THE DIFFERENT URBAN EFFORTS TO REVITALIZE URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY BASED ON GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSES FOCUSING ON URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

A Thesis

by

YOUNGHO KO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF URBAN PLANNING

August 2008

Major Subject: Urban and Regional Planning

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ABSTRACT

The Different Urban Efforts to Revitalize Urban Neighborhoods in the United States and the United Kingdom: Comparative Case Study Based on Governmental Responses Focusing on Urban Neighborhood Revitalization. (August 2008)

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Many US inner cities that had once experienced enormous growth have suffered decline in physical, social, and economic respects. This experience has been limited not only to US urban areas but is also apparent in many UK cities. Because the forces of urban decline have been similar in both cases, so have efforts to address their consequences. Urban policies in each country were implemented to regenerate (UK) or revitalize (US) inner city areas and neighborhoods.

This study focuses on one aspect of urban regeneration/revitalization. Change in housing characteristics is a key indicator of decline in inner cities, and captures many of the social, economic and physical aspects of decline. By examining changes in housing characteristics, as well as contextual variables such as poverty, income, and unemployment, this paper examines differences in policy approaches to reversing urban decline.

A comparative case study of neighborhoods in representative urban areas in each country using secondary qualitative and quantitative data provides evidence of how each country's approach resulted in changes to the neighborhood's housing and social characteristics. Interpreting these changes leads to conclusions and implications for current and future policies in each country.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Many US inner cities that had once experienced enormous growth have suffered decline in physical, social, and economic respects. This experience has been limited not only to US urban areas but is also apparent in many UK cities. Because the forces of urban decline have been similar in both cases, so have efforts to address their consequences. Urban policies in each country were implemented to regenerate (UK) or revitalize (US) inner city areas and neighborhoods. This research focuses on one aspect of urban regeneration/revitalization. Change in housing characteristics is a key indicator of decline in inner cities, and captures many of the social, economic and physical aspects of decline. By examining changes in housing characteristics, as well as contextual variables such as poverty, income, and unemployment, this paper examines differences in policy approaches to reversing urban decline. A comparative case study of neighborhoods in representative urban areas in each country using secondary qualitative and quantitative data provides evidence of how each country's approach resulted in changes to the neighborhood's housing and social characteristics. Interpreting these changes leads to conclusions and implications for current and future policies in each country.

Research Questions

This paper addresses the following research questions:

- What prompted of governmental intervention in neighborhood decline?;
- What were the similarities and differences in both governments' responses through history?; and
- What was the impact of policy differences on social and housing characteristics of the two comparison neighborhoods?

This thesis follows the style of *American Planning Association.*

The research hypothesis of this study is that the US urban revitalization policy, as was applied to the neighborhood of Sandtown-Winchester in Baltimore, Maryland has achieved more improvement of urban housing problems than the UK urban regeneration strategy, which was implemented in the Vauxhall neighborhood of Liverpool, England under historically similar urban changes and responses to treat them.

Research Methods and Organization of Paper

The research uses a longitudinal comparative case study to compare and contrast two governmental approaches to urban revitalization at multiple levels—national, city, and neighborhood. Case studies allow an in-depth examination of causal and contextual relationships, and may be particularly appropriate for examining the implementation of policy interventions (Yin, 1993). In a comparative case study, two (or more) cases are developed that allow the researcher to identify differences and search for causes of, or explanations for, them. Cases are selected that are as similar as possible except for the variables of interest to help control for alternative explanations.

Following the research design shown in the figure on p.5, this paper uses secondary accounts and data to assess and compare US and UK urban policy trends. In Chapter II, I examine the forces of urban change that resulted in inner city decline and the need for revitalization. Chapter III characterizes each government's response to urban decline and its consequences. I also examine these two governmental approaches based on differences in historical policy trends to establish a framework for comparing specific programmatic approaches used by each government. I then observe urban policies of the two governments at three levels: nation, city, and neighborhood. Chapter IV assesses differences at the national level. Then, in Chapters V and VI, I provide analysis of programs and outcomes at the city and neighborhood level.

Baltimore and Liverpool are chosen for a number of reasons. First, both cities were main targets of revitalization (regeneration) strategies compared in nation-wide level observation. The two cities experienced urban growth based on the same geographical advantage – being a port city. Resulting urban change and decline of the

two cities were very similar along most characteristics (as will be shown in Chapter VI). Case neighborhoods are also selected in the two cities. In both Sandtown-Winchester (in Baltimore) and Vauxhall (in Liverpool), the decline in physical and economic characteristics was very apparent, and both neighborhoods were targeted by neighborhood revitalization or regeneration programs.

In Chapter VI, I examine effects of urban revitalization policies and urban regeneration strategies along indicators of population and housing change at three levels of observation using descriptive statistics. With data comparing US and UK cases, this study examines the effects of improvements in the housing field. Chapter VII draws conclusions from the analyses and offers suggestions for planners working in both countries following the research design shown in figure 1.

Research Limitations

This study has two kinds of research limitations. Due to the nature of case study methodology, this study has limited generalizability. Even though Baltimore and Liverpool were target cities of US urban revitalization and UK urban regeneration respectively, there were other cities in which these strategies were implemented and affected by the political trends of both countries. Without study of the other target cities of US urban revitalization and UK urban regeneration, it would be hard to decide the exact differences and similarities in their political approaches. However, Baltimore and Liverpool prime examples of the consequences of demographic and economic changes, and were of interest to many practical planners and academic researchers because of their highlighted status: central governments cooperating with many private sector stakeholders. Further, the neighborhoods selected for closer examination may also not be representative of neighborhoods city-wide or nationally. The selected neighborhoods were examples of neighborhoods targeted by neighborhood revitalization and regeneration efforts, but may not be representative of all neighborhoods.

The other study limitation is presented by the difficulty of data acquisition. Cross-national comparisons may be limited by the comparability of secondary data source. This study was originally designed to examine and compare the effects of US

urban revitalization policy and UK urban regeneration strategy in economic, social, physical, and environmental aspects. In order to observe the conditions of the four categories in each period before, within, and after the political approaches, 1980, 1990, and 2000 US census data was supposed to be compared to 1971, 1981, and 1991 UK census data. In the case of UK census data, however, the only available data was the 2001 census via web-site—previous databases were managed by the longitudinal study office. Due to their funding issues, they declined to provide the data set I requested, and only users located in UK were allowed to access to the database. Even though there were several literature accounts containing appropriate data for UK nation-wide level examination, without neighborhood level data the nation-wide and city-wide levels of data were useless for comparing effects between US and UK political approaches.

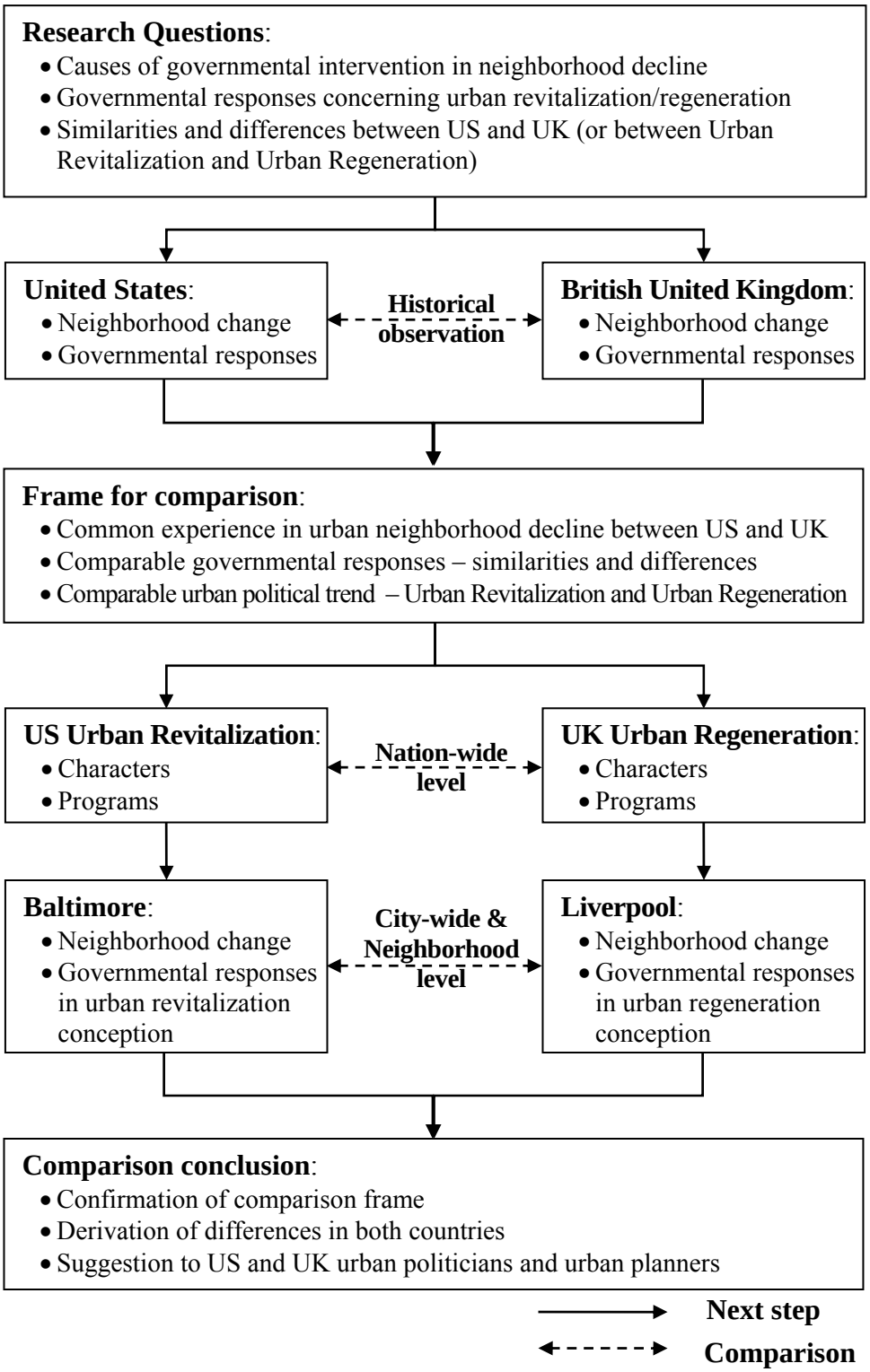

Figure 1. Research Design

CHAPTER II
FORCES OF URBAN AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

To understand government responses to urban and neighborhood decline, it is first necessary to understand the forces that led to that decline. In this chapter I discuss the demographic and economic changes that led to neighborhood decline and identify a broad theory of the neighborhood life-cycle. Although my discussion focuses on forces in the United States and United Kingdom, many authors have identified similar trends in most capitalist countries (Adams, 1990; Ball, *et al.*, 1988; Gregg, 1993; and VanVliet, 1990).

Demographic Change to Social Change

Since 1950, economic and demographic changes such as the postwar veterans homecoming, the baby boom, immigrants' rush to gateway cities, and the growth of technologies that facilitated dispersion to the South and the West, the US has experienced significant migration from rural areas to more urbanized areas, and movement away from central cities toward suburbanized outer fringes of metropolitan areas (Colton, 2003).

Actually, the influential effects of immigrants for America have been proved since 1880 approximately 23 million entered the United States. The immigrants chose their first home in specific areas after being encouraged by kin or by people who previously migrated from their country. During a period of economic expansion they were also motivated to choose cities as their initial habitat because of the availability of transportation. Job opportunities for unskilled labor in American industries spurred immigrants' concentration in cities. Rail allowed heavy industries to locate in the outskirts of cities and, in turn, the newcomers concentrated in the industrial cities (Miggins, 1996). The situation since World War II has not been changed in terms of immigrants' motivation to choose cities as their first home and in terms of their influential concentration on cities.

