicting municipal crime counts for both violent and property crime. Models assess the viability of existing theories and offer new factors to account for changes in counts in the presence of considerable heterogeneity in municipal size, the effects of the diffusion of crime across municipal borders, and the presence of municipalities with very low crime counts. Such data present substantial analytical challenges. To meet these challenges, I employ full Bayesian hierarchical models with Markov chain Monte Carlo simulations and spatial smoothing. The analysis assesses the relative contributions of a place's economic structure, socioeconomic characteristics, law enforcement characteristics, transportation access, and spatial structure while controlling for issues of adjacency.

### ***The Crime Severity Index: An Alternative to Traditional Crime Rate Measures***

Eric Horent (Southern University and A&M College), Leslie Taylor-Grover (Southern University and A&M College)

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Crime indexes constructed using police-reported crime data have traditionally only taken into account the volume of crime, except for distinguishing between violent and property crimes. Each criminal incident, regardless of the type or seriousness of the offence, counts the same in the crime rate, often reported as a rate per 100,000 population. For instance a murder has the same impact on the crime rate as a larceny. Building on the seminal work of Statistics Canada, we introduce an alternative to these traditional crime rates indexes- the Crime Severity Index- that takes into account not only the volume of crimes but also the seriousness of the crimes. The principle behind this index is to have more serious crimes carry a higher weight than less serious crimes so that more serious crimes have a greater impact on the index. The seriousness of different types of crimes is reflected in sentencing through two components: the likelihood of incarceration (jail or prison) or not (probation, fine, etc) and the average length of incarceration. Using crime data from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports and sentencing data from the Office of Justice Programs, we present the crime severity index, and its evolution over the last ten years, for cities across the United States.



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### ***Community Policing and Local Governance in Belfast, Northern Ireland***

R. Allen Hays (University of Northern Iowa)

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The proposed paper will explore the impact of shifting provincial and community governance structures on the implementation of community policing in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Policing in Northern Ireland occurs within a challenging environment. Working class communities have a legacy of distrust of the police, whether they are Protestant (loyalist) or Catholic (republican), although the distrust is more intense in republican neighborhoods. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) has implemented community policing as a mechanism for overcoming this distrust and enlisting citizens to work with the police to prevent and report crime. Although the mainstream elements of both communities support efforts to make the police more effective and responsive, this task is further complicated by ongoing violent attacks on the police by small groups of sectarian extremists. Against this background of ongoing sectarian tensions, the governing structures for policing and other local and provincial responsibilities have been in flux. Policing and criminal justice were the last governmental functions to be devolved from the British government in London to the Northern Ireland Assembly, and conflicts over devolution nearly brought down the three year old government. Meanwhile, the PSNI operates within a multi-layered system of citizen review and consultation, through which it is trying to create effective relationships with the citizenry on both sides of the sectarian divide. It often faces resistance to change from within its own ranks, as well as from skeptical citizens. This paper will examine how these governing structures have evolved and how they are likely to be altered by the devolution of policing powers. Northern Ireland is a small polity (1.6 million inhabitants), so that changes in provincial governing have a direct, immediate impact on governing within its cities and towns. Data for this analysis were gathered through qualitative interviews with a broad cross section of community leaders in Belfast. Initial interviews with 75 informants were carried out in 2007-2008, and the information on policing was updated with an additional 25 interviews in the summer of 2010. By conducting interviews both before and after devolution, I have been able to track important changes in policing and the impact that devolution is beginning to have upon police-community relationships.

### ***Narratives about crime and place and their connection to attitudes about punishment and redeemability***

Andrea Leverentz (University of Massachusetts Boston)

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Place-specific understandings of the crime problem are influenced by both broader cultural narratives and community identity, through media portrayals of crime and community, community race and class identities, and concerns over neighborhood change. These understandings of the crime problem, in turn, influence public levels of punitiveness and their belief in the redeemability of offenders and prisoners. These beliefs -- in the value and necessity of punitive policies and in the redeemability of offenders and prisoners -- are, not surprisingly, correlated. However, there is evidence that they are not merely flip sides to the same coin. Moreover, there may be place-specific influences that shape not only the level of support for punitiveness and redeemability, but their relationship to one another. In this article, I draw on two streams of data to address the question of the relationship between punitiveness and beliefs in redeemability across place. The first source of data is a small survey of residents in four Massachusetts communities. Across these four neighborhoods, punitiveness and belief in redeemability were inversely correlated. However, within each of the neighborhoods, this relationship varied. In one community, the level of punitiveness and belief in redeemability were nearly identical, while in the other three, they were inversely related. To explain these differing patterns, I turn to qualitative data (participant observation and interviews) in two of the communities, both of which have high crime rates, but one in which there is a clear inverse relationship between punitiveness and a belief in redeemability and the second in which the levels for the two variables were similar. In the former community, crime narratives suggested that outsiders commit crime against community members. These narratives encourage a punitive response to offenders, without concern to reform or rehabilitation. In the latter community, crime is a community problem, in which both offenders and victims are community members. While residents in this community want serious offenders to be punished, they also have a greater sense of offenders as individuals, who may be able to change with support and services. While this research is local to the Boston area, the findings are broadly relevant in understanding the consequences of local narratives around crime and how they may shape development and urban inequality. For example, narratives around crime in New Orleans have long been central to the city's identity and economy. These narratives also have been prominent during the post-Katrina period of rebuilding the city, including which residents the city wants back, what changing demographics mean for the city and its identity, and how these factors impact urban inequality. These narratives reflect similar processes as happen in other cities, as crime and place narratives intertwine.

### ***Configuring and governing public space. Urban order, public fear and social life***

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Increased economic competition that characterizes globalisation is accompanied by urban fragmentation. This forms the background for the post-habitat agenda and the introduction of the concept 'liveability', which emphasises that a competitive urban economy has to be combined with a socially cohesive city. Urban fear – people being afraid to utilise urban space out of fear of being the victims of crimes such as robbery, assault and rape – has significant consequences for the liveability of the city. To counteract this trend, a number of crime prevention strategies have been developed. In many countries we can see an explosion of the security industry, with its burglary protection, private guards, assault alarms, gated communities and different kinds of surveillance systems. Political parties develop programs for crime prevention and personal safety, private companies offer personal security and communities organise to protect their neighbours from 'deviant' others. These strategies rarely take structural conditions into consideration, such as spatial segregation, economic polarisation and social justice. Instead, they focus on making urban areas more secure, and through urban design creating public spaces and residential areas that residents and visitors associate with safety and security. Thus, the issue of personal safety has become thoroughly politicized and commercialised and public places are now assessed from a risk and safety perspective.

This paper focuses on the configuration and regulation of public space in the city. Regulating public space have always a dimension of social shaping. It does not only mean a social sorting, excluding certain categories of people and activities from it. It also means the configuring of citizens; the fostering of certain kinds of public conduct and social norms means that people uptake a specific identity of what it meant to be a citizen and an urban dwellers. Thus, city planning, surveillance technology and crime prevention strategies may not only shape the use of public places, it may also shape the identities of those people populating these places – including their view on others and otherness as well as on themselves and sameness.

By conclusion it is stated, that there is currently a risk that the emphasis on public space as a meeting place overshadows that it simultaneously is a space for social and political struggle. Public space is not only a space for creating order and sameness, regulating activities and producing social norms, but also for contestation, articulation of difference and a place for visibility where different social groups can make their needs and claims seen and heard. Therefore there is an urgent need to question the current trend that makes urban fear as a central and governing component in contemporary public life.

### 112 Urbanization and Social Justice





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### ***Development, Urbanization, and Citizenship: Indigenous People in the Northern Western Hemisphere***

Robert Warren (University of Delaware), Cecilia Martinez (University of Delaware)

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Development, Urbanization, and Citizenship: Indigenous People in the Northern Western Hemisphere The mainstream discourse dealing with urban research and theorization in North America has a number of gaps that are important to fill for several reasons. One is the dominance of what has been critically labeled "recentism" in archeology. This involves that lack of attention and use of data related to "ancient" urban nodes and their use for both understanding current conditions and future development. Two forms of this recentism are noted in this paper. One involves the very limited and poorly understood discussion of Mayan and Aztec cities. The other is the virtual absence of any reference to several substantial urban nodes that existed well before the appearance of Europeans in the space that is now constitutes the boundaries of the United States. As will be argued, this contributes to a failure to deal with current socio-economic and political issues concerning the citizenship, spatial distribution, and social and economic standing of native tribal peoples in U.S. urban society. These, we suggest, are important issues to be addressed for present and future sustainability. Historically, there is substantial evidence that Mayan and Aztec urban centers were well planned and dynamic centers of political power and governance comparable and in some ways more advanced than European cities at parallel points in time. Both "settled" (pueblos) and "nomadic" (seasonal movement of whole tribes) urban sites are virtually without reference in discussions of urbanization in the US. Despite the presence of these significant and long-standing societies, contemporary urban literature has paid virtually no attention to the presence or absence of the urbanity of tribal nations located in the United States. Thus, on the one hand, little history of the structure, infrastructure, and politico-economic environment of these spaces is known. On the other hand, in a contemporary context, there are concentrations of tribal members who have moved to non-tribal urban centers and have, for decades, constituted the poorest and at-risk subpopulations of these cities. Some, but limited attention has been given to this long-standing problem but without locating it in the larger context of the viability and equity of tribal citizens' lives within and outside tribal lands. Finally, the urban design of both "settled" and "mobile cities" (the ability to efficiently and effectively assemble and disassemble communities of thousands from one location to another) that maintained both the social and ecological sustainability of the tribe can offer important lessons for the future. A matter of interest then is how both the on-site design and mobile cities may be relevant to future sustainability needs for urban life as global warning. This paper will focus on conceptualizing and discussing how the



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experience, policy problems, and future utility of tribal past and current urban

### ***Community Receptivity in a New Immigrant Gateway: Speaking of Change in Charlotte, North Carolina***

Paul McDaniel (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Heather Smith (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), Susan Harden (University of North Carolina at Charlotte)

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As the largest and arguably most economically robust city in the Carolinas, Charlotte, NC has experienced high rates of both domestic and foreign born migration over the last two decades. Designated as one of the nation's pre-emerging immigrant gateways, Charlotte and surrounding Mecklenburg County have experienced rapid and significant immigrant growth (Singer 2004). Between 1990 and 2008 Mecklenburg's foreign born population grew by almost 560 percent. A full quarter of the county's population growth within that time period is attributable to the arrival of immigrants – a majority of whom came from Latin America. As a new immigrant gateway, neither the city's leadership nor its broader public have extensive prior experience dealing with the diversity and distinct needs of newcomers. In Charlotte, there is a struggle across the many spheres of urban life about whether to be "receptive" or "closed". In this paper, we describe our experiences as geographers and urban educators partnering with a local institution, Charlotte's Levine Museum of the New South, to address the challenges and opportunities of an increasingly multicultural population amid shifting attitudes of community receptivity. Our partnership focused on an evaluation of the Museum's "Speaking of Change" program which involved facilitated community dialogues following a visit to an exhibit profiling the city's multicultural change over the past thirty years. In an effort to determine the extent to which the exhibit and dialogue program were helping people better understand the nature, causes and impact of cultural change in their city, we asked the question: how did participants in the Museum's "Speaking of Change" program reflect, articulate, connect, and act upon multicultural change as a result of newcomer arrival in Charlotte? Our assessment of these dialogues are framed by the conceptual frameworks of new immigrant gateways, shifting perspectives of immigration through changing attitudes of community receptivity, and structuration – in this case, the Museum is a component of the structure through which agency is influenced. More broadly, this research is representative of the type of community engagement and partnership between university scholars and local organizations that we view as essential to successful interventions impacting community perception of immigration and receptivity in new gateways.



