## The City of Brotherly Love?

# Investigating Collaborative Planning in Philadelphia's Contemporary Revitalization Initiatives

by

Jeffrey Paul Hébert

B.A., Urban Design and Architecture Studies New York University, 2002

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Author:	
	Department of Urban Studies and Planning May 20, 2004
Certified by:	Lorlene M. Hoyt, PhD Assistant Professor of Technology & Planning
	Thesis Supervisor
Accepted by:  MASSACHUSETTS II  OF TECHNOLO	Dennis Frenchman, MArchAS, MCP Professor of the Practice of Urban Design Chair, Master in City Planning Committee
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#### **ABSTRACT**

The revitalization of many cities across the United States is much less focused on the development of the city center and its flagship projects than was the case a decade or so ago. Substantial investment has begun to flow into once forgotten, deteriorating urban neighborhoods and community groups are becoming prominent voices in the reshaping of communities.

Based on Naomi Carmon's *Stages of Urban Revitalization* and Patsy Healey's theory of *collaborative planning*, this thesis presents a theoretical framework that argues that a new stage of urban revitalization practice has emerged. Carmon's research describes three stages of urban revitalization since roughly 1940: *The Bulldozer Era* (1940s – 1960s), *Neighborhood Rehabilitation* (1960s – 1970s), and *Center City Revitalization* (1970s – 1990s). She then argues that since the late 1990s, a new urban revitalization paradigm has emerged that is more neighborhood focused than the previous stage. Healey describes collaborative planning as the coordination between hard infrastructure (*city agencies*) and soft infrastructure (*neighborhood groups*) that produces community plans. This thesis argues that contemporary revitalization planning is a combination of the two.

Today, revitalization planning both emphasizes neighborhood revitalization – as outlined by Carmon – and collaboration – as outlined by Healey. American and European examples are presented to illustrate this theory. In addition, interviews were conducted with representatives of Philadelphia city agencies and Old City neighborhood groups to investigate the presence of this proposed fourth stage in Philadelphia.

The findings of this thesis suggest that neighborhood focused collaborative urban revitalization planning is emerging as a contemporary model – validating the concept of the new stage of urban revitalization practice.

Thesis Supervisor: Lorlene Hoyt, PhD

Title: Assistant Professor of Technology and Planning

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# Dedicated to

Gertis Forbes Rowley<sup>†</sup> & Alice Porché Hébert<sup>†</sup>

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#### List of Acronyms

Chapter I pages 7 – 11

Chapter II pages 12 – 24

PHA Public Housing Authority
FHA Federal Housing Agency
BID Business Improvement District

Chapter III pages 25 – 35

NRP Neighborhood Revitalization Program

TIF Tax Increment Financing
ABI Area Based Initiative
SRB Single Regeneration Budget
RCG Rotherham Co-ordinating Group
SLON Smethwick Local Officers Network

Chapter IV pages 36 – 57

GIS Geographic Information Systems

OHCD Office of Housing and Community Development

NTI Neighborhood Transformation Initiative CDC Community Development Corporation

PACDC Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations

OCCA Old City Civic Association
OCD Old City District BID

BID Business Improvement District ZBA Zoning Board of Appeals

Chapter V pages 58 - 62

OCD Old City District BID
OCCA Old City Civic Association

PCPC Philadelphia City Planning Commission
PHC Philadelphia Historical Commission
NRP Neighborhood Revitalization Program

TIF Tax Increment Financing

Chapter VI pages 63 – 66

NTI Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (Philadelphia)
NRP Neighborhood Revitalization Program (Minneapolis)

PRP Philadelphia Rebuilds Program

PCPC Philadelphia City Planning Commission

# I.

#### Introduction

The revitalization of many cities across the United States is much less focused on the development of the city center and its flagship projects than was the case a decade or so ago. Substantial investment has begun to flow into once forgotten, deteriorating urban neighborhoods and community groups are becoming prominent voices in the reshaping of communities. This thesis attempts to create a theoretical framework that identifies these occurrences not as isolated phenomena, but rather as a new stage of urban revitalization that seeks to redevelop those urban neighborhoods by the design of local stakeholders.

In this thesis, I will argue that contemporary urban revitalization planning is characterized by a shift from the downtown-centered revitalization schemes of the past to neighborhood-focused revitalization programs. To do so, I will rely on Naomi Carmon's research on post 1940s urban revitalization. In addition, I will use Patsy Healey's theory of collaborative planning to argue that this current stage of urban revitalization is marked by a change from top-down planning practices to a collaborative process that brings both city-wide agencies and neighborhood stakeholders together to create neighborhood plans. By combining these two frameworks, I will suggest that contemporary urban revitalization practice represents the fourth stage of urban revitalization — a stage that is both neighborhood-focused and structurally collaborative. To test the validity of this proposed fourth stage, I will investigate the contemporary urban revitalization practices of Philadelphia through interviews conducted with representatives of both city-wide

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Naomi Carmon, "Neighborhood Regeneration; The State of the Art," <u>Journal of Planning Education and Research</u> 17 (1997): 131.

agencies/organizations and neighborhood groups. I will also investigate into the presence of collaborative revitalization initiatives in Philadelphia by comparing those initiatives to other well documented domestic and international collaborative revitalization models.

Because *urban revitalization* is a term used to broadly define any number of programs and services, the definition I will use is that it is any city initiative focused on the physical rebuilding of a spatially-defined neighborhood or district. Collaboration is also a term that has many different meanings in the context of revitalization. However, for this thesis, *collaborative planning* is defined as city-wide agencies and neighborhood groups working together in the creation and implementation of neighborhood-specific revitalization initiatives.

### Philadelphia: A Brief Urban Historical Context

Philadelphia<sup>2</sup> has been an urban experiment beginning with the planning of the city in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century by William Penn. The economic activity of the city was concentrated along the Delaware River<sup>3</sup>, today known as Old City. The great grid plan, now present day Center City, was adapted many times over as a model for the development of American cities. In the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the citizens of Philadelphia began building institutions, parks and gardens that showcased their wealth from the shipping industry. These great interventions in the urban landscape gave Philadelphia the nickname "The Athens of America."

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Refer to Figure 1 for map.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Baker, Alexander J. The Schuylkill River Park Public Art Process: An Ethnographic Focus on a Philadelphia Urban Park's Development. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 2002. p 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Philadelphia's planners embarked on bringing the City Beautiful movement to the *City of Brotherly Love*.

In Philadelphia, the influence of this movement resulted in the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. The Parkway Plan was proposed in an attempt to connect Fairmont Park with Center City utilizing a boulevard to link two architectural 'points:' an art museum, which would be constructed on the site of the old reservoir, and the recently completed City Hall.<sup>5</sup>

This 'link' would be the first of many large-scale disruptive redevelopment interventions in Philadelphia. Because the new boulevard would create a diagonal cut through the Penn grid plan, many homes and businesses would have to be demolished.

The post war years had a devastating economic impact on Philadelphia. At the mid point of the twentieth century, Philadelphia was faced with a dramatic population loss coupled with a depressed economy based on waning industrial production. For the urban environment, the city represented a wasteland of obsolete factories and disintegrating infrastructure. As with most American cities, Philadelphia's residents and businesses began to suburbanize, leaving behind them the urban poor and decaying urban infrastructure.

Characteristic of the Urban Renewal period of urban revitalization, highways were introduced to the city in the hopes of creating an urban core accessible to the suburbanites whose tax dollars the city needed. Public housing projects began to appear as did plans for the redevelopment of Center City to attract more businesses, residents, and tourists. Two of the most important redevelopment projects were the Independence Hall renewal project and the Society Hill residential district renewal project. The Independence Hall redevelopment would attract tourist

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

dollars and encourage the establishment of new businesses in the area while the nearby Society

Hill district redevelopment would attract middle class residents back to the city.

For the last thirty years, Philadelphia has concentrated its efforts on the revival of Center City to its pre war status as the vibrant heart of the city. While flagship projects like Penn's Landing and the Pennsylvania Convention Center as well as more contemporary projects like the Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts and the National Constitution Center are still important, there is increasing attention being paid to neighborhood quality-of-life issues.

# CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

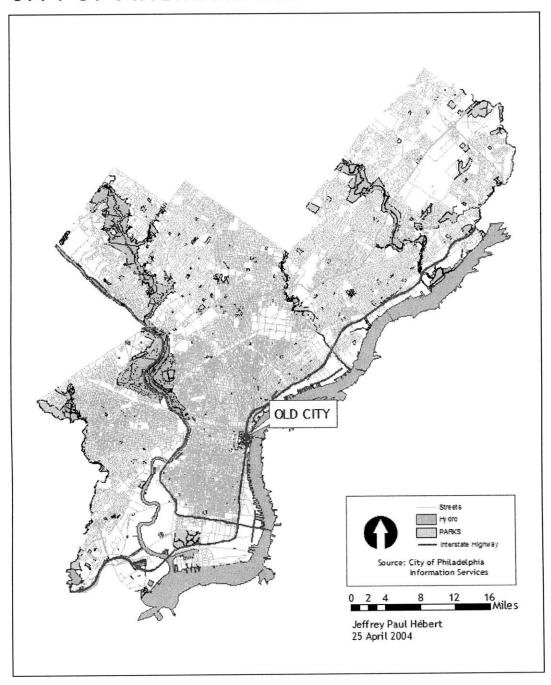


Figure 1 City of Philadelphia

# II.

# Stages of Urban Revitalization in the United States 1940s to the Present

While public intervention in distressed neighborhoods can be traced back to the 1800s, it was not until the 1930s in the United Kingdom and the late 1940s in the United States that governments entered the poorest neighborhoods on a massive scale.<sup>6</sup>

#### Introduction<sup>7</sup>

In 1870 the Danish carpenter Jacob Riis immigrated to New York City. After twenty years of varying levels of poverty and wealth – many of them either living on the street or in the tenements characteristic of New York City's Lower East Side – Riis published How the Other Half Lives. The book awakened middle and upper middle class New Yorkers to the living conditions of the city's poor. Fifteen years later, New York City instituted housing reforms for the tenements and 25 years later created the first public housing in the United States. The nation soon followed by enacting the Housing Act of 1937, which established the concept of a Public Housing Authority (PHA) and instituted a program of building low-cost housing intended to temporarily house small, young families until they had enough money to buy a federally subsidized home in the suburbs. It is at this point with a government interest in providing decent housing that urban revitalization began to take hold as a major priority for federal, state, and city governments throughout the country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Naomi Carmon, 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Refer to Figure 2 for Stages of Revitalization graphic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> James Stockard, "The Housing Delivery System in the United States" Harvard University Design School. <u>Housing Delivery System in the U.S.</u> Class notes, 5 December 2003.

Post World War II America was characterized by unfettered suburban growth and urban decentralization supported by federal policies and programs. With the migration of the socioeconomically mobile [white] population to the suburbs, along went the economic base of many cities, leaving the urban core neighborhoods exclusively for the poor and disenfranchised<sup>9</sup>.