The labor shortage in wartime industries and other businesses became another catalyst for African Americans migration under the restriction of European and Asian immigration that prevailed since World War I. The temporary improvement of African Americans' economic status under wartime labor shortage was reversed by veterans' return. Their proliferation in urban neighborhoods caused overcrowding and encouraged white residents to leave the city supported by highways, housing development, GI loans, and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insurance[1]. This, in turn, resulted in expansion of metropolitan areas and the proliferation of suburbanization (Miggins, 1996).

The influx of minorities and immigrants into urbanized areas, the proliferation of labor-concentrated industries employing them, homecoming veterans and their baby boom, and escape of affluent white residents to suburban areas resulted in upsetting the balance of existing neighborhoods. Those who could left, leaving households characterized by poverty and a lack of social mobility. Their moving-in also weakened attractiveness of neighborhoods as their concentration in these areas rises. Social and cultural differences as well as language problems led the process of neighborhood decline with raising antagonism between the native inhabitants and the immigrants (Cars, 1991). Even though there were some neighborhoods that successfully integrated, most cases observed racial segregation with racial discrimination against minorities, especially African Americans, gentrification banning influx of immigrants, and unofficial pushing out from their neighborhoods creating urban ghettos.

Furthermore, most people who had entered inner city dreaming better life chances more likely needed to endure hardship of way of life. In 1965 the U.S. Civil Rights Commission found dreadful conditions. Slum landowners were cheating African American residents by subdividing single family homes and building-code violations. Police enforcement was often brutal and racist. The schools segregated African American children into half-day session leaving white neighborhoods classrooms empty (Miggins, 1996). This result, in turn, founded solid identity in traditional immigrant

[1] In the attempt to encourage home ownership, federal government-insured mortgage provided to lenders through FHA so that the lenders were protected from mortgage borrowers' default under FHA insurance. As a result, many housing units were developed particularly at suburban areas encouraging white residents to move out overcrowded urban areas.

neighborhoods – the target which needed to avoid and to exclude from other neighborhoods. After all, residents were isolated themselves from most city facilities and a variety of social services.

These changes were not limited to US boundaries but also were observed in Western Europe (Couch, 2003). The change of social system from raw material products to oil and electronic products and to technological / service industries drove social and economic changes in inner city areas and in populations. The process of suburbanization was most evident in British cities after postwar era (Jackson, 1973). In the descending cycle of deprivation caused by the collapse of the industries they came to work in, immigrants who had been attracted by better life chances with increased income were isolated in inner cities, creating various social disruptions such as crime, racism, and social exclusion fuelled by poverty.

The demographic change and resulting social changes in cities of both sides of Atlantic caused urban neighborhood change. Depending on existing characteristics of neighborhoods, the speed of change would vary. Given a strong community-based organization, a neighborhood could resist or accept change. A weak social organization in a neighborhood made it more vulnerable to penetration by outsiders and would accelerate the neighborhood change process (Fraser, 2003). However, the result of all these changes was, on both sides of Atlantic, unplanned and unforeseen change – properties abandoned in and around the core of most major urban areas.

Causes of Urban Neighborhood Change

Scholars offer several perspectives on the process of neighborhood change. Temkin and Rohe (1996) offer three categories: ecological or demographic, subcultural or organizational, and political-economic. The ecological or demographic perspective focuses on invasion and succession by demographic factor for urban neighborhood change. When new immigrants invade existing neighborhoods they push existing residents to other neighborhoods while the other neighborhoods pull them with improved conditions. The filtering of houses from high-income to low-income households is

another example of an ecological approach. Like invasion and succession model, the filtering process implies a linear framework to explain neighborhood change, especially housing transition. Filtering refers to the process in which older housing units become available to lower income groups as higher income groups move to newer units on urban fringe. Unlike ecological or demographic perspectives, subcultural or organizational perspectives look at noneconomic factors such as social networks, socially-determined neighborhood reputations, and the degree to which neighbors feel a sense of attachment to their neighborhood (Temkin and Rohe, 1996). The advocates of subcultural approach argue that the factors that influence a neighborhood's stability include those cultural factors as catalysts for neighborhood change. The political-economic perspective regards urban areas as subjects used by powerful actors to facilitate the accumulation of capital resources. The approach posits that institutional actors made decisions based on their own perceived interest. Their self-interested decisions have an important impact on neighborhood change (Temkin and Rohe, 1996; Schwirian, 1983).

Stages of Neighborhood Change

Regardless of the causes of change, each of the theories of neighborhood change has observable indicators that change over time. Table 1 summarizes the different stages of neighborhood change offered by different authors, and qualifies characteristics that would indicate each stage.

The initial stage of neighborhood change is a neighborhood that is stable and viable. The neighborhood would consist of homogeneous residents, newly constructed housing units, and mostly singly family residential areas. The second stage would be still stable, however, would begin to show age in its housing stock. In the third stage, neighborhoods would show clear decline, having relatively low-income household and predominantly rental housing. Neighborhoods in the next stage, as the red-lined level of HOLC, would be featured by heavily deteriorated housing stock occupied by low-income residents. Partial vacancy and abandonment would occur at this level. At the fifth and the final stage of neighborhood change process, detrimental and nonviable

neighborhoods would have prevalent vacancy and abandonment in their properties. Some of them could be target of urban renewal or urban redevelopment projects through public intervention.

Considering the neighborhood change as a shift in characteristics of neighborhood residents, Grigsby et al. (1977) argued that the deteriorated and, in turn, the abandoned/vacant step resulted when low-income residents are so poor that they cannot maintain and operate their housing unit at its current quality. Furthermore, the vacant and abandonment under urban change and resulted in urban decline were inevitable (Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Metzger, 2000). On the other hand, based on a filtering process in urban neighborhood, Grigsby et al. (1977) suggested that concentration of abandonment at the lowest quality level was mostly caused by factors such as population decline, subsidized new construction, shifts in living patterns, and employment locations.

HOLC distinguished four stages of urban neighborhood using identification color for each stage from first-grade green as well-planned and homogeneous constitution to fourth-grade red standing for mostly deteriorated neighborhood characterized with predominantly low income rental housing occupied by undesirable population. This final stage of neighborhood, due to its identification color, was called red-lining a neighborhood. In a 1940 model prepared for Federal Home Loan Bank, the HOLC produced interim stage between third grade area and fourth grade area by applying an economic conception to previous categorizations. As well, the final stage of urban neighborhood was distinguished by a more precise explanation – a slum area with substandard housing.

Another five stage model of neighborhood change was offered by Hoover and Vernon (1959) for the Regional Plan Association of New York. Unlike other models shown in Table 1, Hoover and Vernon identified renewal and redevelopment as the final stage of neighborhood change. They concluded that general pattern of neighborhood change was characterized by an inevitable trend toward decline. In the other neighborhood classification system like a research by Real Estate Research Corporation,

a total of five stages were characterized by deterioration level under neighborhood change process. Their distinction considered racial change and lower-household incomes as bellwethers of decline at each stage of neighborhood change. As the final stage of decline, the corporation made a distinction by introducing idea of abandonment (Metzger, 2000).

Table 1. Historical Efforts to Distinguish and to Categorize the Stages of Neighborhood Change

Common features on each stage by each attempt	U.S. Home Owners' Loan Corp. residential security maps (1935)	U.S. Home Owners' Loan Corp. *Waverly: A Study in Neighborhood Conservation* (1940)	Hoover and Vernon *Anatomy of a Metropolis* (Regional Plan Association of New York, 1959)	Real Estate Research Corporation *The Dynamics of Neighborhood Change* (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1975)
Stable and viable · Homogeneous · New · Single family	***First Grade "A" Area* (green)** Well-planned, homogeneous population	***First Stage*** New residential construction	***Stage 1*** Single-family residential development	***Stage 1: Healthy*** Homogeneous housing and moderate to upper income, insurance and conventional financing available
Minor decline · Stable · Begin to age	***Second Grade "B" Area* (blue)** Completely developed, stable	***Second Stage*** Normal use and maintenance	***Stage 2*** Transition to higher density, apartment construction	***Stage 2: Incipient Decline*** Aging housing, decline in income and education level, influx of middle-income minorities, fear of racial transition
Clear decline · Obsolescence · Lower income households · Rental housing	***Third Grade "C" Area* (yellow)** In transition and decline from age, obsolescence, lack of restrictions, lower household incomes and housing values, lack of homogeneity	***Third Stage*** Age, obsolescence, structural neglect	***Stage 3*** Downgrading to accommodate higher density through conversion and overcrowding of existing structures, spread of ethnic and minority districts	***Stage 3: Clearly Declining*** Higher density, visible deterioration, decrease in white in-movers, more minority children in schools, mostly rental housing, problems in securing insurance and financing
Heavily deteriorated · Low income households · Begin to lose and to decline in housing units	***Fourth Grade "D" Area* (red)** Final stage of decline, mostly low-income rental housing, "undesirable population"	***Fourth Stage*** Falling investment and rent values, neglect of maintenance, district-wide deterioration	***Stage 4*** Thinning-out or "shrinkage" characterized by population loss and decline in housing units	***Stage 4: Accelerating Decline*** Increasing vacancies, predominantly low-income and minority tenants or elderly ethnics, high unemployment, fear of crime, no insurance or institutional financing available, declining public services, absentee-owned properties
Unhealthy and nonviable · Vacancy · Abandonment · Renewal		***Fifth Stage*** Slum area with depreciated values, substandard housing, social problems	***Stage 5*** Renewal through public intervention, redevelopment and replacement of obsolete housing with new multifamily apartments	***Stage 5: Abandoned*** Severe dilapidation, poverty and squatters, high crime and arson, negative cash flow from buildings

(Source by: Metzger, 2000; Edited by author)

CHAPTER III
EVOLUTION OF URBAN POLICIES

US Governmental Responses

In this chapter, I examine governmental responses to the conditions described in the previous chapter. Considering the responses decade by decade allows me to establish a longitudinal view of interventions and how they might be reflected in indicators of social and housing change in each country.

The US governmental responses to urban and inner city neighborhood decline are described by Halpern (1995). He observed the urban neighborhood history to be marked by the dramatic fall of employment opportunities as well as decisions by public and private institutions that were detrimental to urban neighborhoods by discouraging investment and support for social and institutional resources in them. These patterns of decision-making have made declining neighborhoods vulnerable and isolated, and have accelerated their deterioration while escalating feelings of anger and betrayal (Halpern, 1995).

National urban policy since the depression: 1950s

In 1949, the Federal Housing Act was passed. Its urban renewal program could be considered the first effort of the US government to address the apparent deterioration of urban neighborhoods[2]. Even though the program was successful in removing urban blight, it also destroyed existing neighborhood interrelationships. The displacement of low income minority groups was obvious (Keating and Smith, 1996).

Both the Federal Housing Act of 1949 and US Supreme Court's decision to uphold the illegality of covenants and restrictions designed to segregate African-Americans actually exacerbated the effects of 1950s neighborhood change. They reinforced urban racial and residential segregation, especially in public housing projects (Halpern, 1995). Most notable were programs that encouraged the flight of upper- and middle-class residents to the suburbanized areas, assisted by financial support to build

[2] Through the Urban Renewal program, federal government provided financial support to cities to acquire, clear, and write down the cost of blighted land or buildings for subsequent reuse according to a publicly approved plan (Kaplan, 1991; Schwartz, 2006).

new houses through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration[3] (VA). Federally-funded highway construction made it possible for higher-income residents to commute from the suburbs to their working place, typically located in central city (Keating and Smith, 1996; Fox, 1986; Greer, 1965).