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### ***Perceiving Spatial Justice through the Eyes of Ants***

Yang Luo (Texas Tech University)

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In China, these people are referred to as the "Ants". They have degrees from colleges or higher, but they earn the same salaries as construction workers or even lower. They work in the biggest cities in China, but can afford only the cheapest housing in low rent districts within these cities, usually far away from their workplace. This huge group of highly educated young urban migrants, driven by what Florida calls "clustering force" to pursue their dreams in the biggest cities in China, is called "ant tribe." The ant tribe in Beijing, for instance, has the population of at least 100,000. They are energetic but low in social status, they have positive attitude for life and optimistic about their future, but currently they restlessly commuting between temporary living place and workplace everyday year after year. They are like ants in big cities in China. "Ant nests", the temporary dwelling clusters of this group of young people, used to be natural suburban villages, but as the city develops, these villages became urban areas and rent out by original villagers to the city immigrants at low rents. There are several "ant nests" in the city of Beijing, Tang Jialing being one of the biggest among them, accommodating about 20,000 ants. This paper, through the case study of the "ant nest" at Tang Jialing, will address the following questions on spatial justice. First, what is spatial justice? Can spatial justice really exist as an un-substitutable concept (Soja, 2010)? Or is it just a geographical distribution description of social and environmental (in)justice? i.e., the ontology of Spatial Justice theory. Second, according to Seeking Spatial Justice (Soja, 2010), "spatial justice is not a substitute or alternative to other forms of justice but rather represents a particular emphasis and interpretive perspective". This being the case, what might be the relationship between social justice and spatial justice? Third, is seeking spatial justice practicable and necessary in China? This is because the urban-based spatial conceptualization of justice theories was established based upon western philosophy and social system, which is significantly different from the eastern philosophy and Chinese communism society. The question can be raised whether the idea of spatial justice even exist in the mind of the populous? And if it does, is there any possibility to address and even do something about spatial injustice issues? Fourth, a preliminary exploratory comparative study between Tang Jialing in Beijing and Los Angeles cases will be conducted.

## **113 Perspectives on Teaching, Learning, and Professional Practice**



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### ***Schoolyard Renovations: Effects on Students and Teachers***

Russ Lopez (Northeastern University)

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In a previous study, we had looked at the association between renovated schoolyards and the performance on standardized math tests among fourth graders. That study found a 15% improved passing rate after controlling for school demographics. In this new research, we explored the effects of renovated schoolyards on additional outcomes and we controlled for pre-renovation factors at the schools. The schoolyards were renovated by the Boston Schoolyard initiative, an innovative public-private partnership. We compared renovated versus unrenovated public schools in Boston that served fourth graders. We designated the year of renovation at each school as year 0 and studied results at year +2. The baseline year was year -2. For non-renovated schools, we used the mean year 0 of the renovated schools. The models were weighted by the number of students at each year. Controlling for pre-renovation conditions and school demographics, we found that renovated schoolyards were associated with improved math test performance, increased student and teacher attendance, and lower rates of student suspensions. In addition, the data suggest that the schools were similar at baseline (two years before renovations) and the results we found were not caused by preferential selection of better schools for renovation. This was an ecologic study and no data on individual students were collected. The results suggest that improved schoolyards have a positive effect on teachers and students. Furthermore, because some of the schools had been renovated 10 years earlier (the study design accommodated this) the results suggest that the positive effects of renovations persist. In addition, there is a high degree of student turnover and many students at renovated schools had been there for a fairly short time. This may be evidence that the positive effects of renovations accrue fairly quickly.

### ***Urban Research and Writing Pedagogy: Emerging Scholar Identity through Discursive Practices***

Jen Malloy (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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Scholar identity is directly linked to the process of developing a writing identity. The most common approach to cultivate scholar identity is to not only expose doctoral students to various writing samples but also dissertation advice books meant to help them become effective communicators of ideas. In urban research, which is well known for an interdisciplinary approach, decisions about theoretical and conceptual approaches, methods of study, and reporting findings are considerations that make



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the writing process difficult. Rather than address research and writing as a solitary process, I argue there needs to be an awareness of the larger community of scholars who encourage it. One model to facilitate this awareness is to combine different pedagogical resources. While it is important to expose students to books on how to write a dissertation, for instance, it is also productive to share insights from professors and academic writers about their writing process. With such an approach, students are able to more clearly understand the kinds of discursive practices that mold academic writing. This presentation will focus on an interactive learning environment model for scholarly writing, used in a course I developed, where readings in dissertation advice books are combined with video interviews of faculty, in-class discussion, writing portfolio assignments, and writing accountability peer groups.

### ***Experts and Novices in Urban Redevelopment: An Experiment to Guide Early Career Development***

George Dougherty (University of Pittsburgh - GSPIA), Meagan Van Gelder (University of Nebraska at Omaha)

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Success in designing and adapting the built environment to meet the current needs of citizens and create public value requires multiple skill sets encompassing a variety of dimensions. Mark Moore (1995) identifies those dimensions as Political (managing up to garner the legitimacy and resources required), Substantive (managing out into the community to leverage individual, business, and nonprofit assets), and Operational (managing the organizations we run or work for). Developing these skills is an important aspect of professional development, but little is known about how professionals and graduate schools add to that development when new practitioners enter the field. This paper presents the results of a community development experiment in which graduate students at two universities are asked to explain the process they would use to develop a park from an unexpected gift of land in an underserved community. Differences between students who meet admissions criteria for Executive MPA programs (Experts) and those with no experience (Novices) are identified through qualitative and quantitative analysis using Moore's framework. We conclude with recommendations for improving graduate curriculum and early career development processes in Urban Affairs. Moore, Mark H. (1995) *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

### ***AudaCity: A Strategy Board Game for the Urban Studies Classroom***

Colby King (University of South Carolina), Matthew Cazessus (University of South Carolina)



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Teaching urban theory to the uninitiated can be a daunting process ? especially when your target audience is a few dozen undergraduate students with varying degrees of dedication to the topic. In order to connect with students via a ?learning-by-doing? process, we have developed a strategic board game that simulates the complexity of competing interests within limited urban space. Drawing heavily from Logan and Molotch?s ?growth machine? model (1987), AudaCity inspires players to assume roles of urban investors and politicians. Throughout gameplay players must choose to compete with or collaborate with their peers to advance their development agenda, thwart their opponents? plans, and generate more wealth than their competitors. Successful players must take into account political dynamics, demands by city residents, and spatial interaction effects (like ?NIMBY? penalties). In our presentation, we will delineate game mechanics to the audience and discuss its usefulness as a teaching device. It is our hope that this presentation will elicit constructive comments which may assist us in producing a pedagogical tool that is both accessible to students and academically well-sourced.

### 114 Urban Design Challenges

#### ***URBAN PENTIMENTO : rebuilding the city and rebuilding trust***

Miriam Gusevich (The Catholic University of America), Anna Cero (The Louis Berger Group, Inc.)  
The Louis Berger Group, Inc.)

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To rebuild cities in ruins, whether devastated by natural or technological disaster, torn by war or abandoned as obsolete ?ghost towns? is an act of faith in the future. To rebuild a sustainable city balancing ecology, economy and social equity, the city has to be worth sustaining. It has to be loved and treasured by its citizens, to be remembered, to be memorable. Here I propose ?URBAN PENTIMENTO? as an urban design strategy that invokes memory and mindfulness to build public trust and rebuild the public domain. I will illustrate this strategy through my own urban design projects in Chicago and in Washington, DC. While these projects are from particular times and places, yet the lessons are timeless and particularly relevant to other places rebuilding after a major loss. PENTIMENTO in art alludes to a detail effaced by the painter as he changes his mind in the creative process, which comes into view with the passage of time. Pentimenti may be unintended, an accidental change by others with new needs and new purposes, due to changing circumstances, including loss and war. PENTIMENTO, from Italian, pentirsi, repentance, penance, regret, implies a moment





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of recall and reassessment before the adjustment, the repainting. This implies a distinction between guilt and regret. Guilt is self-hatred; it depletes and defeats us, bringing depression and despair. Regret recognizes and accepts pain and suffering. Through creativity it brings transformation and renewal; through forgiveness, it heals and nurtures faith in the future. URBAN PENTIMENTO heals the ruptures, dislocations and displacements in the urban fabric by unveiling the traces of the past and recovering its forgotten treasures. It literally uncovers the layers of the city's past, reinterprets the traces of natural and settlement history and recycles the ruins and fragments as relics within the future urban fabric. In the process, it metaphorically integrates the memories embedded in the site and gently introduces the new into the old. It seeks to fulfill the promise of the past in the present by creatively rebuilding the future. URBAN PENTIMENTO invokes form and emotion, body and soul, at the environmental scale. Creatively, we overcome the "graves": recycle the ruins, restore brownfields, reconnect the infrastructure and fill-in the voids with new life. It rebuilds the city's "body": the public spaces, public institutions and public works that make the city work for all its citizens. Mindfully, we put the "ghosts" to rest: we honor the dead and reconcile with loss through. Through memory, we revitalize the city's soul, restoring civility and public trust. These key civic actions bind people to places, affirm life and love and bring new life and hope.

### ***Water Courses City: Strategic planning for a urban system in the Central Macro Region of Chile***

Marcela Soto (Federico Santa María University of Technology), David Aviles (Federico Santa María University of Technology)

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The research rely in the proposal of a strategic expansion plan for one of the middle urban system in Chili; Rancagua-Machali, associated with the irrigation channels infrastructure of the foundational city. The project strategy argue that the pre-existent urban networks, like the gravitational urban system of minor villages and cities that depend upon each other and in which the Rancagua-Machali conurbation plays an essential role, articulate the outskirts of the intercommoned area. These urban networks have consolidated themselves, on the grounds of the local identities, as a support for the construction of new metropolitan territories; that is, the grouping of local territories as spaces of cooperation with the city. This will allow the optimisation of the competitive advantages of each territory so as to position them as part of an integral system where every component has got a particular character. Likewise, the proposal of the master plan project represents an opportunity of development of territory by integrating the urban memory considering the farming, the trace of the channels infrastructure and livestock productivity as cultural heritage



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rather than as a simple green area. To consider the cultural heritage helps to catalyze and reinforce the local identities through actions that potentiate these realities accordingly with the theoretical logics associated to mobility as part of the urban system. We present an alternative development and growth for the urban system that puts emphasis on strategic association with urban infrastructure of irrigation canals, crop from agricultural and rural conditions of the urban periphery of the system. The pattern of the new city is a reinvention of the agriculture fields. Streets and public spaces are following the regularity of the water canals of the old agriculture land. Nevertheless related to the patten of the city hydrological status are the structural elements of urban form, building a public space network, next and present in the collective imagination of the inhabitants of the city, placing the valley as an urban utopia. The main challenge of this research is to highlight the four topics that Borja and Castells (2004) attribute to the new urban system, the new economic base, great investment in urban infrastructure, quality of life and Social integration. The design challenge is inherently involve in urban growth, considering the evolution of the city from a more sustainable perspective.

### ***A Tale of Two Villages: New Urbanism within an Inner City and Suburban Neighborhood***

Karl Besel (Indiana University Kokomo), Hervil Cherubin (University of Arkansas)

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New Urbanism communities began to appear in places such as Washington D.C. and Florida in the 1960s and 1970s as an alternative to urban sprawl. What began as an East Coast fringe movement has evolved into a best practice strategy for many urban planners for building new communities, and revitalizing older neighborhoods. 21st Century new urban communities, in tandem with historical preservation districts, emphasize high density development, ample green spaces, and a retail district accessible to walkers and bikers. Newer communities have also incorporated the use of traditional architecture styles, emulating pre-automotive villages and towns within Europe and the United States. In essence, new urbanism is perceived as an effective vehicle for facing many of the most compelling challenges to city and suburban life in the current century. These challenges include controlling urban sprawl, crime reduction, and enhancing levels of civic engagement. This study will utilize a comparative case study approach in the examination of how sustainable new urbanism communities have been within the Indianapolis and Louisville, KY areas when compared to their low density suburban counterparts. Comparisons will also be made between new urbanism communities and historical preservation districts within these cities. Implications for this study include how city officials, planners, and developers can enhance levels of neighborhood sustainability in light of the current



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real estate crisis, and demographic changes.

### ***Get Out of Your Car: The Case for Improving Health, Environment, Economic and Social Life by Riding a Bike***

John Gilderbloom (University of Louisville)

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title: Get Out of Your Car! The Economic, Environmental, Social and Health Reasons for Riding a Bike! (this has been revised as a title...this is much better!) This paper makes the case for creating a bike friendly infrastructure in our cities. This argument is based on a survey of over 2,000 persons in Louisville with additional information used from the census. We make our case on environmental, social, economic and health grounds. Our research tests what kind of behavioral changes might occur if the price of gas goes up to \$3 a gallon, \$5 a gallon or \$10 a gallon. Currently only a small fraction of persons ride bikes in most American cities. Our research shows that adding bike lanes and other proven bike friendly physical planning would cause people to choose bikes over cars. If a larger percentage of people rode their bikes more health and the environment could be improved. We also show that switching from cars to bikes causes substantial economic savings which means more money spent on local businesses, home improvements, and community gardens In addition our research also shows bike friendly neighborhoods have an additional positive premium on housing values. Finally, we investigate how bike riding improves the social lives of persons.