### The First Stage: Urban Renewal

In order to attract both investors and residents back to the city core, the government then instituted the Urban Renewal program. Carmon categorizes this first phase of urban revitalization in the United States as *The Bulldozer Era.*<sup>10</sup>

The PHAs were established to rid the cities of their deteriorated slums. Unfortunately, the housing authorities concentrated on slum clearance and neglected to implement any far-ranging building program. A change occurred in 1949 with the passage of a new housing act that repositioned the U.S. Housing Authority as an agency now concerned with the re-housing of displaced or poorly housed people. Carmon asserts "while some construction of housing for below-average households followed the Act, its main objective was to revive old city centers in order to strengthen the tax base of big city governments..." This new program, first called district re-planning, then urban redevelopment, and, finally urban renewal was the subject of yet another socially groundbreaking book, Herbert Gans' The Urban Villagers. This book helped to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The term *disenfranchised* is used here to describe African-Americans and other racial minorities who could not, by federal law, qualify for F.H.A. loans to join their white counterparts in the suburbs, thereby creating a ghetto of permanent urban residency for those individuals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Carmon, p131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid., p132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Mike Miles, Gayle Berens, et al. <u>Real Estate Development: Principles and Process</u>. Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 2000: p 154.

illustrate the true intentions of the Boston Redevelopment Authority in its attempts to "renew" Boston's West End neighborhood. This working-class, ethnically diverse neighborhood was soon razed and Charles River Park, a luxury tower-in-the-park scheme, was erected. Both the intention to create private housing and the process by which renewal was implemented were criticized as having little regard for those populations directly affected by those planning decisions. The Urban Villagers is a case study that is representative of Urban Renewal policies carried out throughout the country.

Most likely, the bulldozer approach to urban renewal was actually terminated by the immense difficulty of relocating, even improperly, large numbers of poor people; by the opposition from white neighborhoods experiencing the arrival of black displacees; and last (but hardly least) by ghetto protests against further Negro removal.<sup>13</sup>

## The Second Stage: Social Planning

As the Urban Renewal era came to an end, Congress reacted with a series of measures that changed the scope of revitalization from demolition and construction to revitalization through rehabilitation. Indeed, because of the government's new direction, creative ideas about what revitalization could include emerged. In this second phase of urban revitalization, job creation and other social programs emerged as non-physical tools for neighborhood revitalization. The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 created the Model Cities program which authorized funding to revitalize areas of cities through housing, education, health, welfare and employment programs. Revitalization was to be brought about through a new planning process that engaged neighborhood stakeholders. This era of revitalization was a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Herbert J. Gans, <u>The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans</u>. New York: Free Press, 1962: p 385.

reaction to the previous era that totally ignored stakeholders' needs and concerns in favor of large-scale redevelopment projects. This new path to revitalization is what critics like Jane Jacobs had called for during the Urban Renewal period. In her book, <u>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</u>, Jacobs describes this new approach to revitalization as follows.

To overcome slums, we must regard slum dwellers as people capable of understanding and acting upon their own self-interests, which they certainly are. We need to discern, respect and build upon the forces for regeneration that exist in slums themselves, and that demonstrably work in real cities. This is far from trying to patronize people into a better life, and it is far from what is done today.<sup>14</sup>

Carmon categorizes the second stage as *Neighborhood Rehabilitation*. She argues that the critics of *Bulldozer Era* clearance schemes had an impact on the following era's public policy which focused on "softer approaches". With this change in policy, Carmon further argues that "doors gradually opened to activities in areas other than housing. The bulk of the money in the Model Cities program went to projects in education, health, manpower training, economic development, public safety, recreation, and miscellaneous social services. She also asserts that the *Neighborhood Rehabilitation* era, like the *Bulldozer Era*, was an international phenomenon that could be found in Canada's Neighborhood Improvement Program, France's Neighborhood Social Development program, and Israel's Project Renewal.

As economic policy began shifting towards market-driven privatization in the late 1970s to early 1980s and evaluations of public programs began to suggest "nothing works", revitalization initiatives began to be built around free market enterprise "that partly substitutes for public

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Jane Jacobs. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Vintage Books, 1961: p271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Carmon, p132.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid., p133.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

involvement."<sup>19</sup> Concurrent with these free market initiatives was the criticism that the planning profession had become "too theoretical" and that "the gap between promise and performance was conspicuously large."<sup>20</sup> This led directly to the emergence of market-driven development projects in the downtown.

#### The Third Stage: Center City Revitalization

Following two decades of being chastised<sup>21</sup> by the general public for their socially and physically disruptive plans, city planners and architects began thinking again about physical solutions to urban problems. Starting roughly in the mid 1970s and continuing through to the 1990s, center city<sup>22</sup> revitalization became the dominant mode of urban revitalization. Supported by economic theories suggesting a direct relationship between the financial health of downtown and that of the greater metropolis, large scale downtown development projects would once again re-enter the revitalization picture. Mega sports projects like the Superdome in New Orleans (1975) and retail and entertainment complexes like Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston (1976), Harborplace in Baltimore (1980), and The Riverwalk in New Orleans (1986)<sup>23</sup> were characteristic of the first half of this era in helping to stimulate development in the downtown. These large scale projects were focused on attracting tourists and suburban commuters into downtown to establish a new consumer economic base for the city. To create many of these projects, a structure was created to enable a more direct involvement of the private [business] sector in revitalization efforts.

According to Carmon, this led to the creation of the public-private partnership.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., p135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> After the slum clearance era, city planners and architects were scolded for their disruptive plans, leading to a following stage of non-physical plans and finally to a reemergence of physical plans in the third stage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The terms *center city* and *downtown* are used interchangeably.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that many of these retail and entertainment complexes (all on this list) were developed by the Rouse Companies.

In essence, the new conceptual structure argued that localities faced with economic difficulties had to turn to their own resources; that viable economic activity needed to be based in the creation of new local enterprises; and that the key to such development lay in the active participation of local governments in partnership with the private sector.<sup>24</sup>

This emphasis on center city renewal was reminiscent of failed past attempts at attracting the departed [white] middle class back to the urban core. One of the greatest inventions of the first half of this era was the Business Improvement District or BID. These public-private partnerships were first formulated in Canada in the late 1960s and found their way to the United States in the early 1970s. The BID is defined as a "publicly sanctioned, yet privately directed organization that supplements public services to improve shared, geographically defined, outdoor public spaces and subscribes to a self-help doctrine, whereby a compulsory self-taxing mechanism generates multi-year revenue." BIDs began supplementing the services provided by municipal departments to reinvigorate the somewhat drab and unsafe downtown by introducing their own advocacy, marketing, sanitation, security, capital improvement, transportation, and economic development services.

The renewal of the center city has not been the exclusive preoccupation of public-private partnerships. Gentrification, or as Carmon terms it *Public-Individual*<sup>27</sup> partnerships, also began to change the face of once low-income urban neighborhoods. The process "started with a myriad of small investors, mostly college-educated individuals, who bought and renovated property in

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<sup>27</sup> Carmon, p 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Michael B. Teitz, "American Planning in the 1990s: Part II, The Dilemma of the Cities". <u>Urban Studies</u> 34 (1997): 783

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The first BID is the Bloor West Village Business Improvement Area created in 1970 by a group of Toronto businessmen with hopes to revive an ailing neighborhood commercial corridor. The Downtown Development District in New Orleans was created in 1974, making it the first BID in the U.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lorlene M. Hoyt, "The BID: An Internationally Diffused Approach for Revitalization" M.I.T. Cambridge, 2003: pp 4-5.

older, rundown big city centers." Examples of this type of revitalization are the Faubourg Marigny in New Orleans and Boston's South End – center city neighborhoods that attracted singles, young professionals, gays<sup>29</sup>, and childless households. As one study suggests, the combination of the public-private partnership and the *public-individual* partnership in U.S. cities has created a downtown that is more affluent, more highly educated, and more white than the surrounding city. In many ways, this more innovative approach to urban revitalization finally accomplished both the official and unofficial goals of the Urban Renewal period without having to demolish swaths of the city. The upper-middle class, or at least a segment of it, has relocated to the center city, bringing with it the requisite tax dollars cities so desperately need. In addition, low-income minority groups have been driven out of the city center almost completely as their rents have increased and as the services they depended on began to be replaced by bistros and boutiques. But the concentration of revitalization efforts on the city center has been problematic when considered from the standpoint of the city as a whole.

#### The Fourth Stage: Collaborative Revitalization Planning

It is not evident that these downtown-focused efforts have spread wealth throughout surrounding urban neighborhoods. In fact Brian J.L. Berry described the effect of city center

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> N. Smith and Williams, P. eds., Gentrification of the City. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The category *gay* is not intended to be exclusive from the other categories. The distinction between *gay* residents and *straight* residents is important in understanding the uniqueness of certain revitalized neighborhoods as described by Florida in <u>The Rise of the Creative Class</u> (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Eugenie Ladner Birch, "Having a Longer View on Downtown Living". <u>American Planning Association Journal</u> 68:1 (2002): 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ironically, we see successful historic preservation where buildings are kept and people are displaced. These initiatives have been identified as successful, which forces us to question what revitalization entails. For further discussion of this tension see the documentary <u>Flag Wars</u>.

revitalization strategies as "islands of renewal in seas of decay." The concentration of investment in downtown raised issues of equity in urban revitalization. On the grassroots level, a dissatisfaction with the status quo and a desire to change the face of overlooked, deteriorating, mostly minority urban neighborhoods inspired residents to create another form of urban revitalization, incumbent upgrading. 33 This approach to revitalization represents the beginnings of an urban phenomenon whereby neighborhood residents take it upon themselves to plan for and make changes in their own communities. As Carmon points out, such neighborhood initiatives were also successful at obtaining some public and private funds to match their own resources and soon the Neighborhood Housing Services program was established.34

Simultaneously, a new form of urban paradigm emerged that began to change federal, state, and local governments throughout the country. The center city-focused stage of revitalization was characterized by approaches to solving decades-old problems. Enabling this approach is the contemporaneous popularity of the emerging urban policies of neoliberalism.

The neoliberal goal of downsizing of the state has commonly occurred through devolution of state responsibilities to progressively lower tiers or to the private and not-for-profit sectors...35

This new paradigm began to change the focus of revitalization efforts from government sponsored and administered programs to a dispersal of funding to many agencies and organizations, marking a transition from government solutions for neighborhood problems to

<sup>32</sup> Brian J. L. Berry, "Islands of Renewal in Seas of Decay". The New Urban Reality. Washington: The Brookings Institution (1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Carmon suggests this term was invented by P. Clay in Neighborhood Renewal (1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Carmon, p136.

<sup>35</sup> Sarah Elwood, "Neighborhood Revitalization through 'collaboration': Assessing the implications of neoliberal urban policy at the grassroots." GeoJournal 58:2/3 (2002): 122.

the governance of neighborhood-based programs – many of which are non-governmental.<sup>36</sup> With the devolution of revitalization programs from the government to other agencies and organizations, problems soon arose. Scholars like Elwood argue that the increased responsibilities placed on such organizations are "highly problematic" as more responsibilities don't necessarily match available resources.<sup>37</sup> Fragmentation of urban revitalization efforts due to this devolution and the perceived lack of coordination of these efforts has some scholars raising issues of inefficient use of scarce resources and the duplication of services.

