When planners and architects, as well as civic and political leaders point to models of urban success, they often point to Baltimore—famed for the revitalized Inner Harbor—and Atlanta—with its concentrated investment in downtown sports, convention, and tourism facilities. Yet the reality of "success" in these cities is rather different, and their experience suggests the problems and limitations of seeking to imitate "model" urban development stories.

For more info, visit: tacoma.uw.edu/events/content/urban-studies-public-lecture-series

THURSDAY, OCT 16, 2014, 12:30 PM - 1:30 PM
DAWN LUCIEN BOARDROOM, UW TACOMA

Behind the Image of Urban Success: Learning from Baltimore and Atlanta

PRESENTED BY DR. HEYWOOD SANDERS
PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, SAN ANTONIO
Evaluating the Success of Urban Success Stories: Is Reputation a Guide to Best Practice?

Harold Wolman
The George Washington University

Edward W. Hill
Cleveland State University

Kimberly Furdell
The George Washington University

Abstract
Do the reputations of central cities that have reportedly revitalized match reality? Can reputation alone be used to select best practices in urban public policy? In replicating research conducted a decade ago, we asked a panel of urban and economic development experts to identify, out of the universe of large, distressed central cities in 1990, those that had successfully revitalized between 1990 and 2000. We compared the performance of these successful cities with the performance of cities not perceived to be successful on a composite index of the change in the economic well-being of residents from 1990 to 2000, as well as on a weighted index of economic, social, fiscal, and demographic change between 1990 and 2000.

Regardless of which index was used, there was a low correlation between reputation and reality. We draw lessons from this experiment on relying on best practice reputations in formulating and propagating public policies.

Keywords: Cities; Community development and revitalization; Urban distress; Urban policy

Introduction
Nearly 10 years ago, we reported on a survey sent to a group of experts on urban public policy and economic development; they were asked to indicate which central cities that were distressed in 1980 had revitalized between 1980 and 1990 (Wolman, Ford, and Hill 1994). Using an index created from census data, we then compared the perceptions of the experts with actual changes in the economic well-being of the residents of those cities over the decade. The counterfactual was the set of central cities that were equally distressed but did not have the reputation of having revitalized.
Successful cities. We applied $t$-tests to the means of the 1990 municipal distress index for each pair of groups and verified that, as of 1990, there was no statistical difference between these groups in the extent of economic distress they experienced.\footnote{Specifically, $p$-values on $t$-tests for the 1990 distress index were as follows: most successful versus unsuccessful, 0.99; next most successful versus unsuccessful, 0.96; most successful versus next most successful, 0.97.}

Experts' perceptions of successfully revitalized cities

There was some overlap between the distressed cities that were perceived to have engaged in successful revitalization in the 1980s and in the 1990s. Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Miami, and Pittsburgh were on both lists. (See table 2.) Boston, a distressed city that was perceived to have revitalized successfully during the 1980s, was no longer distressed according to the 1990 municipal distress index. However, several other distressed cities that

### Table 2. Central Cities Perceived to Have Successfully Revitalized between 1980 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2000\textsuperscript{1,2}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh, PA</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
<td>Oakland, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, OH</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, KY</td>
<td>San Antonio, TX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami, FL</td>
<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, MA\textsuperscript{3}</td>
<td>Providence, RI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} Listed according to the frequency with which they were selected. Cities that appear on both lists are in bold.

\textsuperscript{2} Cities chosen by at least one-fifth of respondents.

\textsuperscript{3} Boston was a distressed city in 1990 but not in 2000.
Then.....

