



Sustainability and Policymaking: A Case Study of the West End, Cincinnati

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Abstract

The economic and environmental implications of sustainability have been more extensively explored than sustainability's prospects for policymaking. While some have recognized the role of local resources and talents, i.e. social capital and physical capital in creating healthy communities rather than focusing on community needs alone, the nexus between such resources and policies that are conducive to sustainable communities remains vague. This article explores these linkages by chronicling four types of urban policies, which have been implemented in the West End, Cincinnati since the 1930s. The study offers a conceptual framework for evaluating the mutual impacts of policies and target groups, and places special emphasis on policy networks defined both in terms of policy types and target groups affected by them. Examining this relationship enables policy analysts to group policy networks into four possible categories: strong or weak *cohesion* (the distribution of objectives among actors) versus strong or weak *interconnectedness* (the strength of the relationship between government and the target group).

Keywords: Sustainability, policymaking, cohesion, interconnectedness, West End.

پایداری و سیاستگذاری: مطالعه موردی وست اند در سینسیناتی

مهیار عارفی

دکترای برنامه‌ریزی، استادیار گروه برنامه‌ریزی، دانشگاه سینسیناتی
مضامین اقتصادی و محیطی پایداری، به مراتب بیش از جنبه‌های سیاستگذاری آن مورد کنکاش قرار گرفته است. در حالی که برخی افراد، نقش منابع و استعدادهای محلی، یعنی سرمایه اجتماعی و سرمایه کالبدی را در ایجاد اجتماعات محلی سالم به رسمیت شناخته و صرفاً بر نیازهای اجتماعات محلی تأکید نکرده‌اند، اما پیوند این منابع و سیاست‌هایی که به پایداری اجتماعات محلی منجر می‌شود، همچنان در پرده ابهام باقی مانده است. در این مقاله به منظور بررسی این پیوندها، چهار نوع سیاست شهری با رعایت ترتیب زمانی مطرح شده، که در "وست اند" سینسیناتی از دهه ۳۰ به اجرا درآمده‌اند. این مطالعه، چهارچوب مفهومی برای ارزیابی اثرات متقابل سیاست‌ها و گروه‌های هدف به دست می‌دهد و بر آن دسته از شبکه‌های سیاستی تأکید دارد، که بر مبنای انواع سیاست‌ها و گروه‌های هدف تحت پوشش آنها تعریف شده‌اند. بررسی این رابطه، تحلیلگران سیاست‌ها را قادر می‌سازد تا شبکه‌های سیاست را در چهار گروه دسته‌بندی کنند: همبستگی قوی و ضعیف (توزیع اهداف در میان کنشگران)، در برابر ارتباط متقابل (قوت رابطه میان دولت و گروه هدف).

کلیدواژه‌ها: پایداری، سیاستگذاری، همبستگی، ارتباط متقابل، وست اند.

Introduction

The Economic and environmental implications of sustainability have been more extensively explored than sustainability's prospects for policymaking. Concepts such as carrying capacity, efficiency, and equity have become part of the lexicon of sustainability in many disciplines, e.g. architecture and urban planning. The preponderance of these concepts lies in the quest for pedestrian-friendly, dense, and compact designs as ways of achieving "sustainable urban form" (Williams *et al*, 2000). Less apparent, however, are the implications of sustainability for policymaking. Scholars are, for example, recognizing the importance of local assets, i.e. physical capital and social capital, and the role that local asset building plays in creating healthy communities. However, the nexus between sustainability and policies that would capitalize on such local assets remains vague.

This study offers a conceptual framework for examining sustainable community development strategies. An overview of the anti-poverty public policies of the last several decades, and the actual outcomes of those policies on the targeted people and places, offers a backdrop for describing the elements of this conceptual framework. As such, the framework focuses on "policy networks" defined both in terms of policy types and the target groups affected by them. The political science literature has systematically addressed political networks (Boogason and Toonen, 1998; Bressers, O'Toole and Richardson, 1994; Haas, 1992; Hecl, 1978). The policy networks perspective provides a basis for evaluating *policymaking* and *target groups* in a comprehensive, mutual relationship. This view differs from the conventional approach in which only implemented policies affect target groups. Viewed as parts of a network, policies and target groups become interdependent. Special emphasis will be placed here on housing policies and

their broad land use and regeneration implications because, presumably, they affect more people—directly or indirectly—throughout their lives. Hence, examples used in this article will showcase housing-related policies or programs including triage, Urban Renewal, the Model Cities Programs, and the HOPE VI project.