Each individual initiative has objectives relating to issues such as unemployment, health, community safety and education. These Area-Based Initiatives (ABIs) with their respective partnerships are often clustered in the same area, often superimposed one on top of the other and can create confusion and duplication of effort at local, regional and national levels. The proliferation of such initiatives has raised questions about their coordination.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of the twentieth-century, many city residents found the investment only in the downtown to be unfair to the other (mostly residential) urban neighborhoods. With revitalization efforts dispersed among many organizations leading many scholars to question their effectiveness, a call for coordination and collaboration was issued. This has led to the emergence of a desire to coordinate urban revitalization initiatives in the beginning of the twenty-first century. The general public's frustration with center city-focused urban revitalization has led to an emergence of neighborhood-focused urban revitalization. While center city projects and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Francesca Gelli and Carla Tedesco."Governments and modes of governance in the U.S. and European cities. The change in urban policies." <u>Joint Danish Building & Urban Research and European Urban Research Conference</u>: <u>Copenhagen</u>: (17-19 May 2001) p21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Elwood, p123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Lucy Grimshaw. "Talking is not a waste of time: Networks and the Co-ordination of Area-based initiatives." <u>Joint Danish Building & Urban Research and European Urban Research Conference: Copenhagen</u>: (17-19 May 2001) p2.

investments still figure prominently in the headlines of major city newspapers<sup>39</sup>, more attention is being paid to urban neighborhoods, thereby creating a new urban revitalization stage built upon a foundation of collaborative planning.<sup>40</sup>

Collaborative planning can mean many things. To some, it is synonymous with Equity Planning: planning that encompasses the needs of all urban neighborhoods. 41 To others, collaboration characterizes the ability of program implementers to address the concerns of a multi-ethnic, economically diverse urban core. For the purposes of this study, collaborative planning is defined as city-wide municipal agencies working together with neighborhood groups in the creation and implementation of neighborhood-specific revitalization initiatives. Moreover, structurally institutionalized collaborative planning implies a process in which neighborhood stakeholders are an integral part of the process from initial design to final implementation of an initiative or intervention. In the best of situations, as neoliberal urban policy dictates, the municipal government should only monitor programs in cases where it is not directly responsible for the implementation of a revitalization initiative. If the theory behind the policy is correct, the devolved government should have a commitment to understanding the "big picture" and having its finger on the pulse of urban revitalization initiatives in neighborhoods across the city. Furthermore, the city ought to make cultivating relationships between and among stakeholder groups and city-wide officials an official priority leading to the full engagement of neighborhoods with the municipal bureaucracy. Healy describes this as:

... an alternative notion of collaborative governance is developed, within which the formal institutions of government have a role in providing a hard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> This is evidenced by the controversy surrounding the proposed Comcast skyscraper in Center City Philadelphia, which would be the tallest building in Philadelphia, and the on-going problems with the Penn's Landing development in Philadelphia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Refer to Figure 3 for illustration.

<sup>41</sup> Carmon, pp139-141

infrastructure of a *structure of challenges*... and a soft infrastructure of *relation-building* through which sufficient consensus building and mutual learning can occur... to promote co-ordination and the flow of knowledge and competence among the various social relations existing within places.<sup>42</sup>

Building on the last three stages of revitalization, this contemporary stage of urban revitalization must encompass the needs of all stakeholder groups - not just a preoccupation with the economic attractiveness of the center city. That is not to say that a strong center city should not be a priority for a city, but rather the needs of all areas should be taken into account when distributing development funds. The lesson that should have been learned from the past three stages of American urban revitalization is that it takes more than just a set of "flagship" projects and a diminutive set of initiatives for urban core neighborhoods to create a strong city. Furthermore, the gentrification of low income downtown neighborhoods does not address the issues of incumbent residents and only promotes Berry's assertion of "islands of renewal in seas of decay." The future of urban revitalization lies with the ability of citizens and municipal governments to form coalitions to collaborate on initiatives that address the needs of diverse neighborhood constituencies. This calls for a revitalization approach that is flexible enough to address the varied problems confronting the diverse conditions of urban neighborhoods or as Healey describes it " [to] look for ways of providing space for choice and the assertion of difference."43 The fourth (contemporary) stage of urban revitalization is characterized by an emphasis on neighborhood revitalization – as outlined by Carmon – and collaborative planning – as outlined by Healey.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Healey, pp.199-200

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., p201

Figure 2 Stages of Urban Revitalization in the United States

## STAGES OF URBAN REVITALIZATION IN THE U.S.

**Bulldozer Era\*** 

1940s → 1960s

TOP DOWN

Decaying Urban Core Suburban Attraction

- Charles River Park
   West End, Boston
- Penn Center Plan
   Center City Plan
   Philadelphia

Urban Renewal

N'hood Rehab.\*

1960s → 1970s

TOP DOWN

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

N'hood Rehab. & Social

Programs

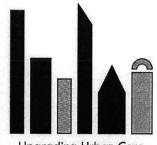
 Community Action Agency Nationwide

**Model Cities** 

Central City Revitalization\*

1970s → 1990s

**BUSINESS LEADERS** 



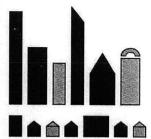
Upgrading Urban Core Flagship Projects Gentrification & Tourism

- Fanieul Hall Boston
- Penn's Landing Philadelphia

Public – Private Partnerships Collaborative Revitalization

1990s → 2000s

CITIZENS GRASSROOTS HYBRID



City-wide Revitalization
Citizen-driven Revitalization

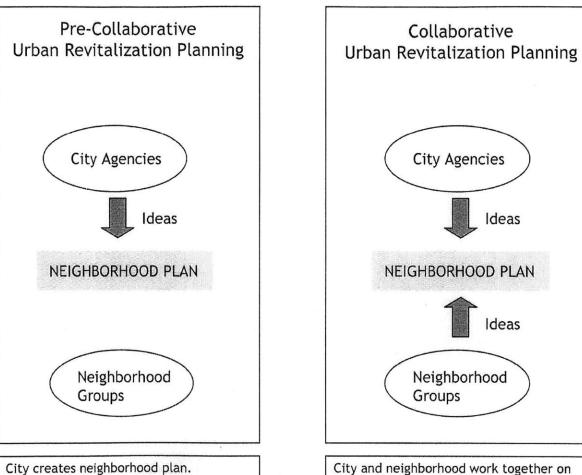
- NRP Minneapolis
- Philadelphia?

Neighborhood-based Initiatives

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\*Adapted from Naomi Carmon, "Neighborhood Regeneration: The State of the Art" <u>Journal of Planning Education and Research</u> 17:138 Table 1 with additions by author.

Figure 3 Pre-collaborative and Collaborative urban revitalization planning



Neighborhood groups shut out of process.

City and neighborhood work together on plan creation.

# III.

#### Models of Collaborative Revitalization Planning:

Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program (USA), Rotherham Co-ordinating Group & Smethwick Local Officer Network (UK)

#### Introduction

In this chapter I present two models of collaborative revitalization planning. The first model represents a structurally institutionalized approach to collaborative revitalization – the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) of Minneapolis. The second is an informal revitalization network model found in the Rotherham Co-ordinating Group (RCG) and Smethwick Local Officer's Network (SLON), both in the U.K. The models offer two approaches to collaborative revitalization planning each with different levels of success. Finally, I compare and contrast these models with Philadelphia's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI) to determine the degree to which the NTI can be cited as a model of collaborative revitalization planning.

#### Minneapolis NRP and Collaborative Revitalization

...NRP funds function as 'start up' money for the revitalization of Minneapolis neighborhoods, and the program emphasizes... increased intra- and intergovernmental collaboration to prevent duplication of efforts and to streamline the delivery of public services.<sup>44</sup>

The Minneapolis NRP is a city administered agency that has as its core mission the collaborative redevelopment of the neighborhoods of Minneapolis. Created in 1990 to combat inner-city

<sup>44</sup> http://www.nrp.org/R2/AboutNRP/Basics/Primer.html

deterioration, emigration to the suburbs, and perceived inequalities in urban investment – with the perception being that money was lavished on downtown development to the detriment of surrounding residential neighborhoods – NRP has become a model for neighborhood-based urban revitalization. With money siphoned from the downtown through a Tax Increment Financing (TIF) scheme, NRP has involved 64 neighborhood organizations in 81 neighborhoods across Minneapolis. NRP is a city-sanctioned neighborhood-based revitalization effort that aims to "alter the relationship between neighborhoods and the City's service delivery system."

NRP fund recipients are encouraged to subcontract with private service providers for all sorts of projects, decreasing the dependence on the City for things like streetscape improvements and economic outlook reports. ARP also is an example of collaborative planning — where the neighborhoods and city agencies work hand-in-hand on neighborhood revitalization schemes. The combination of being neighborhood-focused and coordination-driven makes NRP an example of the fourth stage of urban revitalization.

Although NRP seems to be an example for cities to follow, the current state of the program is a byproduct of a legal dispute. Bob Miller, Executive Director of NRP, explained that the TIF funding scheme for NRP was basically a settlement between the City of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota. In the late 1980s, the City of Minneapolis was in the process of expanding and re-bonding its TIF districts. By law, the state has to approve this action before it can be implemented. The City of Minneapolis did not go this route and was penalized. The State of Minnesota decided that they would allow the City of Minneapolis to expand and re-bond its TIF

<sup>45</sup> Elwood, 124.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p124.

districts with the stipulation that the funds received be dedicated to NRP. With financing for the 20-year project secured<sup>47</sup>, NRP had the financial support to initiate its programs.

Miller explained that when NRP was being devised, several neighborhood revitalization models were studied around the country. He characterized those models as very top down and not in line with the ideas of NRP. The model that was created in Minneapolis does not fit the mold of other city sponsored neighborhood revitalization programs – especially those in Philadelphia.

What Miller noticed in other cities was that community participation rested with those "professional citizens" that take it upon themselves to be advocates for the neighborhood – sometimes excluding the rest of the community from the process. Miller said "professional citizens" should not be the norm and the wider neighborhood community must be encouraged to be a part of the revitalization process. He believes that by putting resources toward resident initiated solutions, more neighborhood residents will want to become part of the planning process. The NRP model of collaborative revitalization truly engages the stakeholder as a part of the neighborhood planning process.

There are seven stages between a resident's presentation of his/her revitalization idea and that idea's implementation with the NRP model.<sup>48</sup> First, the revitalization idea is proposed at the neighborhood board meeting. If the idea receives support, it is included in the Neighborhood Action Plan to be presented to NRP. Once the plan is submitted to NRP, it is reviewed by both the management review team and the policy board. The plan is then distributed to the city agencies relevant to the projects included in the plan. These city agencies review the plan for

<sup>47</sup> According to Bob Miller of NRP, revenue for NRP diminishes in 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Refer to Figure 4 for illustration.

feasibility and forward their recommendations to NRP. If the plan is deemed feasible, it is then presented to the Minneapolis City Council for final approval. Miller argued that because residents have to present their ideas in an open arena and given the NRP review guidelines, the city council approves 95% of what residents want in their Neighborhood Action Plans.