## **115      Redevelopment and Real Estate**

### ***Issues and Lessons in Waterfront Regeneration: Comparative Case Studies on Docklands in London and Bund in Shanghai***

Zhumin Xu (University of New Orleans)

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Waterfront redevelopment programs are large-scale, prestige projects that have been developed as a strategy to regenerate port cities in North America and Europe such as Baltimore, Boston, Toronto, Barcelona, London and Amsterdam since 1960s. Throughout the 20th century, the relative economic importance of the port declined as cities became more multifunctional, especially because of the decline of traditional industry such as coal mining, farming, and forestry that require efficient water transportation. To remain as the leading maritime center, London moved its ports to Tilbury, 40 kilometers east from the City of London, as early as 1940s. Shanghai also



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moved its port to Yangshan in Zhejiang Province, the neighbor province of the City of Shanghai. In this paper, I address the following two questions: (1) what were the driving forces for waterfront redevelopment in these two cities? and (2) what role does the waterfront redevelopment program play in building a sustainable city? To examine these two questions, I conduct an in-depth comparative case study to evaluate the waterfront redevelopment programs in London Docklands and Shanghai Bund, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. First, I examine relative data in depth, mainly using the data collected from the observation survey on the spot, information from Docklands Museum and Shanghai Bund Museum as well as the photos I took. In particular, my analysis is focused on how the practice of waterfront redevelopment in London and Shanghai meet or fail to meet its social, economic and political objectives. The main findings are threefold. First, planning and urban design must be emphasized in waterfront redevelopment in order to enhance development profits and reduce development risks. Carefully-crafted urban design guidelines can clearly define a public vision, ensure public access and create consistent procedures for private development. Second, social regeneration must be included in the scope of redevelopment, providing careful attention to citizens interest. Third, the redevelopment of waterfront should be combined with the building of financial center and shipping center, because the changes of maritime economic structures lead to the global competition of multifunctional shipping services and the competition for international financial centers and global shipping hubs.

### ***Corporately-sponsored redevelopment: Saint Louis, 1970-2010***

Daniel Monti (Boston University), Daniel Burghoff (Saint Louis University)

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The demographic impact of five corporately-sponsored redevelopment campaigns in Saint Louis is assessed for both the redevelopment areas and contiguous blocks that were not part of the redevelopment areas.

### ***Condominium Development in Toronto: Its Implications and Unintended Effects***

Gillad Rosen (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Alan Walks (University of Toronto)

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This paper analyzes the role of condominium development in producing new patterns of advantage, and in changing the physical and social landscape of gentrifying global cities. Toronto, the largest housing market in Canada and the site of a rapid take-up of condominium tenure and construction over the last 40 years, acts as the case study. These massive building efforts provide an important and unique opportunity to examine the dynamics of fast growing condominium market within the City and to



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understand its potential implications. We collected and compiled an extensive data set concerning the location, size, land use, and other characteristics of condominium developments back to the first projects in 1968, using custom data from the City of Toronto, private developers, real estate reports, and an analysis of the historical data from a local periodical devoted to the condominium industry. We also purchased custom data from Statistics Canada on the social makeup of condo and non-condo dwellings at the neighborhood (census tract) scale. Finally, we conducted 27 interviews with major condo developers, as well as city planners, politicians, and other key actors within the industry. Our study is based on a series of both quantitative and qualitative analyses of our data, and involves both GIS analyses of the locational attributes of the progression of condominium development across Toronto and its relationship to shifting patterns of neighborhood accessibility, gentrification, and poverty, as well as policy and content analyses of our interviews, industry and media reports, and planning documents. Our findings suggest that condominium development has been tightly tied up with both the politics of development and the emerging social geography of the city. In particular, it is tightly linked to the growth of immigration and Toronto's role as a magnet within Canada for newcomers, and immigrants are disproportionately more likely to purchase condo dwellings, making condoization an important factor in the growth of certain ethnic enclaves. Condo development has been supported by City policies that aim to counter decline in inner city areas, and to promote principles of intensification and mixed land use of existing built up areas. Yet, condos have also redefined traditional boundaries of public and private spaces in Toronto, and catered to the production of exclusive residential clubs and catalyzed processes of gentrification. Furthermore, the geography of condoization is tied to regressive rental housing policy reforms and zoning restrictions that have increased the segregation and concentration of rental housing, and hence the poor. Finally, based on our analysis, we further explore the mechanisms that govern the fast growing condominium market, elucidating the key policies and institutions that shape the production and regulation of these newly built urban environments, and the implications of such developments for the future of the city.

### ***Public planning, real estate markets, and the dynamic downtown***

Igal Charney (University of Haifa), Rachel Weber (University of Illinois at Chicago),  
Pierre Filion (University of Waterloo)

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North American downtowns are transforming from primarily office and retail centers to mixed use and residential uses. This transition reflects a major shift in what constitutes the contemporary downtown. In this exploratory paper, we draw on the cases of two robust downtowns—Chicago and Toronto—to understand the inter-



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relationship between planning and market trends that have helped redefine CBD. By reviewing the trajectories of downtown development over the past half century, we seek to explore the succession of planning visions as well as overall influence of planning and, more generally, the public sector on the form taken by downtown development. There are some important parallels between the downtowns of Chicago and Toronto. Until the late 1960s market forces and planners perceived downtowns as the necessary locations for office, commercial, and institutional uses. Starting in the 1970s, excess office space and the fear of reduced diversity in downtown Toronto and the inner city at large led the municipality, then controlled by a progressive administration, and the metropolitan government to support office decentralization and the adoption of incentives to promote downtown residential development. During the same period, decision-makers in Chicago identified new "buffer" spaces for residential development just beyond the CBD, securing the primacy of office uses in the Loop. The most recent development booms as experienced by both downtowns have dominated by housing and other non-office uses. Planners and political decision-makers alike are ardent supporters of the transformation of downtowns into more functionally diverse areas where a strong residential presence can provide a lively 24/7 environment. The two cases reveal reliance on the part of municipal administrations on fiscal tools such as Tax Increment Financing and flexibility with land use planning instruments or conventional planning approaches to foster downtown residential growth. These observations point to several possible questions that can be empirically interrogated in the context of these two downtowns. First, is it possible to identify the order of actions and the mechanism that define the inter-relationships between planning and market trends? It is very difficult to draw the line between market trends and planning initiatives/responses as both work in tandem in an interactive and often reinforcing manner. Second, it is widely accepted that phases in the boom-bust cycles of property development condition particular planning responses. During the last upcycle were cities able to bargain successfully with developers in their attempts to modify market trends in order to achieve long-term visions for their downtowns?

### **116     Housing Market Dynamics**





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### ***Affordability after Subsidies: Understanding the Trajectories of Formerly Assisted Housing in Florida***

Andres Blanco (University of Florida), Anne Ray (University of Florida), William O'dell (University of Florida), Caleb Stewart (University of Florida), Jeongseob Kim (University of Florida), Hyungchul Chung (University of Florida)

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Assisted housing, privately owned rental properties that receive public subsidies for complying with affordability restrictions, is one of the main sources for low-income households. In Florida, for instance, 2,250 assisted properties provide more than 250,000 affordable units (Ray et al, 2009). This stock, however, faces strong market pressures and some units lose their assisted character when owners opt out from affordability restrictions or when they fail to maintain the required physical and financial conditions of the property. In the case of Florida, approximately 400 multifamily rental properties with 55,877 units that were previously subsidized by HUD, USDA Rural Development, or Florida Housing Finance Corporation are no longer required to comply with affordability restrictions (Shimberg Center, 2010). This represent a challenge for the provision of affordable housing since rents in these properties could increase to un-affordable levels. This study tries to assess this risk by understanding the trajectories of formerly subsidized units and their determinants. To this end, we first identify the trajectories of a sample of formerly subsidized properties in Florida by categorizing them in four groups: 1. Become unaffordable: properties for which current rents are higher than the rents that owners would be allowed to charge if they had stayed in the assisted inventory. 2. Stay affordable: properties for which current rents are similar to those of the assisted inventory. 3. Converted: properties transformed into condominiums. 4. Out of the market: properties that are vacant or that were demolished. After this categorization, we then conduct different spatial econometric analyses to identify the factors that determine the trajectory taking into account a variety of potential explanatory variables at different levels including characteristics of the property, the neighborhood, and the market. For this study we combine a unique dataset produced from a survey conducted by the Shimberg Center for Housing Studies in properties that were lost from the assisted inventory with a variety of sources such as Property Tax Rolls, Census data, and the Florida Housing Data Clearinghouse's Assisted Housing Inventory. The results of this study are relevant for academic research because the categorization proposed in this article mirrors other empirical accounts about the effects of different characteristics at the unit, neighborhood, and market levels on affordability, filtering down, gentrification, and demolition (Somerville and Homes, 2001; Somerville and Mayer, 2003). In policy terms this study is also relevant because it provides important insights about the preservation of affordable housing.



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### ***The Spatial Configuration of Housing Filtering Down and Neighborhood Change***

Jeongseob Kim (University of Florida), Andres Blanco (University of Florida),  
Hyungchul Chung (University of Florida)

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Despite the criticism of sprawl derived from its tendency to aggravate spatial segregation, its excessive land consumption, and its high auto dependency, sprawl could be beneficial to low income housing supply by allowing old units to filter down to lower categories of the housing market since sprawl promotes the movement of high income classes to the urban fringe leaving available stock for low income households in the inner city. The movement of low income households into the inner city is a reinforcing process: as the inner city is gradually occupied by minorities and the poor, neighborhoods quality decline and then, more upper-middle households will move out to suburban areas (Schill, 1991). This could decrease property values and exacerbate neighborhood decay (Ding and Knaap, 2003) On the other hand, filtering down could be less likely to occur in suburban areas because new housing for high income demand is continually built and residents are more likely to stay or renovate their homes without leaving the community if the neighborhood quality is better than other neighborhoods. Accordingly, filtering should be spatially concentrated in central rather than suburban areas. The purpose of this study is to examine these hypotheses and provide empirical evidence about the spatial configuration of filtering. Three questions will be addressed: 1) How do neighborhood characteristics affect filtering down? 2) How is the filtering down process distributed spatially? and 3) Does the type of housing type (single, multi, and condo) affect this spatial distribution? To answer the research questions, multi logit models will be used. The main dependent variables in this study represent the movement of the units between demand segments: filtering down (from higher to lower income), filtering up or gentrification (from lower to higher income) and staying (same level of income). The independent variables are the location of housing (inner city, or suburban area), housing characteristics such as housing price and built year, neighborhood characteristics like poverty ratio and minority ratio, and other control variables. The analysis is focused on the main MSAs in Florida (Miami, Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tampa). Key variables will be operationalized at parcel level using property tax roll from Florida Department of Revenue (FDOR) between 2000 and 2008, and Census 2000. The results of this study will expand the understanding of the spatial characteristics of filtering down and will inform housing policies to provide low income housing. References O'Flaherty, Brendan (1996) Making Room: The Economics of Homelessness Harvard University Press. Schill, Michael H. (1991) 'Deconcentrating the Inner City Poor?' Chi.-Kent L. Rev. 67, 795-854. Ding, Chengri, Knaap, Gerrit-Jan (2002) 'Property values in inner-city



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neighborhoods: The effects of homeownership, housing investment, and economic development? *Housing Policy Debate*, 13(4) 701-727.

### ***Elderly Transitions and the Vacancy Status of Housing***

Andrew Aurand (Florida State University)

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A community's ability to attract new residents to replace those who leave is important for its long-term social and economic health. The quality of the housing stock, and the housing services provided by it, is one factor that affects a community's ability to attract new residents. With a growing elderly population, this paper explores the desirability of housing vacated by elderly householders to new residents. While the majority of the elderly prefer to remain in their current home as they age (AARP Policy Institute 2006), they eventually vacate their residence for a variety of reasons, including the physical demands of maintaining it, poor health, income constraints, desire to be closer to family or friends, death of a spouse, or their own death (Choi 1996; Strathers 2005). Data from the 2005 and 2007 American Housing Surveys (AHS) indicate that fifty-three percent of housing units occupied by an elderly homeowner in 2005 who then moved out of the unit were vacant in 2007 as compared to only thirty-three percent of units from which a non-elderly homeowner moved. This paper explores the housing characteristics that may explain this difference in vacancy status of units vacated by elderly and non-elderly householders. First, a comparison is made of the quality and characteristics of housing from which both elderly and non-elderly householders moved. Second, logistic regression is used to explore whether these characteristics explain the vacancy status of these units. The findings of this research may assist community organizations in locations with an aging population gain a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages their housing stock presents in attracting new residents to their community.