Conceptual Framework

Policies affect target groups by setting up constraints and potentials. Writings on community development show that target groups could also react in different ways to implemented policies. The conventional "need-based" approach to community development mainly reflects how policies affect target groups, while attention to community resources, or what might be referred to as an "asset-based" approach, exemplifies the latter perspective. For example, states intervene in distressed areas in a variety of ways to assist needy individuals with a wide array of needs including housing, health care, employment, education, and so on. As such, the need-based approach typically considers people as passive and, in that sense, it poses a deterministic undertone toward poverty alleviation. Addressing various physical or individual needs, i.e. public housing, Urban Renewal, or handouts would be therefore necessary, to help the needy individuals. The asset-based approach as the alternative anti-poverty strategy, however, does not view people as passive. In this sense, people mediate the decisions made to alter the environment or to reduce poverty. Regarding the distinction between the need- versus the asset-based policies, the theory of social capital and the concept of "ghetto-as-a-resource" mainly focus on the mutual impacts of people and the built environment. Seen thus, social "assets" or people's informal networks of "trust" and "reciprocity" (Putnam *et al*, 1993) and social bonds and ties (and their perceptions toward the built environment) are

considered to be more critical for community redevelopment policies than their material “needs,” i.e. housing or employment alone. The growing importance of the asset-based approach in community development lies in seeking ways by which target groups—including poor communities that are seemingly devoid of economic and physical capacities, capabilities, and potentials—may affect public policy outcomes (Goldsmith, 1974; Porter and Habiby, 1999; Kubisch *et al*, 1995).

To evaluate the mutual impact of policies and target groups, it is imperative to consider them as part of a network. Viewed as a part of a network, policies and target groups become interdependent and interactive. As such, the proposed framework seeks to examine the strength of the relationship between the policies and the target groups. Two common characteristics of policy networks include “interconnectedness” and “cohesion” (Bressers and O’Toole, 1998). Interconnectedness examines the strength of the relationship between the government and the target group, while cohesion measures the “distribution of objectives among the actors.”

This framework offers useful insights into evaluating and chronicling urban policies over the

last half a century or so ago. Based on this taxonomy, four different types of relationships are conceivable: 1) strong interconnectedness and strong cohesion; 2) strong interconnectedness and weak cohesion; 3) weak interconnectedness and weak cohesion; and 4) weak interconnectedness and strong cohesion. Figure 1 illustrates a matrix that depicts these possible scenarios.

How does this framework help examine the sustainability of a certain type of government policy over time? Based on the outcomes of each policy type and the distribution of its objectives among the target groups, it would be possible to see whether that policy has remained sustainable or not. Policies of triage¹ and benign neglect exemplify weak interconnectedness and weak cohesion, and hence, do not establish strong relationships between the target groups and the government. Characterized by non-intervention, the outcomes of such policies have not sustained themselves over time. Welfare and Urban Renewal have created a closer relationship between the government and the constituency; they generated strong interconnectedness, but weak cohesion. The Model Cities Programs² of the 1960s and 1970s, representing the third policy type, engendered strong

		Policy Type	
		Weak Interconnectedness	Strong Interconnectedness
Target Group	Weak Cohesion (Need-Based)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Triage ■ Benign Neglect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Welfarism ■ Urban Renewal
	Strong Cohesion (Asset-Based)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Model Cities Programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Gentrification ■ Public-Private Partnership ■ Empowerment Zones ■ CDCs

Figure 1. Policy Networks: Policy type by Target Group.

cohesion but weak interconnectedness. Unsuccessful attempts to institutionalize power sharing between the local constituency and the mayors as well as the growing conflicts between them suggest weak interconnectedness, but strong cohesion.

Gentrification, Empowerment Zones³, Community Development Corporations⁴ (CDCs), and HOPE VI⁵ Program illustrate the fourth policy type and are characterized by strong cohesion and strong interconnectedness. These policies or programs are predicated on creating opportunities for community residents and, thereby, helping the less mobile or immobile local population. Unlike the Model Cities Programs, these policies appear to recognize the importance of local assets (social capital and physical capital) for sustainable regeneration. Thus, utilizing local assets ought to become the integral part of sustainable policymaking process.

Sustainable Public Policy

What are the characteristics of sustainable public policies? While any definitive answer to this question requires more in-depth research, the critical examination of the implemented policies throughout the past several decades shows emergent patterns that help define sustainable public policies. As discussed at the outset, concepts such as carrying capacity and efficiency epitomize and envisage sustainability in ecology and environmental design. Increasing pressure on the limited stocks of environmental and natural resources has created a great deal of concern among experts and policymakers to attempt to improve the quality of life of the urban population, as well as of future generations. To address these concerns, architects and urban planners, among other experts, have made concerted efforts to design compact environments, to encourage walkability instead of vehicular access, and to mitigate

the pressure on depletable natural and environmental resources. While the feasibility of reaching a consensus about and the systematic operationalization of these principles remain to be seen, the interconnectedness of urbanization problems has raised global awareness about the importance of sustainable public policies characterized largely by the cooperation between the government and local communities.