To some private developers, empowering a neighborhood can be detrimental to their business practices. This is the case in Minneapolis. With an empowered and respected neighborhood planning process, developers were told by city officials to submit their plans to neighborhood groups for review before approaching the city government. The opinions of some of the developers must have been that the neighborhood groups were being too limiting and unfair in their recommendations because these complaints were conveyed to City Hall, who agreed with the developers. According to Miller, today there is much less attention paid by both developer and city agency to the recommendations of the neighborhoods. The neighborhoods now have much less absolute control over development in their communities. This situation could be a factor of many things. On one extreme, it could be that developers did not want to work with the community on their plans. The other extreme is that the neighborhood groups abused their power and were unreasonable in their recommendations. Whatever the case may be, this episode can be seen as a warning sign of one of the difficulties involved in neighborhood-based planning of this type. However, more importantly, the current Minneapolis development process is more in line with the collaborative development process proposed earlier.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Refer to Figure 5 for illustration.

# Rotherham Co-ordinating Group (RCG) and Smethwick Local Officer Network (SLON)

Rotherham, in South Yorkshire, and Smethwick, in the West Midlands, have both suffered from the economic decline of the coal mining and steel industries. They are "characterised by [their] historic dependence on manufacturing and now, by long term unemployment, poor environmental conditions of derelict land, obsolescent building and major transport routes, and widespread deprivation throughout." The socio-economic conditions of these communities have attracted numerous Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) including Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), Sure Start, New Start, Health Action Zone, Crime Reduction Programme, Education Action Zone, and New Deal for Communities. With the many initiatives present in these areas, "it is impossible for everybody to know everything that is going on... people and networks are often the key to coordination and collaboration." For this reason, collaborative groups were set up to coordinate neighborhood initiatives. Lucy Grimshaw researched the ways in which the coordination of initiatives can be pursued through looking specifically at the Rotherham Coordinating Group (RCG) and the Smethwick Local Officer Network (SLON) – two collaborative groups<sup>53</sup>, both representing Healey's notion of *Soft Infrastructure*.

The RCG is a 15-member organization representing ABIs and other neighborhood-based organizations. This group, which meets three times a year, has as its mission the coordination of revitalization initiatives including health, lifelong learning, community safety, community

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Grimshaw, p3

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Other examples include Germany's *Socially Integrative City* (Franke), Italy's *Iniziativa Comunitaria Urban* (Gelli) and the Netherlands' *Wijkplannen* (Hulsberger & Stouten).

involvement, and economic development<sup>54</sup> with city and regional agencies. The SLON is a 30-member organization with representatives from the city council, the health authority, the regeneration agency, and several neighborhood-based organizations. According to Grimshaw, this group which meets once a month was, "established as part of the Sandwell Regional Council's process of 'modernisation' and move to more area-based working." Both of these groups fall within the framework of the collaborative revitalization planning fourth stage. The RCG and the SLON are groups focused on the revitalization initiatives of decaying urban neighborhoods through a process that brings together both neighborhood stakeholders and representatives of service delivery agencies.

Grimshaw's research found that the biggest obstacle confronting the two groups was "patchy" attendance which, she suggests, "was linked to the issue of others not taking the network seriously or in Smethwick with the network taking up [people's] 'valuable time'." Her research findings suggest that people felt that there were already too many networks, professional or otherwise, leading to a conclusion that the two networks were not a top priority for all the members.

As models of collaborative urban revitalization planning, the RCG and the SLON differ from Minneapolis' NRP model discussed earlier. Whereas the NRP is a program that organizes neighborhood planning groups and provides those groups with seed money to begin creating their own neighborhood plans with government technical assistance, the RCG and the SLON are organized networks of ABI representatives and neighborhood stakeholder groups that try

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p9

collectively to construct government revitalization plans. Although the collaboration between neighborhood stakeholders and government agencies to make decisions is central to the role of both the RCG and the SLON, the fact that neither of them are a formalized part of any revitalization [regeneration] process may have an effect on the groups' abilities to collaboratively create plans – especially when attendance is an issue.

#### Minneapolis, the U.K., and Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Mayor's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI) is a program that focuses on blight removal in the decaying urban neighborhoods of the city. The majority of the program deals with the demolition of abandoned or crumbling structures in the hopes of cleaning up neighborhoods that had for years been overlooked by city agencies. In its practices, the NTI espouses stakeholder participation through citizen involvement in the creation of neighborhood plans and other ad-hoc meetings in the neighborhoods.

Although NTI does not comprehensively take into account all of the activities involved in urban revitalization like the NRP and RCG/SLON models, it is still an initiative that emerged from a restructuring of public policy that began to focus more attention on the urban neighborhoods outside Center City<sup>57</sup>. In addition, NTI asserts that its success is dependant on "working collaboratively across city agencies and in partnership with external stakeholders." This suggests that the NTI is an example of the initiatives of the fourth stage of revitalization planning I propose. However, the research in the next chapter suggests that the collaboration described as being central to the program is different from the Minneapolis and U.K. models offered earlier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Interestingly, the name for the downtown core of Philadelphia is *Center City*.

<sup>58</sup> From NTI website <a href="http://www.phila.gov/mayor/ifs/mayorsnti/about\_nti.html">http://www.phila.gov/mayor/ifs/mayorsnti/about\_nti.html</a>

Whereas there is an institutionalized collaborative structure in place in the NRP program and a looser structure of regular meetings in both the RCG and SLON models offered earlier, there is no evidence offered in regards to any level of formality, whether loose or highly institutionalized, of collaboration between NTI and neighborhood stakeholders. This calls into question the legitimacy of the collaborative position of the NTI program. If there is no level of regularized collaboration – where parties agree to discuss issues in a forum at regularly scheduled times – the collaborative process cannot be guaranteed. In fact, the evidence from the U.K. examples suggest that in order to ensure a collaborative process, stakeholder groups as well as city agencies need to perceive the collaborative group as having significant power in changing the conditions of derelict neighborhoods. Being that NTIs efforts concentrate on only a segment of urban revitalization and its collaborative efforts are underdeveloped, it is not a model of collaborative revitalization practice when compared to the other examples outlined previously. In Philadelphia, there is a need for an organization that can tackle broader revitalization issues in a more institutionally collaborative manner.

Although Philadelphia has not been innovative in collaborative revitalization, it is worth investigating whether there are factors in Philadelphia that preclude such innovation. While talking with people in Philadelphia, I was constantly reminded that Philadelphia has cultural influences that make it a hard place in which to collaborate. This is something that I immediately understood while trying to sort out the labyrinthine bureaucracy of city agencies with revitalization programs. How can one collaborate when pinpointing with whom to collaborate is part of the problem?

I was consistently reminded that Philadelphians are "entrenched" in their neighborhoods and that they cannot usually look at the bigger picture. John Farnham supported this observation by remarking that "when Philadelphians are on vacation they say that they are from Philadelphia... when they're in Philadelphia they say they're from their neighborhood." Perhaps there are demographic factors between a city like Minneapolis and Philadelphia that may affect the revitalization practices of the two cities.

Minneapolis is a fairly affluent city when compared to Philadelphia. With only 5.8% of its citizens unemployed, a median family income of \$48,602 and only 11.9% of its citizens below the poverty line, Minneapolis is a much stronger city than Philadelphia. Minneapolis has a much smaller population than Philadelphia with only 382,618 people. With 65.1% of its citizens white and 18.0% of its citizens black, Minneapolis is an overwhelmingly white city when compared with Philadelphia. With 1,517,550 people, 10.9% of which are unemployed with 18.4% of families below the poverty line and a racial structure that is almost equal parts white and black with sizable Asian and Latino populations, historic cycles of racial tension, and conditions that have the city searching for an economic niche in its post-industrial period, Philadelphia may have a harder time constructing a program that brings historically divergent communities together. Perceived homogeneity sometimes goes a long way in influencing the politics of citizens. 60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> These statistics are taken from the 2000 U.S. Census data. <u>www.census.gov</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Here I am referencing critiques of well known examples of "good" urban governance (i.e. Portland, Ore., Benelux, and Scandanavian cities) whose policies seem to be feasible due to a historically socio-economically homogenous population.

Figure 4 NRP neighborhood planning process

Planning Process

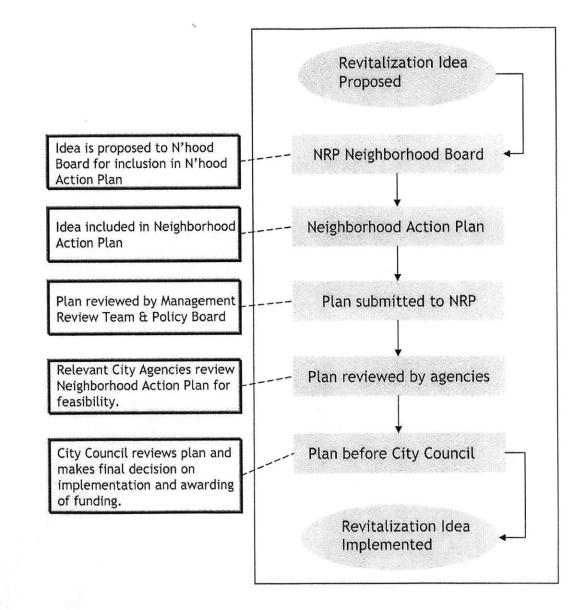
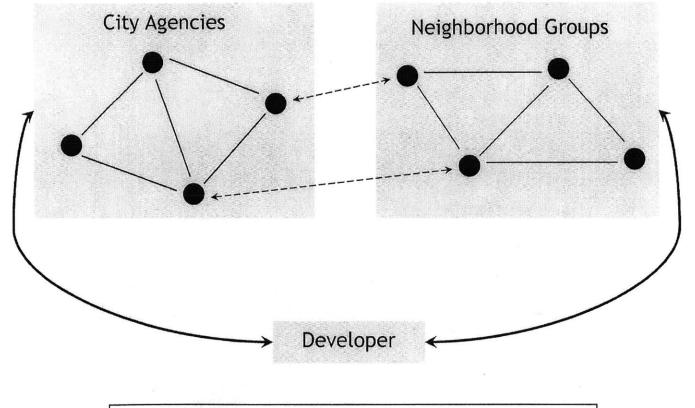


Figure 5 Current Minneapolis development process

# Current Minneapolis Neighborhood Development Process



Developer submits proposals to city agencies and neighborhood groups for approval. City agencies and neighborhood groups collaborate on plans. Much less absolute neighborhood control.

IV.

Philadelphia: A place for collaborative revitalization

Introduction

This research uses Patsy Healey's framework outlined in the book <u>Collaborative Planning</u>:

<u>Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies</u>. Healey states that, "collaborative planning efforts involve attention to institutional design at two levels." She outlines a "structure of challenges" in the collaboration between *hard infrastructure* and *soft infrastructure*. I explain *hard infrastructure* as city-wide agencies and *soft infrastructure* as neighborhood based groups.

A key challenge lies in the combination of the design of the hard infrastructure, and the inherent struggles which will take place as power relations are deliberately transformed, and the design of the soft infrastructure, which should be locally specific and collaborative. Sustainable institutional design results where both levels work well both with each other and in relation to their wider contexts.<sup>62</sup>

Using this framework, I first focused on the level of collaboration between city-wide agencies and then on the collaboration between city-wide agencies and neighborhood groups — what Healey calls the *structure of challenges*. Next I focused on the collaboration between neighborhood-based groups and then on the collaboration between neighborhood-based groups and city-wide agencies. In the end, the most important observations were between the city-wide groups and the neighborhood-based organizations- observations that describe what Healey refers to as the "key challenge" of collaboration between the two levels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Healey, Patsy. <u>Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies</u>, p312.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p200.

