Great Lakes Central Counties: Is the Era of Greenfield Development Coming to an End?

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Introduction

Urban core cities and counties in the Great Lakes region are facing an unprecedented obstacle to their economic stability as "greenfield" land—land that has never been developed—within their jurisdiction is depleted. The ready availability of land and sites for the construction of new buildings is fundamental in the process of economic development.

The obstacle is unprecedented because it has only been in recent decades, following roughly 200 years of development and the finalization of jurisdictional boundaries, that most Great Lakes central cities have largely exhausted their supply of greenfield land. That reality has been apparent to those engaged with the economic viability of central cities.

In the case of most central counties, however, the depletion of greenfield land may just be approaching its final stage. That "new" reality may not be apparent because the city's need for development dominates attention, and because central county suburban development "has always been there" and its continuation can easily be taken for granted.

The end of the era of suburban greenfield land in central counties may be just as significant, or possibly even more significant, as the end of the era of greenfield land in central cities. In most states, county government is an economic unit whose well-being depends on the economic strength of its county-wide tax base. As the tax base of most central cities has eroded, central counties have been able to offset that loss with suburban development—on greenfield sites. When those sites are gone, how will central counties maintain, let alone grow, their tax base?

The end of the era of greenfield land in the suburbs of central counties dramatically heightens the importance of redevelopment of previously used sites—most of which are likely to be in central cities, at least for the next several decades.

The minimum amount of redevelopment that will be needed in central cities is that which will offset the loss of suburban greenfield development. If sufficient redevelopment does not occur, a county government could be forced to increase the tax burden on residents and employers, which could push increasing numbers of them, particularly suburban, to move to a nearby county that has lower taxes (and greenfield development). If suburban flight to other counties were to happen, the central county as a whole would undoubtedly decline.

The fate of all communities in a central county is inextricably linked to large-scale redevelopment of central cities. But redevelopment of previously used sites typically involves extraordinary costs such as parcel assembly, demolition of obsolete structures, and testing for and remediation of brownfield conditions (contaminated, or possibly contaminated land). Where market demand is sufficient, the private sector can manage those costs. In the context of all development activity in a metropolitan area, the possibilities for urban unilateral private sector redevelopment are limited—usually to downtowns. The costs are too much to bear. Most new construction, therefore, is located at the outer edges of metropolitan areas where greenfield sites offer the most favorable economics.

Consequently, recycling of previously developed land must become a major priority for all levels of government, because only through government incentives can the private sector become more active in urban redevelopment. To achieve that priority, elected officials must be educated regarding the trends of existing development patterns in metropolitan areas, and the possible implications if those patterns and trends are not changed. This paper presents the results of analyses that are meant to serve that purpose.

Propositions

The analyses in this study involve nine Great Lakes metropolitan areas with populations over 1.5 million and are based on several propositions:

- Most central cities have little or no greenfield land.
- Central county suburbs have some greenfield land but what remains is scant and it is depleting rapidly.
- Suburban counties (that is, counties adjacent to the central county) have large inventories of greenfield land.
- Central cities must recycle large amounts of land for decades to come.
- The importance of recycling for the well-being of the central county and the city may not be recognized.
- A metropolitan area perspective is required to gauge the problem and its full scale.

Indicators of Land Availability

An indicator of the availability of greenfield land is the pattern of construction activity across a metropolitan area, and change in the pattern over time. Construction of single-family homes involves the greatest use of land. If the suburbs of the central county have a small share of all home construction in the area, the suburbs probably have little greenfield land on which to build. If the central city has a small share of all industrial construction, it probably has few readily buildable sites available (it may also have conditions, such as high crime rates and high taxes, that discourage development).

In the analysis on which this report is based, construction building permits are used to document patterns of metropolitan development. That is, to what extent are construction permits located in the central city, the central county, and the suburban counties of the metro area? The expected pattern is: little in the city, more in the central county, most in the suburban counties—with the trend being toward more extreme extensions of that pattern.[1]

The pattern of real property value[2] (tax base) across each metro area is also examined in terms of the same geography (central city, central county, suburban counties) as are the patterns of changing manufacturing and total employment.