Accordingly, the 1950s US urban policy could be the initial reaction against prevailed inner city issues such as concentration of African Americans and of their poverty on central urban areas. However, the consequences exacerbated the issues by encouraging the flight of affluent whites to suburban areas.

Expansion of urban policy and new federalism: 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s and 70s observed unprecedented federal activism to treat urban and neighborhood decline through many initiatives such as Community Action and the Model Cities program. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was also created during this decade. Previous urban programs, in fact, had several department heads unwilling to coordinate themselves (Keating and Smith, 1996). However, declining economic status made urban neighborhoods reluctant or underprepared to react to federal initiatives. Movements to enhance community control and promote grassroots activism were perhaps overshadowed by the broader Civil Rights[4] movement, causing confusion and perhaps dilution of federal initiatives that struggled to figure out what they needed to be about (Halpern, 1995). The Model Cities[5] program, as HUD's first major initiative, was intended to concentrate federal resources in a few neighborhoods, and eventually resulted in 150 Model Cities sites (Friedman and Kaplan, 1975).

In the 1970s, previous grant programs such as Model Cities and Urban Renewal were integrated to a single block grant program. The Community Development Block

[3] After World War II, the Veterans Administration established its mortgage insurance program to help the 16 million returning service men purchase homes at an affordable cost. The VA program was closely modeled after the FHA program, but it involved even lower down payments. Together these programs brought home homeownership into the realm of working-class America (Schwartz, 2006).

[4] Civil Rights Acts of 1968 and movement made it illegal to refuse to sell, rent, or make a dwelling unavailable on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin (Schwartz, 2006).

[5] Model Cities program provided assistance to cities and neighborhoods to revitalize and provide services in deteriorated at areas of cities inhabited by low-income households. This program could be regarded first governmental attempt for affordable housing (Kaplan, 1991; Schwartz, 2006).

Grant (CDBG)[6] allowed cities to identify and target efforts and funding to urban neighborhoods, and especially lower-income groups for housing rehabilitation, public works and infrastructure improvements, and social services. The Neighborhood Self-Help Development (NSHD) program and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG)[7] provided direct benefits to urban neighborhoods. Following to the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) in 1975, which helped regulators identify and prosecute lending discrimination, the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 obligated federally regulated lenders to invest in neighborhoods where branches were located (Keating and Smith, 1996).

Although the 1960s and the 1970s observed the monumental establishment of HUD, the CDBG, and other targeted urban policies, their impacts were limited by the economic recession. However, these efforts mark the beginning of bottom-up neighborhood renewal activities.

Hardship of HUD: 1980s

The 1980s was decade of white flight and prompt deterioration in urban neighborhoods. The lack of federal initiative and financial support undermined the positive efforts begun earlier. Given accumulated misdirection with misguided initiative in the 1950s and overwhelmed initiative in the 1960s, the 1980s observed devastation in housing stock, local social institutions, and urban neighborhood residents (Halpern, 1995). High proportional budget cuts to HUD immediately made housing-subsidy waiting lists longer, allowed public housing to deteriorate, and forced community development corporations to find alternative funds or fail (Goetz, 1993). However, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC)[8] provided corporate investors with tax credits for their investment in low-income projects. The tax incentives for private investors assist in developing private housing market rather than subsidizing public housing (Keating and Smith, 1996).

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[6] CDBG provided cities with flexible funds, according to a formula based generally on population and poverty indices, for the redevelopment of older areas or for the provision of services to low-income households (Kaplan, 1991; Schwartz, 2006).

[7] UDAG provided block grants to cities or urban counties that did not qualify for assistance under HUD eligibility but still had substantial poverty pockets (Kaplan, 1991; Schwartz, 2006).

[8] As the largest federal commitment to the construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing, LIHTC provided a ten-year federal income tax credit to investors who provided the equity needed to build housing (Schwartz, 2006).

Although the budget cuts to HUD and lack of federal support for subsidy programs exacerbated painful urban neighborhoods deterioration, the event, ironically, resulted in boosting community-based support for their issues.

Notable attempt under insufficient support: 1990s

In the 1990s, the federal government's approach to community development could be characterized as trying to figure out what they should be about and how they could reconnect distressed neighborhoods to healthy economic conditions in other parts of metropolitan areas. For the first time the department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) started to show concern about how to help inner city neighborhoods and their residents (Halpern, 1995). Given temporarily increased budgets, HUD introduced new initiatives – Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZs and ECs)[9], yet federal fiscal constraints limited its ability to make any major commitment to urban neighborhoods (Keating and Smith, 1996). The EZ/EC program allowed awarded cities to target funds to community-identified needs, and required a high degree of community buy-in and support in order to win the award. The EZ/EC program could be considered as a continuation of the approach of interagency coordination attempted under the Model Cities program in the 1960s. Programs like these—that encourage the leveraging of local, private resources—set the stage for the rise of public-private partnerships as a technique of funding and implementing urban revitalization programs.

UK Governmental Responses

The UK government's responses to urban decline overlap considerably with those of the US government in terms of governmental reactions to suburbanization and slum clearance. The main difference is in the speed of reaction.

[9] Through competitive bids, EZs and ECs program designated specific geographic areas as targets for economic revitalization. By offering tax advantages and incentives to businesses locating within the zone, EZs and ECs encouraged economic growth and investment in distressed areas (Schwartz, 2006).

Postwar reconstruction: 1950s

Many English cities, which had been neglected for years, began to reconstruct after World War II. The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act [10] designated Comprehensive Development Areas. Local authorities of the designated areas were provided detailed guidance for central area redevelopment. The 1950s featured the expansion of urban edges through suburbanization, while fringe towns and cities around central areas prevailed. The resulting slum areas were targeted by governmental slum clearance and reconstruction efforts in the 1950s (Fraser, 2003).

Like the United States, the 1950s in the UK experienced a similar national reconstruction boom. Experiencing comparable demographic and social change, the UK also experienced suburbanization trends and resulting slum issues. Unlike the American case, 1950s in the UK did not observe exacerbated racial segregation resulting from redlining or subsidized flights to suburban areas. Although residential segregation did occur to a lesser degree, it seems not to be related to direct governmental intervention, rather their suburbanization and residential segregation could be regarded as a social movement under the national reconstruction trend.

Expansion and intensification of urban policy: 1960s and 1970s

Growing sentiment against governmental slum clearance initiatives and a more decentralized approach to tackling urban problems encouraged the government to shift their priorities to inner city areas, especially those neighborhoods with significant concentrations of immigrants. The Urban Programme[11] launched by the Home Office in 1968 and, in turn, the Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act through the Urban Programme began to provide the urban neighborhoods with financial assistance (Roberts, 2000).

If the 1950s and 1960s of English urban policy had been called discovery of the inner cities in terms of its concentrated poverty and resulting influential impact to entire

[10] Through the Town and Country Planning Act, city regional planning was provided to each designated Comprehensive Development Area placing governmental managing power in the city (Lloyd and McCarthy, 2003).

[11] The program was established and launched by Home Office in 1968 in response to growing concern about the condition of the inner urban areas, and especially those neighborhoods with significant concentrations of immigrants (Roberts, 2000).

cities, 1970s could be characterized by the expansion and proliferation of urban initiatives. Established by the Home Office in 1969 the Community Development Projects [12] and later the Inner Area Studies carried out the Housing Action Areas designated by the 1974 Housing Act and provided the basis for the upgrading of the urban agenda through the 1978 Inner Urban Area Act. The legislation made the English central government recognize the importance of holistic urban policy and encouraged them to place the urban policy in the main part of their agenda (Roberts, 2000).

The 1970s especially observed shifts in central government responsibility for urban policy. The Home Office, controlled and exercised previous urban policy within the Department of Trade and Industry, shifted in 1975 to the Department of Environment. Showing shifts in emphasis of policy, the shift in departmental responsibility made the Home Office focus on the need for policy that addressed urban deterioration from a perspective that identified urban issues rather than social pathologies (Balchin and Bull, 1987).

In the sense that they were both decades of expansion of urban policy, the 1960s and 1970s of both the US and UK were similar. Both countries realized the importance of the inner city based on their condition in the 1950s, but each tackled urban issues from their own perspective. Both established agencies to coordinate existing urban programs in an attempt to maximize resources and provide comprehensive or holistic approaches to dealing with the consequences of urban decline.

Maximization of role of private sector: 1980s

Many of the urban policy initiatives of UK in the 1980s could be characterized as a move away from the idea that the central government should provide all of the resources in the form of a policy intervention (Turok, 1987). The private sector was emphasized as the key member of the task force. Utilizing and maximizing the role of the private sector and the partnership with it, the 1980s UK governments attempted to

[12] By the Home Office, the Community Development Projects (CDPs) was established in 1969 with the intention of exploring solutions to poverty in areas of high social deprivation. Particular emphasis was to be placed on community participation in both the analysis and the implementation of solutions. Working on the presumption that both the causes of and solutions to urban deprivation were local, each CDP had both a neighborhood-based action team and a linked university-based research team responsible for problem analysis and policy evaluation (Couch, 2003).

restore the vitality of land and property markets within deteriorating urban areas (Robinson and Shaw, 1991). Following the turnover of political power in 1979, the Urban Programme, initially launched in the1960s, increased its focus on commercial redevelopment and private investment, introducing new strategies for enhancing private sector investment. The first of the new measures was the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) under the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act. The second new initiative was the establishment of Enterprise Zones (EZs) (Roberts, 2000).

In order to complement the two initiatives, the 1980s also observed the introduction of the Urban Development Grant (UDG) in 1982 through the establishment of the Inner City Enterprise, which was a property development company funded in part by the Urban Programme. This effort attempted to address a missing issue – seeking out development opportunities that would otherwise be ignored or considered too risky. With the intention of assisting the private sector in bringing forward major subjects, the Urban Regeneration Grant (URG) was established in 1987. In 1988, as the major business under the Action for Cities Programme, merging the URG and the UDG, the City Grant was introduced to give central government funds to developers directly rather than through a local authority intermediary (Roberts, 2000).

Compared with the 1980s US urban policy, which was characterized by prompt deterioration under the highest proportional budget cuts to HUD, the 1980s of UK saw the proliferation of many urban neighborhood-focused programs. Starting from UDCs and influential EZs, the UK government attempted to revive the role of the private sector under federal supports. To some extent, the emergence of the role of the private sector was prevalent on both sides of Atlantic, although it was produced by different way: intentionally nurtured in the UK, while being a matter of survival for community organization in the US.

Accomplishment of urban coordination: 1990s

The 1990s in the UK recognized the importance of the sustainability of urban policy. Building on the previous decades nurturing of public-private partnerships, the 1990s saw the encouragement of local authorities to participate in bid for funds building partnership with other public sector, private, and voluntary bodies. The first of these

measures was the City Challenge. It sought to give the local authority a key role by letting the authority draw up plans for the regeneration of areas that they felt were pivotal in the region's resurgence. City Challenge encouraged the local authority to act with vision and to include the local people and community organizations (with, of course, the private sector) in its projects (Noon, 2000). The City Challenge was the largest single item of the urban policy budget in this decade (Mawson et al., 1995).