#### Methodology

The research for this thesis was conducted as a part of the Philadelphia case study for the Urban Revitalization Project at M.I.T. under the guidance of Professor Lorlene Hoyt, Principal Research Investigator.

For the Urban Revitalization project team, the first step in the research process was the compilation and categorization of agencies and organizations involved with urban revitalization in Philadelphia. Defining precisely what urban revitalization is was not an easy task. Some view urban revitalization from an economic standpoint. To many, job training, homeless outreach, and housing placement make up the core of revitalization. Still, others think of urban revitalization in a purely construction or physical development sense. Indeed, there is neither a standard definition for urban revitalization nor a standard name for the field. Revitalization, regeneration and renewal are all accepted terms within the broader definition of community rebuilding and/or reinvestment. For the purposes of this thesis, I will define urban revitalization as any city initiative focused on the physical rebuilding of a spatially-defined neighborhood or district.

Focusing on this aspect of revitalization allowed me to pare down the extensive list I compiled into a more manageable set of criteria. Using the framework outlined by Healey helped me to divide this list into city-wide agencies and neighborhood-based groups. From this list of city-wide agencies and neighborhood-based groups, I chose to contact key organizations that both were involved in what I defined as urban revitalization and could address the focus of this thesis – collaborative urban revitalization practices. Still, a large part of the puzzle was missing – which neighborhood would I test?

In the formative stages of this thesis, I specifically wanted to tailor my research to initiatives based in the center city or downtown area of the city. Because most of my work experience, class-work, and intellectual curiosity has centered on the development of the urban, specifically downtown, studying Center City Philadelphia seemed a natural outgrowth of those interests.

Because of the presence of so many neighborhood-based groups in Center City, it would have been impossible within the limited scope of this project to study the entire area With the guidance of Professor Hoyt, I took a closer look at the area bounded by Market Street to the north, South Street to the south, Broad Street to the west, and the Delaware River to the east because of the numerous neighborhood organizations in that area as well as the significant presence of both historic and contemporary revitalization schemes. One area in particular caught my attention.

Old City, once a neighborhood of flop-houses and commercial warehouses, is now known to many as the "SoHo" of Philadelphia. As an undergraduate, I frequented some of the restaurants and bars in the area when I visited friends at the University of Pennsylvania. Old City seemed to be part of the emerging larger phenomenon of revitalizing former light-industrial areas into neighborhoods for art galleries, trendy restaurants & clubs, and loft-style apartments for well-heeled young professionals. Lower Downtown in Denver and the Warehouse District in New Orleans are examples of other neighborhoods transformed by this trend. Eventually, these gentrified transformations as well as the historic character of these neighborhoods, the presence

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This transitioning neighborhood had also been in the news in early 2003 as the chosen location for MTV's hit reality show, The Real World- a show very deliberately set in 'trendy'/up-and-coming, mostly urban neighborhoods.

of neighborhood organizations, and timely access to community leaders all taken together influenced my decision to use Old City as the focus of study.

Using data provided by the city of Philadelphia and data previously collected by Professor Hoyt, I created GIS maps for the area. These maps help locate the boundaries of place-based revitalization initiatives.<sup>64</sup> Using the list of key city-wide agencies and organizations<sup>65</sup> and the GIS maps, I contacted representatives for interviews.

#### **Interviews**

#### Hard Infrastructure – Planning Systems

Collaboration between city-wide agencies

Jeffrey R. Barr.....Historical Research Technician

Section 106 Officer

Philadelphia Historical Commission

Jonathan Farnham.....Staff Director

Philadelphia Historical Commission

Jacob Fisher.....Policy Director

Neighborhood Transformation Initiative

John A. Haak.....Senior Planner

Philadelphia City Planning Commission

Gary Hack......Dean and Paley Professor

University of Pennsylvania School of Design

Former Chair

Philadelphia City Planning Commission

Former Member

Philadelphia Historical Commission

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Refer to Figures 6 through 11.

<sup>65</sup> Refer to Appendix section A for list.

What those involved in Philadelphia's contemporary revitalization whom I interviewed on the city-wide level make clear is that there is no super-agency that coordinates the city's urban revitalization efforts even though attempts have been made to do so. In Philadelphia, on the citywide level, what exists is a rather loose network of informal relationships supplemented by some legally 'forced' collaboration.

According to **Jon Farnham** of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, inter-agency collaboration in Philadelphia's Old City is informal, at best. One of the examples he offered of this informal interaction was between the Historical Commission and the Planning Commission which, according to Farnham, had a decent level of *water-cooler* interaction since their offices were once adjacent to one another. However, since the moving of the Historical Commission to its current offices in City Hall, the potential for interaction and thus for *informal collaboration* has decreased, leaving the personal relationships of staff members from both agencies as the only remaining interactions.

Farnham also offered an example of *forced collaboration*--that is, collaboration that is mandated by legal statute. <sup>67</sup>According to Farmer, the Historical Commission is now entrusted with reviewing demolition plans for Neighborhood Transformation Initiative projects. *Forced collaboration* also characterizes the Historical Commission's interaction with city agencies like the Office of

<sup>66</sup> Although PACDC is not a city agency, the organization is comprised of member CDCs spread across Philadelphia. As a united voice for the Philadelphia city-wide CDC community, the organization's perspective is key to understanding revitalization practices in Philadelphia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Forced collaboration is a term that I use here to describe collaboration that is mandated by federal, state, or local law as a part of a legal review process.

Housing and Community Development (OHCD) and others that must undergo the Section 106 Historic Resources Compliance review process. These interactions are highly formalized through a legal framework.

**Jeffrey Barr**, Section 106 review officer for the City of Philadelphia, describes his position of cutting across city agencies as unique. Because his federally mandated duty is to review historic resources compliance for any project receiving federal funding, he works with staff members from various city agencies. The level of inter-agency city-wide collaboration in his case is significant, but it is nonetheless another example of *forced collaboration* – therefore not valid as an instance of collaboration as I define it in this thesis.

Jacob Fisher, policy director for Philadephia's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI), describes their collaboration with city implementation agencies as both formal and informal. Fisher suggests that the NTI's purpose of was to bring together all of these agencies and programs under its auspices to more efficiently coordinate the city's blight elimination efforts. NTI formally engages with these organizations through scheduled and arranged meetings to discuss particular demolition projects. According to Fisher, the regularity of these meetings depends on the development calendar of particular projects. It has also been their practice to invite staff from all of the city agencies involved to project community meetings so that these meetings can serve as, what Fisher describes, as "catch-all" forums so that a number of different officials can hear people's concerns. What Fisher believes to be one of the initiative's biggest obstacles is its credibility with the staff members of other city government divisions. Because

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> According to Fisher, examples of implementation agencies are: Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, Office of Housing and Community Development, Philadelphia Housing Development Corporation, Philadelphia Housing Authority, Department of Streets, Department of Licenses and Inspections, and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

NTI is a mayoral initiative and not one of the older city departments, there is often resistance to NTI and its programs.

At the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, John Haak highlighted the importance of collaboration as a tool that could help agencies avoid competition for shared resources. His example of a successful city collaboration was the Philadelphia Planning Commission's strategic partnership with other city agencies to create a Waterfront Initiatives umbrella which coordinates funding requests for all waterfront redevelopment plans in the city to, as Haak asserts, get the "biggest bang for the buck." In addition, because they work together on three dozen Philadelphia neighborhood plans, Haak also described the Planning Commission's work with NTI as collaborative. As well, the Planning Commission, which relies on mapping for much of its work, also supplies many other city agencies with data and maps. Thus, collaboration seems to be central to the work of the Planning Commission. Haak also argued that while the mission of the Mayor's Office of Strategic Planning is to serve "as a focal point for planning activities across city government, and coordinate inter-agency policy as it relates to the physical development of the city," 60 the work of this organizing arm of the Mayor's Office is unfortunately mostly reactive and not proactive.

As a membership organization representing the interests of community development corporations (CDCs) throughout Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Association of CDCs (PACDC) acts as an umbrella advocacy organization for the (22) member and (38) associate organizations.

Rick Sauer, its executive director, described how independent CDCs may run across problems working with other citywide agencies in the process of acquiring property. With a slow and

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<sup>69</sup> From Mayor's Office of Strategic Planning website <a href="http://www.phila.gov/recreation/strategic\_planning\_internet/index.html">http://www.phila.gov/recreation/strategic\_planning\_internet/index.html</a> .

CDCs to get results; the voice of a lone CDC may not be able to instigate systemic change. However, as a larger body, PACDCs collective advocacy can have a much greater impact on a citywide agency. A specific example Sauer gave was PACDCs push for more funding to the NTI program from the City Council to boost the allocation from \$35 million to \$75 million. As an example of the power of city-wide collective advocacy, the Philadelphia City Council added an additional \$15 million to the NTI program. Sauer also pointed out that in an advocacy role it is important to have collaborative relationships with agencies across the city so that there is a level of trust between organization and agency.

When asked about his experience with citywide collaborative revitalization planning in Philadelphia, Gary Hack, until recently the Chairman of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission and a former member of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, recounted his proposal to Philadelphia's current mayor, John Street, for the consolidation of agencies to address urban revitalization.. According to Hack, because this reorganization potentially could have taken three or more years without achieving specific results for the mayoral administration, NTI, Hack said was developed instead as a consolidated entity to fight urban blight & decay. Albeit operating on a smaller scale than the initiative he proposed, Hack claims that within three months over 40,000 abandoned cars were removed—an almost immediate result. Hack also argues that the decision not to create a super-agency responsible for urban revitalization was based on the many interests and alliances within the existing agencies and the need to balance the amount of time a reorganization would take to produce tangible results in the neighborhoods.

If the results of a smaller-scale attempt at collaborative revitalization on a citywide scale (i.e. NTI blight elimination) has been so successful, one can only speculate on the success of an approach that could encompass all of the diverse aspects of urban revitalization. With various agencies somehow working toward a common goal, it would be inevitable that their paths will cross.

### Soft Infrastructure – Planning Practices

Collaboration between neighborhood groups

Beth Richards.....Executive Director

Elfreth's Alley Association

Secretary

Old City Civic Association

Cynthia Philo.....Executive Director

Old City District

Richard Thom.....Principal

Blackhorse Design

Vice President

Old City Civic Association

Old City is a neighborhood with two dominant neighborhood-based organizations; the Old City Civic Association and the Old City Business Improvement District. The Old City Civic Association is the successor of a community group created in the mid 1970s to interface with the architecture firm of Venturi & Associates on the 1976 Old City Plan. The Old City Business Improvement District was established to attract new businesses to Old City while maintaining the businesses that are already well established. Both of these organizations have as their central goal the revitalization of the Old City neighborhood. However, that is not to say that these

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organizations always work seamlessly with one another. As can be expected of any neighborhood with organizations that have different agendas, collaboration is not always the rule.<sup>70</sup>

Beth Richards, secretary of the Old City Civic Association (OCCA) and executive director of the Elfreth's Alley Association<sup>71</sup> characterized the involvement between OCCA and the Old City Business Improvement District (OCD) as supportive of each other. Richards stated that since each of their respective organizations has at its core a mission of stewardship for Old City, there is a great deal of overlap in their activities. However, Richards argued, since the OCCA has a much broader agenda with regards to the well-being of the neighborhood, the missions of the two groups are sometimes in conflict with one another.