Development Patterns

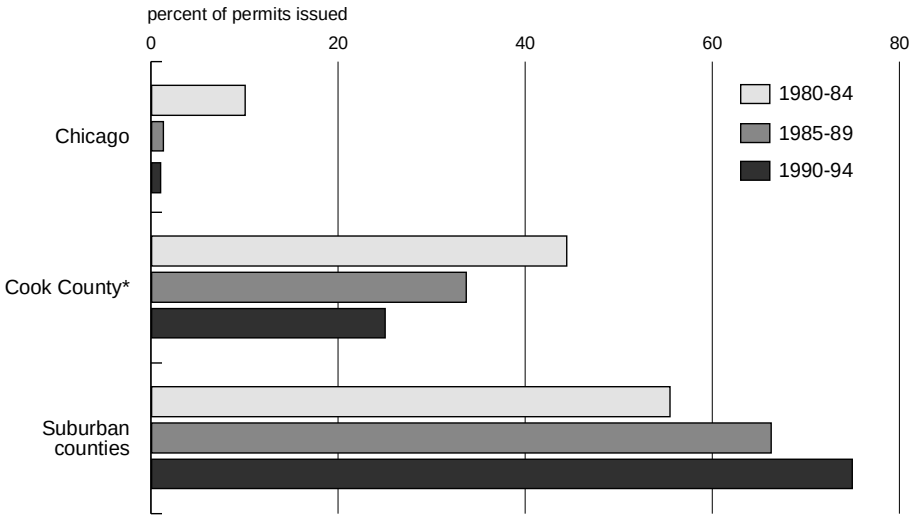
This section presents the evidence in support of the propositions stated earlier. The analysis involves nine Great Lakes Metropolitan Areas with populations over 1.5 million: Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Columbus, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Indianapolis, Indiana; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Building Permits

The number and value of building permits for new construction are analyzed in four property categories: industrial, office, retail, and single-family housing in the central cities, central counties, and suburban counties of the nine metropolitan areas. In addition, each central city's share of its metropolitan area building permits, as well as each central county's share of the metropolitan area, are analyzed. The annual total number and value of building permits fluctuate following the ups and downs of business cycles, with more permits being issued during periods of economic growth. However, the trends in the shares of central cities and central counties are relatively consistent across the business cycles of the 15-year period 1980-1995. Suburban counties' share of their metropolitan area building permits increase while the shares of most central cities and central counties decline over time.

Industrial permits. Industrial building permits in the Chicago metropolitan area, as an example, follow a typical trend found in other Great Lakes metropolitan areas. Aggregating the number of permits for five-year periods and comparing the shares of the City of Chicago and Cook County over the three time periods (1980-84, 1985-89, and 1990-94) reveals that the shares of the City of Chicago and of Cook County declined, while the share of the suburban counties as a group increased (Figure 1). Cook County's share of industrial permits declined significantly from 43% in 1980-84 to 25% in 1990-94, meaning that of all industrial permits issued in the

Figure 1 Industrial Building Permits—Chicago, IL PMSA, 1980-94



*Including the central city.

Chicago area during the first five years of the 1990s, only one-quarter were located in Cook County. The shares of industrial permits in the City of Chicago fell from 10% to 1% over the same period. Among the eight suburban counties in the Chicago area, the share of industrial permits increased in five counties, while it remained stable in two others. Annual number of industrial permits in Cook County and its suburban counties increased and declined following the business cycle. However, industrial permits in the City of Chicago declined steadily since 1980.

Analyzing value of industrial permits adds another dimension to analyzing number of permits. Of the total value of industrial permits in the Chicago metropolitan area, Cook County's share remained stable between 1980-84 and 1990-94. However, the City of Chicago accounted for a smaller share of Cook County in the later period. Thus, even though Cook County's share of the number of industrial permits declined, its share of the value of industrial permits remained stable between 1980-84 and 1990-94. The difference between the observed trends in the number of industrial permits and their value could be attributed to two factors: one, industrial permits issued in Cook County are for larger projects than those in the suburban counties, and two, the value of property in Cook County is higher than similar property in the suburban counties.