As another large account for urban cities, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was introduced in 1993, integrating existing regional offices for implementing local initiatives to ten new offices – the Government Offices for the Regions (GOR)—and giving them the role of administering the existing main programs and the new SRB. In addition to the establishment of SRB, the UK government introduced the City Pride program that same year. It was a pilot program which installed multi-agency groups in Birmingham, London, and Manchester to develop ten-year strategic vision for their city and to implement and achieve their presented vision. The last two notable urban policies in the 1990s were the English Partnerships (EPs) and the Private Finance Initiative (PFI). As an Urban Regeneration Agency, the EPs were introduced to promote reclamation and development of derelict, vacant, and underused land and buildings in England, especially in urban areas. The EPs merged the functions of English Estates, City Grant, and Derelict Land Grant. The PFI, launched in 1992, was established to reduce the public sector borrowing requirement and to raise additional capital finance in an attempt to encourage the private sector to take a more active role in urban regeneration (Roberts, 2000).

The 1990s could be characterized as having rediscovered the importance of urban neighborhoods after experiencing recession in social and physical areas of inner cities in the 1980s, and as vested and consolidated partnerships accomplishing in systematic approach to reversing decline in urban neighborhoods. The SRB and PFI successfully made a commitment to the regeneration of UK urban neighborhoods, providing a model for US urban neighborhood revitalization and making room for considering sustainable urbanism.

Comparison of Governmental Responses between US and UK

Table 2 shows the result of this comparison between the US and UK in terms of governmental responses to urban and neighborhood decline. From the influx of immigrants to urban areas to suburbanization and resulting central slum areas, the US and UK experienced similar forces of urban and neighborhood change throughout their urban history. In turn, they responded to the changes with programs designed to address economic, social, and physical aspects of urban neighborhoods.

The US and UK governments in the 1950s could be characterized by two concerns – slum clearance and rebuilding / reconstructing postwar injuries in their cities. In terms of slum clearance, both countries succeeded in removing blighted central areas and experienced an improvement in housing quality and living standards in expanded urban edges. However, misguided efforts to remove slum areas and expand home ownership exacerbated the suffering of urban neighborhood residents in both countries. Particularly, actions of the US Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration aggravated racial segregation in residential areas and encouraged suburbanization through their discriminatory red-lining and long-term mortgage for whites. Responding the centralized urban poverty, the US and UK in the 1960s encouraged urban neighborhood residents to move to other place without sufficient provision of shelter.

Worsening urban problems finally made both governments place their main emphasis on urban areas so that earnest governmental intervention to urban neighborhoods, backed by funding streams, was begun in the 1970s. Many acts and programs were launched in order to halt urban neighborhood decline.

The 1980s would have a distinguished place in both countries' governmental responses to urban issues. The US experienced dramatic cutback in funding for HUD, while the UK government changed its approach to localizing redevelopment by placing the redevelopment under central government direction. As a result, the 1980s observed proliferation of urban programs in UK like Enterprise Zones and Urban Development Corporations contrasting to recession in urban neighborhood improvement under financial cutback in the US. However, this period would encourage US urban

neighborhoods to work for their own development, as shown by the number of neighborhood-based movements and programs under lack of governmental subsidies.

Following different governmental approaches in urban policies and the situation resulting from them, the 1990s saw different urban approaches of government. Shutt (2000) suggests, however, that the successes and failures of each country influence the other. The exacerbated crisis of US cities is widely perceived on both sides of the Atlantic, influencing the UK government to emphasize new urban policies more tightly controlled by the central government to avoid a crisis like that being experienced in US urban neighborhoods (Shutt, 2000). On the other hand, US government was influenced by the 1980s UK urban policies such as the Enterprise Zones initiative. The US rediscovered the importance of urban neighborhoods so that they delivered monumental urban policies such as Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. Many successful cases of US Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities program, again, influenced UK to encourage a bid system like the Single Regeneration Budget program. Even though US was influenced by the 1980s UK urban policies with its interventional nature, the 1990s US governmental approach was rather neighborhood-based development and decentralized programs in their goals and delivery system. In contrast, the 1990s UK governmental urban initiatives was more coherent, centralized, planned, and directed (Hambleton and Taylor, 1993; Shutt, 2000).

Table 2. Governmental Responses Comparison between US and UK

US			Country	UK		
Major Features	**Programs**	**Results & Achievements**	**Period**	**Major Features**	**Programs**	**Results & Achievements**
·Slum clearance ·Rebuilding	·Federal Housing Act ·Federal Housing Administration ·Veterans Administration	·Removal of some blighted central areas at expense of urban neighborhoods ·Prevailed racial segregation	**1950s**	·Slum clearance ·Reconstruction	·Town and Country Planning Act ·Designation of Comprehensive Development Areas	·Expansion of urban edges ·Improvement of housing and living standards in suburbanized areas
War on poverty	·Department of HUD ·Community Action programs ·Model cities	·Limited impact on urban neighborhoods with underfunding ·Short-lived urban programs	**1960s**	Deconcentralization of urban poverty	·Urban Programme ·Local Government Grants Act ·Community Development Projects	·Continuation of 1950s theme ·Rehabilitation of existing urban areas
New federalism	·Community Development Block Grants ·Neighborhood Self-Help Development ·Urban Development Action Grants ·Home Mortgage Disclosure Act ·Community Reinvestment Act	·Urban neighborhoods support under federal funds, especially for lower income groups ·Efforts to discontinue racial segregation	**1970s**	Expansion and intensification of urban policy	·Department of Environment ·Inner Area Studies ·Housing Act ·Housing Action Areas ·Inner Urban Area Act	·Coordinating of existing urban programs ·Holistic urban approach ·Governmental emphasis on urban deterioration
Devolution in urban policy	·Neighborhood Development Demonstration ·Low-Income Tax Credit	·Recession in urban neighborhoods improvement under financial cutback ·Foundation for neighborhood-based initiatives developing private sectors	**1980s**	Localized redevelopment under central support	·Local Government Planning and Land Act ·Urban Development Corporations ·Enterprise Zones ·Urban Development Grant ·Inner City Enterprise ·Urban Regeneration Grant ·Action for Cities Programme ·City Grant	·Decentralizing of urban policy and resources ·Establishment of many programs to support localized initiatives under central government intervention as it used to be
·Rediscovery of urban neighborhoods ·Urban revitalization	·Affordable Housing Act ·Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities	·Limited major contribution to urban neighborhoods under federal fiscal constraints ·Proliferation of neighborhood-based programs	**1990s**	Urban regeneration	·City Challenge ·Single Regeneration Budget ·English Partnerships ·Private Finance Initiative	·Enhancement of central government subsidy with reintroduction of strategic perspective ·Expansion of partnership to balance between public, private, and voluntary bodies

(Source by Keating and Smith, 1996; Roberts and Sykes, 2000; and Edited by author)

Experiencing the urban change and resulting socioeconomic and physical issues, the urban policy of the two countries showed similar emphasis areas to their urban neighborhoods. Their trial and error or success, at last, produced the recognition of importance of urban neighborhoods. It was emphasized for urban neighborhoods not only to tackle physical redevelopment but also to handle social, economic, and even environmental concerns that were emerging in the political landscape. For urban neighborhood revitalization or regeneration, the federal government was needed to facilitate the power of local and private authorities and encourage the proliferation of public-private partnerships for urban neighborhood revitalization or regeneration in both countries. What was different in the countries, however, was obvious when each program was delivered to their neighborhoods. The urban policy delivery and implementation in UK was more coherent, centralized, and directed, while in US the extent of decentralized initiatives and neighborhood-based development was greater (Shutt, 2000). In the other words, in contrast to US government's role in urban revitalization as a coordinator for partnership and success of projects or a follower to direction of local authorities, role of UK government in urban regeneration would be characterized as a manager for entire process of projects or a leader of initiatives.

Figure 2 shows relationship between causes and consequences in US and UK. If the demographic and neighborhood change did play as cause factor to governmental responses, the governmental approaches would cause again the urban revitalization or regeneration political trends in US and UK. Particularly, differentiated approach from the 1980s would play as an explanatory factor which could distinguish between US urban revitalization and UK urban regeneration in terms of the role of government in the approach. To examine the different roles of government in recent urban political trends, I next examine representative case cities – Baltimore and Liverpool. These two cities experienced demographic and neighborhood changes in their postwar period and followed each governmental direction in their history. Through observation of practical initiatives that were delivered to them, the different governmental approach in urban revitalization and regeneration may be assessed.

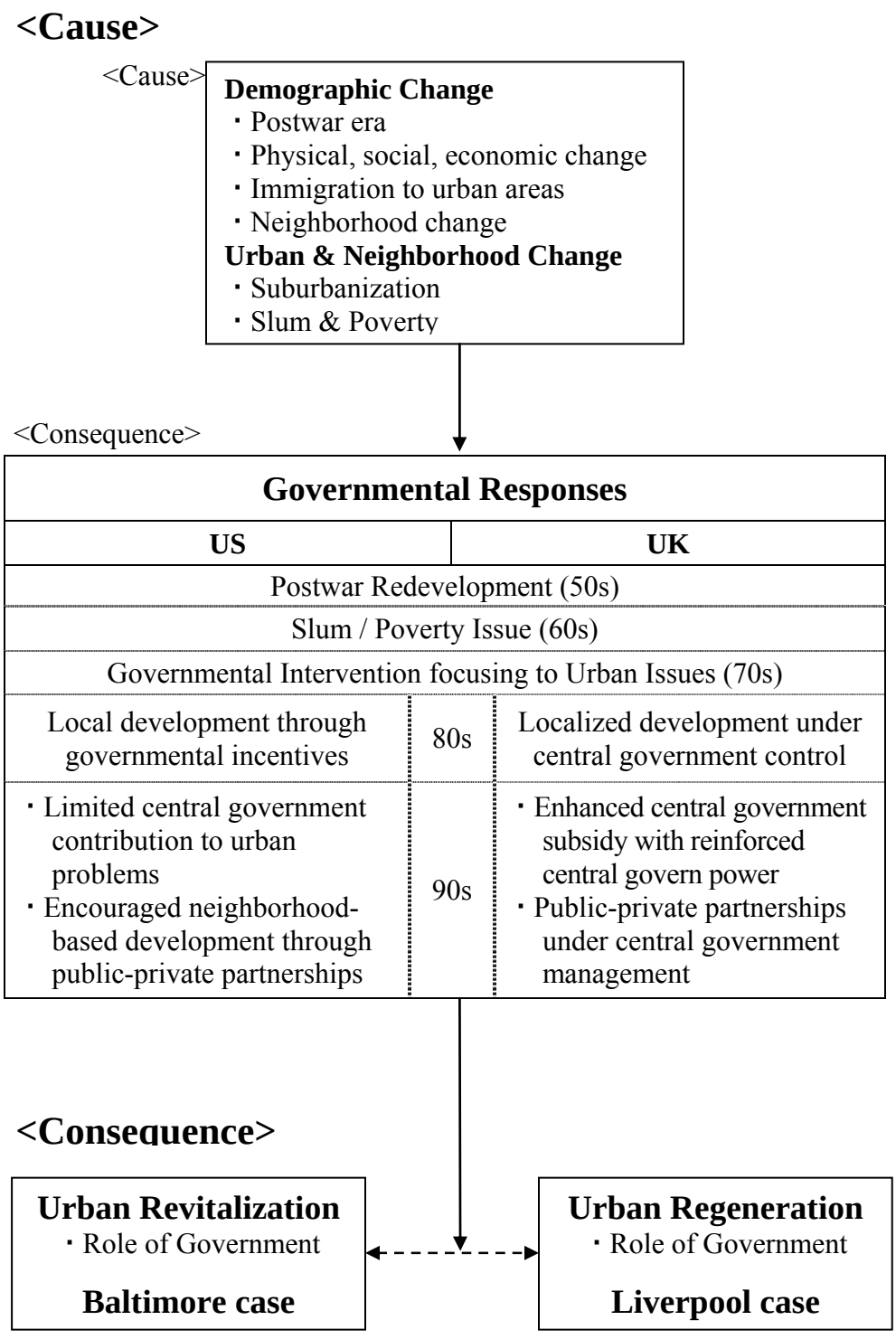


Figure 2. Causes and Consequences in Comparison Frame

CHAPTER IV
US URBAN REVITALIZATION AND UK URBAN REGENERATION

In previous chapters, I have identified the policies taken by each government in response to urban change and neighborhood decline. In this chapter, I more carefully examine the programs implemented in each country to assess the processes by which each major policy approach effected neighborhood change. In the US, these processes are referred to as urban (or neighborhood) revitalization, while in the UK, they are referred to as urban (or neighborhood) regeneration.