Cynthia Philo, executive director of the Old City District BID echoed the opinions of Ms. Richards. Philo suggested that whenever possible the OCD works with the OCCA in instances where their goals are similar. Because the BID is primarily interested in securing and further developing business opportunities in Old City, occasions arise when the businesses interested in locating in Old City are not met with open arms by the OCCA. It is when this occurs that the OCD and the OCCA are in opposition to one another. When asked about the creation of the Old City Historic District – an architectural caretaker – Ms. Philo said that the addition of that layer onto the neighborhood has been seen by some potential investors as "yet another regulatory hoop you have to jump through." However, she added, the concern of all of the interested parties is what has made Old City the attractive place it is today.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> These organizations have different spatial boundaries. This exemplifies the lack of coordination between the groups. In addition, other boundaries have been proscribed for the neighborhood. Refer to Figures 6 through 11 for illustrations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> The Elfreth's Alley Association runs a restored house-museum on Elfreth's Alley and serves as an advocate for the historic preservation of Elfreth's Alley – America's oldest residential street located in Old City, Philadelphia.

Richard Thom, vice president of OCCA and chairman of that organization's Development Committee spoke of collaboration in a slightly different way. Thom suggested that collaboration began in the neighborhood in 1974 with the Open Old City festival that was sponsored by the OCCA. This street festival, which has never been held again, highlighted the potential of the neighborhood and helped bring the residents together. With the threat of Old City being leveled and an awareness of the success of the redevelopment of Society Hill, Old City residents came together to rebuild an attractive neighborhood that was befitting its adjacency to touristy Independence National Historic Park and tony Society Hill. Thom further argued that the OCD was in fact conceived by OCCA members. Echoing both Ms. Richards and Ms. Philo, Thom suggested that the groups do work together in the neighborhood. In the best cases, they either complement each other or overlap. In the worst cases, they oppose one another. Thom also shared that some of the restrictions and guidelines that the OCCA argues for are sometimes in direct opposition to the business interests of the OCD. To further highlight the differences between the two neighborhood organizations, Thom mentioned that the OCCA is both a resident and business owner association whereas members of the OCD are business owners that often don't live in Old City.

#### The Structure of Challenges

Collaboration between city-wide agencies and neighborhood-based groups

The collaboration between city-wide organizations and their neighborhood partners in serving communities differs from one organization or agency to the next. Some have

close relationships with neighborhood organizations or constituents while others have looser relationships. This is expected as revitalization encompasses many disparate fields.

As is the nature of many preservation agencies throughout the country, the Philadelphia Historical Commission relies heavily on the information provided by neighborhood groups and residents. This on-the-ground information is necessary to monitor the many historic landmarks located throughout the city. To make this type of policing work, any preservation commission must maintain very close relationships with citizens in the neighborhoods. According to Jon Farnham, the Philadelphia Historical Commission is in constant contact with citizens and neighborhood groups. Farnham suggests that since the citizens and neighborhood groups are more familiar with their neighborhoods than commission staff members, it is only sensible to foster relationships with them. Because the commission obtains the information it needs, and citizens and neighborhood groups have an outlet to voice their complaints, these relationships are mutually beneficial

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission and the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative have a somewhat different approach to neighborhood engagement than the Historical Commission model. Whereas the Historical Commission relies heavily on an informal network of contact between commission staff members and neighborhood groups and residents, the City Planning Commission in partnership with NTI has institutionalized a set of (34) neighborhood planning units that engage the community in creating neighborhood plans. According to both John Haak of the Planning Commission and Jacob Fisher of NTI, the meetings between agency and neighborhood aren't regularly scheduled, but depend on the development stage of a neighborhood plan. The impetus behind the creation of the neighborhood plans was to update

the vision of the (34) neighborhoods while at the same time engaging the community in the planning of the future of the city. Both organizations are also actively engaged with neighborhood residents from across the city on a more informal basis through telephone calls, e-mails, etc. and sometimes through personal relationships with residents.

As an umbrella organization for the neighborhood-based community development corporations of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Association of CDCs (PACDC) has a vested interest for keeping abreast of the issues of the city's neighborhoods. According to Rick Sauer, PACDC maintains contact with the neighborhoods through its interactions with the neighborhood CDCs. He characterized this interaction as both formal and ad-hoc. On the formal level, PACDC convenes eight membership meetings a year and several other ad-hoc separate committee meetings throughout the year. Sauer explained that the purpose of the meetings is to challenge its members to put neighborhood issues and interests into a larger city-wide picture and context.

In a neighborhood with "professional citizens"<sup>72</sup> supporting a strong neighborhood association, residents take charge of the redevelopment of their neighborhood. This means that there is a great deal of interaction with city agencies, although the agencies themselves are not always collaborative. It is true that these powerful neighborhood organizations are in contact with the city agencies that have power to implement plans; however, often these interaction can be characterized more appropriately as oppositional rather than collaborative.

<sup>72</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "Professional citizens" is a term used by Bob Miller, Executive Director of the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program, to describe those residents who are consistently involved in neighborhood action – to a degree that most working people cannot be involved. According to Miller, these residents can sometimes deter other residents from participating in neighborhood associations, organizations, and initiatives.

One of the most interesting cases of interaction between the neighborhood (or citizen) and a city agency is that of Richard Thom. As a practicing architect and planner, Thom has been the OCCA lead on planning and development. Thom even commented that the staff at the Philadelphia City Planning Commission refer to him as a "one man planning team." He initiated and codified the Old City Special Planning District Controls, the Market Street Design Controls, the Old City Lot Assemblage guidelines as well as the Old City height limitation restrictions. Through these efforts, Thom has a working relationship with staff members of the City Planning Commission.

Another way Old City constituents are engaged with the city agencies in terms of redevelopment and revitalization is through the OCCA' contact with the Zoning Board of Appeals (ZBA). Both Richards and Thom agree that the power the OCCA has over development in Old City has been in its recommendations to the Zoning Board of Appeals. This is significant, according to Thom, since the somewhat inflexible Philadelphia zoning regulations lead most development projects for Old City to request variances from the ZBA. Since this has occurred regularly over many years, a level of support has been established between the Board and the OCCA that usually assures that the recommendations of the OCCA are taken very seriously by members of the ZBA.

Cynthia Philo said that it was essential that there be contact between neighborhood entities (in this case a BID) and city-wide agencies across the city for the coordination of services. Philo suggested that this coordination between neighborhood and city has been a defining characteristic of the Office of the Managing Director. As an example of how coordination can work to better serve an area, Philo recounted the informal arrangement between the OCD and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> It is very interesting that this is the first reference of coordination associated with the Office of the Managing Director. This could suggest that *selective coordination* is being practiced between the Office of the Managing Director and a select group of agencies and organizations.

the Independence National Historic Park. Due to security regulations, it is not possible for the OCD and Independence National Historic Park to sign an agreement giving OCD staff members permission to keep the park area clean. Because of the collaborative relationship Philo had with the Superintendent of the National Park, an agreement was made that, while there would be no formal relationship between the OCD and the National Park, it would be perfectly fine if OCD staff members happened to venture into park areas and pick up trash on the sidewalks and streets. This collaboration made the best of the situation for all parties involved.

#### Disadvantages to collaboration

Although many list the advantages for collaborating, few elaborated on the disadvantages to collaborative revitalization planning. John Haak of the City Planning Commission described the collaborative form of planning as "taking longer" but characterized the collaborative model as sustainable and encouraging of citizen buy-in to a particular plan or project.

John Farnham of the Historical Commission said that collaborating with the neighborhoods sometimes gives residents and neighborhood groups the false impression that the Commission is an outside advocate, not a city agency. Farnham argued that this sometimes leads groups to try to use the Commission to advance the interests of that group--something that is not possible for an impartial city agency to do.

Rick Sauer of PACDC characterized membership organizations such as his as having obstacles to overcome due to the diversity of its members. According to Sauer, one of his organization's biggest obstacles is that different neighborhoods have different needs, and the CDCs that serve them reflect those needs. He said that this sometimes leads to clashes between neighborhood

CDCs that would like to direct their energies toward housing and those that would prefer to work on economic development, etc. As the liaison between the neighborhood CDCs, PACDC finds itself mediating between those diverse interests. This is part of the larger goal of PACDC-to be an information clearinghouse that attempts to educate people about the broader, city-wide picture of community development.

Both Richards and Thom argued that the biggest problems with collaborating, or, at the very least, interacting with city agencies was the amount of time involved. As an all-volunteer organization with no staff, the work of advocating for the development of Old City rests in the hands of volunteers. Richards, Thom, and Philo all said that when working together was possible, it was definitely a good thing.

#### Summary

This glimpse into the practice of collaboration suggests that it exists on some level on a city-wide level among professional peers. Collaboration is informal and relegated to personal relationships that have developed from years of professional contact with the exception of those few legal mandates that require such inter-agency coordination. The level of collaboration between city-wide organizations and the neighborhoods seems to depend on the issue at hand. The Philadelphia Historical Commission relies heavily on neighborhood residents as on-the-ground information agents and claims to have contact with certain neighborhoods on a daily basis. The Philadelphia City Planning Commission and Mayor's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative have Neighborhood Planning Groups that seek to engage neighborhoods in the planning process. However, there is no comprehensive revitalization planning agency or initiative that both focuses on the neighborhoods while creating plans collaboratively. This illustrates that either the

fourth stage of urban revitalization as I describe it is invalid or Philadelphia has yet to fully enter the fourth stage of urban revitalization.