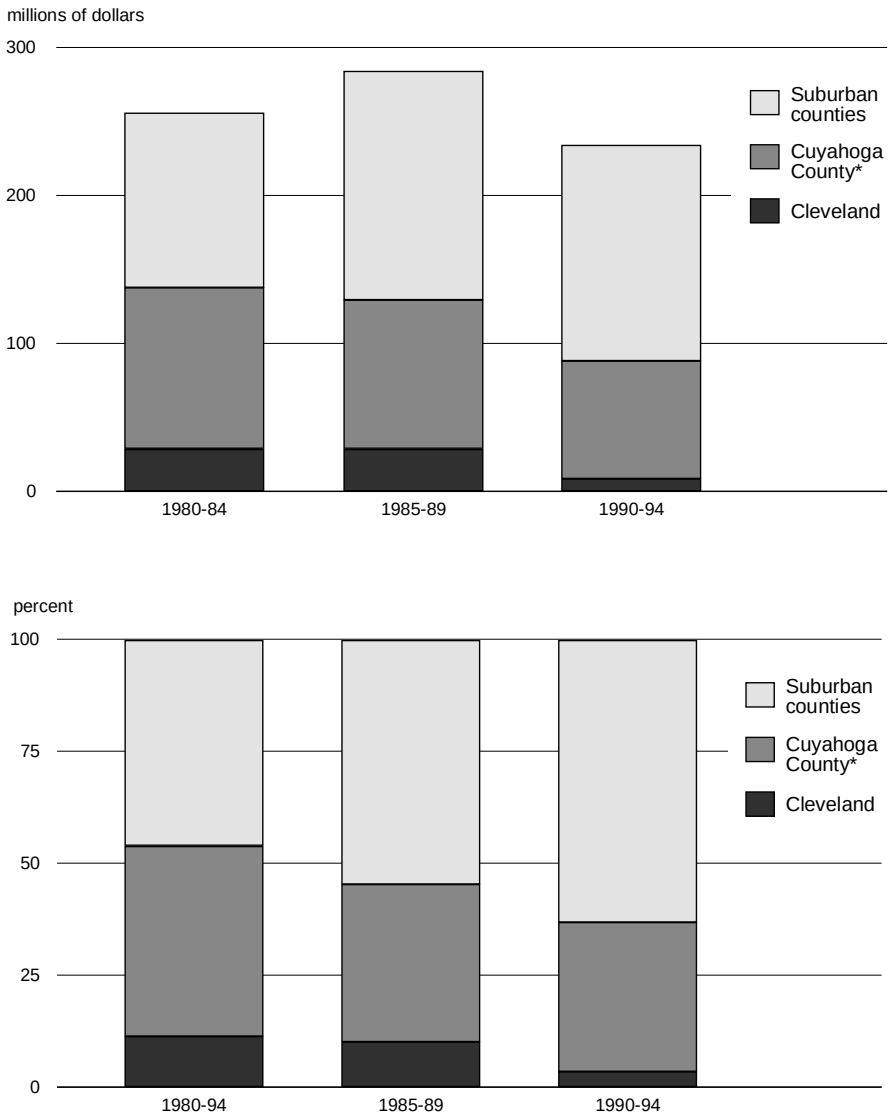
Industrial permits in the Cleveland metropolitan area, as another example, follow similar trends measured in terms of number of permits, but different trends when analyzed in terms of permit values. The share of the City of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County (the Cleveland area's central county), measured in terms of number of industrial permits, declined between 1980-84 and 1990-94, although the loss in shares was smaller than the loss in the Chicago area. Different from the findings on permit values in Chicago, Figure 2 indicates that the value of industrial permits in Cuyahoga County declined in both dollars and shares over the same time period. Cleveland's suburban counties share of the value of industrial permits increased throughout these years.

Single-family housing permits. Construction of single-family housing is highly land intensive and permits for single-family housing indicate land availability. Similar to trends found earlier, Cook County's share of single-family housing permits declined from 37% in 1980-84 to 22% of the area in 1990-94. Annual numbers of housing permits in both Cook County and the suburban counties closely follow the business cycles, with lower numbers of permits issued during the early 1980s and early 1990s, coinciding with the recessions. However, as can be seen in Figure 3, the share of Cook County continued to decline through the recessionary and expansionary phases of the business cycles. It is interesting to note that the share of housing permits in the City of Chicago has increased slightly in most of the years since 1986.