This sense of shared accountability and responsibility (between government and local communities) and the need for citizen participation in the planning decision-making processes have made it imperative to develop an operational framework for conceptualizing sustainable public policies. Viewed as such, a sustainable public policy requires two interdependent components: the community dimension and the government dimension. An overview of the history of public policy in the United States shows that top-down policies have been generally short-lived and are less likely to be sustainable. Moreover, local communities are typically skeptical of the outcomes of government policies. Part of this sense of mistrust has to do with target groups' absence in decision-making. Even the few attempts in the 1960s and 1970s to involve people in the decision-making process largely failed (Moynihan, 1970).

This study focuses primarily on housing policies and groups them into two broad categories: those, which were top-down and largely non-participatory, and those that while top-down, involved some degree of citizen participation. Chronologically, the urban policies implemented from the 1930s to the 1970s did not promote citizen participation (cohesion); nor did they strengthen the relationship between the government and target groups (interconnectedness). However, the policies of the 1980s and 1990s, generally, encouraged more participation compared to their predecessors, and hence, promoted cohesion

and interconnectedness. More broadly, and in what he calls the “top-down dilemma of development,” Woolcock (1998: 176) conceptualizes the state-society relations and contends that social ties, which bind the state to society and provide institutionalized channels for the continual negotiation and renegotiation of goals and policies, ensure effectiveness and facilitate sustained development. While Woolcock’s conclusion concerns macro level development, it provides helpful insights into micro level, (i.e. neighborhood) revitalization strategies as well. A major characteristic of the state-society linkage is their unequal share of power and resources. This power and resource imbalance becomes more critical at the micro level where the state has more resources at its disposal compared to a distressed community with limited stocks of capital and political clout. Sociologists have examined this nexus by focusing on the concept of “linking social capital” (see Szreter, 2002). Linking social capital describes the ties between parties who know themselves not only to be unlike, as in the case of bridging social capital but, furthermore, to be unequal in their power and their access to resources. This is often the case in development work, where a range of “external” agencies interact with relatively poor societies and communities.

In these “relationships of exchange” between,

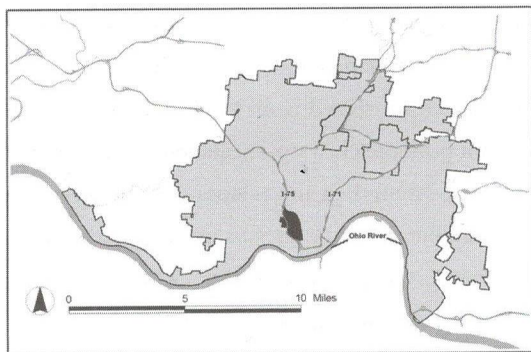


Figure 2. West End, Cincinnati.

for example, the local government and community grassroots organizations or private investors, two parties with unequal power relations share redevelopment efforts. “Linking social capital,” which illustrates the relationships between unequal agents has become a popular redevelopment approach in recent years. For example, Arefi (2002) discusses the redevelopment efforts of eight distressed communities in Los Angeles revolving primarily around the concept of “linking social capital.”

The remainder of the paper will discuss a conceptual framework for chronicling the history of the redevelopment efforts and their outcomes in The West End, Cincinnati (see Figure 2) during the last few decades. The proposed framework helps conceptualize the connection between policy type and target groups. Two sets of public policies with broad-based impacts on urban regeneration are discernible. First, such policies have, intentionally or unintentionally, contributed to the decline of the inner-city and the rise of suburban development. Triage and Urban Renewal epitomize policies characterized by *weak cohesion*. Absent from both has been the community participation component of the sustainable decision-making process. The main argument is that those policies, which integrate the people-and place-components of regeneration, are more likely to sustain themselves than those that are less conducive to citizen participation. This is where strong interconnectedness and strong cohesion intersect in matrix 1. *Strong cohesion* characterizes the second possibility, where target groups can affect public policy. Similarly, it would be conceivable to group the policy type-target group linkages into weak and strong interconnectedness. The following examples clarify the proposed housing policy taxonomy. These examples focus on the West End, an important historic neighborhood in Cincinnati, which has experienced major governmental

intervention, in terms of, Urban Renewal, Model Cities, and a HOPE VI housing project.

A Brief History of the West End, Cincinnati

The 500-acre neighborhood lies in close proximity to the Cincinnati Central Business District and houses Union Terminal, a converted train station that has been the city's museum center since 1985. In 1875, the West End, Cincinnati housed 23 industries including soap, chemical manufacturing, and candle-making. The concentration of industrial buildings, the increased building density, and the influx of population into the West End transformed its once-bucolic visual character and increased the need for new housing. The rising housing demand resulted in the conversion of single-family houses into flats and large tenements, which covered the entire block in parts of the West End (Gigliero and Overmyer, 1988). The 1880s and 1890s witnessed the decline of the West End as an attractive neighborhood, and witnessed a mass exodus of its middle and upper income population, especially German Jews, and the subsequent arrival of a primarily African American, lower income population. According to Murley (1982: 86), "By 1890, 85% of Cincinnati's black population was concentrated there—segregated in fact if not by law." The steady decline of the neighborhood continued throughout the 1930s.