Figure 6 Comparison of Old City boundaries

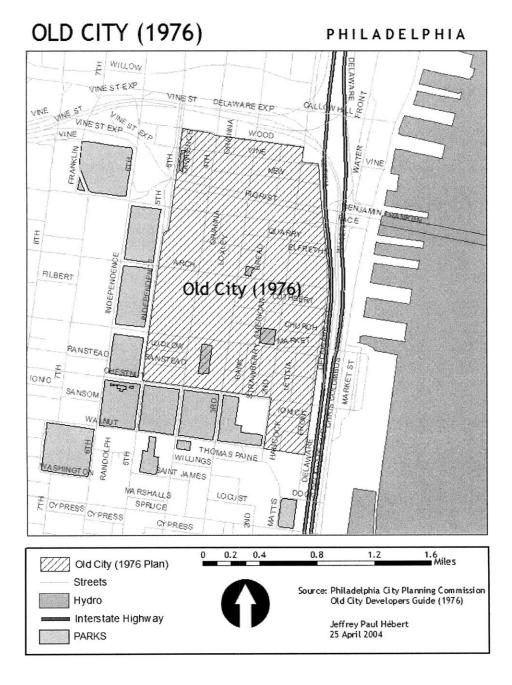


Figure 7 1976 Old City Plan boundaries

#### OLD CITY CIVIC ASSOCIATION PHILADELPHIA WALLACE GALLOWAY FARMOUNT BODIME GREEN BRANDYWINE GREEN SPRING GARDEN PERCY WILLOW VINE ST VINE VINE ST EXP W000 MINE NEW Filomer. CHERRY Old City Civic Associa APPLETRE ENE (C) RLBERT OUTHBERT MOLOWE IONIC SANSOM WILLINGS 0.8 1.2 0.4 Neighborhood Association Streets Source: Richard Thom Old City Civic Association Hydro Interstate Highway Jeffrey Paul Hébert **PARKS** 25 April 2004

Figure 8 Old City Civic Association boundaries

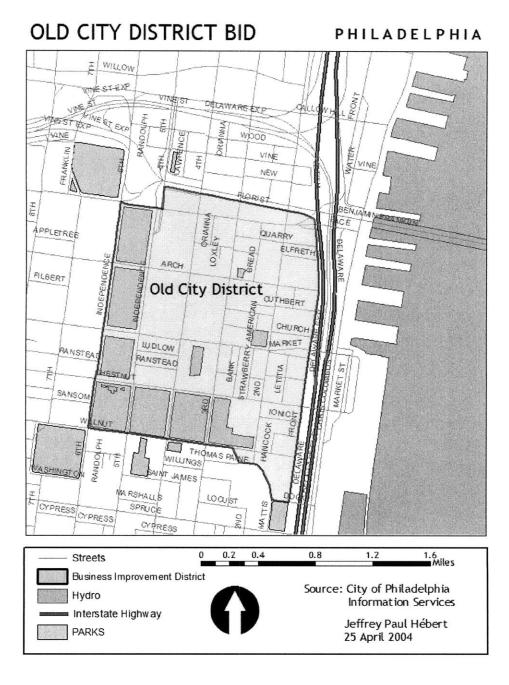


Figure 9 Old City District BID boundaries

### OLD CITY SPECIAL PLANNING DISTRICT PHILADELPHIA E WILLOW VINESTEXP VINE ST DELAWARE EXP VINEST EXP BENJAM MERANKUN APPLETREE ecial Dianning District FILBERT WOLOW RANSTEAD RANSTEAD SANSOM PROMOTONO! THOMAS PAINE H.LG VASHINGTO AINT JAMES NA RSHALLS LOQUIST CYPRESS CYPRESS SPRUCE CYPRESS 1.6 Miles 0.2 0.4 0.8 Special Planning District Streets Source: Philadelphia City Planning Commission Old City Residential Area Hydro Special District Controls

Figure 10 Old City Special Planning District boundaries

Jeffrey Paul Hébert 25 April 2004

Interstate Highway

**PARKS** 

#### OLD CITY HISTORIC DISTRICT PHILADELPHIA WILLOW HAR THE STEXP STEXP VINE BENJAMMERANKUM APPLETREE QUARRY ELFRETH FILBERT Old City Historic District CHURCH CHURCH MARKET NOTOM PANSTEAD INSTEAD CETYTIA SANSOM NONCE TONICE WILLINGS PANE SAINT LAMES NA RSHALLS SPRUCE CYPRESS CYPRESS CYPRESS 1.2 0.2 0.4 0.8 City Historic District Source: City of Philadelphia Hydro Information Services Interstate Highway Jeffrey Paul Hébert PARKS 25 April 2004

Figure 11 Old City historic District boundaries

### V.

#### Analysis and Conclusions

# Analyzing collaboration in Philadelphia's contemporary revitalization practices

To paint a picture of the collaborative revitalization process in Philadelphia, the artist must use a technique akin to the school of impressionism where edges are not so clearly defined and figures seem to blend into one another and the surrounding landscape. Philadelphia is a city of contradictions. It is a city as known for its poverty and crime as it is known for being the birthplace of the country. While the area is home to more prestigious institutions of higher education than any area except Boston, the city is more well known for its troubled public schools. From the bustling Center City neighborhoods to the abandoned houses of North Philadelphia to the mansions of the Main Line suburbs, it is not possible to expect generalities from a city as diverse as Philadelphia.

This inconsistency permeates every aspect of Philadelphia – including its planning practices. It is fascinating to find that there is no single model for urban revitalization planning in Philadelphia. Some city agencies coordinate with one another, while others do not. A few have long standing relationships with the neighborhoods, while others do not. In the Old City neighborhood studied, neighborhood groups collaborate on issues that they can find common ground on.

Indeed, there was a nonchalance to the fact that processes in Philadelphia are not coordinated. It seemed that only Gary Hack was concerned by the fact that Philadelphia's redevelopment process has been somewhat convoluted and could use an injection of collaboration. This may

have influenced Hack's resignation from the Chairmanship of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission announced concurrently with the writing of this thesis. In the article announcing his resignation, Hack cited the City Planning Commission's lack of influence in major decisions on large urban construction projects and the city's physical development as reasons for his resignation<sup>74</sup>. It must be remembered that during my interview with Hack, he mentioned that he had approached Mayor John Street about creating a planning body that would be an agency that could coordinate revitalization efforts across the city's agencies.

#### City-wide Collaboration

On the city-wide level, collaboration happens both formally and informally. However, because the formal collaboration is something that is required by law as a part of a review process and therefore *forced*, the spirit of collaboration in these instances is altogether different because of its purpose in either the approval or rejection of an already designed plan. This has nothing to do with true collaborative planning which has as its foundation the collaborative process of the development and implementation of a plan. The presence of *informal* collaboration is commendable, but as a tenuous non-sustainable form of interaction, its presence does not guarantee future collaboration. This can be seen in the Historical Commission example discussed earlier. When the Historical Commission moved from its offices adjacent to the City Planning Commission, the *informal* collaboration between the two disappeared. The existence of collaboration should not rest primarily with water-cooler conversations. Therefore, using Healey's framework, collaboration does not to exist between city-wide agencies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Saffron, Inga. "Phila. planner will leave his post" Philadelphia Inquirer. March 21, 2004.

#### Neighborhood Collaboration

At the neighborhood level, at this moment there seems to be more oppositional relationships among the two big neighborhood organizations in Old City than there are collaborative relationships. As Old City has become more of a "white hot" neighborhood for developers<sup>75</sup>, there have been more disagreements about what is best for the residents and what is best for developers and business people. It is clear that both groups are passionate about making Old City a great place to live, work, and be entertained, however debate will continue about whose vision for Old City is to be implemented. However, with a lack of a formalized collaborative structure, there is no collaboration in the neighborhood of Old City.

Putting the Historical Commission aside because of its special reliance on citizen observation as a tool for historic preservation, the other city-wide agencies seem only to make minor efforts to engage neighborhood citizens in the overall reshaping of the city. As the agencies central to the redevelopment of the neighborhoods of the city, the City Planning Commission and the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative engage the neighborhoods on the neighborhood plans that their staff develop. These efforts do not go far enough to truly engage residents in the plans for their neighborhoods. While presenting ideas to a neighborhood before the implementation stage is commendable, having residents design their own plans with technical assistance from knowledgeable staff members is more in line with the collaboration Healy theorizes and NRP exemplifies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Rich Thom suggested that Old City is especially "hot" because it is the only place that development is currently occurring in Philadelphia.

It would be wrong to paint a picture of stagnation that would suggest the process of urban revitalization in Philadelphia has remained unchanged. Philadelphia definitely fits the three stage model of planning suggested by Naomi Carmon. Through Edmond Bacon's plans for Center City, Philadelphia had its era of Urban Renewal. The social planning era of the second stage was present in the Model Cities programs in Philadelphia. Gary Hack explained the administration of former mayor turned Governor Ed Rendell as being preoccupied with the redevelopment and revitalization of Center City and an emphasis on tourism – the third stage.

I argued previously that we are in the midst of a new phase of revitalization; one that is characterized by a transition from downtown revitalization to neighborhood revitalization. Philadelphia is definitely in this new stage. With the election of John Street as mayor of Philadelphia, the city's revitalization agenda shifted from one almost exclusively Center City focused to one that embraced the revitalization of the city's often forgotten urban neighborhoods. However, the other part of the new phase is the emergence collaborative planning. NRP in Minneapolis and RCG and SLON in the U.K. are good examples of this combination of neighborhood focus and collaborative planning practice. There is no similar program or initiative in Philadelphia that combines both pieces of the puzzle — neighborhood and collaboration.

The study of Philadelphia neither proves nor disproves the presence of the fourth stage as I have defined it. On one hand, Philadelphia's revitalization has been refocused from Center City to the surrounding urban neighborhoods. On the other hand, these revitalization practices are not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Refer to the Philadelphia City Planning Commission plan for Center City 1963 and the earlier Penn Center plan of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Gary Hack discussed the presence of the Model Cities program as still being in Philadelphia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> From interview with Gary Hack.

inclusive of neighborhood collaboration in the way that both the other U.S. and U.K. examples are inclusive of neighborhood collaboration. This quandary leads to two explanations. Either the fourth stage, as I have defined it, has not taken into account all of the factors that have determined contemporary urban revitalization practices or Philadelphia has not fully transitioned into the fourth stage. I believe the latter. Because there have been attempts to change urban revitalization practices in Philadelphia to being both more comprehensive and collaborative (i.e. Gary Hack's suggestion to John Street and NTI), Philadelphia is in the process of transitioning from the older form of top-down planning. Philadelphia's history and its contemporary socioeconomic climate has influenced many layers of the culture and government of the city – it is not implausible to suggest that these factors are also influencing the pace of change in Philadelphia's system of urban revitalization planning.

### VI.

#### Recommendations

# Recommendations for Collaborative Revitalization in Philadelphia

Since Philadelphia already has a decent urban revitalization framework in place in NTI, it would make sense that the NTI program be expanded and redefined to include all aspects of urban revitalization: housing, education, healthcare, streetscape/urban design, et cetera. In addition, the 34 joint neighborhood plans between NTI and the City Planning Commission described earlier could be folded into neighborhood planning units that are resident run, like the NRP Neighborhood Boards in Minneapolis.

The first recommendation for the reorganization of NTI would be to remove the initiative from the Mayor's Office. Jacob Fisher commented that one of the biggest obstacles NTI has to overcome is the perception that it is "just another mayoral initiative." Being an entity whose existence is basically at the whim of a politician is not sustainable to achieve long-term revitalization results. As was done in Minneapolis before NRP's creation, a study needs to be undertaken that outlines how much money will be needed to revitalize the neighborhoods, what potential funding sources are, and how long it could take. Using that information, the initiative could be reorganized as an independent temporary program within the city government. Finally, the name could be changed to disassociate this reorganized program from the former mayoral initiative. A possible name could be the Philadelphia Rebuilds Program (PRP).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Bob Miller explained that before NRP was established the city conducted a neighborhood revitalization study that concluded it would take \$1 billion in investment and twenty years for desired results.