US Urban Revitalization

Definition and Characteristics

Urban revitalization is nationwide trend in recent US governmental urban policy and related programs. Many scholars have examined these programs, and typically categorize efforts as being either socioeconomic or physical. Some scholars refer to these as people-based or place-based approaches. The socioeconomic or people-based approach focuses on improving conditions for the urban neighborhood residents. If conditions in neighborhoods were poor, people-based programs would aim to increase mobility, allowing individuals to leave their deprived community for better opportunities elsewhere. In other words, the socioeconomic approach to revitalization stressed the needs of residents for better housing, community facilities and jobs. The physical or place-based approach focused on the physical development of the urban neighborhood, those revitalization policies made improving housing quality and property values a primary goal rather than stressing better conditions for existing residents. The attempts also could be considered as aiming to capitalize advantages of the centralized site location. For example, public-private partnerships would fall under this categorical approach (Law, 1988; Zielenbach, 2000).

While people- and place-based approaches can be used in conjunction with each other, they often work at odds. People-based approaches focus on improving the quality of life for individuals, even if that means removing them from the neighborhood, while place-based approaches would prefer to keep people in distressed neighborhoods as a

way of stabilizing and supporting the neighborhood itself. This is sometimes referred to as the community development dilemma. Because these programs often worked against each other, each was open to criticism by supporters of the other approach. The socioeconomic approach was attacked due to its secondary importance on geographic place. Emphasizing individual improvement inadequately addressed the economic development of the neighborhood as a whole. In contrast, the place-based approach focuses more on the economic development and marketing of the neighborhood, but largely ignores the needs of the low-income residents currently living there (Zielenbach, 2000).

Given the apparent weaknesses of both approaches, programs at the federal level attempted to combine the best of both. US urban revitalization programs aimed at the improvement of economic conditions for existing residents and the re-integration of the neighborhood into the market system. It should not be considered as rehabilitating an area to make it more attractive for more affluent residents. If it did so, it is likely to ignore the less affluent individuals currently living there. Since urban revitalization initiatives address the needs of lower-income residents, it can also be considered a poverty reduction program. By improving the social mobility of neighborhood residents, urban revitalization helps them attain a certain level of affluence and encourages a distressed neighborhood to reintegrate into the market, further generating additional economic activity and creating supplementary resources. Practically these efforts have been observed in US urban policy especially for last half century including Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities, Community Development Corporations, public-private sector partnerships and coalitions for urban revitalization (Shutt, 2000; Zielenbach, 2000).

Urban Revitalization Policy

As examples of initiatives that attempted to combine both people- and place-based approaches, I next examine the Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC) program and Community Development Corporations (CDCs) as representative examples of US urban revitalization efforts.

Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC)

Emphasizing individual-level and community-level development in the context of a new partnership of stakeholders, the Empowerment Zones idea attempted realization of neighborhood revitalization by providing public resources. In the initiative, private / non-profit support and involvement were stressed, as well as the commitment of public resources. Cities designated as Empowerment Zones had to be nominated by both local government and state government. With community input, applicants prepared a strategic plan including economic, human, community, and physical development. The plans then competed for federal funds. In the first round of funding by HUD in 1994, Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia/Camden were designated and declared as the Empowerment Zones. Under the pressure to enlarge the number of areas receiving support, Los Angeles and Cleveland were named Supplemental Empowerment Zones. Although goals for each grant were defined by the cities themselves, most targeted funding to social services, including the prevention of child abuse and neglect; to achieve self-sufficiency by training and self-employment; to achieve and maintain self-support by community and economic development; to provide emergency shelter; to support home-ownership programs; and to support child-care institutions (Shutt, 2000).

The delivery of the Empowerment Zones initiative was HUD's attempt to change governmental responses to urban issues from previous top-down programs to partnership-level catalysts for inner city redevelopment by leveraging other resources and programs. By empowering and facilitating human development, housing development, and neighborhood development, these programs were more likely to observe improvements in each sector. Representative cases include the Atlanta Project, the Enterprise Foundation's Sandtown-Winchester project in Baltimore, the Surdna Foundation's Comprehensive Community Revitalization program in New York's South Bronx, and the Casey Foundation's New Futures initiative in four other cities (Krumholz and Star, 1996).

Community Development Corporations (CDCs)

In contrast to the Empowerment Zone program which emphasized coordination of existing governmental resources, Community Development Corporations (CDCs) work

locally to pursue a variety of strategies designed to improve conditions within the neighborhoods that they serve. At first, CDCs were envisioned to create employment chances for community residents through education, training, and small business development, encouraging private sector to participate in revitalization of inner city through leveraging public and private monies (Zielenbach, 2000). Especially, CDCs focused on revitalization of their communities through real estate projects like the development of affordable housing and the development of commercial centers. From the perspective of outside investors, the presence of a CDC in a neighborhood reduced the perceived risk of investment and acted as a catalyst for development. Because of their nonprofit organizational character, CDCs had more flexibility to address issues of the public good than could many for-profit institutions. In other words, they were not restricted by the need to produce successful result – money, and the CDCs could undertake riskier, less cost-effective projects in neighborhoods with little market activity and private sector interest. The CDCs' nonprofit organizational nature allowed them to become involved in various development activities in order to recreate the market within their neighborhoods (Keating and Smith, 1996).

Given most CDCs' engagement in housing development projects, 1990 federal housing legislation prepared special funds for CDC-sponsored projects, recognizing them as important players in neighborhood revitalization. From 1960 to 1990, CDCs created 14 percent of all federally subsidized housing units, excluding public housing. In 1993, they produced around 400,000 affordable housing units—greater than the number of units provided by either the federal government or the private sector (Zielenbach, 2000).

UK Urban Regeneration

While similar to US urban revitalization in many ways, UK urban regeneration also features some differences in terms of its issues. Experiencing similar urban changes like suburbanization and inner city poverty, the two countries have provided comparable government programs as discussed in Chapter II. In contrast to the US place- based and people-based approaches, the UK urban regeneration adds an additional aspect in dealing within urban decline – environmental. This does not mean that US urban revitalization is

not concerned about environmental issues, but relatively speaking, the UK's urban regeneration approach recognized and acted on this issue earlier than the US.

Definitions and Characteristics

Roberts (2000) defined UK urban regeneration as "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social, and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change (Robert, 2000, pp.17)." This, in fact, could be a statement about tackling the problems encountered in urban neighborhoods with a long-term, comprehensive strategy (Couch, 1990).

Unlike US urban revitalization which emphasized local decision-making by community stakeholders, UK urban regeneration policy acted more as a manager who would facilitate the development of consensus between public and private sectors. Although urban regeneration policy focused on the role of institutional actors in non-governmental sectors in tackling urban neighborhood issues as did US urban revitalization, the UK government expressed their power through the establishment of central objectives and in the introduction of initiatives to mobilize non-governmental players' efforts. The change includes economic, social, environmental and political circumstances in UK urban regeneration.

This decision management can be observed in attempts such as Enterprise Zones and Urban Development Corporations. By controlling the public financing of these efforts, urban regeneration policy attempted to balance public and private roles by addressing issues that were obstacles to private development, such as the provision of social infrastructure, the preparation of derelict land for development, and the provision of public housing (Grover, 1993; Hickling, 1974; Lichfield, 1992; and Roberts, 1990, 2000).

Urban Regeneration Policy

Enterprise Zones

Under the Local Government, Planning, and Land Act of 1980, the Enterprise Zones (EZs) initiative was established in 1981. This program was officially focused on

relaxing planning controls and providing tax benefits to designated areas in order to spur development. For ten years firms locating in the designated areas were permitted to not pay local taxes and to have 100 percent financing from the federal governments for industrial and commercial buildings. Furthermore, the act introduced a streamlined permitting and review process to attract developers. A total of 32 EZs have been created since 1981. The designated areas were areas with substantial economic and physical decay where conventional economic policies had not succeeded in regenerating self-sustaining economic activity (Beresford et al., 2000; Lloyd and McCarthy, 2003; and Noon, 2000).

The UK's EZ program is comparable to the US Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZs / ECs) initiative. In contrast to US EZs / ECs approach, which enabled designated areas to focus on socioeconomic parts of the community in an attempt to coordinate local resources with federal resources, the UK Enterprise Zones provided a foundation through federal incentives to facilitate local and private development.

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs)

The shift from local to central control or management in the late 1980s and early 1990s created another notable program – Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). Under the same legislative foundation as EZs – the Local Government, Planning, and Land Act of 1980, the first two UDCs were established in 1981 – the London Docklands Development Corporation and the Merseyside Development Corporation in Liverpool. Their primary concern was physical development through the encouragement of the private sector. These agencies had the power to acquire physical areas in the community and then to act as developer. By acquiring property and preparing it for development, they served the community by encouraging private investment. The UK government argued that UDCs were the most important attack ever made on urban deterioration (need citation). In fact, as a prime property-led regeneration approach, UDCs were successful in drawing £1.8 billion in private sector finance. However, following the recession in the UK property market in the early 1990s, many UDCs recorded losses in the virtual absence of returns (HMSO, 1988; Noon, 2000).

UDCs were permitted to replace local authorities in their areas as the relevant development control authorities, as explained above. The Local Government, Planning, and Land Act also gave UDCs extensive powers of land acquisition, not only by compulsory purchase, but also in acquiring the freehold interest of public land. Although UDCs answered to the federal government, they were not responsible to the residents in their area. This undemocratic character allowed UDCs to control local property development in accordance with the federal government's planning system and goals (Bintley, 1993; Lloyd and McCarthy, 2003).

Confirmation based on Comparison between Urban Revitalization and Urban Regeneration

Focusing on economic and social aspects, US urban revitalization attempted to revitalize US urban neighborhood through Empowerment Zones and Community Development Corporations (see Table 3). Empowerment Zones aimed to incorporate local resources with public support through a competitive application process. The emphasis of the program was socioeconomic revitalization based on individual and neighborhood-based development. As local agencies, Community Development Corporations focused on physical development of urban neighborhoods. Due to their nature as non-profit organizations, the agencies could afford more risk for projects like affordable housing devleopment and commercial district developments. In both representative initiatives of US urban revitalization, government played as a role as catalyst for local development and for building public-private partnerships. Even though they provided federal funding, they followed the direction of local stakeholders rather than leading them.

In contrast to the US case, UK urban regeneration consisted of governmental-led initiatives. Enterprise Zones program and Urban Development Corporations are compared with US revitalization programs. Rather than a competitive bidding process, Enterprise Zones were selected by the government based on governmental research about each urban neighborhood. Consequently, the direction of initiatives was also set by the federal government. Focusing on economic development, the governmentally-designated areas relaxed planning controls to encourage local business growth. Urban Development Corporations were local agencies created by the federal government, roughly comparable

to US Community Development Corporations. Unlike the Community Development Corporations, however, the UK agencies had power to acquire local properties under the purpose of physical development. Through two programs of urban regeneration, UK government kept its power to control and manage local development and public-private partnerships.