How do Great Lakes Metropolitan Areas Compare in the Shift to More Development in the Suburban Counties?

The previous section used two permit categories, industrial and single-family housing, in two of the Great Lakes metropolitan areas, Chicago and Cleveland, to describe the type of analysis conducted in order to understand the locational changes

Figure 2 Value of Industrial Permits—Cleveland, OH, PMSA, 1980-94

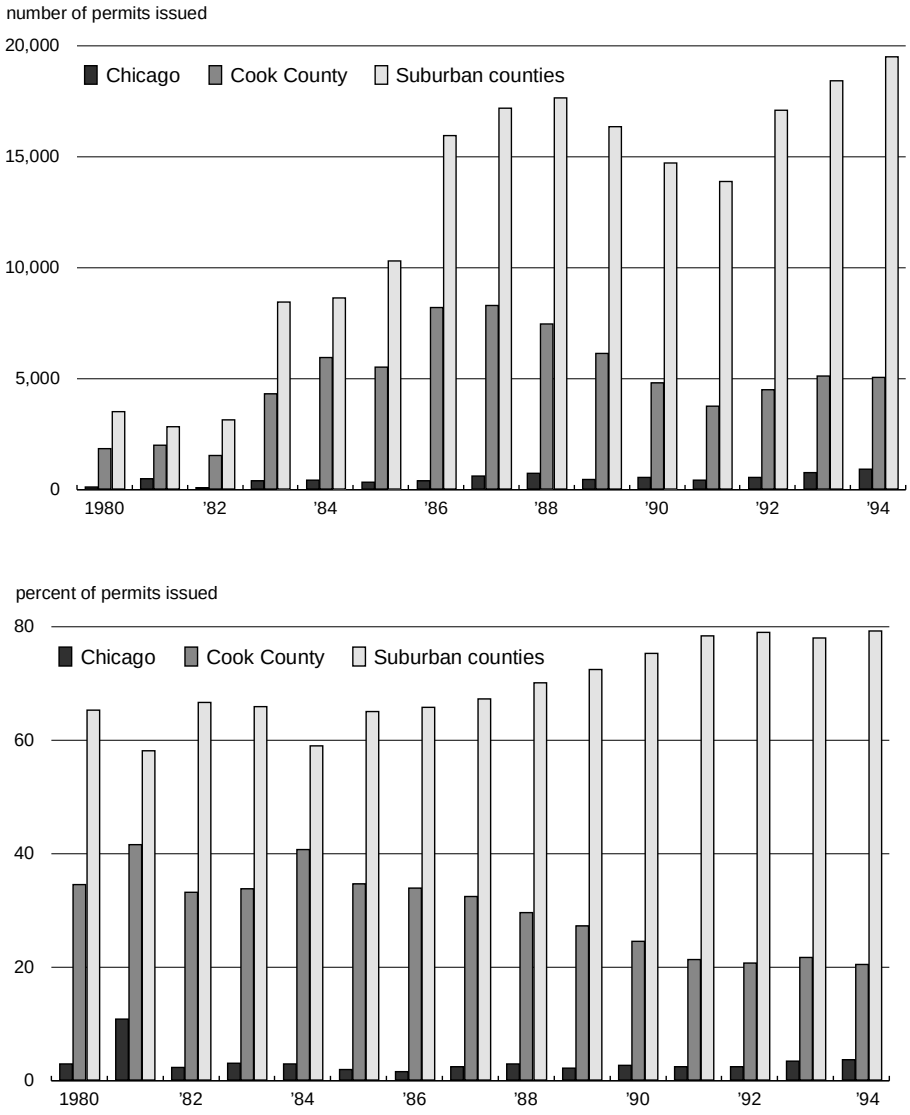


*Excluding the central city.
Source: Bureau of the Census, Construction Division Building Permit Data Files, 1980-94.
Prepared by: The Urban Center, Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University.

of development within metropolitan areas. Although Cleveland and Chicago represent the typical trends, not all metropolitan areas fit those trends. As can be expected, metropolitan areas differ in the magnitude of changing development patterns.[3]