The PRP process would differ slightly from the NRP model so that it could fit within the pre-existing NTI/PCPC structure. First, a neighborhood stakeholder would propose an idea to the PRP/PCPC Planning Unit Board. If approved, the idea would be added to that community's Neighborhood Rebuilding Plan which in turn would be created by the neighborhood group with technical assistance from community planning staff at PCPC. After the plan is finished, it would be sent to PRP for a final review by staff before it is sent to the City Council for consideration.<sup>80</sup>

Although information presented earlier might suggest that a NRP-like program in Philadelphia is improbable, a foray into a more structured form of collaborative revitalization cannot hurt Philadelphia. Recognizing the differences between a city like Philadelphia and a city like Minneapolis is important; however, dwelling on these differences as obstacles to change is self defeating. Creating a more NRP-like program in Philadelphia could capitalize on the strong identity citizens attach to their neighborhoods while at the same time enabling stakeholders to plan for themselves with strong technical assistance from city agencies.

#### **Implications for Other Cities**

An investigation like this could be very important for other cities in the midst of revitalizing urban districts and neighborhoods. As more residents of cities become interested in having a voice in plans for the future of their communities, they will demand to be included in the neighborhood planning process. A city's examination of its current planning processes is important in determining how the city can more effectively and satisfactorily engage its zealous neighborhood constituents.

 $^{80}$  Refer to Figure 6 for illustration.

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#### Limitations and Further Research Possibilities

With any body of research, there is always room for improvement and further exploration. One of the biggest obstacles to conducting the research for this thesis was my limited familiarity with the complexities of Philadelphia. It would have been beneficial to have more institutional knowledge beforehand. If this had been the case, the research could have potentially included more data as access to such data might have been easier. In closing, this warrants a more comprehensive look at the city of Philadelphia. More substantial research could entail conducting more interviews, studying more neighborhoods, and possibly researching more neighborhoodbased revitalization initiatives in cities both domestic and abroad. If given more time and resources to further develop the subject, researching the significance of urban racial issues in the practice of collaborative revitalization might give a clearer picture of the absence or presence in cities of the neighborhood focused collaborative revitalization model. Patsy Healey asks the question, "Is it inevitable that we are locked into power struggles within which the same groups always win the chance to dominate the rest of us?"81 This is a question that deserves to be answered, and is one that collaborative planning practices attempt to address in the multicultural city.

81 Healey, p203.

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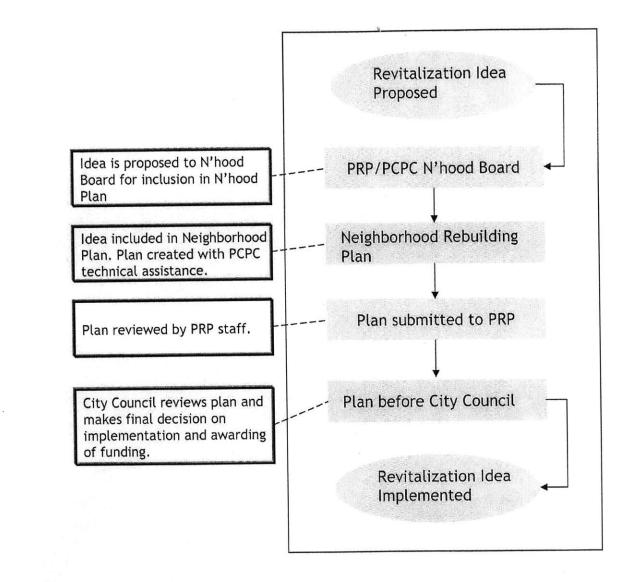
Proposed

Rebuilds Program

**Planning** 

**Process** 

Philadelphia



VII.

Appendix

## A. Compiled list of urban revitalization agencies, programs, and organizations

NAME	In Philadelphia?	Key*
Business Improvement Districts		
Main Streets		
Tax Increment Financing		
Enterprise Zones		
Empowerment Zones		
Renewal Communities		
Community Development Corporations		
Individual Development Accounts		
Hope VI		
Community Development Block Grants		•
Economic Development Corporations		
Historic Preservation Tax Credits		
Brownfield Redevelopment		
Faith-Based Initiatives		
Neighborhood Associations		
Façade Improvement Programs		
University Partnerships		
Development Regulatory Incentives (ie.		
Inclusionary housing)		
Special Development Regulatory		
Requirements		
Arts/Cultural/Entertainment Districts		
Mega-Events Development Incentives (ie.		
Olympics; etc.)		
Flagship projects (waterfront		
development)		
Low Income/Affordable Housing Tax		
Credits		
Historic Redevelopment Zone		
Historic Districts		
Urban Entertainment Development	•	
Programs (Sports Stadiums/Arenas,		
Casinos, etc.)		
Urban Reinvestment Revolving Loan	]	
Fund		
Income Tax Credits (EITC, CTC)		
Redevelopment Authorities/Other		
Planning Authorities		
Community Reinvestment Act		
Community Development Financial		
Institutions		
Community Development Credit Unions		

Transfer Development Rights		
Business Incubators		
Micro Enterprise Funds		
Economic Development Districts (EDA)		
Defense Adjustment Program (EDA)		
Trade Adjustment Assistance Program		
(EDA)		
Industrial Modernization Programs		
(NIST's Manufacturing Extension		
Program & DoD's Tech Reinvestment		
Program)		
Public Works and Infrastructure		
Development Grants (EDA)		
Science & Technology Parks		
Industrial Development Bonds		
HOME Program (HUD)		
Urban Development Action Grant		
(HUD)		
Urban Mass Transit Administration Funds		
TOADS (Temporarily Obsolete		
Abandoned Derelict Structures)		
National Housing Trust Fund		
Corporate & Civic Investment Funds		
The Reinvestment Fund		
Land Banks and Land Trusts		
Community Outreach Partnership Center		
(HUD)		
Limited Equity Housing Cooperatives		
Urban and Community Forestry Program		
(USDA)		
Special Economic Adjustment &		
Assistance Grants		
Environmental Justice Grants (EPA)		
Superfund Technical Assistance Grants		
(EPA)		
EPA Public-Private Partnership and		
Optimization		
Heritage Tourism		
Government Complexes		
City Philanthropic/Foundations		
CBOs – Immigrant Worker Centers		
Public Health orientated land use		
Philadelphia Specific		
Keystone Opportunity Zones		
Neighborhood Comm. Revit. Program		
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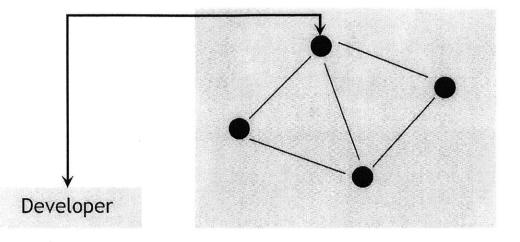
Brownfield Redevelopment Program	
External Commercial Improvement Prog.	
Security Assistance Program	
Commercial Development Corp.	
Industrial Development Corp.	
Blight Removal Program	
Livable Neighborhood Program	
Brownfield Revitalization Act	
Blight Redevelopment Plan	
Commercial Property Acquisition Prog.	
City Innovation Economy Program	
University Neighborhood Initiative	

#### **B.** Interview questions

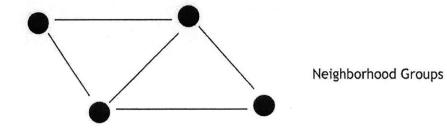
- 1. What is the mission of your agency/organization?
- 2. How long have you worked here?
- 3. What is your role?
- 4. What is your [agency/organization]'s involvement in the revitalization of Philadelphia?
- 5. Which areas of the city does your agency/org target?
- 6. Does a map exist that illustrates all of the work/projects/programs your [agency/organization]'s programs/interventions? If yes, what was the impetus behind its creation? If no, have you ever considered creating one?
- 7. Do(es) you (your organization) collaborate, be it formal or informal, with other likeminded revitalization organizations **across the city**? If so, how would you characterize this collaboration? Is it formal (we have committee meetings every week/month) or more informal (John at organization x and I at organization y know each other and we keep in touch about what we are both doing)?
- 8. Do(es) you (your organization) collaborate, be it formal or informal, with other likeminded revitalization organizations in the **neighborhoods** that the programs are targeting? If so, how would you characterize this collaboration? Is it formal (we have committee meetings every week/month) or more informal (John at organization x and I at organization y know each other and we keep in touch about what we are both doing)?
  - How do you coordinate the work your agency/org does with the work that very different agencies/orgs do in the same area(s)? At the City-wide scale? Neighborhood scale?
- 9. In your opinion, what are the advantages of collaboration? What are the disadvantages?
- 10. Off the top of your head, can you list the organizations you know of that focus on urban revitalization/redevelopment?
- 12. What do you think the reasons are that there is little or no collaboration in Philadelphia?

  Do you feel that the current situation needs improvement? What would your solution be?
- 13. What if there is a high level of coordination, but some groups are marginalized?

# Pre-Collaborative Top Down Development Process

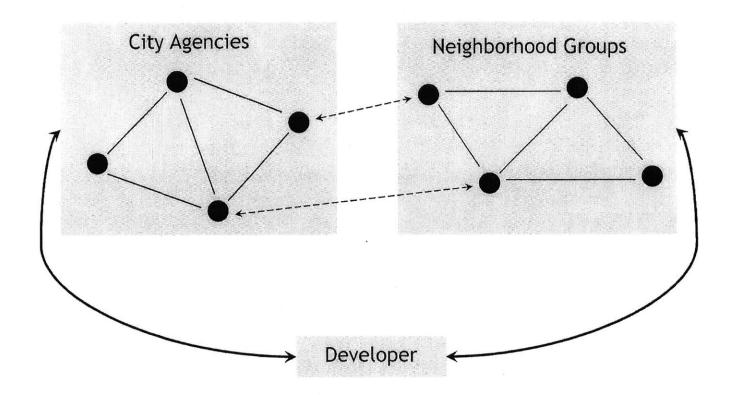


City Agencies



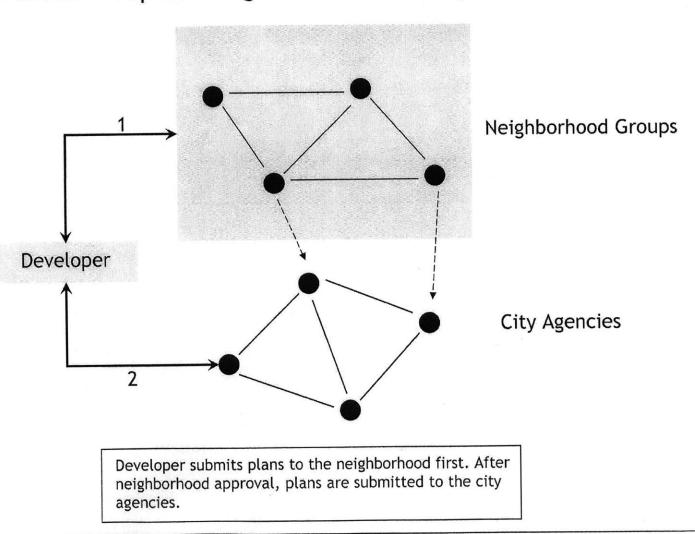
Developer submits proposals to city agencies. Neighborhood groups shut out of the process.

# **Collaborative Development Process**



Developer submits proposals to city agencies and neighborhood groups for approval. City agencies and neighborhood groups collaborate on plans.

# Past Minneapolis Neighborhood Development Process



### VIII.

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