Table 3. Urban Revitalization / Regeneration Program Comparison between US and UK

US		Country	UK	
Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities	***Community Development Corporations***	**Program**	***Enterprise Zones***	***Urban Development Corporations***
·Revitalization of socioeconomic decline ·Individual & Community-level development ·Human development ·Housing development ·Neighborhood development	·Revitalization of physical deterioration ·Real estate development ·Affordable housing development ·Commercial center development	**Emphasis**	·Regeneration of economic and physical decay ·Relaxation of planning control to boost local businesses	·Regeneration through physical development ·Property acquisition by corporation
·Competitive bidding ·Designation by government ·Provision of federal funds to community development	·Establishment in target community by government ·Non-profit organizational catalyst to outside developer	**Procedure to work**	·Designation by government ·Provision of incentives to local businesses	·Establishment in target community by government ·Property acquisition through extensive governmental power ·Property development
·Coordinator ·Partnership catalyst ·Follower	·Investment catalyst ·Property developer	**Governmental role**	·Incentive provider ·Business catalyst ·Leader	·Manager ·Controller

(Source by Beresford, 2000; Bintley, 1993; Department of the Environment, 1980; HMSO, 1988; Keating 1996; Krumholz and Star, 1996; Lloyd and McCarthy, 2003; Noon, 2000; Shutt, 2000; and Zielenback, 2000; Edited by author)

CHAPTER V
CASE STUDIES:
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND AND LIVERPOOL, MERSEYSIDE

In this chapter, I introduce two cases for further in-depth study. Cities are chosen that are representative of areas that experienced severe urban decline in response to demographic and economic changes experienced in both countries. Both cities received designation under the federal programs previously discussed. By examining the implementation in each city, I am able to explore the impacts and outcomes of these policies at a local level.

Baltimore and Liverpool have common histories in terms of their economic prosperity based on a seaport location. Both cities relied on the food trade and manufacturing industries as their economic base; their economic prosperity peaked in the late 19th century. Booming economies resulted in better social opportunities for residents and businesses, creating many employment opportunities for immigrants. The postwar era also saw a common situation for both cities as efforts to rebuild and redevelop the cities. Furthermore, both cities experienced unexpected growth in population including immigrants and minorities (African-Americans in Baltimore, and Irish in Liverpool). The similarities in demographic change and resulting neighborhood change for both cities justifies their use as representative case studies. Comparing the implementation and outcomes of urban revitalization and regeneration policies provides insight into the differences between each country's approach.

Baltimore, Maryland, US

Baltimore, Maryland was one of the original designees in the US Empowerment Zones program. The Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood, especially, has had a well-documented urban neighborhood revitalization program. Before examining the program, I first observe Baltimore's neighborhood change and relevant governmental responses.

Baltimore's Neighborhood Change

Baltimore's development was closely related to its geographical location. Supported by the shipping and rail industry, the economic prosperity of Baltimore was primarily based on the metal industry, particularly steel production, as well as sugar and food importation. By the nineteenth century, the city's physical boundaries were continuing to expand outward (Hula, 1990).

As happened in many older industrial cities in the US, however, Baltimore's postwar era observed demographic change and economic decline. In terms of population, the city experienced a dramatic decline. The metropolitan population declined more than 60 percent in the 1950s and 35 percent in the 1980s. The racial composition of the population also experienced significant change from predominantly white (65 percent) in 1960 to more than 60 percent non-white in 1980. In terms of industrial economic change, the decline of total jobs in the city was faster than that of the population. Particular decline was seen in the manufacturing sector, which had served as the main growth engine of Baltimore's prosperity. The central business district experienced dramatic disinvestment and epitomized the city's economic distress. Demand for commercial and retail property was limited, with more than 2,000,000 square foot of loft and warehouse space vacant in 1980. The Baltimore waterfront became a jungle of rotted piers and abandoned warehouses (Regional Planning council, 1989; Hula, 1990).

Further, like other metropolitan areas of US, Baltimore experienced residential segregation and rapid suburbanization. The Federal Housing Administration promoted long-term, low-interest home mortgages in Baltimore's white suburban areas, while the Veterans Administrations guarantee no-down-payment mortgage loans to veterans. As a result, Baltimore's homeownership rate increased from 55 percent to 63 percent between 1950 and 1960. After racially-restrictive deeds and covenants were outlawed, the form housing of discrimination changed to exclusionary zoning, which excluded apartments and set minimum lot and house sizes. The zoning code had practical effect of reinforcing existing segregation along races because most African Americans could not afford suburban housing. This policy of excluding African Americans from suburbanized white areas and containing them in their own neighborhoods resulted in creation of crowded and deteriorated conditions in African American neighborhoods. Most of the worst

slums in Baltimore were located near the downtown business sections. Due to their low property values, Baltimore African American neighborhoods received few city services. As a result, Baltimore's inner city neighborhoods came to be notorious for their abandoned properties and deteriorated streetscapes (McDougall, 1993; Zeiderman, 2006).

Baltimore's Urban Revitalization – Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood

Concern over the coordination for dealing with Baltimore's socioeconomic neighborhood issues led the Baltimore-based Enterprise Foundation and Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development or BUILD – a partnership developed between Rouse's foundation, the mayor's office, and a coalition of churches—to seek designation as an Empowerment Zone. The coalition selected the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood as their target (McDougall, 1993).

The Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood was notorious for its neighborhood deterioration. It was a 72 block neighborhood of approximately 9,200 people in 1990. The levels of poverty and unemployment were among the highest in the city of Baltimore. Twenty four percent of families in the Sandtown-Winchester area were run by a single parent with children living below the federal poverty level. Fifty four percent of the labor force was unemployed. The population of Sandtown-Winchester (97 percent African American) had been declining for decades. According to the Baltimore City Department of Planning (2001) report, it decreased by another 1,692 people between 1990 and 2000. During this period, the most notable decline was in the number of people between the ages of 20 and 24 years old. This age group declined by 800 people between 1990 and 2000. Over 1,400 (almost 70 percent of total population of Sandtown-Winchester) of the neighborhood's families were headed by single females. Even worse, the neighborhood was notorious for its vacant, boarded-up properties and abandoned lots. Of the approximately 46,000 dwelling units in the neighborhood, about 30 percent were multifamily housing, and less than 20 percent of the single-family dwellings were owner-occupied in 1990 (Baltimore City Department of Planning, 2000b; McDougall, 1993; and Zeiderman, 2006).

These conditions are indicative of the last stage of neighborhood change, where a neighborhood has declined to the point of being nonviable. The Sandtown-Winchester

neighborhood started to make efforts to renew the neighborhood to return to the healthy and stable status. The effort was supported mainly by the Community Building in Partnership.

The Community Building in Partnership (CBP) was established in 1994 to carry out transformation in the Sandtown-Winchester community of Baltimore, Maryland; the same year of Empowerment Zones designation. The CBP emphasized coordinating local agencies for neighborhood participation and programs in neighborhood revitalization. A major supporter, the Enterprise Foundation placed a program officer in the CBP's Neighborhood Transformation Center. The city of Baltimore also provided staff for the neighborhood. Following these commitments to working on neighborhood transformation and revitalization, additional efforts by local organizations were continued , for example through the establishment of the Neighborhood Development Center and the Vision for Health Consortium. CBP also drew 600 residents to participate in the construction of the goals and vision statement. The Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood residents, the Enterprise Foundation, city officer, and community development experts worked in four program design clusters to develop an action program that was explicitly presented to the neighborhood and city of Baltimore. The four clusters were community building, physical and economic development, health and human services, and education – that were matched with emphasis aspects of Empowerment Zone initiative. CBP also encouraged residents to participate and to volunteer in program planning and implementation efforts in Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood revitalization. Opportunities included developing a planning curriculum for local elementary schools; writing for the Sandtown-Winchester Viewpoint newspaper; organizing and helping in community clean-ups; volunteering in youth and after school programs; serving as public safety representatives on their blocks; and assisting with fundraising activities (Enterprise Foundation, 2000; McDougall, 1993).

The CBP also established the Neighborhood Development Center (NDC) to revitalize the economic sector of the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood. One of the first projects was the revitalization of the Avenue Market. The CBP and the Enterprise Foundation established the Avenue Market Corporation in 1994, and the Avenue Market reopened in December of 1996. The Avenue Market Corporation leased the space and

marketed the businesses to the neighborhood. The City of Baltimore provided a grant for the market's renovation and operation. A second effort of the Sandtown-Winchester economic revitalization was the creation of job opportunities. Supported by the Enterprise Foundation, Environmental Enterprise Incorporated (EEI) was established in 1998. EEI creates employment opportunities for neighborhood residents through training and job placement in appliance repair skills. The Enterprise Foundation made contracts with appliance product companies to ensure a steady flow of used appliances to help EEI become self-sustaining. By the end of 1998, EEI and the neighborhood technicians repaired about 2,000 used appliances per month, generating around $15,000 in income per month to the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood (Enterprise Foundation, 2000).

Liverpool, Merseyside, UK

Among the poorest cities in western Europe, Liverpool has been the object of various urban policy initiatives over the past 50 years (Couch and Fraser, 2003). As a case study, it provides an opportunity to study the UK urban neighborhood regeneration policy and to compare it with the US urban neighborhood revitalization policy as seen in Baltimore.

Liverpool's Neighborhood Change

Liverpool's traditional economic structure was closely tied with its role as a port. The port shaped its employers, its work force, its trade union structure, and its party politics. Its economy was dominated by large companies that employed semi- and unskilled workers in factory lines (Cornfoot, 1982; Lane, 1987). These firms brought population and economic growth based on Irish immigration. When the port began its decline in the postwar period, however, the local economy was unable to adapt to macroeconomic change, and this became a catalyst for decline. Furthermore, Liverpool's traditional food processing industry made the city vulnerable to the centralization that occurred in the postwar period and led many local firms to be taken over by national and multinational corporations. The resulting dominance of large multinational employers in the city's economy undermined coalitions of local business owners working to improve the city's economy. The significant dominance of large firms also meant that Liverpool

had insufficient local capital. Lastly, the postwar period of Liverpool saw dramatic demographic changes including a massive loss of more than 400,000 people from the city into suburban areas beyond the city boundaries (Lloyd, 1979; Lloyd and Dickens, 1978; Parkinson, 1990). Externally controlled firms locating in Liverpool began to show disinvestment, contraction, and closures. In the 1970s, 60,000 jobs were lost and unemployment rate reached 27%, twice the national average. In response to Liverpool's dramatic decline, the city became primarily a public sector city, expanding the central and local government, health services, universities, police, and nationalized industries in an attempt to cover the recession of the private sector. Coping with the city's economic problems, the central government delivered a supply-led program such as provision of serviced sites and advance factory units concentrated in particular areas. The program also offered small grants, rent guarantees, and commercial advice to attract small firms to invest in the city. The program primarily focused on overcoming physical obstacles to private investment, but its grant-making was insufficient to meet the demands of the local economy (Parkinson, 1990).

Liverpool's Urban Regeneration – Vauxhall Neighborhood

In the 1980s, the British central government established an Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in Liverpool with Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC). As a government agency, the MDC marginalized the role of local government and local authorities such as Liverpool City Council (Couch, 2003; Parkinson; 1990).