### ***Has Housing Supply Gone Awry in China? An Examination of China's Housing Production Function***

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Housing price in China has been rising dramatically over the last decade. According to data from China National Bureau of Statistics, nationwide the average residential sales price has increased from 1,857 Yuan per square meter in 1999 to 3,645 Yuan per square meter in 2007, averaging 9% a year. The situation is even worse in many large Chinese cities, where housing price increase has outpaced family income growth and



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caused strong social dissatisfaction. Yet, few empirical studies have been conducted to examine the dynamics of the housing price movement; in particular, what has been driving the housing price up. Some people have blamed the problem on housing developers, arguing that they have not effectively responded to consumer demand. Other people, however, have blamed local governments, arguing that the high housing price is primarily driven by high production costs, especially land cost. Since local governments control all the new land supply in China, it is reasonable to suspect that local governments may have used their monopoly power to raise land price and increase their fiscal revenue. This study will shed light on this debate. Through an empirical test of the price elasticity of China's new housing supply, the study will inform us whether China's escalating housing price is a result of supply constraints, or a result of other factors. More specifically, the study has collected panel data for 35 large and medium-sized Chinese cities from 1999 to 2007, a period during which market mechanism has dominated in China's housing system. A two-stage econometric model was developed to examine how annual housing investment has responded to housing price and the prices of construction inputs, such as material cost, labor cost, land cost, and the cost of capital. As many scholars have argued before (Blackley 1999; Mayer and Somerville 2000), such information is critical in our understanding of the housing market dynamics. If housing supply is price elastic, any increase in housing demand will be primarily translated into an expansion in housing production, not much in housing price. Thus the increase in housing price should reflect the rising production cost, especially the land cost. However, if housing supply is inelastic, any increase in housing demand will cause an increase in housing price, since supply cannot keep up with demand. Thus, efforts are needed to eliminate supply barriers and expand housing production, for example, through government-assisted affordable housing developments. This study will provide empirical evidence on those critical issues. References: Blackley, Dixie M. 1999. The Long-Run Elasticity of New Housing Supply in the United States: Evidence for 1950 to 1994. *Journal of Real Estate Finance* Mayer, Christopher and C. Tsurriel Somerville. 2000. Land Use Regulation and New Construction. *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 30, 639-662.

### ***Living Alone, Is It Unique or Special?: Single Person Households and Urban Policy in Seoul Metropolitan City***

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The rise of single living has been one of the most important demographic shifts of recent decades. The single person household is a little less than 40% in Europe areas and that of Tokyo is over 45%. Being impacted by this phenomenon, the formation of single economy becomes the key word in World Economic Forum 2008. The single



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person household is increasing rapidly in Seoul as well. Between 2000 and 2005, the growth rate of single person is around 34% and the population of single person reached 700,000 people. 20% of total households in Seoul are single person households. Based on this fact, this paper addressed two major questions First, what are the major factors causing the rapid increase in the rate of single person households? In this paper, we explore the main factors from a socioeconomic and cultural perspective, particularly focusing on Seoul's urban context. Over the last decade, a rise of single living in Seoul created pressures towards poverty, especially for forced single person households, which impacted on the housing circumstances of single living. This phenomenon asks for an in-depth understanding of single person households. It is directly related to our second question: how do single person households differ from other household types? This paper reports the profile of single person household using cluster analysis, and analyzes the differences between single living and other types of households, focusing on housing, economic status and social network. Accurate diagnosis of the single living household is particularly important because it is closely related to the policy choices of Seoul Metropolitan Government. Single people in housing need are likely to continue to experience difficulty in accessing housing, if demand continues to outstrip supply and single people are considered a low priority for housing unless they are vulnerable. Single living is more vulnerable to crime, so there are greater demands for social support services and police protection. In addition, increasing single living may also lead to greater isolation, and possibly cause mental health problems for some groups. Thus, in order to appropriately respond to such diverse policy problems caused by single living life pattern, we have to take into account the changing profile of household types as well as overall household growth. We also found some evidences that the growth of single person household could be harnessed to improve levels of social capital if policy can respond appropriately.

### **118     Housing Crises Past and Present**



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### ***The Subprime Mortgage Crisis and Gender Disparities in Allegheny County***

Sabina Deitrick (University of Pittsburgh), Angela Reynolds (University of Pittsburgh)

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As the scope and scale of the subprime crisis unfolded, the American Dream of homeownership turned into a nightmare for many with mortgage defaults and foreclosures. The subprime lending market grew from approximately \$35 billion in 1994 to \$665 billion in 2005 (Scholemer, Li, Ernst, & Keest 2006). Subprime loans offered higher-interest loans to borrowers with lower credit standards required of borrowers in the prime market. There is strong evidence indicating significant disparities in the pricing of mortgages among borrowers by gender, race, and income and that these disparities are not solely attributable to risk factors (Fishbein and Woodall 2006; Avery, Brevort, and Canner 2006). This paper will report on research conducted in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, on gender disparities in subprime mortgages and foreclosure. While women made up about 30 percent of the country's pool of home mortgage borrowers, they accounted for 38.8 percent of the subprime borrowers (Fishbein and Woodall 2006), even though women typically have higher credit scores on average than men with similar credit usage patterns (Experian 2008). Potential reasons for gender disparities include unlawful discrimination, predatory lending, differences in borrowers' knowledge and education about financial risks, pricing discretion by loan brokers and loan officers, and the lack of consumer-friendly support systems have been reported at the national level. This paper will analyze patterns of subprime lending in Allegheny County, which recently accounted for 39 percent of mortgage activity, and the impacts on women borrowers. The research uses a combination of quantitative data on subprime mortgages, foreclosure and real estate records, with qualitative focus group data collection to report on a pilot study of selected Census tract areas that have seen higher than average rates of foreclosure. The main questions: Are there disparities by gender and gender and race among homeowners who have received subprime mortgages in Allegheny County and the City of Pittsburgh? What is the extent of these disparities? Were women who held subprime mortgages more heavily concentrated in specific communities in Allegheny County and the city of Pittsburgh, and if so, why? Focus group are being conducted with clients of the Pittsburgh Community Reinvestment Group, which counsels nearly 1,000 clients per year with mortgage delinquencies, defaults, or pending foreclosures.

### ***Delinquency, Foreclosure and the Spatial Dynamics of a Metropolitan Area***

David Bartelt (Temple University)

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In the wake of the home mortgage crisis of the past several years, communities across metropolitan Philadelphia have wrestled with the fiscal and housing market consequences of the bursting housing bubble and the withdrawal of mortgage credit from many sub-markets in the region. This paper examines the distribution of subprime lending across the region from 2005 through 2009, using HMDA data. It further examines the distributions of delinquency and foreclosure risks, as published under the auspices of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program, but also using intra-metropolitan data recently published by LISC and the Urban Institute. The core of this analysis examines the interplay of mortgage types, housing markets, and community income profiles, integrating HMDA and ACS data sources, as they contributed to the spatial patterns of delinquency and foreclosure risks. Actual foreclosure and delinquency data will be used to supplement NSP and LISC estimates, allowing for an evaluation of the correspondence of these models to actual loan and foreclosure activity. Following Immergluck's recent work, the analysis will be expanded to include the impacts of new construction that failed to develop a sufficient market.

### ***There's No Place Like Home: Narratives of the Mortgage Default Crisis, 2007-2010***

Elizabeth Strom (University of South Florida)

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Owning one's home has been promoted as an ideal for Americans for over a century. Because nearly all households need to borrow money to make such a purchase, homeownership promotion has been closely tied to policies regulating the banking and lending industries. Such policies seem to have achieved success: homeownership rates peaked in 2004<sup>6</sup> at around 69%. As the great majority of purchasers use mortgages to finance their acquisition, indebted homeownership is the predominant form of housing tenure in the US. In 2010, however, some one million American households are at risk of losing their homes to foreclosure, following the 900,000 who lost theirs in 2009. Linked to growing unemployment, falling housing prices and risky 'exotic' mortgage products, the wave of defaults represents the most palpable manifestation of a larger financial and economic crisis. Has the current foreclosure crisis changed the way we view the costs and benefits of ownership? In this study, I probe the narratives of foreclosure to see whether they challenge assumptions about homeownership's benefits. Most notably, I seek to uncover how at-risk borrowers, as well as media and policy makers, understand this crisis, how they assess blame, and how this assessment shapes their views of indebted homeownership. Interviews with West Central Florida homeowners in or near default; analysis of newspaper coverage; and analysis of Congressional debates on two key foreclosure mitigation bills form the basis of this research.



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### ***A History of Federal Housing Policy from 1982-2008***

Jennifer L. Edwards (University of Missouri-St. Louis)

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The federal government has historically crafted housing policies to meet certain needs. The Neighborhood Stabilization and Neighborhood Stabilization II programs (NSP) are no different. This paper traces the evolution of federal housing policy in the United States including the NSP and NSP II. How is NSP similar to, and different than previous policy in its attempt to address the challenges created by the 2007-2008 financial meltdown?

### **119 Issues in Neighborhood and Housing Design**

#### ***Liveable, Marginalized and an Afterthought: you build it for me but it does fit my needs***

Leonor Vanik (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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Decades of welfare policy, while with good intentions, continue to create challenges for low income individuals to access basic services and programs they need to continue to live in the community. For the aging and people with disabilities, they face many challenges, such as affording medication, food, utilities, and accessing service while trying to stay in their community while living on a fixed income. For those individuals reintegrating into the community from a long term care facility, they face greater challenges in their search for affordable, accessible and integrated housing. States are receiving less federal monies and matching Medicaid funds to implement a myriad of programs to assist low-income individuals with day to day needs, including health and housing needs. The decrease in available supportive services combined with a very tight affordable housing market is impacting the time it takes for individuals seeking to integrate from long term care facilities. Thirty-one states received system rebalancing demonstration monies to deinstitutionalize individuals into the community by facilitating systems changes through innovative programming and financial rebalancing opportunities. In 2007, Illinois received this demonstration grant intending to reintegrate over 3,300 elderly and people with disabilities into the community by, in part, establishing a web based housing locator to assist program coordinators find housing for individuals that are in the transitioning process. I build on previous research on deinstitutionalization and focus on how Centers for Independent Living use this housing locator to assist people with disabilities. Individual interviews with program coordinators, state housing stakeholders, and



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people with disabilities are employed to have a better understanding on how this tool has worked as a barrier and a facilitator. Identified barriers of knowledge of the tool, computer literacy, and lack of affordable unit listings were identified. Further information by the program coordinators on livable community concepts emerged as the need for more information on accessibility and integration of the affordable housing units are identified. Trend analysis of housing locator data is coupled with spatial analysis (GIS) of livable community indicators to identify themes in the Chicagoland area. The introduction of emerging technology is discussed that may assist with facilitating the process in locating housing in a community that may meet the needs for people with disabilities while they are in the long term care facility. The results of this research will prove invaluable to program administrators, policymakers, and local government in having a better understanding of how including the intended targeted audience in the program design may assist with decreasing barriers in the deinstitutionalization process.