The City officials' plea for public housing, replacing the old industrial plants, and the design of "superblocks," including Queensgate I and II, transformed the West End once again in the 1950s. In fact, the economic development efforts of the 1950s accelerated the decline of the neighborhood and led to the relocation of its low-income African American residents to other neighborhoods including Over-the-Rhine (Manley, 2002: 4). The construction of the Interstate-75 expressway split this neighborhood into two sections during the 1960s.

By 1966, more than a quarter of the population of the West End was forced to move out to other neighborhoods, i.e. Evanston, Mt. Auburn, Avondale, and Walnut Hills. Partially to rectify the adverse effects of the massive urban surgery of the Urban Renewal era of the 1950s and early 1960s, the Model Cities Programs of the 1960s and 1970s followed. However, the implementation of these programs in Cincinnati could not stop the massive exodus of the residents of the West End. So much so, that between 1960 and 1980, the area lost more than 70% of its 42,000 population so that only 12,000 people remained (Gigliero and Overmyer, 1988). However, new public-private housing initiatives since the late 1990s have started turning the West End around. Using the concept of policy networks, the remainder of the article will chronicle the outcomes of various urban policies implemented in the West End as evidenced by its history since the 1800s.

Weak Cohesion, Weak Interconnectedness

Triage demonstrates a public policy with marginal interconnectedness—that is, a palpable interaction between the government and the citizens. In the case of triage, several reasons account for the government's reluctance to involve people in the decision-making process. Agnew (1983: 38) asserts that, "clearly, governments can engage in such a policy without publicly declaring which areas are to be written off." Due to the scarcity of resources, government typically ranks areas on the basis of the degree of distress and the likelihood of regeneration. Triage is counterintuitive to the conventional argument for targeting the most severely distressed areas and people in that, at times, those who are most in need are less likely to be helped. However, "the political impact on the near-poor" might be more palpable since they have a few more resources. Wildavsky (1996: 82) argues that "as they observe extra resources going

to the very poor, who are most in need but least likely to be helped, they cannot help but wonder why they, who need less help but can use it more, are being left out.”

This rationale has resulted in “various typologies of decline,” i.e. “terminal decline,” “neighborhood death and ethical inefficiency,” “managed migration,” “planned shrinkage,” and “triage” (Stegman, 1979: 496). Triage favors the allocation of scarce resources only to areas with stabilization promise, which means aiding some at the expense of others. Having ranged from redlining and various degrees of geographical bias in the distribution of public services to “across-

triage, benign neglect, and slum clearance made little effort to involve people in the decision-making process (Figure 3). The practice of triage and benign neglect in the West End, Cincinnati illustrates that public investments or resources were allocated with the principles of efficiency in mind. To deal with the worst housing problem in the city on one hand, and to take advantage of the new federal funds for the West End slum housing, on the other, the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority was established in 1930 (Muraley, 1982: 27). The outcomes of these redevelopment efforts were mixed in that certain communities benefited from public resources at the

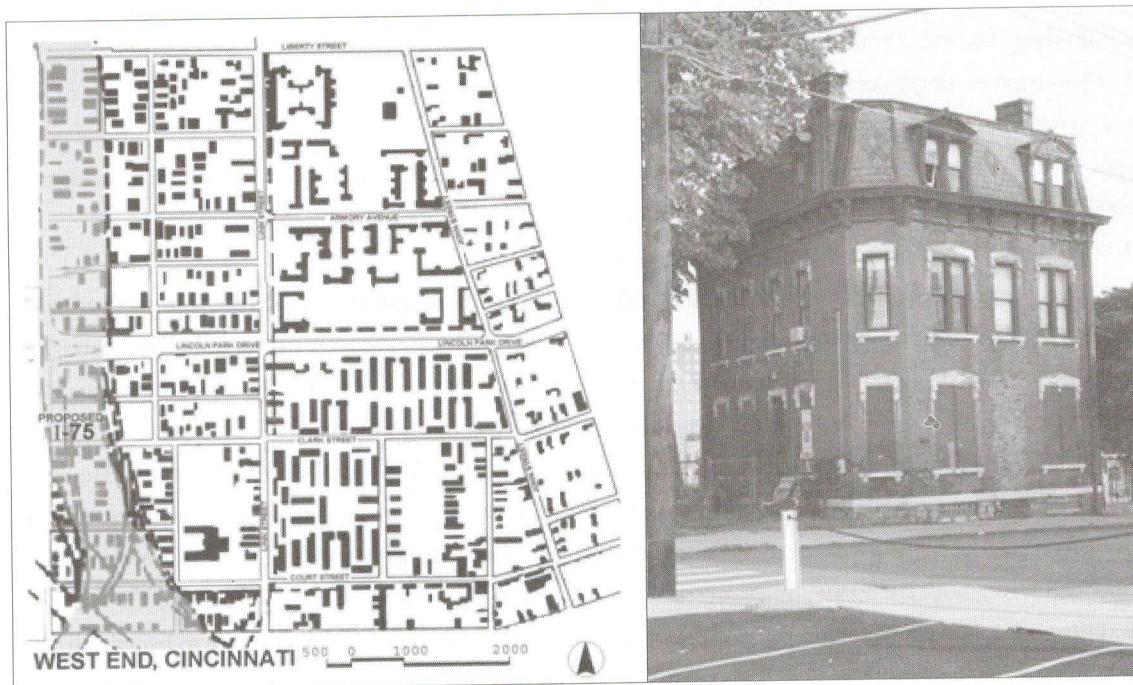


Figure 3. West End, Cincinnati (Before Urban Renewal).