Central cities. The shares of central cities in each of the building permit categories are presented in Table 1, in which central cities are ranked by their share of industrial permits in 1990-94. Observing changing shares of industrial permits

Figure 3 Single-Family Housing Permits—Chicago, IL PMSA, 1980-94



*Including the central city.
Source: Bureau of the Census, Construction Division Building Permit Data Files, 1980-94.
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indicates that only two central cities, Columbus and Milwaukee, had higher shares of their metropolitan areas' industrial permits in 1990-94 compared with 1980-84. Columbus has been annexing land of bordering suburbs for decades and Milwaukee did so earlier, thereby enabling both cities to have greenfield land available for development. Cincinnati lost the most in terms of percentage point decline in its share of industrial permits, falling from 22% in 1980-84 to only 5% in 1990-94.

Table 1 Central City Share of Metro Area Building Permits

	Industrial		Office		Retail		Single-Family	
Central City	**90/94**	**80/84**	**90/94**	**80/84**	**90/94**	**80/84**	**90/94**	**80/84**
Columbus	59%	40%	39%	36%	21%	32%	21%	50%
Indianapolis	28	35	16	11	20	19	31	47
Milwaukee	17	15	12	20	19	35	3	16
Cincinnati	5	22	12	11	7	7	3	1
Cleveland	4	8	5	8	5	13	2	1
Detroit	2	3	3	4	6	10	0.4	2
Minneapolis	2	5	4	6	2	4	1	2
St. Paul	2	4	7	5	2	7	0.3	3
Chicago	1	10	10	14	15	16	3	4
Pittsburgh	1	4	3	9	3	6	2	4

Source: Bureau of the Census, Construction Division Building Permit Data Files, 1980-94.

Analysis of office building permits indicates that four central cities increased their share of the metropolitan areas's number of office building permits between 1980-84 and 1990-94. The cities include Columbus, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and St. Paul. Indianapolis increased its share by the most percentage points, from 11% to 16%. Among the nine metropolitan areas, only one city, Indianapolis, increased its share of retail building permits, and one city, Cincinnati, remained stable; the other eight cities lost retail permits shares. Milwaukee lost the most percentage points, declining from 35% in 1980-84 to 19% in 1990-94.

Eight central cities declined in their share of building permits for single-family housing. Columbus lost the most percentage points, falling from 50% in 1980-84 to 21% in 1990-94. Indianapolis and Milwaukee lost 16 and 13 percentage points, respectively. The share of single-family housing in Cincinnati and Cleveland increased slightly. In Cleveland, the increased share of single-family housing resulted from the mayor's leadership in stimulating housing development after many years of decline.

Four of the ten central cities—Detroit, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Pittsburgh—posted declines in their shares of all four types of new construction permits. These cities probably have very few undeveloped sites available. In order to keep their tax base in line with their service needs, the four cities will have to stimulate redevelopment and reuse of previously-used land. The other six cities lost shares in two or three of the permit categories. To alter these trends, all Great Lakes central cities must conduct strategic planning on land reuse and redevelopment to determine the best land uses that would make the city more competitive. Recognizing the city's strategic strengths and the market forces which drive economic and social activities is of utmost importance in planning land redevelopment.

Central counties. The Great Lakes central counties are also loosing their share of development activities. Five of them—Hamilton (Cincinnati PMSA), Allegheny (Pittsburgh PMSA), Milwaukee (Milwaukee PMSA), Cook (Chicago PMSA), and Hennepin (Minneapolis PMSA)—lost their share of the number of permits issued in

all four permit categories. As can be seen in Table 2, Cook County's shares declined by more than 10 percentage points in all four categories of permits. Similar patterns are found in Milwaukee.

Analyzing counties' shares of industrial permits shows that only Franklin (Columbus) and Wayne (Detroit) experienced increased shares between 1980-84 and 1990-94. Moreover, Franklin County's share grew significantly from 62% in 1980-84 to 79% in 1990-94, probably due to availability of land resulting from annexations. The eight other central counties declined in their shares of industrial permits. Four central counties experienced increased share in building permits for office development: Marion (Indianapolis), Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Wayne (Detroit), and Ramsey (St. Paul). The largest losses in office permit shares were observed in Milwaukee, Cook (Chicago), and Hennepin (Minneapolis), loosing 19, 17, and 17 percentage points respectively.