### ***Aging with choices: aging in neighborhood versus retirement community***

Beverly McLean (University at Buffalo, SUNY)

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In US, 76 million baby boomers are expected to reach age 65 by 2010. As the number of elderly increases, more attention is being focused on where the elderly live and their impacts on their communities. Local officials and planners are being pressured to pay more attention to their elderly populations as more continue to reveal preferences for remaining in their homes or at least their own neighborhoods. But as the elderly age in place, they frequently find features of the their house or neighborhood such as stairs, lack of pedestrian friendly amenities, or lack of access to needed services such as grocery stores and medical services make it difficult for them to stay in place. What is now emerging is a mismatch between the neighborhoods in which the elderly are located and the neighborhood support services which they need. This situation, according to a White House Conference in 2005, constitutes not only a demographic revolution, but presents to policy makers one of the most critical public policy issues in the 21st century. A major conclusion of the 2005 White House Conference was a greater focus needs to be paid to developing new visions that transcends outdated policies and generational/institutional biases. The purpose of this paper is an exploration of emerging paradigms: age-integrated neighborhoods, naturally-occurring retirement community and the age-restricted retirement community. The first section of the paper presents a literature review on the changing paradigms of community aging--the transition from traditional disciplinary studies to more multi-faceted studies that emphasize the intersection of public health and the built environment. The second section of the paper compares and contrasts various



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retirement community models. The third section illustrates the differing implication of these place models on communities through the context of three urban case studies in Buffalo, NY. The first case study focuses on an aged-integrated community surrounding a public market, the second on a naturally-occurring retirement community located in an older industrial city (Kaisertown in East Buffalo, New York, and the last on a planned retirement community located in a first-ring suburb (Our Lady of Victory project in Lackawanna, New York) and). The specific focus of the case studies is how the differing models vary in implications for affordable, low-cost community interventions for aging. The relevance of this research is the exploration of implications of differing community aging models for community development and the potential benefits of aging on their communities. The paper will conclude with discussion of the gaps in understanding of the intersections between aging and the built environment with attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the place models for aging in the community.

### ***Putting Artists on the Map A Study of Artists' Housing and Neighborhoods in Cuyahoga County, Ohio***

Mark Salling (Cleveland State University), Kristin L. Tarajack-Puch (Community Partnership for Arts and Culture)

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A task force of organizations in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland and suburbs), Ohio, through the nonprofit Community Partnership for Arts and Culture (CPAC), commissioned the Urban College at Cleveland State University to undertake a study of the artist community, with the goal of developing an artist-based model for returning vacant and abandoned properties in Cuyahoga County to productive use as homes, workplace and retail spaces through the Cuyahoga Land Bank's holdings. The study includes a web-based survey of artists, mapping artists' locations, identifying artist-concentrated neighborhoods, differentiating these neighborhoods by discipline (e.g., dance, design, visual, theater, music, craft, literary), and development of a multivariate model explaining artist-concentrated locations in the county. The model is used to identify neighborhoods that had fewer artists than expected, and from that analysis and the survey results produce a list of properties in the land bank that are available and possibly useful to artists.

The research aims to assist the following strategies of the project:

- o Build off of previous research to obtain a better understanding of living/working neighborhood desirability factors from the point of view of artists, community development professionals and others.



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- o Obtain an understanding of where the creative workforce currently lives and the degree to which their living situations align with known artist or arts districts.
- o Establish an understanding of the types of neighborhoods in which artists are concentrated and identify other neighborhoods with similar characteristics that might be attractive to artists.
- o Establish an understanding of the types of properties most likely to come into the possession of the Cuyahoga Land Bank in relationship to different artists' needs.

### 120 Public Transportation: Contesting Access and Development

#### ***Identifying Vulnerable Populations while Meeting Public Transportation Needs***

Sheri Smith (Texas Southern University), Sara Land (Texas Southern University)

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In the Houston CMSA or newly classified megapolitan area, concerns regarding connectivity within the growth counties for residents and their respective jobs are steadily growing. A current snapshot of the current transportation system indicates that while there are major highways allowing ingress and egress of the city, alternate means of transportation are needed to mitigate traffic congestion and air pollution. Now that discussions are moving from the possibility of expanded modes of transportation including light rail and the probability of commuter rail, the concern most salient to our research is who pays for the honor for megapolitans preparation for the future. Areas of vulnerability are identified where individuals could perceivably least afford to absorb the financial side effects of new rail lines.

#### ***A Streetcar Not Desired: Analyzing Declines in Public Transit Use in New Orleans Since Hurricane Katrina***

Jason Greenberg (Sullivan University)

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New Orleans, Louisiana, has a long public transportation history; its prime representative of longevity is The St. Charles Avenue Streetcar Line, which has been in operation since 1835. The damage that occurred to the city from Hurricane Katrina in August 2005 had an immediate impact on its public transport network of streetcars and buses and on the city residents who relied on it. Five years since the storm, however, reveals that the present-day version of the New Orleans Regional Transit



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Authority (NORTA) carries only a fraction of the ridership that existed before the storm. While an overall population decline in the city provides for an easy explanation, the decline in transit ridership cannot be accounted for merely as a casualty of general demographic shifts in the city's population. The 2000 U.S. Census revealed that New Orleans city had 484,000; in July 1, 2005, the census estimated the population to be 455,000. Even before Hurricane Katrina confronted the city and trapped a considerable portion of the population from evacuating, there were clear indicators of New Orleans' transit-dependent population. For example, year 2000 census figures showed that 27% of the city's households did not own a vehicle. For 2004, average weekday ridership on NORTA averaged 136,000; 111,000 (or over 80%) of riders took buses while 24,000 took streetcars. These statistics placed New Orleans within the top 30 largest transit operations in the United States. Since the storm, NORTA's ridership has declined by over 70% even though the city's population, while declining, has recovered to be within 75% of the July 1, 2005 estimate. New Orleans' 2008 estimate placed the city's population at 337,000, but data from the American Public Transit Association for 2008 and 2009 show about 39,000 daily riders on the transit system. Thus, a linear explanation for the transit use drop as directly correlated to population declines does not measure up. What factors can be attributed to significant shifts in transit use within New Orleans? Does the change relate to structural damage of the streetcar operation or bus fleet? Does the shift correlate with transportation habits of the newer makeup of the population? Was transit use much greater in neighborhoods where the storm had a greater impact? and have yet to be rebuilt and re-populated? Does the change reflect outcomes from transit and/or government policies (thus, is the current size and operation of the transit authority a deliberate undertaking?) The proposed paper and presentation would seek answers to such questions; the answers not only reveal why public transportation in New Orleans currently operates as a shadow of its former self, but also learn about current residents' travel behavior. Additionally, we may learn what role public policy has in the operation of a public service. These are important questions and answers as we seek to learn more about the rebirth of New Orleans.

### ***Transit Service Privatization as a Provision Strategy: A Case Study in the Greater New Orleans Region***

Hiroyuki Iseki (University of New Orleans), Charles Rivasplata (San Jose State University), Rebecca Houtman (University of New Orleans)

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Many local governments and transit agencies in the U.S. face financial difficulties in providing adequate public transit service. These difficulties can generally be attributed to the recent economic downturn, the continuing withdrawal of state and federal





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funding in support of local transit service, a decline in local funding for transit service in inner cities due to suburbanization, and a distribution of resources that responds to geographic equity without addressing service needs. The New Orleans region is no exception to this nationwide trend, and has also been struggling in its recovery efforts from unprecedented economic, financial, and physical damages caused by Hurricane Katrina in August 2005. New Orleans Regional Transit Authority (NORTA) recently contracted out its transit service to a multinational firm that has been under contract with Jefferson Transit, another transit agency in the region. Using the ?delegated management? contract, NORTA decided to outsource more functions (e.g., management, planning, funding) than has been typical in the U.S. The paper has two principal objectives. The first is to document and examine NORTA?s distinct privatization strategy to maintain or improve the quality and productivity of transit service, compared to a more conventional contract employed by Jefferson Transit. We evaluate the recent conditions and consequences in transit service management and operation in New Orleans in terms of service quality, cost efficiency, and cost-effectiveness of service provision, taking into account regional demographic and economic conditions after Hurricane Katrina. The second objective of this paper is to examine the effects of this privatization on regional coordination for transit service in multiple aspects, such as planning, management, operation, and adopting new technologies resulting from having one private firm contracted separately by two different agencies in the region. We hypothesized that a private contractor has economic incentives to improve regional coordination through internal coordination, possibly avoiding geographic equity issues and other jurisdictional problems. To address these objectives, we examine information and data from publicly available documents regarding: 1) conditions of transit service finance, management, and operation, and 2) processes and contractual terms of transit service outsourcing. We also analyze data obtained from local transit agencies, our own transit user survey, questionnaire, and interviews, as well as the National Transit Database. While a full assessment of the issues addressed in this paper requires additional experience and data on the delegated management contract, the findings of this paper provide valuable information on this new approach to transit service contracting, thereby improving our understanding of the effectiveness of privatization as a provision strategy.

### ***Public Transit in Boston: A Catalyst for Economic Development?***

John M. Harding (University of Massachusetts Boston)

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The following study examines the relationship between public transit and the economy of Boston, Massachusetts. The analysis focuses on a pivotal question: Are



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measures of economic activity positively associated with MBTA transit proximity in Boston? To operationally measure economic activity, this research utilizes a complete set of 677 Boston single-family home sales in 2008. Regarding data analysis, we present four related multivariate hedonic regression models, each of which employs the sale price dependent variable. The data findings generally support the research question and many related hypotheses, indicating that the public transit access is associated with higher property values, but with notable caveats. These results have important implications regarding public transportation policy and investment going forward in the Commonwealth.

### 121 Quality of Life and Urban Outcomes

#### ***Expectations, preferences and satisfaction levels among new and established residents in a newly gentrifying Toronto neighbourhood***

Emily McGirr (Queen's University), Andrejs Skaburskis (Queen's University)

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This paper examines and compares the expectations and reactions of new and established residents in a Toronto neighbourhood that started to gentrify some five years ago. An understanding of the nexus between residential preferences, satisfaction and gentrification is relevant to city planners and policy makers because residents' perceptions of their neighbourhood have implications for mobility, demand for services, and social cohesion. Using survey data developed with a drop-off/pick-up method, we examine the reasons some 290 residents give for moving to their present location, the attributes that were important to them, their satisfaction levels and their perceptions of neighbourhood change. We use descriptive statistics and principal component analysis to gauge the extent to which tenure and the duration of residency explain the variations in responses in each of these four areas. After controlling for tenure differences, there were for the most part no significant differences in the responses of established residents and new arrivals. We find some evidence that established residents, who are predominantly owners, perceive a slight decline in some community attributes, but this is compensated for by the appreciation they perceive in the investment value of their dwellings. The findings suggest that gentrification in this part of Toronto has so far not created large disparities between established residents and newer arrivals which might give rise to conflict. It suggests that in similar neighbourhoods where there is a high degree of home ownership among established residents and rent controls are in place to cushion the impacts of rising property values and rents, gentrification does not have to be a win-lose proposition. The mobility of the renters coupled with the dramatic increases in house



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prices eased the restructuring process and makes it appear as though no policy response is needed. But the apparent ease of neighbourhood change across much of the Toronto inner-city obscures the insidious effect of gentrification: its continuing erosion of the lower priced housing stock in the most accessible parts of the urban region. Our work shows that the problem is not at the neighbourhood level; rather, the more pressing challenge may lie within the broader housing market that contributes to the growth in the disparity between the haves and the have-nots.

### ***A Mixed-Methods Discussion of Young Mothers Affected by Hurricane Katrina: The Role of Social Support in Explaining Education and Relocation Outcomes***

Anita Zuberi (Pennsylvania State University), Nicole Deterding (Harvard University)

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Increasingly, multidisciplinary and multi-method investigations are supported by major funders of research, including government sponsors. There is an understanding that a variety of data sources and disciplinary perspectives on a single real-world problem has the potential to produce a more thorough and accurate picture of the phenomenon at hand. One such project is Katrina and its Aftermath in the Lives of Community College Students, funded by the National Science Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation. This longitudinal study follows a group of New Orleans community college students who were affected by the Hurricane Katrina disaster. The project, overseen by a multidisciplinary team of scholars, has collected a wide array of information about participants' economic and social resources and well-being before and after the disaster. The hurricane dispersed study respondents across the country, into new cities and neighborhoods that often had less crime and better resources than their homes before the hurricane. While some stayed in these new neighborhoods, many others returned to New Orleans. We examine the factors involved in their decision-making. In this paper, we use this unique source of longitudinal survey data matched with qualitative in-depth interviews to provide a systematic discussion of the role of social support in respondents' decisions to return to New Orleans and reenroll in school. Methodologically, we compare the findings from a traditional thematic coding of qualitative interview data with findings based upon narrative profiles written using longitudinal survey data in the style of Singer et al.'s (1998) person-centered analysis. Preliminary analysis shows that the different methodologies can result in contradictory or divergent findings, but also provide complementary information that reveals important functions of social support. In particular, patterns of combination of aid from charities, social service providers (including government programs), and informal aid received from respondents' family and friends are discussed. By examining the trajectories of a sample of young, minority, mothers who were affected by the Hurricane Katrina disaster, the present



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study attempts to gain a more nuanced understanding of the role of social support with respect to educational reenrollment and residential relocation. The findings highlight the advantages, disadvantages and challenges of integrating multiple data sources to understand study participants' well-being after the hurricane. The attempt to create a coherent picture of respondents' post-disaster trajectories aims to push forward the field of mixed-methods research and offers a rich picture of respondents' lives following the disaster.