the-board” triage, these policies have had major local and regional land use implications and have typically served as mechanisms for altering the economic map of economic activities. Consequently, local residents in severely distressed areas have been deprived of access to good school districts, or to grants and loans for upgrading their landed properties and so on.

As top-down policies of the 1940s and 1960s,

expense of the less affluent ones, i.e. the West End. While the poor residents of the West End were forced to move out of their neighborhood, suburban growth accelerated the hollowing out of the West End.

Weak Cohesion, Strong Interconnectedness

Slum clearance projects of the 1940s and 1950s

represent the second type of policies that resulted in massive displacement of residents from their neighborhoods. Slum clearance or what is commonly known as the “bulldozer approach” (Carmon, 1999: 146) demonstrates weak cohesion, but fairly strong interconnectedness. Slum clearance and triage showcase two different government approaches when faced with weak markets. The former represents government action aimed at intervening in the marketplace, whereas the latter illustrates how benign neglect could contribute to further deterioration of infrastructure and economic distress. Slum clearance has been typically implemented with the intention of improving the local physical environment as well as the market conditions.

Interconnectedness in this case connotes direct government action with tangible impacts on the target groups. According to Gans (1968, 2002), these policies advocate the “fallacy of physical determinism” based on which physical improvements, i.e. the construction of new housing, playgrounds, neighborhood green spaces, and parks, were planned and implemented to shape human behavior. However, the Urban Renewal or slum clearance projects of the 1950s and 1960s failed largely due to the massive displacement of the local population, generating a great deal of grief (Marris, 1974) and destruction of social capital. People’s dislocation from the West End severely destroyed the stock of social capital manifested in various local institutions, i.e. the Ninth Street YMCA, the Cotton Club, and several churches. As such, the distribution of policy objectives (cohesion) in the West End Slum Clearance Project ranks rather low.

Murley (1982: 127) maintains that the Cincinnati planning office and the Housing Authority jointly proposed a slum clearance plan for large areas of the West End. This plan not only targeted “decrepit, overcrowded” tenements of the West End, but also

sought to provide Cincinnatians with a practical solution to overcome the city’s topographic constraints. As such, the plan included an expressway, which linked the West End, which is located between the valley and the Cincinnati basin, to other parts of the city (Murley, 1982). Furthermore, slum clearance, known as the era of “Negro removal,” was an attempt to remove “low-income Negroes” (Nager, 1980: 239) and, in some cases, to make way for upper-income whites. Murley (1982: 128), for example, believes that the request for federal funding for slum clearance was “to build three separate neighborhood units in the West End, one for blacks and two for whites.”

The plan substituted medium-density apartments for tenements. Many homeowners, who thought their properties were appraised lower than the market price, questioned the purpose of the plan as an attempt to “remove blacks” from certain areas of the West End, i.e. near the new Union Terminal (Murley, 1982). Implementation of this policy in the West End, which purportedly ranked as the nation’s second largest slum clearance project up to that time, resulted in chaotic urban forms, and the disruption of existing urban fabrics and land uses. These housing projects not only failed to integrate into the physical and social fabrics of the inner-city neighborhoods, but also were generally rejected by the residents (Figure 4). According to the West End Task Force, a subcommittee of the West End Community Council—formed in early 1965—“large parts of the West End had previously been destroyed without the concerns of residents being given due voice and consideration.” (West End Development Plan, 1974).

Strong Cohesion, Weak Interconnectedness

Strong cohesion characterizes the second type of public policies—or what could be termed as the “asset-based” approach to community building. Unlike the policies of the previous era, these types of policies