Under the UDC's goals to reclaim derelict property, encourage industrial and commercial development, and ensure the provision of social facilities and housing, locally designated agencies like the MDC had powers to acquire, manage and dispose of land, to carry out reclamation works, and to provide infrastructure for development. They also enforced development controls within their designated area. The Merseyside Development Corporation was designated in 1981, and comprised the former Liverpool South Docks, parts of the North Docks, and land on the Wirral side of the River Mersey. For the regeneration of Liverpool, and particularly the Merseyside area, the MDC established the Albert Dock complex, which included the Merseyside Maritime Museum, the Tate Gallery, the Museum of Liverpool Life, a hotel, offices, luxury flats, shopping,

bars, and restaurants. A new station opened at Brunswick Dock to serve the area. Most of the South Docks were redeveloped with housing, offices, hotels, workshops, showrooms, and a marina (Couch, 2003).

As part of the Merseyside area, the Vauxhall neighborhood was one of the most deprived neighborhoods in the whole Liverpool area. By the 1970s, employment in the area was in decline. Around 20,000 industrial jobs had disappeared from the Vauxhall dockland. Tate & Lyle, one of the largest local employers, laid off 600 people in 1976 and closed its local factory in 1980 with an additional loss of 1,700 jobs. By 1981 the unemployment rate in the Vauxhall neighborhood reached 36.6%, more than twice the Liverpool county average (McIntyre, 1995).

The MDC and the City Council, in response launched the Community Development Projects (CDP). The CDP attempted to explore solutions to poverty in areas of high social deprivation. Particular emphasis was placed on community participation in both the analysis and the implementation of solutions. As a result, the community-based Vauxhall Neighborhood Council (VNC) was established, embracing a policy of a community-based economic development. The initiatives provided by the VNC included a community laundry, a community transport program, a driving school, and the VNC lifeline providing 24 hour a day support for the elderly. The MDC also established Routes to Work to support enterprise and employment creation in the Vauxhall neighborhood. The Routes to Work program provided free and accredited training services for Vauxhall residents in information technology and business administration (Couch, 2003; Gibson and Langstaff, 1982).

However, the MDC showed the limitations of British urban regeneration policy in its lack of local accountability and its poor coordination with other local agencies. The lack of relationship to local bodies meant that when central funds and supports ended, the programs could not continue. The 1984 International Garden Festival in Vauxhall neighborhood is an example. The festival was launched to spur tourism and attract outside developers. The Vauxhall neighborhood was one of the target areas. Despite its tremendous success in 1984, there were no proper arrangements between the central initiative and local authorities, so after the end of festival and the end of funding, the site was closed and began to deteriorate. Although parts of the festival site were sold for

housing construction, much of the site was neglected and forgotten, undermining rather than supporting long-term economic development (Couch, 2003).

Confirmation Based on Comparison between Baltimore and Liverpool

In Baltimore, the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood revitalization efforts were characterized by coordination among residents, local corporations, institutional bodies, and city grants under federal subsidies (Table 4). Among those, coordination between residents and local corporations was noteworthy in their neighborhood revitalization program. The federal and local government supported rather than led these resident-driven action programs in the Sandtown-Winchester revitalization.

The regeneration process in Liverpool could be characterized by heavy central government intervention and by a fragmentation of responsibility among an array of public and community-based organizations. The responsibility for local regeneration was spread among local councils, regional development agencies (MDC), other government organizations, private companies, and community organizations. Although successful in urban regeneration, this fragmentation weakened clarity in their aims and undermined the development of long-term strategies for maintaining the early successes. Limited coordination between programs and resulting competition for the same scarce investment funds among initiatives resulted.

Table 4. Case Comparison

Baltimore	City	Liverpool
Port city	**Geographic feature**	Port city
・Metal industry ・Sugar and Food trade	**Development foundation**	・Slave and food trade ・Manufacturing industry by externally founded firms
・Demographic change (Total population decline & Racial proportion change) ・Suburbanization and resulting slum creation in central area ・Economic structure change (Manufacturing -> Service)	**Decline factor was**	・Economic dependency on externally founded firms ・Economic structure change (Manufacturing -> Service)
・Empowerment Zone ・Community Development Corporations	**Efforts to revitalize the city**	・Enterprise Zone ・Urban Development Corporations
Sandtown-Winchester	**Representative neighborhood**	Vauxhall
・Coordinating local agencies for neighborhood participation and programs ・Building comprehensive goals and a vision with residents ・Community building ・Physical can economic development	**Context of each neighborhood revitalization**	・Locating local agencies for managing programs and attracting community participation ・Local economic development through commercial and business subsidies from central government
・Provision of funds ・Coordinating local authorities under community-led established purpose	**Role of government in neighborhood revitalization**	・Provision of funds ・Managing scarce central funds for competitive and fragmented programs

(Produced by author)

CHAPTER VI
SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

The previous chapters have examined governmental responses to urban decline at the city and neighborhood level in comparative cases. In this chapter, I assess quantitative indicators of urban revitalization/regeneration—particularly housing and demographic characteristics. Further analysis of indicators such as community participation, investment, employment, and income would be needed to provide a full assessment of the success of urban revitalization and regeneration in the case neighborhoods. However, the indicators used here provide limited evidence of social and physical changes taking place in the case neighborhoods in response to governmental interventions.

Justification of Variables

At the outset of the paper, I hypothesized that US urban revitalization policy would show better progress in housing problems than the UK urban regeneration strategy, especially in terms of an increase in home ownership and a decrease in vacant housing. Here, I use two variables to indicate changes to neighborhood housing– vacant housing rate and homeownership rates[13]. Because improvement in housing conditions should be associated with revitalization or regeneration, I also expect some stabilization in sociodemographic variables, including population and household counts.

The rates of vacant housing units are generated by dividing the number of total vacant housing units in each census year by the number of total housing units in the same year. The resulting vacant housing rate implies how many housing properties are not in use in each observation level. Rates of owner-occupied housing units are generated by dividing the number of total owner-occupied housing units in each census year by the number of total housing units in the same year. In the case of the UK, the rates are generated by dividing the number of total owner-occupied households in each census year by the number of total households in the same year. The rates of renter-occupied

[13] UK census data provides households, while the US census reports housing units. However, because the concern of this particular study is the rate, it does not matter in interpreting home ownership.

housing units and rates of renter-occupied households are produced in the same way with owner-occupied cases. Considering the nature of housing as a basic need to possess one's own shelter, the rates of owner-occupied housing units are important for residents.

Comparisons made over time allow me to assess change in response to governmental intervention. Comparisons at each observation level allow me to assess how change at the level of intervention (neighborhood level) compares to changes at the city and national level, helping to control for larger economic and population shifts. Finally comparisons across countries allow me to assess the relative effectiveness of differing national approaches to urban revitalization and regeneration.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

In Table 5, I examine changes to the number of residents and housing units over time and across levels and countries. As discussed in previous chapters, population loss was indicative of distress to inner city areas, and a loss of housing units was indicative of the deterioration of the housing stock. We would expect to see a stabilizing effect in these variables in response to revitalization efforts.

Table 5 shows numbers of population, total housing units, and total households in 1980, 1990, and 2000 in the US, meaning the eras of before, within, and after urban revitalization policies. The years 1971, 1981, and 1991 are shown for the UK, indicating the eras before, within, and after urban regeneration strategies. Unfortunately, as explained in Chapter I due to the funding issue of the UK's longitudinal office, 1971 data was not available, so some data is unavailable (some numbers were taken from secondary accounts).

Table 5. Backdrop Information

Year	US			Year	UK (England)		
	Nation-wide	**Baltimore city**	**Sandtown - Winchester**		**Nation-wide**	**Liverpool city**	**Vauxhall**
Population [1, 3]				**Population** [a, b]			
2000	281424603	651155	9255	1991	44875946	430570	6823
1990	248709873	736014	10944	1981	45214323	497013	11887
1980	226542199	786775	13108	1971	55515000	434209	N/A
Increase rates of Population				**Increase rates of Population**			
2000	13.2%	-11.5%	-15.4%	1991	-0.7%	-13.4%	-42.6%
1990	9.8%	-6.5%	-16.5%	1981	-18.6%	14.5%	N/A
Total Housing Units [2, 3]				**Total Housing Units** [b]			
2000	119628000	300475	4445	1991	19938302	196670	3467
1990	102263678	303706	4704	1981	18237391	201637	4962
1980	88410627	302680	4903	1971	N/A	N/A	N/A
Increase rates of Total Housing Units				**Increase rates of Total Housing Units**			
2000	17.0%	-1.1%	-5.5%	1991	9.3%	-2.5%	-30.1%
1990	15.7%	0.3%	-4.1%	1981	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total Households [3, 4]				**Total Households** [b]			
2000	105480101	257995	3270	1991	18683337	182810	3163
1990	91947410	275977	3610	1981	16720120	180502	4300
1980	80389673	281414	4194	1971	N/A	N/A	N/A
Increase rates of Total Households				**Increase rates of Total Households**			
2000	14.7%	-6.5%	-9.4%	1991	11.7%	1.3%	-26.4%
1990	14.4%	-1.9%	-13.9%	1981	N/A	N/A	N/A

(Source by: 1 - U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Population and Housing Counts, Series PHC-3-1; 2 - U.S. Census Bureau, "Housing Vacancies and Home Ownership" http://census.gov/hhes/www/housing/hvs/hvs.html; 3 - The Government Public Library of John Hopkins University; 4 - U.S. Census Bureau, decennial census of population, 1900 to 2000; decennial census of housing, 1940 to 2000; a - Office for National Statistics; b - NOMIS, official labour market statistics; and calculated by author)

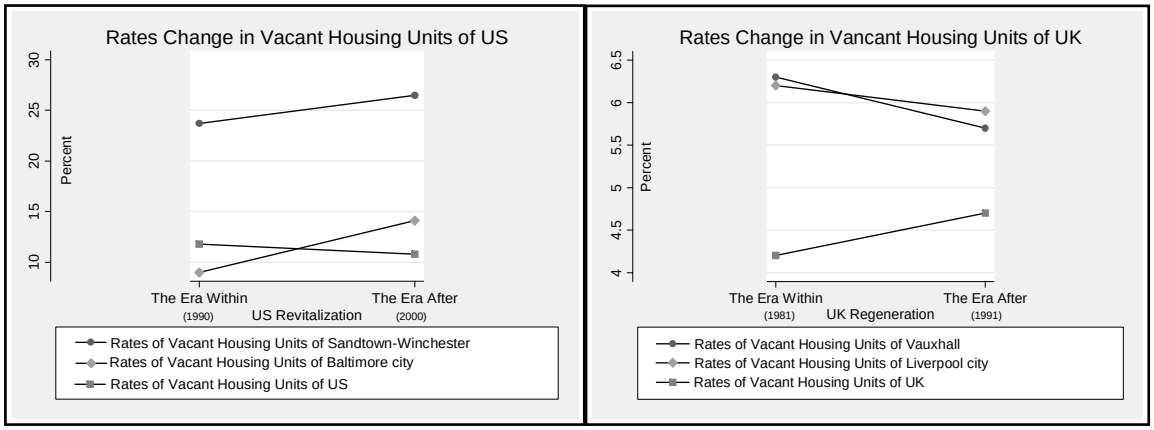
With regard to population, the case cities and neighborhoods show a pattern opposite of that seen in each nation as a whole. In the case of the US, although the country had growth in population of about 9.8% from 1980 to 1990, the City of Baltimore and Sandtown-Winchester experienced a decline in population of 6.5% and 16.5% respectively. In the 2000 census, this pattern between nation-level and city-wide or neighborhood levels continued. In particular, Baltimore city had about 11.5% decline in population while the nation saw a 13.2% increase in population. Like the US, the UK census shows that the city of Liverpool and Vauxhall neighborhood experienced decline

in population while the population of England increased. From 1981 to 1991, the Vauxhall neighborhood showed a disastrous decline in population, losing about 42.6% of its population. Indeed, in terms of population loss, the Vauxhall case appears to be much more severe than Sandtown-Winchester.