### ***Voting with Their Feet?: Satisfaction and Preferences of Quality of Life in 40 Cities in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area***

Kayo Tajima (Rikkyo University)

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Tokyo has the largest urban agglomeration among the world cities with its population of 36.5 million. This agglomeration offers its residents a wide variety of living environment to choose from, while keeping their jobs in the metropolitan area. It is likely that people change the place of living according to their stages of life. Also, people could choose the place of living in order to maximize their utility given their budget constraint--income and leisure--as suggested by urban economic theory. Using a questionnaire survey dataset with 4120 respondents, this paper examines the impacts of individuals' attributes on their preferences of living environment, as well as whether their preferences are reflected to the actual choices of city to live in. Results are presented in GIS maps and tables. Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) has the population of 13 million. Including portions of adjacent prefectures, UN reports the urban agglomeration's population in 2009 as 36.5 million. The area of agglomeration counts as large as 14000 km<sup>2</sup>. TMG has 23 ku (wards), 26 shi (cities), 5 cho (towns), and 8 son (villages). Excluding islands and towns in the far West, the daily commuting area to the CBD consists of roughly 40 cities (ku and shi). This paper compares these cities in various factors of the quality of life. Key research questions are as follows: (1) what kind of individual attributes affect the preference of quality-of-life factors? ; (2) do the cities suffice the need of their residents? ; (3) do people actually "vote with their feet", attracted by the different level of amenities? The analyses use a dataset from an internet-based questionnaire survey, in order to compare the residents' satisfaction in the 40 cities. The survey was originally conducted by a communication company in order to create a ranking of these cities. The survey asks 103 persons from each city about their satisfaction level in 12 factors of the quality of life in the city they live. It also asks them how important these factors are to choose places to live, as well as their individual attributes: age, household type, income, and the period of residence in the city they currently live in. Preliminary findings from multi-variate regression analyses are as follows. (1) Age and household type, especially the



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existence of children under 12 years old, affect the preference significantly. (2) Satisfaction to some QOL factors, such as "controlled cityscape" and "accessibility to public transits", as well as "cheap consumer prices" correlates positively to the preference to these attributes. These results suggest that the housing stocks are divided into several sub-markets that appeal to different types of consumers, depending on which aspects each city has comparative advantage. (3) In other factors such as "educational and childcare services" are preferred highly but are not satisfied. Policy initiatives are required to meet the demand of their residents in these factors.

### ***Boundless participation. How does commuting in metropolitan areas affect political participation?***

Jacob Aars (The UNI Rokkan Centre Bergen)

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The development of interconnected metropolitan areas has created pressure on the role of the citizen. Increased mobility has resulted in more time spent on travels between home and work or other destinations. At the same time mobility potentially weakens citizens' ties to their respective local authorities. This paper focuses on the effects of worktime and leisure time commuting and its possible negative effects on political involvement. Leisure time commuting refers to travels in connection with family visits, shopping, training etc. in other than one's own municipality. In line with Putnam it is assumed that commuting has a detrimental effect on participation. This general assumption is tested using an individual level data set consisting of more than 6,000 individuals from 73 municipalities in three Norwegian metropolitan areas.

## **122 Political Incorporation: Social-Economic Dynamics**



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### ***Comparing Recognition Struggles and Immigrant Inclusion in a London and New York Enclave***

Vojislava Filipcevic (Trinity College)

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This is a component of a study of immigrant socio-political incorporation in London and New York. The original aim of the study was to determine whether the socio-political incorporation of immigrants in enclaves in global cities was best facilitated by institutions that promoted both redistribution and recognition benefits. This assertion was tested by examining two immigrants groups in New York and London, where, respectively, recognition rather than redistribution outcomes were facilitated, and vice versa (Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets and Dominicans in Washington Heights). While these groups differed, I argued that they occupied a similar position in the black-white racial divisions in both cities, were concentrated in enclaves, were making recognition-based claims that could be classified in similar categories, and had similar socio-economic status. The fieldwork in WH initially showed that few redistributive benefits could be obtained within local structures, which had assumed value in the recognition sense that they included symbolic institutional representation. These symbolic representatives acted as 'ethnic brokers' but had few redistributive or recognition goods to distribute. The most significant ethnic 'niche' was the City Council seat, and patronage that could be obtained via that political representative. Recognition of Dominicanness did not represent a threat to citizenship but neither was the substance of participatory citizenship enabled by the existing local structures. I am now working on the London component, examining similar dynamics in the TH Borough. There, it appears, based on a short fieldwork in Sept 2010, that redistributive capacity, albeit experiencing a budgetary crisis, is significant and that networks of ethnic brokers effectively control resources distributed to their respective co-ethnic subgroups to the detriment of other groups and also co-ethnics not connected to these individuals. Recognition struggles on the other hand are highly conflictual with respect to the national and urban British and London citizenship (the Muslim religion, however, exists amidst tremendous religious diversity in the Borough of Tower Hamlets, which along with the histories of immigrant inclusion of plural groups in this area, alter dynamics of group-specificity constraining extreme particularisms). Both cases seem thus far to suggest a connection between recognition and redistribution aims in the initial inclusion stages, however, the two appear to diverge in New York, as immigrants realize that recognition is "symbolic" while the real battle has to do with the control over resources and challenges to the dominant ethnic broker (the City Council Member). In TH, development context combined with the redistributive capacity of the Borough (and ability to negotiate with developers) have positioned the Bengali groups as powerful agents of community change even





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while the community remains disadvantaged.

### ***Location, Location, Location: Economic Segregation, Voter Mobilization, and Political Participation in Atlanta, 1970-2008***

Amy Widestrom (California State University, Long Beach)

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Representative democracy is predicated on the idea that the people have some say in who governs them and how they are governed, conveyed through voting and other forms of civic engagement. Yet electoral research shows that not everyone is heard through the political process, as voters and those engaged in other civic activities tend to be wealthier and more educated. Income inequality in the United States has grown significantly since 1970, and scholars have begun to pay more attention to the relationship between income inequality and political phenomena, specifically voter mobilization and political participation. It seems that rising income inequality may contribute to increased participation by wealthy Americans and decreased participation by the less prosperous. Scholars have done less theorizing and operationalizing possible mechanisms through which inequality might affect voter mobilization, civic engagement, and political participation. I suggest that one possible mechanism may be geographic economic segregation: over the past 50 years the wealthy and the poor have increasingly found themselves living in separate and isolated neighborhoods as a result of deindustrialization and urban redevelopment policies. This paper investigates the possibility that economic segregation—the spatial differentiation of low-income and high-income citizens—affects political mobilization by voluntary associations, such as neighborhood groups and churches, which could lead to a participation gap between the rich and the poor. Drawing on a case-study analysis of political mobilization and voter turnout of residents in segregated low-income and high-income neighborhoods in Atlanta, Georgia from 1970 to 2008, using voter turnout data and open-ended interviews with organizational leaders, I find that economic segregation significantly affects the capability of voluntary organizations to promote electoral participation, which contributes to a growing inequality in voter turnout. I argue in this paper that economic segregation has a significant impact on voter education and mobilization by civic-minded organizations, which in turn contributes to increased participation among wealthy citizens and decreased participation among impoverished citizens. The case study of Atlanta is particularly intriguing, because both the wealthy and impoverished neighborhoods are almost entirely African-American, which allows for a consideration of how both race and class affect mobilization and participation of citizens. There are powerful dynamics at the local level that filter certain values and interests into the political system and perpetuate certain logics of development. The tentative conclusions of this paper



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indicate that the spatial arrangement of citizens along economic lines may be one such dynamic that has serious consequences for the maintenance of American civic life.

### ***Indexing The Political Inclusion of Migrants in Multi-ethnic Cities: The London Case***

Jill Simone Gross (Hunter College of the City University of New York)

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There is no real controversy today, when one suggests that migration and urbanization are amongst the two most significant pressures felt in urban areas. Which specific localities migrants go to is shaped by a complex set of forces: national immigration policy, municipal service provision and policy, by transnational networks amongst migrant populations, and by the nature of urban political culture (supportive or hostile)..

Not only are cities as a whole being transformed, but geographers also point out that new spatial configurations are occurring within – hyper diverse communities (those in which no single populations dominates), majority communities (those in which one population dominates), dual majority communities (those with two populations dominate). The challenge, in light of such trends is how policy makers can accurately craft policies to respond to the needs of urban dwellers, when the composition of the population and by extension the needs of those populations are not uniform, but in flux. Does policy need to be targeted to specific populations, should each neighborhood craft policies specific to its changing needs, or should policy be crafted for the migrant population as a whole, with access to those in need irrespective of identity? This research seeks to shed light on some of these issues, through a comparative analysis of local migrant inclusion policies in each on London's boroughs.

London is among the world's most diverse cities, and has been struggling with the politics of inclusion for much of its contemporary history. Within London, each borough has adopted its own set of interventions over time, reflective of accommodation to national pressure and policy, local demographics, socio-economics and politics. This paper will report on the impacts of divergent multi-cultural political inclusion strategies in the London boroughs, using a local migration policy index developed by the author. This index will be used to explore the impacts of divergent policy interventions and spatial dynamics on levels of political, economic and social disparity.

## **123 Local Governance Practices**



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### ***Design review practices in the downtown of Seattle, WA, USA***

Hirofumi Hori (University of Tokyo, Japan)

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Many challenges for making sustainable cities are going on such as smart growth and compact city through intensification. However, for neighborhoods experiencing intensification, increases of density cause problems for living environments, and commonly provoke the conflicts between the local citizens and developers. Many jurisdictions are seeking effective discretionary development review systems so that the new developments better fit the conditions of the neighborhood and contribute to creating better urban form and not just more floor space. The city of Seattle is one of the most advanced cities, which has a famous smart growth strategy and discretionary design review system. And also, the pressure for new developments in downtown is now becoming relatively high. This study examines design review practices in Seattle downtown from the viewpoint of bulk control through the design review for creating good living environment and sustainable urban future. In this study, total 29 developments, which occurred in downtown and completed from 2005 to 2009, were identified on the map. All minutes of design review meetings related to the 29 developments were collected and two developments were then selected as case studies, according to valuables on building volume control as building massing, height, and setbacks. Interviews to the city planner and a field survey of the resulting developments were also conducted. The study identifies that the design review system in Seattle is a citizen-led design review, which all the board members are local citizens and based on two-leveled review meetings (schematic, and detailed design level) according to design stages. And also zoning departures are granted through design review when developments better meet the design review guidelines. Both citywide design guideline and neighborhood specific design guidelines based on the urban village strategy are uniquely coexisting. As a result of mapping 29 developments, the study identified that most of new developments in downtown were found in Belltown and Denny Triangle neighborhood, both are designated as a growth receiving area in the comprehensive plan. This result illustrates that the new developments are successfully controlled by the strategy of the city. However, two neighborhoods' characters are sharply different. In Belltown, which has been developed as a residential urban core, the design review board discussed the building massing in the schematic stage and finally, the massing and volume were reduced by the comments from the citizens. In Denny Triangle case, the design review board discussed the impact of the re-zoning through the design review, but few public comments regarding the height were sent. For effective design review system, to set the 2 leveled review and to make the process including the opportunity for citizen inputs for the developments are important.



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### ***Transforming Local Politics through External Intervention: The Case of Charter Schools***

Richard Hula (Michigan State University), Chelsea Haring (Governors State University)

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This paper argues that existing local policy regimes can be challenged and ultimately disempowered by a new regime through the intervention of external political authorities (in this case state level actors). The general argument is that creating new local institutional arrangements can actually restructure local politics by redefining the policy agenda in such a way that new governing coalitions are formed. Thus, the restructuring of local institutions not only impact short-term policy outcomes, but can produce a long-term restructuring of the local political and policy environment. To illustrate this argument we consider the political impact of the charter school movement. As states intervene to reorganize local institutional arrangements and players within the education policy sector we cite evidence that that new regime actors are empowered, while traditional actors lose authority and influence. This analysis offers important theoretical clues as to how policy regimes are created and changed. In addition, it provides some practical insights about the impact of state level interventions seeking to drive local policy change.