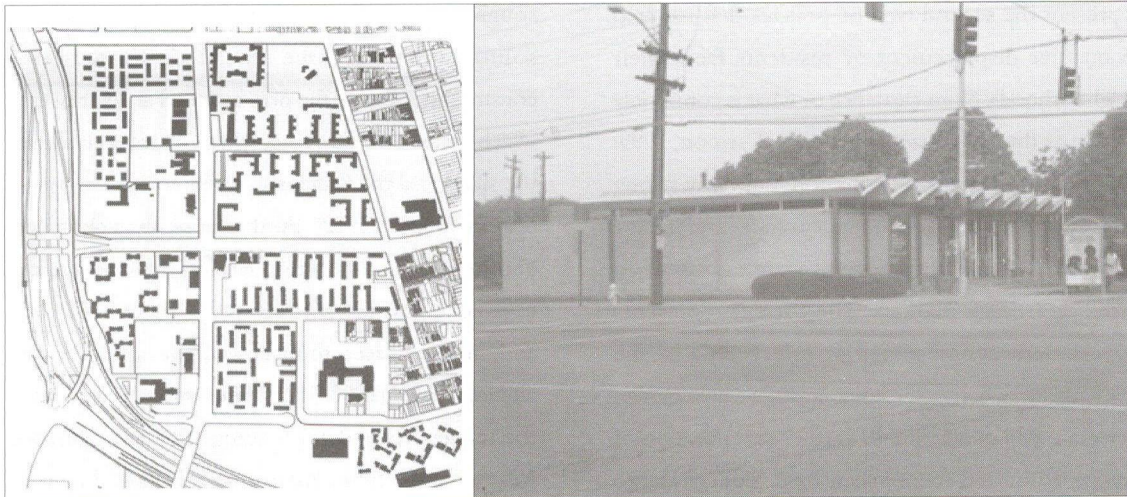


Figure 4. West End, Cincinnati, after Urban Renewal (1960s).

made deliberate attempts to integrate the people and place components of regeneration. According to Carmon (1999: 146), “many of the new programs, i.e. the Model Cities Programs of the 1960s and 1970s, tried to involve local residents in their decision-making process and made ‘maximum feasible participation’ a leading slogan of the period.” These programs were not sustainable and failed in similar ways to the first generation regeneration programs. The Model Cities Programs exemplify strong cohesion but weak interconnectedness.

The Model Cities Programs tended to rectify the flaws of the Urban Renewal projects of the 1940s and 1950s, which gave the cohesion element of policymaking short shrift. A conscious effort was made to involve residents in the decision-making process, so much so that many programs “made ‘maximum feasible participation’ a leading slogan of the period” (Carmon, 1999: 146). However, despite the goodwill and a total of \$2.3 billion spent in the course of seven years, these programs were “generally considered a failure” (p. 147), did not sustain themselves, and were subsequently disbanded. In fact, “maximum feasible participation” later became known as “maximum feasible misunderstanding”

(Moynihan, 1970). Citizen participation in the Model Cities Programs did not fully pan out because the mayors and city officials were not willing to share power with the constituencies and the reported conflicts between the two parties hindered and later halted the programs. Though not as dramatic and extensive as the impacts of the Urban Renewal policies on the West End, Cincinnati’s urban form, the Model Cities Programs produced isolated pockets of regeneration compared to the previously existing urban fabric of the targeted areas (Figure 5). Specifically, “to attract a mix of families,” a number of older dwellings in the West End were renovated and saved from demolition during the 1960s (Giglierano and Overmyer, 1988: 106).

Strong Cohesion, Strong Interconnectedness

The fourth typology of policy networks highlights the importance of both strong cohesion and strong interconnectedness. Broadly, this typology is the opposite of the policy of benign neglect or triage, which writes off areas with weak markets in favor of those with revitalization promise. Strong cohesion and strong interconnectedness imply the active involvement of people and government in inducing

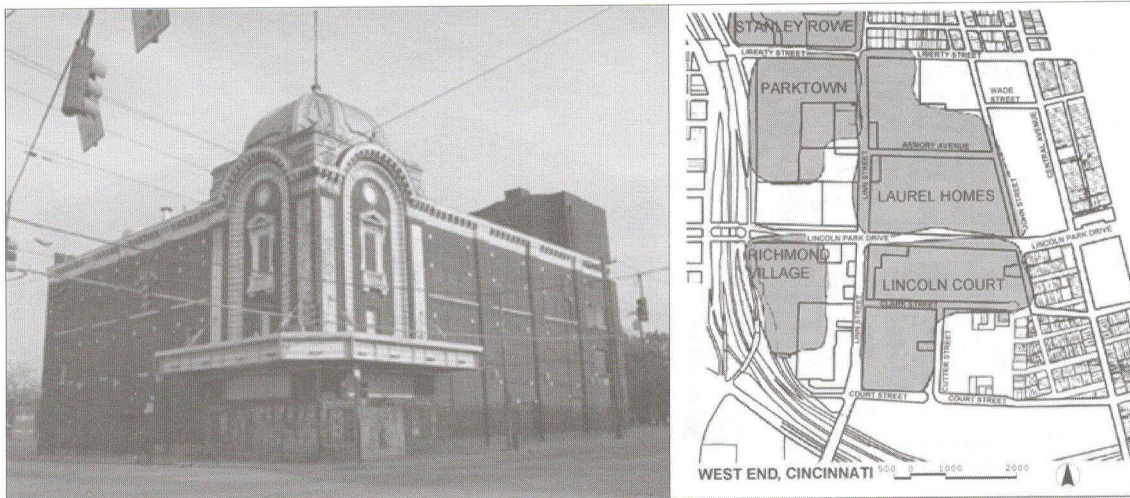


Figure 5. West End Cincinnati, (A Model Cities Neighborhood, 1967).

