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<166/c>	, prepared by the Urban Renewal Authority, City of Pittsburgh.) While there were quite clearly areas of acute deprivation in the North Side, this was by no means ubiquitous. During the time of the programme there were marked variations in deprivation and revitalisation indicators. Marked also was the apparent increase in the discrepancy between revitalising and deprived areas both between and within North Side neighbourhoods. Although leveraging was a stated principle of local government investment policy, no particular relationship could be established between government 'seed funding' and private investment. Public money followed private as often as it led. The legal requirement for local government to consult with the local community over spending federal money created a potentially critical role for community groups, and raised the question of their role in the decision making process. The Pittsburgh Planning Office interpreted community in geographically distinct terms and liaised with only one group per designated neighbourhood. The neighbourhoods were by no means socially or economically homogeneous, yet the active membership of the representative groups were. The rest of this chapter will outline the variations in deprivation and investment in the North Side and then explore the disparities between need and investment through the activities of community representatives. DEPRIVATION AND INVESTMENT IN THE NORTH SIDE The neighbourhood unit was the focus of much of Pittsburgh's development under the citywide 'Renaissance II' programme. This was inspired by the first Renaissance programme in 1943 in which leading business interests in Pittsburgh took the initiative to forge a partnership with city government to address three critical problems of the time: air pollution, flooding, physical dereliction. Out of this partnership the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) was born in 1979. Between 1979 and 1985, \$482 million was spent on neighbourhood improvement projects and programmes. On average this represented around 35 per cent of the annual operating budget available to the city. The agency chiefly concerned with neighbourhood liaison was the City Planning Office, which employed a number of community planners responsible for consulting with their allocation of neighbourhood groups. The role of the community planner was responsive and informative rather than proactive. Housing had been the responsibility of the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) since the early 1970s when it achieved independent recognition through federal legislation. The URA commanded a large budget share (just over half of citywide neighbourhood expenditure) during the Renaissance n programme. Funding was broadly divided between federal programmes and locally raised bond issue finance. The majority of housing expenditure (almost 70 per cent) made by the URA was committed to home improvement loans and equity participation units (the latter designed for owner-occupiers on low to moderate incomes). Although rental accommodation comprised more than a third of Pittsburgh's housing
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	<p>only 5 per cent of URA housing expenditure</p> <p>was expressly devoted to this sector. This was consistent with the philosophy of local government, in which owner-occupation was seen as the most efficient way of</p>

	<p>stabilising a neighbourhood. <u>The URA</u> also had a responsibility for allocating a large share of the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG). The North Side, recipient of substantial government investment through <u>the URA</u>, exhibited a strongly differentiated housing market. <u>The level</u> of owner-occupancy did not correspond with house prices, as Table 4.1 quite clearly shows. Other variations can be observed and are given in full in Tables 4.2a and 4.2b: the rise in median income earned in the North Side was markedly low, but concealed <u>a degree</u> of polarisation. The average income in Allegheny West, for example, in 1980 was <u>35 per cent</u> of the city average (and this represented a decline on 1970), yet house prices at sale were the highest in the city in 1983-84. <u>The percentage</u> of households earning more than \$50,000 in 1980 was about <u>80 per cent</u> of the city average. This, together with house price rises since 1980, indicated that houses were being sold to buyers on incomes substantially higher than the average in Allegheny West. Gentrification activity was indicated by a substantial reduction in properties without exclusive plumbing between 1970 and 1980 and by a disproportionate allocation of Historic Preservation Grants. The neighbourhood housed <u>3.5 per cent</u> of the North Side's population but received <u>17 per cent</u> of the North Side's Historic Preservation Grants. Table 4.1: Average Property Sale Price Relative to City and to Local Owner Occupancy Rates. Manchester was the other neighbourhood that experienced high house price rises while maintaining low owner occupancy rates (<u>29 per cent</u> compared with a city average of <u>64 per cent</u>). Despite these house price rises, housing conditions in Manchester remained poor with almost <u>30 per cent</u> lacking exclusive plumbing facilities. The variations in prosperity in the North Side become more acute when observed on the smaller scale of the census tract. Within Central North Side between 1970 and 1980, the census tract containing the Mexican War Streets historic area experienced the most drastic drop in dwellings lacking exclusive plumbing arrangements, the highest property price increases, the sharpest rise in owner occupancy, a decrease in the proportion of elderly people and a slower than city average population decline. Its neighbouring census tract to the north exhibited diametrically opposite trends, suggesting that whilst one area improved another declined. Similar intra-neighbourhood imbalances were observed in Manchester, California Kirkbride and East Allegheny. In considering indicators of revitalisation and gentrification, the percentage increase was above the city average in several areas (Tables 4.2a and 4.2b): above average rises in professional and managerial jobs and owner occupancy</p>
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