### ***Urban Operations: public-private partnerships in globalizing São Paulo***

Marina Toneli Siqueira (University of Illinois at Chicago)

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This paper aims to analyze the Brazilian legal instrument Urban Operations and its impacts in transforming São Paulo. Urban Operations were first introduced in São Paulo in the 1980s as an instrument of urban policy that allows the local public administration the accomplishment of great urban projects and structural changes in specific areas of the city through partnerships with the private sector. The hypothesis discussed in this paper is that the experience of the Urban Operations in São Paulo are related to a entrepreneurship logic of speculative production of space that is highly connected with the interests in promoting the city for the local and the global capital. With specific-target urban projects, they have been introduced in areas of great real estate speculation and interest in urban redevelopments to unlock land-use values, i.e., promote gentrification. Besides the speculative process, they can also be related to the channeling of public resources, hence collaborating to the uneven development of the city. In this sense, the paper is structured in four parts. The first one presents the legal instrument and introduces its main characteristics that will be explored in the following two sections: great urban projects and public-private partnerships. In the



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final section, the Urban Operation Faria Lima will be explored on its specificities and originalities for the model, especially in the impact that it had in the promotion of São Paulo as a global city. In conclusion, this paper does not intend to be exhaustive, but to do an original critical review of this type of public-private partnership and how its experiences promoted the insertion of a developing metropolis in the neoliberal globalized world.

### ***Colonial Heritage and Land Laws in Africa: The Impact of Colonialism on Land Laws in Cameroon and Sierra Leone***

Ambe J. Njoh (University of South Florida), Fenda Akiwumi (University of South Florida)

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European colonial authorities introduced politico-administrative models rooted in their respective traditions and predilections in Africa. Britain and France, the two colonial powers that controlled most of the continent, employed two diametrically opposed colonial administrative strategies, the 'indirect rule,' with politico-administrative decentralization as its core, and 'direct rule,' based on politico-administrative centralization. Most discussions of the impact of colonialism on contemporary development initiatives in Africa appear oblivious to this fact. Thus, it is often not clear which colonial politico-administrative model has what effect on development. For instance, how has politico-administrative centralization, which was instituted by French colonial authorities affected development in Francophone Africa? How has decentralization, for which the British were well known impacted development in Anglophone Africa? A few studies have attempted to address this question from a macro-perspective, focusing on national development (see e.g., Mazrui, 1983; Chazan, et al., 1992; Ihonvbere, 1994; Njoh, 2000). However, the inattention to micro-level questions has left many gaps in knowledge of the impact of colonial heritage on developments in different sectors or domains.

The proposed paper is intended to contribute to efforts aimed at bridging these gaps. It will attain this goal by interrogating the land question in Sierra Leone, an erstwhile British colony, and Cameroon, most of which was under French colonial rule.

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### ***Towns without the future: mono-profile towns post-soviet area: Russian North as example***

Victor Pit (Tyumen State University)

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Mono-profile towns of the North of Tyumen region began to appear in the 60s, at the stage of primary development of oil and gas fields with intake of specialists from all parts of Soviet Union. But these reserves of oil and gas have already being exhausted, while 18 towns have a particular area of specialization. If in the Soviet Union days the total control was performed by ministries, at present the situation remains practically unchanged. The monopoly control of towns is performed by a few oil and gas companies. Towns “ad interim” have accumulated a number of problems: disproportions at the labour market, dependence of most people on stability of a few companies and prices on energy resources, ecological, social problems and etc. But there is no differentiation of industry dependence and the situation hasn’t improved. The share of mono-towns inhabitants in the total population size of the North of Tyumen region (Khanty-Mansi and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas) makes up 70% and 54% respectively. In the view of the present article author and many experts the key purpose is the necessity of reorientation of mono-towns to diversified specialization, creation of human and social capital, permitting inhabitants to be steadier to social and economic changes. Since a great number of mono-towns is of the young age, it is very important to analyze human and social capital, the process of their impact on career preferences of young people.

During the period of the 2008-2010 the author is providing the research of social and





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human capital in some major regions of Russia (the scopes of production in these regions make up to 87% of the whole production of Russian gas and the 57% - of oil production). The aim of the research is to study the social and human capital in the regions, its formation and functioning as one of the economic modernization drivers. Considering the multifaceted character of social capital, the author analyses it through its three dimensions (structural approach): networks, trust, and civism, uses the sociological survey by the method of questionnaires, sample of about 4000 members of Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Areas, Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas, Tyumen Region. Also the subjective approach is used. With its help the cultural factor's influence to the common values and rules is investigated because of its high significance on the researches of the social capital (Newton, Paxton, Fukuyama). In this case the methods of the simple and participant observation are applied. Empirical research of the author shows that the choice of education, profession, place of work (home mono-town or another place) by young people is running without objective appraisal of the actual situation; "inactively", under the influence of stereotypes.

(Victor Pit is director of the Scientific and Technical Center «Perspektiva», Russian Federation, Tyumen.)

### 124 Understanding Minority Immigrant Populations

#### ***Resistance to Neighborhood Disadvantages: Understanding the Mexican ?Immigrant Middle Class Experience***

Maria Martinez-Cosio (University of Texas at Arlington)

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Research suggests that socioeconomic levels dictates neighborhood location, and neighborhood location dictates educational opportunities. For immigrants to the U.S., lower income neighborhoods mean lower achieving schools. (Fischer, Stockmayer, Stiles, and Hout 2004). This study examines the strategies used by middle class Mexican immigrants to counter the effects of locational disadvantage, particularly the ghettoization of their children in U.S. urban schools. In addition, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature through its focus on middle class Mexican immigrants in the U.S. Although there is an extensive body of research on Mexican-origin immigrants including their lifestyle choices, education, family structure and economic condition, the focus is largely on low-income Latinos, including their lack of educational attainment (McDonald, et al 2006; Crosnoe, 2005; Hernandez & Nesman, 2004; Chapa & De La Rosa 2004); drug use (Tapia, Schwartz, Prado, Lopez & Pantin, 2006); and poverty (Hancock 2005; Chitose, 2005; Hines, Lemon, Wyatt & Merdinger,



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2004). And while this research has uncovered the complex web of factors that impact Mexican-origin immigrants, a comprehensive picture of the diversity of Latinos in the U.S. is often obscured by this emphasis on the poor (Bean, 2001). Through in-depth ethnographic work, 12 middle-class Mexican immigrant families in North Texas were observed and interviewed about their childrearing practices and the role of neighborhood choice in their efforts to pass class advantages to their children. At least one of the parents in each of these families had a college degree and several had high human and cultural capital but were unable to exchange their credentials for higher - paying jobs due to language differences. Status inconsistency theory, as well as Bourdieu's cultural capital theory are used to examine the families' resistance to marginalization through the use of their cultural, human and financial capital. Two families are used as case studies to illustrate specific approaches to countering locational disadvantages. In both cases, the families did not see themselves sharing the same class position and subsequent values/beliefs as their neighbors and thus resisted integration by limiting their interactions with working class neighbors, by building social capital with middle-class others through their children's activities, and by finding schools for their children that were outside the neighborhood. The complexity of experience of immigrants to the U.S. is highlighted in this study, calling attention to the diversity of middle class Mexican-origin immigrants who are creating identities for themselves that, to date, have been largely unexplored by the academy.

### ***State Immigration Legislation and SNAP Take-up among Immigrant Families with Children***

Curtis Skinner (National Center for Children in Poverty)

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Children living with immigrant parents represent the fastest-growing segment of the under-18 population in the United States. More than one child in five lives with an immigrant parent and this ratio is expected to grow to one in three by the year 2020. At the same time, immigrant-family children are much more likely to experience economic deprivation than native-family children. More than one child in five from an immigrant family lived in poverty in 2007, and nearly half of them below twice the poverty line--both much higher proportions compared to those of children in families with native parents. For poor and low-income families with children in the United States, the social safety net of income and work supports provided by the federal, state, and local governments offers critical assistance in meeting basic needs. But research shows that immigrant families eligible for these benefits--such as subsidized child health insurance, housing assistance, and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (food stamps)--tend to access them at significantly lower rates than do native families. A wide range of hypotheses have been advanced to explain this relatively



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lower take-up rate, including cultural resistance, a lack of knowledge about the programs and their eligibility criteria, high transactions costs, social stigma, fear of government, and fear of jeopardizing the family's residential status or eligibility for citizenship in the United States. The present study examines the take-up of SNAP benefits among families with at least one citizen child and at least one immigrant parent. Citizen children in these families are eligible for SNAP benefits irrespective of their parents' immigration status, provided other program eligibility criteria are met. Drawing on American Community Survey household data and administrative data from the SNAP program, the research compares socioeconomic characteristics and SNAP take-up rates for immigrant families meeting SNAP eligibility requirements with a comparison sample of families with two U.S. citizen parents (one in the case of single-parent families). The study then constructs an econometric model to identify variables associated with SNAP take-up among immigrant families with citizen children. The central hypothesis to be tested by the model is whether growing anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States—as measured by the rapid increase in state-level acts of legislation seeking to restrict immigrants' rights in recent years—is discouraging eligible immigrant families from taking up SNAP benefits. More generally, the research is expected to yield insights about SNAP take-up among eligible immigrant families that can help improve federal and state policies to encourage their participation in this important safety net program.

### ***Generation and Earnings Patterns among Chinese, Filipino, and Korean Americans in New York and Los Angeles***

Sookhee Oh (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

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By treating the 1.5-generation as a distinctive analytic category, this paper compares the effects of generational status on earnings among men of Chinese, Filipinos, and Korean descents in the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas. Unlike most of the studies that have examined immigrants' socioeconomic attainments by lumping foreign-born immigrants, this paper takes nuanced generation categories into consideration with a particular emphasis on whether 1.5-generation workers have an advantage or a disadvantage compared to the second generation in translating their bilingual and bicultural backgrounds into earnings. Based on the analyses of the 5 percent PUMS data of the 2000 U.S. census, this paper will explain how ethnic group membership reveals varied patterns of social mobility through different labor market opportunities and outcomes. More specifically, this paper hypothesizes that all other background characteristics held equal, 1.5-generation workers for some ethnic groups are more likely to make higher earnings than second-generation workers while this 1.5-generation advantage is not necessarily exhibited for other groups. Furthermore,



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the translation of bilingual skills into earnings may also vary across ethnic groups and local contexts. This paper argues that these variations may be contingent upon the local labor market context characterized by the presence of the vibrant ethnic enclave economy. The results will inform us to evaluate a segmented assimilation theory, the view that immigrant assimilation paths are not uniform across ethnic groups, generation status, and local contexts.

### ***Is Hispanic Migration to New Destinations a Source of Community Revitalization?***

Amy Fuhrman (University of Washington), Jane Cover (University of Washington),  
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The U.S. has entered a new era of immigration characterized by geographic dispersal of immigrants to new destinations, and dominated by immigration from Latin America. The most recent wave of immigration research focuses on new destinations, but many of these studies are at the state level (Massey 2008; Leach and Bean 2008), are of large metropolitan destinations (Singer 2008; Suro and Singer 2002), or target one specific place (Grey and Woodrick 2005; McDaniel and Drever 2009). In addition, while numerous studies focus on the characteristics of immigrants in their destinations, few describe the characteristics of these places. Singer (2008) calls for more comparative studies of places, and more research on the effect of immigration on communities. This paper answers that call, identifying and describing both metropolitan and non-metropolitan destinations for Hispanic migrants, and assessing the effects of Hispanic migration on the character and qualities of these places. Building on previous research about new migrant destinations, we develop a unique framework for categorizing counties into Established Hispanic Destinations, Fast-Growing Hispanic Hubs, Emerging Destinations, Pre-Emerging Destinations, and Other Hispanic Counties. This framework separates counties according to whether they have been an area of Hispanic concentration in the past, whether they are currently an area of Hispanic concentration, and how rapidly their Hispanic and non-Hispanic population has grown over the last decade. We rely on multiple data sources, including the 2000 Decennial Census, the 2008 Population Estimates, and the 2006-2008 American Community Survey. Using this framework, we explore how five major community characteristics differ across destination categories: population demographics, the economy, education, poverty, and inequality. These five community characteristics are hypothesized to play a role in attracting Hispanic migrants and are also influenced by migrants upon arrival. The analysis characterizes the differences between destinations and other places and examines how destinations have changed over time. The goal is threefold: to determine the characteristics of communities that attract Hispanic migrants, to explore the effects of migration on communities, and to



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speculate about the extent to which immigration can be a source of community revitalization.