positive physical and socioeconomic change. Under certain conditions, gentrification can be considered as a case in point. Depending on whether these policies result in the dislocation of the local residents to other areas, they could induce weak or strong interconnectedness. If as a result of the implemented policies, people are forced to move out, then it constitutes weak interconnectedness and maybe weak cohesion. Conversely however, if government and the local community are both actively pursuing gentrification, then it constitutes strong interconnectedness. This is why Beauregard (1986) has considered gentrification a “chaotic concept,” because it emerges from the efforts of many forces including the public and the private sectors. In a study he conducted in Philadelphia⁶, he examined four different neighborhoods. In Society Hill, for example, government initiated the process and faced no opposition from the residents whereas in Spring Garden despite local opposition, developers used the federal tax credits to gentrify the neighborhood (weak interconnectedness). Gentrification has major land use implications. Certain neighborhoods have become gentrified as a result of enforcing specific policies, such as historic preservation though tax abatement

and restoration loans. Old neighborhoods with architectural and historical appeal (e.g., Society Hill in Philadelphia) have become sustainable by retrofitting their housing stock and infrastructure.

The HOPE VI project in the West End, Cincinnati is an example where—through public-private partnerships—market-rate housing and mixed-use design are gentrifying the neighborhood. The regeneration of the central city is the major land use implication and manifestation of the gentrification process (Griffith, 1996). Compared with the Urban Renewal and Model Cities projects of the 1960s and 1970s, the HOPE VI program is smaller in scale (Figure 6). Modest scale piecemeal projects “minimize community disruption and respect place identity,” and are more likely to be “sustainable” than total replacement” (Day, 2002: 163).

A conscious effort has been under way to get people involved in the decision-making process. The theory of social capital has offered some insights into the ways by which policymakers could reinvest in communities’ social (in addition to physical) assets. Two types of policies help clarify this point. The Empowerment Zone (EZ) programs of the 1990s mainly targeted inner city areas, but in ways that were

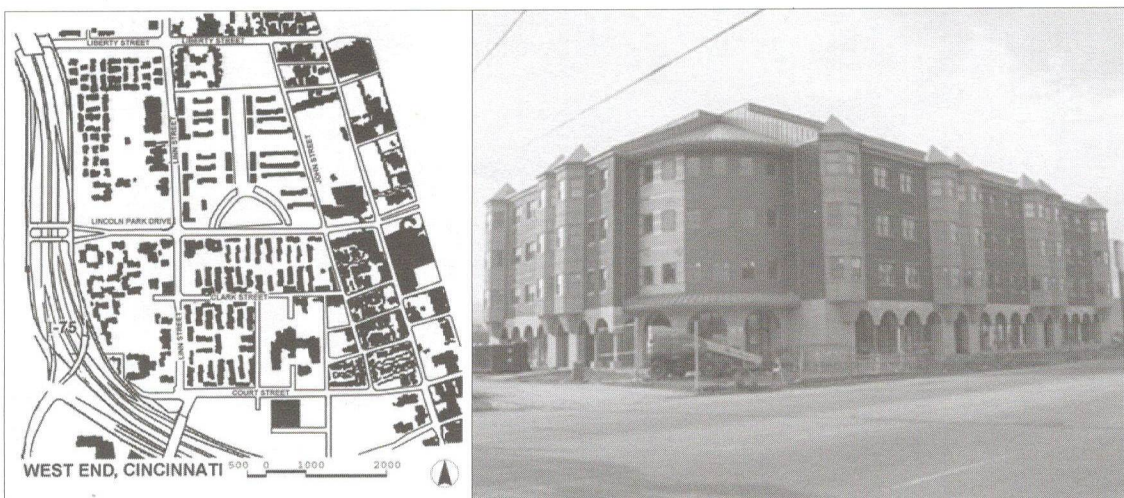


Figure 6. West End, Cincinnati (The HOPE VI Project, 2000).

different from the slum clearance of the 1940s. Rather than focusing merely on the bricks and mortar of poor communities, they stressed ways of enhancing social capital and human capital by bringing jobs into poor areas and improving the skills of the inhabitants of distressed areas (Riposa, 1996). The EZ initiative was a national public policy geared toward the regeneration of the areas suffering from “poverty, unemployment, and general decline” (McCarthy, 1999: 327). Realizing that empowerment implies people’s involvement in the political process in addition to seeking employment opportunities, explains why EZs qualify as policies with strong interconnectedness and strong cohesion. The main concern has been people’s involvement in the policymaking process. To the extent that empowerment implies one’s “access to government” (Peterman, 2000: 37), EZs suggest both strong interconnectedness and cohesion. The land use implications of EZs are expected to result in urban form and land use arrangements that are less destructive of the existing physical and social fabric of inner-city areas.