An Industrial Waterfront
Now…
An Urban Renewal Success Story

The Stunning
INNER HARBOR
Baltimore’s Convention Community
PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER SITE IN DOWNTOWN BALTIMORE

PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER SITE BOUNDARY
CHARLES CENTER SITE BOUNDARY
Notes from the 3/6/72 Meeting of the Governor's Stadium Committee in the Board Room of the Greater Baltimore Committee

If the Bullets and Clippers were relocated, the Civic Center could be redesigned as a convention center for the kinds of business which Baltimore could realistically be expected to attract. This had to be done on the basis of an in-depth study of the City's convention-business potential. Generally, convention centers in other cities have proven to be money-losers in themselves, but real money-makers for the community. Mr. Boucher instructed the consultants to look into the attendance figures for major Civic Center shows which have proven successful (horse shows, roller derby, etc.).
Baltimore Convention Center Study

Prepared for:

City of Baltimore
Baltimore, Maryland
The site determined to have the greatest potential for further conceptual development is the area known as Site 9A—south of Pratt Street, north of Camden Street, east of Sharp Street, and west of Charles Street. One of the primary appeals of this site is its proximity to the water and the planned shoreline improvements along the Inner Harbor. It lends itself to establishing a link between the convention center and the planned major hotel development known as Constellation Place, which is a distinct marketing advantage. The site is also within walking distance of the other three downtown hotels and the Civic Center, and future expansion can occur to the west. The 70-ft setback required on Pratt Street provides some difficulty in fitting the program area requirements onto the site. However
Anchoring Baltimore's Redevelopment
By Jane Seaberry Washington Post Staff Writer

Baltimore—Just a crab's throw from the inner harbor shores where Maryland mariners moored their boats, another anchor of sorts is nearing completion—Baltimore's convention center.

So you didn’t know Baltimore had a convention center? Then, you probably didn’t know that the bay city's downtown redevelopment is growing like hot (crab) cakes, partly from expectations of the convention center holding everything in place.

The center, scheduled to open next month, will compete for business with Washington, New York, Philadelphia and Boston. Ironically, Baltimore's boosters boast that not only does the city now have its own amenities to compete with neighboring Washington, but conventioneers will be lured to Baltimore with Washington as the bait.

“Baltimore is going to become one of the major convention cities on the Northeast coast,” said James Smither, one of the people in charge of hooking and reeling in would-be conventioneers. Such dogma a decade ago would have been considered a joke. “People are totally surprised by what Baltimore has to offer. It's the biggest secret on the East Coast.”

Smither said that he expects “no competition”
Hyatt Corp., Pritzkers Are Seeking to Develop A Hotel in Baltimore

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

CHICAGO—Hyatt Corp and the Pritzker family of Chicago, the hotel concern's major stockholders, are negotiating to develop and manage a new $34 million, 500-room hotel in Baltimore.

Hyatt Corp. said it's involved in the proposed project, but didn't elaborate.

However, in Baltimore, a spokesman for a private development corporation representing the city said Hyatt and the Pritzkers about a year ago signed a letter of intent with the city regarding the project and currently are working out the final details. The spokesman said either Hyatt or the Pritzkers will develop the hotel through a newly formed corporation and Hyatt will manage it. Final agreement is expected within 90 days.

He also noted that $12 million of city and federal funds will be used in the project, which is scheduled to be completed by late 1980 or early 1981. On Monday, a design of the hotel was unveiled in Baltimore.
Schaefer's Season of Discontent
Governor at Odds With Assembly, Voters, Businesses

In the legislature, several of Schaefer's major initiatives are in trouble. Lawmakers have killed bills that would raise an extra $30 million by taxing some snack foods, take away driver's licenses of high school dropouts, and require service stations to install vapor-trapping gasoline nozzles. They also gutted his proposal for a statewide convention center authority, the first project of which would have been a state-backed expansion and possible takeover of the Baltimore Convention Center.
EXPANSION FEASIBILITY UPDATE
FOR BALTIMORE CONVENTION CENTER

Prepared for:
MARYLAND STADIUM AUTHORITY

Prepared by:
ECONOMICS RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

January, 1993
For the past 13 years, the Baltimore Convention Center has served the convention and trade show industry well, establishing Baltimore as a desirable destination for the meetings market. However, recent industry trends indicate that certain changes are needed for Baltimore to retain its current market share and continue to compete effectively for conventions and trade shows. The following facts summarize the need for expansion:

- Many of Baltimore's eastern competitors are opening new or expanded facilities. Most significantly, Philadelphia's new Convention Center opens in Spring 1993, featuring 445,000 square feet of exhibit space; and the new Charlotte Convention Center will open in 1994 with 275,000 square feet of exhibit space. Washington, D.C. and Boston are planning significantly larger convention centers.
Table V-6
PROJECTED STABLE YEAR EVENT SCHEDULE FOR THE PLANNED EXPANSION OF THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION CENTER 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WITH EXPANSION</th>
<th>Number of Events</th>
<th>Event Days(^1)</th>
<th>Move In/Out Days(^2)</th>
<th>Total Use Days</th>
<th>Average Group Size</th>
<th>Annual Event Attendance</th>
<th>Delegate Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conventions</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>760,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Shows</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>130,000</td>
<td>403,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>4,714</td>
<td>330,000</td>
<td>1,163,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WITHOUT EXPANSION</th>
<th>Number of Events</th>
<th>Event Days(^1)</th>
<th>Move In/Out Days(^2)</th>
<th>Total Use Days</th>
<th>Average Group Size</th>
<th>Annual Event Attendance</th>
<th>Delegate Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conventions</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>4,087</td>
<td>94,001</td>
<td>356,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Shows</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3,750</td>
<td>67,500</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>3,939</td>
<td>161,501</td>
<td>566,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TO: Robert S. Hillman
FROM: George A. Pienda
DATE: July 24, 1991

In the real world, even though ERA has utilized an after expansion scenario of 183%, it is likely that actual post expansion delegate convention and trade show attendance may be 200%, 225% or even 250% of the base year attendance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base Year</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>207,000</td>
<td>226,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Expansion</td>
<td>330,000</td>
<td>379,000</td>
<td>414,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>183%</td>
<td>183%</td>
<td>183%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Est. Post Expansion</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>414,000</td>
<td>452,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>200%</td>
<td>200%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>225%</td>
<td>225%</td>
<td>225%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Baltimore built it - they didn't come

Conventions: Pie-in-the-sky promises and fudged figures led to a costly 1990s expansion of the Convention Center, but other cities still get the big meetings. One proposal: Expand again.

Sun, The (Baltimore, MD) - Sunday, June 2, 2002

Author: SUN STAFF ; June Arney

When Baltimore began attracting throngs of people to meet, sleep in downtown hotels and shop and eat in the Inner Harbor, officials decided that only one thing was missing from the city's renaissance: a first-class convention complex that would act as a magnet for visitors.

That required spending $151 million to expand the existing center, with the promise that one national convention would overlap the next in Baltimore - bigger conventions than ever before, more people than ever before, more spending and tax revenue than ever before.

In April 1997, the transformed center, with three times the exhibit space, opened. Officials waited for the people to come.

They haven't.
The proposed financing structure is anticipated to include:

- The sale of $290.8 million in tax-exempt “AAA” insured Bonds
- A Hilton guarantee of debt service ($25.0 million)
- A City land contribution (appraised at $18.0 million in 2003)
- Guaranteed Maximum Price (GMP) and completion guarantees (with liquidated damages) will be provided by the Design-Builder

The City of Baltimore’s contribution to the Project will include:

- Tax Increment (TIF) Payment
  - Projected to equal $3.2 million at opening, and is expected to be returned to the City annually
- Prior year’s site-specific occupancy taxes
  - Projected to equal to $2.4 million in the second year of operations (7.5% of the prior operating year’s room revenue) and is expected to be returned to the City annually
- Pledge of city-wide hotel occupancy taxes up to 25% of debt service
  - Pledge of $4.1 million at stabilization (2011)
  - Not projected to be called upon

***Under the Base Case proforma, the Hotel’s net revenues pay all debt service and City contributions are returned***
A MASTER PLANNING PROGRAM FOR THE DEKALB-FULTON METROPOLITAN AREA

NOW... FOR TOMORROW

METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA • SEPTEMBER, 1954
## EVENT ATTENDANCE

Attendance at events at the Georgia World Congress Center remained strong during fiscal year 1989-90, with a 2.4 percent increase in out-of-town visitors. In total, the Congress Center hosted 66 major trade shows, conventions and consumer shows, attracting 1,265,040 visitors. Some 674,121 out-of-town guests visited the World Congress Center.