Given the close relationship between population and demand for housing, it is not surprising to see a similar trend in the number of housing units and total households. Again, the two cities and two neighborhoods showed opposite trends from their nations. Although the US total of housing units increased 15.7% from 1980 to 1990 and 17% from 1990 to 2000, Baltimore and Sandtown-Winchester experienced a steady decline. Similarly, while the UK has seen a steady increase in population and housing, the Vauxhall neighborhood showed a 30.1% decrease in total housing units from 1981 to 1991, while Liverpool had a 2.5% decline in total housing units in the same time period. In the case of total households of the US and UK, neighborhood levels showed a higher decline than city-wide levels as opposed to the increase of nation-wide levels.

Vacant Housing Comparison

Figure 3 shows rates of change between 1990 and 2000 in the case of the US and between 1981 and 1991 in the case of the UK. In the US, we see that the rate of change is negative only at the national level, meaning that the proportion of vacant housing in total housing units decreased in the case of the US while increasing at both the city and neighborhood level. About a 5% increase in vacant housing units was observed at the city-wide level, and about a 3% increase was calculated at the neighborhood level. This suggests that contrary to what we would expect to see in response to government interventions, vacancy rates continue to climb in the city and neighborhood. However, the rate of increase in Sandtown-Winchester is lower than that of Baltimore itself, suggesting that perhaps efforts underway in the neighborhood are having somewhat of a stabilizing effect in the face of continued city-wide woes.



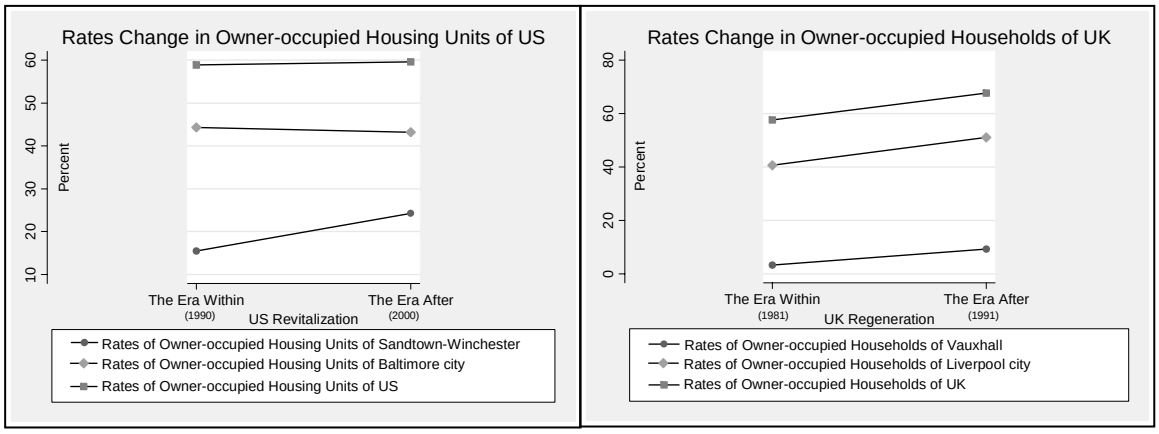
(Produced by author)

Figure 3. Vacant Housing Units Rates Change Comparison between US and UK

The case of the UK is different from the US in the levels of housing vacancies. While vacancies increased in the nation between 1981 and 1991, vacancy rates decreased in Liverpool and Vauxhall. However, the rate of change is much smaller than in the US. In the UK, the increase in vacancy rate was 0.5%, while the decrease in Liverpool and Vauxhall was 0.3% and 0.6%, respectively. These findings suggest that the UK regeneration was having greater success at reversing the forces of urban decline, at least in terms of housing vacancies. Perhaps their success in reducing vacancies stems from the UK's greater emphasis on removing obstacles to private development and taking a more aggressive approach to physical redevelopment.

Homeownership Rate Comparison

Figure 4 shows a comparison of homeownership rates across the two cases. Here we see that both the nation and the neighborhood show an increase in the US case, while the city of Baltimore shows a slight decrease. Particularly given the greater magnitude of increase, these findings suggests a positive trajectory for the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood despite trouble in the city of Baltimore. The urban revitalization emphasis on creating new housing development and opportunities for homeownership, implemented by the CBP, may be at least partly responsible for the increase in the homeownership rate.



(Produced by author)

Figure 4. Owner-occupied Housing Units (Households) Rates Change Comparison between US and UK

The UK also shows increases in homeownership during the study period, but this time at each geographic level. While a positive change, it is difficult to attribute the change to urban revitalization policies, since both the city and the nation as a whole were seeing an increase in homeownership during the same period. This could mean that the US urban revitalization for Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood had exceptional achievement in increasing homeownership rates, while the UK urban regeneration for Vauxhall, rather, may be attributable to common growth.

Confirmation of Research Hypothesis

Comparing changes in vacancy rates and homeownership rates for the two cross-national cases suggests the US urban revitalization plan for Sandtown-Winchester, Baltimore was less successful in improving housing characteristics than was the UK's urban regeneration plan for Vauxhall, Liverpool. Even though the era after urban revitalization showed improvement in tackling the vacant housing issue at a nation-wide level, the city of Baltimore and Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood experienced an increase vacant housing units during that time. In contrast, the Vauxhall neighborhood and the city of Liverpool experienced a decrease in vacant housing units during the observed era, while the nation as a whole saw an increase.

In terms of homeownership, however, the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood showed a more dramatic increase homeownership than the nation itself, while the city of

Baltimore saw a decrease in homeownership within the City. Like the US, the UK saw an increase in homeownership over the study period. However, the growth of home ownership in the Vauxhall neighborhood was considerably less unique than that of Sandtown-Winchester. Thus, it could be said that US urban revitalization for Sandtown-Winchester was more successful in improving home ownership than the UK's urban regeneration.

While perhaps an incomplete picture of indicators of neighborhood revitalization and regeneration, these findings are consistent with the differing emphases of urban revitalization and regeneration policies as described in earlier chapters. While the UK focused on physical redevelopment and removing obstacles to private investment, the US approach to urban revitalization focused more on people-based approaches, or socioeconomic improvements for individuals and households, which we might expect to be reflected in homeownership rates.

CHAPTER VII
RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Since the end of World War II, both the United States and the United Kingdom have experienced dramatic changes to their populations and urbanized areas. The unfettered growth of urban areas resulted in a decentralization of metropolitan populations and led to neglect of inner city areas and their mostly disadvantaged populations. The forces of urban decline accelerated the staged of neighborhood change, so that neighborhoods in inner cities rushed to the last stage of the neighborhood change model –unhealthy and deteriorated.

In response to these problems, the US and UK governments formulated policies aimed at social and economic revitalization. Both countries' efforts showed a similar path. In the 1950s, the countries efforts focused on physical redevelopment of urban areas, in the 1960s, they turned to slum and poverty clearance. In the 1970s, both governments led comprehensive development approaches. From the 1980s, however, their approaches began to differentiate from each other in their areas of emphasis. While the US government provided incentives for locally-driven neighborhood-based development, the UK government kept control of local development and the establishment of public-private partnerships.

The distinction between these governmental roles has carried over to more recent political approaches. The EZ/EC program and CDCs exemplified the US government's approach to neighborhood revitalization through stakeholder-driven efforts and the leveraging of private funding with public funding. In both programs, neighborhood residents are expected to identify needs, develop solutions, and generate both support and resources from local organizations and investors. The role of the government is to facilitate coordination and provide limited "start-up" funds, with the expectation that programs will become self-sustaining over time. In contrast to these approaches, the Enterprise Zones and the Urban Development Corporations exemplify the UK government's approach as a leader of local development projects and a manager of scarce public resources for local authorities. The differences in the role of government for urban revitalization or regeneration were observed again through comparison between the

Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood in Baltimore and the Vauxhall neighborhood of Liverpool.

As the targeted neighborhood of Baltimore's EZ designation, the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood experienced resident involvement through the establishment of a comprehensive vision statement and involvement of local corporations and institutional bodies to neighborhood-based development. In contrast, the Vauxhall neighborhood in Liverpool experienced heavy central government intervention in their neighborhood regeneration through the Merseyside Development Corporation. Although the UK's government expressed relinquishing of power to the city, Liverpool experienced fragmentation of responsibility among an array of public and neighborhood-based authorities. Even though they had successful urban regeneration in areas of physical and economic development, this fragmented responsibility failed to establish a clear vision or strong framework for sustaining the success. Limited coordination between regeneration programs, especially, caused competition for the same scarce central government funds among them.

Although limited in their scope, an assessment of quantitative indicators of neighborhood change reveals trends consistent with the qualitative analysis. The heavy central UK government intervention in the Vauxhall neighborhood regeneration achieved progress reducing vacant housing rates while vacancy rates in Sandtown-Winchester continued to experiences the same increases seen in the larger city of Baltimore. This reflects the UK emphasis on physical obstacles to redevelopment and a more aggressive approach to dealing with vacant and abandoned properties as symptoms of urban decline. A stronger focus on people-based programs seen in the Sandtown-Winchester (US) neighborhood, on the other hand, may have contributed to the noticeable growth in home ownership in that neighborhood. Although the evidence presented here supports assessments made from secondary accounts of government interventions, further research using a wider array of indicators and more careful controls is necessary to fully assess the impact of neighborhood revitalization efforts in both countries.

Recommendations

Comparing the approaches used in the United States and the United Kingdom to combating neighborhood decline caused by larger demographic and economic changes allows me to offer recommendations to US and UK urban planners and urban politicians regarding successful urban revitalization and urban regeneration in the future.

First of all, an understanding of the forces that led to neighborhood decline allows policy makers and planners to anticipate how current conditions may be expected to lead to decline in other neighborhoods. By tracking neighborhood change through careful data collection at the local level, planners can target preventive efforts to stabilize neighborhoods or to maintain or enhance social and physical infrastructure.

Second, even in the absence of government funding, neighborhood planners can facilitate resident involvement in identifying both problems and solutions. Combining the best of both place- and people-based programs, planners can create and maintain healthy and viable neighborhoods while encourage the development of individual capacity and social mobility. Facilitating resident involvement establishes a social infrastructure that can protect neighborhoods from further decline.

Besides being comprehensive, neighborhood revitalization efforts should aim for sustainability. In both countries, recent policy approaches have emphasized the importance of public-private partnerships. These efforts are growing in popularity by using limited public funds to leverage much more extensive support from local, private funders. The involvement of private investors indicates buy-in from local businesses and residents, and suggests a commitment to long-term stability and success.

The UK approach took a much more aggressive approach to identifying and removing physical obstacles to redevelopment. In the US, as more and more building become obsolete, and particularly in the face of an economic recession and housing market crisis, the US government may be well-advised to pay attention to approaches to successfully returning vacant properties to productive use. Although some attention has been paid to municipal land banking and other approached to property acquisition and disposition, the UK experience may offer valuable insight (Alexander, 2005).

For the last suggestion, the federal government, in both cases, should continue to play the role of catalyst for urban revitalization, as well as a resources for neighborhood-

based development by urban planners and local policy makers. Urban planners need to encourage residents to realize their role as a leader of their neighborhoods' development and their ability to sustain the success of development by themselves. Rather than leading local development, the government needs to coordinate local resources with the public help. The establishment of a clear neighborhood-generated vision and integrated framework of responsibilities for implementation will allow government, local institutions, and neighborhood residents to work to secure their own futures.

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