Conclusion

Citizen participation has different manifestations, that include involvement in writing grants, staying in contact with the local government, or participating in local *ad hoc* committees. The outcome of this is stronger interconnectedness and cohesion. Sustainable policymaking gains more importance and recognition in urban environments plagued by heightened “social polarization, exclusion, and segregation” (McCarthy, 1999: 323). Chicago, for example, has experienced regeneration efforts as part of an EZ program since 1994. The Model Cities Programs of the 1960s addressed Chicago’s perennial problems of segregation, exclusion, and poverty inadequately (McCarthy, 1999: 330). Part of the problem has been attributed to the inattentiveness of public policy to the social and political dimensions of poverty. The Chicago EZ has emphasized interconnectedness and cohesion as the manifestation of structured governance. The EZ has involved the community on different levels, by establishing the geographic boundaries of the target areas and involving Community Development Corporations (CDCs) to identify the community priorities of the implemented programs. While some progress has been made and

anecdotal evidence suggests strong cohesion and interconnectedness, certain problems have been reported that suggest some CDCs have attempted to manipulate the process by marginalizing other local CDCs. Be that as it may, the EZ shows promise when compared with the previous policies of the 1950s and 1960s.

These policies have typically failed because they have lacked grassroots support. Policies such as those underlying triage, Urban Renewal, and the Model Cities Programs are cases where the public intent, i.e. the objectives to be achieved by policy in the absence of community involvement in the actual policymaking, are not likely to be achieved. Where public intent and citizen participation converge, however, public policy is more likely to be sustained. Gentrification is a case in point where, according to Beauregard, the source of policymaking is essentially fuzzy and "chaotic." Successfully gentrified neighborhoods attest to this. In such neighborhoods, it is difficult to differentiate clearly between government efforts and the contribution of the community. This type of policy is more sustainable in that it is more respectful of community assets and potential. This by no means implies that these policies are flawless. Different challenges face these policies.

In the case of gentrification, for example,

displacement of a certain portion of the population has remained a serious challenge. In many cases, gentrification has resulted in the displacement of the low-income population to other areas. In the case of Empowerment Zones, McCarthy (1998: 320) has reported that the "relative costs of jobs created" in such communities were "relatively expensive." In other cases, such jobs have gone to the "wrong people" from outside the zones. The leakage associated with Empowerment Zones and cases of displacement in gentrified neighborhoods leave much to be desired with respect to the implications of sustainability for policymaking. Nevertheless, the interim results of EZs show more promise with respect to the physical and land use aspects of regeneration such as housing rather than poverty alleviation (McCarthy, 1998: 329).

Figure 7 illustrates the land use implications of these policy networks (policy type and target groups). While policies of triage and benign neglect encourage area abandonment, Urban Renewal policies of the 1940s and 1950s entailed landscapes characterized by fragmentation and chaos. The Model Cities Programs of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in pockets of revitalization and landscapes with checkerboard patterns. EZs and gentrification, however, could be more conducive to inner city regeneration and redevelopment.

		Policy Type	
		Weak Interconnectedness	Strong Interconnectedness
Target Group	Weak Cohesion	Area Abandonment	Fragmentation, Incongruent Landscapes
	Strong Cohesion	Checkerboard Pattern	Infill Development

Figure 7. Land Use Implications of Policy Networks.

Notes

1. The dictionary defines triage as the use of limited medical resources (i.e. in hospital emergency rooms, or battlefields) that should only go to "those capable of deriving the greatest benefit from it." Similarly, in the context of planning, triage favors the allocation of resources only to those areas that show a greater promise for redevelopment. For more information on triage see Baer, William (1976). "On the Death of Cities." *The Public Interest*, 45: 3-19.
2. Aimed at rectifying the flaws of the Urban Renewal projects of the 1940s, the Model Cities Programs were premised on the active involvement of the local residents in the decisionmaking process. However, after earmarking \$2.3 billion for 7 years, as a result of the rising disputes between mayors and citizens over power, these programs came to a halt in the 1970s (see Moynihan, 1970).
3. As part of the Omnibus Budget initiative to reduce urban poverty, Empowerment Zones were signed into law in 1993. Different approaches including economic tax incentives, social services, and technical assistance were incorporated into this program to help general jobs in distressed areas. For more information on Enterprise Zones and Empowerment Zones see Riposa, Gerry (1996). "From Enterprise Zones to Empowerment Zones: The Community Context of Urban Economic Development." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 39 (5): 536-551.
4. These popular organizations in America typically address a wide array of physical, economic, and social improvement issues (i.e. affordable housing, social service provision, and advocacy) through grassroots efforts. They are particularly known for endeavors toward homeownership.
5. In late 1990s, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development initiated a new policy called the HOPE VI. HOPE stands for Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere.
6. See Beauregard, Robert A. (1986). The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification. In Smith and Williams (1986). *Gentrification of the City*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

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