During the Congress Center's 14th year of operation, The Super Show topped the list as the event attracting the most people, hosting 83,372 guests. Other trade shows and conventions recording more than 20,000 in attendance during the 1989-90 fiscal year were the National Association of Home Builders, 65,053; COMDEX, 61,250; National Association of Broadcasters, 50,443; A!E/C Systems, 25,000; National Home Health Care, 24,000; Air Conditioning, Heating, and Refrigeration Exposition, 23,600; Bobbin Show/AAMA Convention, 23,086; Southeastern Poultry and Egg Annual Convention, 21,719; and the National Country Collectables Show, 20,000.

## FOUR YEAR ECONOMIC SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;New Dollars&quot; Generated</td>
<td>$415,055,028</td>
<td>$525,031,612</td>
<td>$598,511,937</td>
<td>$613,113,050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Impact of &quot;New Dollars&quot;</td>
<td>688,991,346</td>
<td>871,552,476</td>
<td>993,529,815</td>
<td>1,017,767,663</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>1,091,708</td>
<td>1,343,821</td>
<td>1,622,477</td>
<td>1,302,882</td>
<td>1,265,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Out of Town&quot; Attendance</td>
<td>593,740</td>
<td>598,062</td>
<td>577,275</td>
<td>658,067</td>
<td>674,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Daily Attendance</td>
<td>3,021,363</td>
<td>3,287,522</td>
<td>3,498,621</td>
<td>3,441,600</td>
<td>3,455,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GEORGIA WORLD CONGRESS CENTER

MARKET, ECONOMIC & FISCAL IMPACT ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED PHASE IV EXPANSION

October, 1996
Based on an analysis of current and potential future demand, the addition of 700,000 square feet of exhibition space may be most beneficial for preparing Atlanta and the GWCC for the next decade. This is based on the market analysis presented in previous sections and does not include an analysis of cost considerations. This expansion scenario is estimated to attract more delegates than the Center can currently service and meet the growing needs of current users. While the addition of 500,000 square feet of exhibition space may alleviate scheduling difficulties and growing space needs of current events in the short run, it may present the Center with similar problems it is now facing within the next 10 years. Finally, the addition of 900,000 square feet of exhibition space is not estimated to generate a proportionately greater amount of additional OSFD or attendees, over and above the 700,000 square-foot option.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GWCC Future Utilization Estimates – Stabilized Year</th>
<th>No Expansion</th>
<th>500,000 Sq. Ft.</th>
<th>700,000 Sq. Ft.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Exhibition Space</td>
<td>950,000</td>
<td>1,450,000</td>
<td>1,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibition Hall OSFD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Professional/Trade Associations</td>
<td>234,000,000</td>
<td>304,000,000</td>
<td>316,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Consumer Shows</td>
<td>38,000,000</td>
<td>39,000,000</td>
<td>39,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Professional/Trade Associations</td>
<td>1.1 - 1.2 million</td>
<td>1.4 - 1.5 million</td>
<td>1.5 - 1.7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Consumer Shows</td>
<td>700,000 - 800,000</td>
<td>700,000 - 800,000</td>
<td>700,000 - 800,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### FISCAL YEAR 2013: GWCC ATTENDANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Type</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48 Major Tradeshows &amp; Conventions</td>
<td>471,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Public/Consumer Shows</td>
<td>180,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 Meetings, Corporate Events &amp; Others</td>
<td>161,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Attendance</strong></td>
<td><strong>812,542</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Out of State Attendance</strong></td>
<td><strong>578,867</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results of Additional Analyses Related to a Proposed Hotel at the GWCC

Presentation to the Stadium Development Committee

PKF Hospitality Research, LLC
March 25, 2014
Conclusions

• We project that the new Hotel will generate an additional 116,000 trade show and convention attendees at the GWCC in a typical year.

• We project an increase in GWCC revenues (because of the new Hotel) of approximately $2.974 million (in current year dollars) in a typical year, which results in an increase in annual net income of $1.636 million.