### 125 Promise and Performance in Urban Management

#### ***Strategic Management and Innovation in Michigan Municipalities***

Brianne Heidbreder (Kansas State University), Nathan Grasse (Georgia Southern University), Douglas Ihrke (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

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Strategic management has been identified as an important tool available to local governments, as it allows decision makers to set goals for their organizations, select the most appropriate methods to achieve these goals, and ensure these goals are met. Research has suggested that municipalities increasingly utilize strategic management in order to operate more efficiently in their environments and provide the highest quality services for their constituents. Given the current challenges faced by municipalities, the innovation and favorable positioning generated by strategic management should be particularly beneficial. Specifically, this study assesses the degree to which formal strategic management procedures are responsible for organizational innovation, when controlling for other organizational and environmental factors. To examine the relationship between strategic management and innovation this study will first identify the degree to which municipalities utilize strategic management. This information will then be combined with other organizational characteristics to predict the degree to which organizations innovate and whether these innovations are perceived to be successful. The primary source of the data used in this study is a survey of 1430 municipal officials representing the 92 Michigan municipalities with populations in excess of 10,000. This survey utilizes data collected from department heads, council members, city managers, and mayors. This analysis examines the responses of these officials, a total of 466 individuals responded out of the 1272 individuals surveyed for a response rate of 36.64%. Additional data from the US Bureau of the Census and the Citizens Research Council of Michigan has been incorporated to supplement the survey data.

#### ***Organizational Theory and the Effectiveness of Neighborhood and Homeowner Associations in Delivering Collective Goods***

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Neighborhood-based organizations (NBOs) often face a wide array of social and



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service delivery issues. But neighborhood associations, specifically, receive much less attention in the urban management literature. Furthermore, the more formally institutionalized NBO known as the homeowner association also receives little attention though the number of such associations continues to grow rapidly and are integral to the continued privatization and co-production of many public services. This paper examines the role of these associations as mechanisms through which many citizens express their civic participation. The paper examines several theories from the political, sociological, and organizational literatures in developing and testing two primary hypotheses: 1) organizations with mandatory membership requirements (i.e., homeowner associations) are able to overcome free-riding tendencies characteristic of voluntary neighborhood associations in addressing community needs and organizational activities; and 2) organizations with more active memberships are more effective in terms of service delivery and goal attainment.

Using unique, recent survey data collected from over 150 neighborhood and homeowner associations in Charlotte (NC), the paper identifies the factors associated with organizational effectiveness in providing certain limited services that will help administrators appreciate the pros and cons of integrating these grassroots organizations into any formal governance role during good and bad economic times. Additional data on defunct NBOs sheds light on the factors associated with organizational sustainability; another factor of importance in considerations surrounding formalizing a service delivery role for such organizations. The paper addresses the usefulness of traditional organizational theory for explaining operational behaviors of these small informal organizations operated by community volunteers.

### ***Local political institutions and place-based social policy: Explaining the gap between agenda and action on neighborhood revitalization in Toronto***

Martin Horak (University of Western Ontario)

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This paper examines the origins and the character of recent efforts to target public resources towards improving living conditions and resident opportunities in poor neighborhoods in Toronto. It shows that although in 2004 the municipal government adopted a high-profile framework 13 ?priority neighborhoods? that are to receive targeted investment, actual investment in the social infrastructure of these neighborhoods since then has been limited both in scope and duration, has involved the often uncoordinated activity of multiple state and societal agents. The paper argues that this ?gap? between agenda and action stems from the institutional structure of urban governance arrangements in Toronto. Organized primarily around





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the politics of property, municipal government in Toronto has neither the authority nor the resources to enact systematic place-based social policies. Neighborhood revitalization initiatives thus rely heavily on the activity of local charities and of provincial government agencies, which disconnects place-based policy activity from place-based political representation, resulting in a proliferation of limited and fragmented initiatives in neighborhoods ostensibly targeted for systematic and coordinated social investment.

### ***Tokyo and its Governors from 1967 till Now - Their Policies and the Economic Recessions of their Terms-***

Hisao Watanabe (Tokyo City University)

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The Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) is the richest regional government in Japan, where it is quite different among other regional and local governments. The City Government of Tokyo and the Tokyo-Hu (Prefectural Government of Tokyo) merged and established the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 1943. TMG has a city government aspect as well as a prefectural one. Right now it has more than 13 million residential population and ¥12,422 billion (\$124 billion, \$1=¥100 calculation) total budget of 2010 fiscal year. The Governor of Tokyo could handle the budget during the strong economic period and cut its budget in rainy days. I would like to analyze the policies of the four Governors of Tokyo from 1967 till now because they challenged the urban problems among economic cycles. Mr. Minobe (1967~1979) was a social democrat. He challenged the anti-pollution and environmental problems in Tokyo caused by the rapid economic growth of Japan in 1950s and 60s. He also allocated much budget for the social welfare field such as children and aged people. However, he encountered economic recession in his second term. He was forced to cut budget increased by him on the social welfare field. Mr. Suzuki (1979~1995) took over the office supported by LDP. At first Suzuki administration faced financial crisis of TMG. He cut more than 10 thousand jobs of TMG and social welfare budget. He overcame the financial crisis owing to the recovering economy in his second term. He spent the revenue to build a new Metropolitan Hall as well as O-Edo subway line. And he decided in his third term to develop the Tokyo Waterfront City (TWC) as a new CBD during the bubble economy. He also planned Tokyo City Expo. But the bubble burst in his fourth term. Mr. Aoshima (1995~1999) won the race promising cancelation of the World City Expo and a review of TWC project. He canceled the World City Expo and made a minor change of TWC plan. Mr. Ishihara (1999~2011) challenged the restructuring of TMG and regeneration of Tokyo. Governor Ishihara was relieved by the strong global economy led by US and EU in his second term. He did not spend the revenue from the strong economy for construction or social welfare. Governor



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Ishihara faced the same situation of the former Governor Suzuki and Minobe as the global recession caused by the Lehman shock happened in 2008.

### 126 Analytical Perspectives on Growth

#### ***Evolving U.S. Metropolitan Land Use Patterns, 1990-2000***

Andrea Sarzynski (George Washington University), Lisa Stack (Wayne State University), George Galster (Wayne State University)

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We comprehensively investigate the spatial patterns of residential and non-residential land use for 305 U.S. metropolitan areas in 1990 and 2000. We conceptualize land use pattern as a multidimensional concept, with each dimension requiring a distinct measure. Consistent with this approach, we have devised and computed sixteen indices measuring the spatial distribution of jobs and housing: housing density, job density, peripheral density, exposure of jobs to housing, exposure of housing to jobs, housing concentration, job concentration, housing centrality, job centrality, micro-continuity, macro-continuity, proximity of housing to housing and to jobs, proximity of jobs to other jobs, core-dominated nuclearity. This research expands upon our earlier work, which involved fewer indices and was limited to a sample of fifty of the largest U.S. metropolitan areas as of 1990. This paper conducts a factor analysis of land use patterns based on 16 indices measuring both job and housing locations for 1990 and 2000 to investigate whether combinations of indicators collapse into a few distinctive and stable land use dimensions. It also conducts a cluster analysis to ascertain the degree to which groups of metropolitan areas take on particular combinations of land use factors, and thereby represent distinct typologies. We also analyze the degree to which these clusters have evolved over time. This paper will represent the most comprehensive quantitative portrait of evolving land use patterns in U.S. metropolitan areas ever presented.

#### ***Municipal annexation, land use, and fiscal consequences: the case of Phoenix metropolitan area***

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Rapid outward growth and fiscal constraints of providing municipal services are two important issues that most cities in the U.S are facing. Among the multiple ways of municipal growth, annexation is regarded as "the most salient expression of political integration in municipal government" (Dye 1964). For long, annexation has been



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pursued by cities to offset the fiscal stress caused by the migration of upper- and middle-class people away from the central cities. By annexing the fringe areas, the city is able to capture the residents and business there to increase the city's tax base. However, there are arguments that annexation is related to higher expenditures to support the public services to expanded regions and growing population (Mehay, 1981; Edwards & Xiao, 2009). The question local administrators need to ask is under what condition is annexation an effective response to the fiscal problems that local governments are facing. The previous empirical studies on the role of annexation in municipal finance, however, have yielded inconsistent results due to different assumptions and sample scales. Few empirical models have taken into account the variance of land use format on the annexed areas. As being widely studied, different land use (eg. residential, commercial, and agricultural) types have different consequences in local public finance due to the various tax/exaction revenues they produce and public services they require (Bunnell, 1997; Lewis, 2001; Netzer, 2003; Pagano, 2003; Wassmer, 2003; Heim, 2006). The main hypothesis of this study is that municipal finance is influenced by annexation and the effects are different along with different land use formats on the annexed areas. Taking Phoenix metropolitan area with 32 municipal governments as the sample, this study aims to investigate fiscal consequences of municipal annexation, and how the different land use on annexed land influence the effects. GIS data of annexations and land use in Phoenix metropolitan from 1970 to 2000 are used to identify each annexation's geographic and land-use features. With other demographic, socio-economic, and governmental variables controlled, municipal annexations' effects on local government revenue and spending are investigated.

### ***The Role of Intentional Organizational Infrastructure in Urban Development: Lessons from the Research Triangle***

Bill Rohe (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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Scholars and practitioners alike have been interested in understanding the factors that influence urban and metropolitan growth and decline. The existing literature on this topic identifies three sets of factors: the characteristics of the extant population; the characteristics of local firms, and the characteristics of place such as climate, amenities and tax rates. Little attention has been paid, however, to the role of intentional organizational infrastructure (IOI) in urban development. IOI includes a variety of public and non-profit organizations that aid and abet the economic growth and development of an area. These organizations are involved in a range of activities including business recruiting, business incubation and expansion support, specialized employment training, and financing. This paper will explore the importance of these



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organizations in promoting growth in the Research Triangle Metropolitan area, one of the fastest growing in the country. It will describe the crucial role of several organizations, including the Research Triangle Park Foundation, the Research Triangle Regional Partnership, the North Carolina Biotechnology Center, in the growth and development of the Research Triangle area. This paper will also assess the roles of these organizations in spurring metropolitan growth and identify the factors that determine their effectiveness. The lessons learned about the development and impact of IOI will be presented. The paper will be based on an analysis of Census data on the growth of the metropolitan area, archival information on the development of the IOI in the area, and 18 in-depth interviews with public, private and non-profit leaders. The research upon which this paper is based has already been completed and the findings indicate the importance of public investment in IOI in metropolitan development and suggest the conditions under which it is particularly effective.

### ***Economic Shocks and Regional Economic Resilience***

Travis St. Clair (George Washington University), Hal Wolman (George Washington University), Howard Wial (The Brookings Institution)

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Economic shocks occur periodically to metropolitan economies, though the effect that these shocks have varies from region to region as does the region's adjustment and recovery to them. In this paper we examine the nature and extent of these shocks, their effects on regional economies (some regional economies are resistant to shocks, while others suffer substantial downturns), and the resilience of regional economies to these shocks. We are particularly concerned with regional economic resilience: why are some regional economies that are adversely affected by shocks able to recover in a relatively short period of time while others are not? We conceptualize regional economic resilience as the ability of a region (defined for the purpose of this paper as a Census-delineated metropolitan area) to recover successfully from shocks to its economy that throw it substantially off its prior growth path and cause an economic downturn. Our data consist of total employment from 1970 through 2007 and gross metropolitan product (GMP) from 1978-2007 for the 361 metropolitan statistical areas in the United States. We specify and estimate economic models addressed to each of the following questions: -- What accounts for economic downturns as we have defined them, i.e., what are the characteristics associated with areas that experience downturns of their regional economies compared to those that do not? -- Why are some regions adversely affected when an economic shock occurs, while others are not? -- When experiencing an economic downturn, why are some areas "resilient" in that they return to their previous growth rate within a relatively short period of time while others do not? -- What accounts for the length of time it takes a region that is



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experiencing an economic downturn to recover?