Only two central counties experienced an increased share of permits for retail construction, Marion (Indianapolis) and Cuyahoga (Cleveland), with Cuyahoga's share growing from 31% to 43% of the metro area. The City of Cleveland's share in retail permits declined over the same period; thus the increased share of the central county is attributed to new retail construction in the county's suburban ring. Franklin (Columbus) and Milwaukee suffered large declines in their shares of retail permits. All central counties, except for Wayne (Detroit), experienced declines in shares of single-family permits; eight lost more than 10 percentage points. Thus, in most Great Lakes metropolitan areas, growing proportions of new housing development occur in the suburban counties.

The evidence presented in Table 2 suggests that, if these trends continue, more new development will occur in the suburban counties, leading eventually to a loss of tax base in the central counties as occurred in central cities. Central counties need to recognize these trends and formulate strategies and policies to promote redevelopment and reuse of previously used land.

Table 2 Central County Share of Metro Area Building Permits

Central County	Industrial		Office		Retail		Single-Family	
(Metro Area)	90/94	80/84	90/94	80/84	90/94	80/84	90/94	80/84
Franklin (Columbus)	79%	62%	74%	79%	47%	70%	58%	77%
Hamilton (Cincinnati)	38	59	40	50	25	28	23	36
Allegheny (Pittsburgh)	35	43	45	53	40	44	36	48
Marion (Indianapolis)	33	40	21	14	22	19	35	48
Cuyahoga (Cleveland)	29	32	50	48	43	31	35	48
Wayne (Detroit)	29	25	33	24	31	34	19	15
Milwaukee (Milwaukee)	26	36	27	46	36	54	18	34
Cook (Chicago)	25	43	38	55	48	59	22	37
Hennepin (Minneapolis)	17	30	34	51	29	30	19	33
Ramsey (St. Paul)	8	12	22	13	9	15	6	12

Source: Bureau of the Census, Construction Division Building Permit Data Files, 1980-94.

Property Values

Property values serve as the base for property taxes collected by counties. Consequently, county officials are sensitive to changes in property values. A growing tax base can lead to higher revenues without increasing tax rates, while lower values lead to lower tax revenues. For the Great Lakes metropolitan areas presented in Table 3, the growth rate of total taxable property values in the suburban counties was higher than that of the central counties between 1981 and 1991. Moreover, in the Detroit and Pittsburgh metropolitan areas, property values in the suburban counties increased while those of the central counties declined.

An additional data source was used to analyze property values in Ohio's metropolitan areas. Moreover, this data source allowed the analysis to be conducted by type of property.[4] Table 4 indicates that in the Cleveland area, industrial property values declined in both the central county and suburban counties. However, the rate of decline in the central county was more than twice the rate of decline in the suburban counties. In the Cincinnati area, industrial property values in the central county declined between 1983 and 1994, while the value of industrial properties in its suburban counties increased. Whereas, in the Columbus area, the reverse trend was found; industrial property values in the central county grew while those of the suburban counties declined.[5]

Contrary to patterns of industrial property values, commercial values are still strong in the central counties. Values of commercial properties increased significantly in the central cities, central counties, and suburban counties of Ohio's metropolitan areas. In the Cincinnati and Cleveland areas, growth rates were higher in the central county, while Columbus rates of growth in the central and suburban counties were similar. Residential property values still increased in Ohio's three central cities and

Table 3 Total Taxable Property Value* *(billions of dollars)*

	1981 ***(in 1991 dollars)***	**1991**	**Change (%)**
Chicago	22.07	23.10	4.7%
Cook County	51.38	59.71	16.2
Suburban Counties	29.29	36.93	26.1
Detroit	7.64	5.65	–26.0
Wayne County	26.48	25.43	–4.0
Suburban Counties	36.10	48.19	33.5
Milwaukee	11.12	12.70	14.2
Milwaukee County	16.82	24.58	46.2
Suburban Counties	8.93	18.60	108.3
Pittsburgh	2.19	2.08	–4.9
Allegheny County	8.44	7.87	–6.7
Suburban Counties	2.46	6.51	164.8

Data for Minneapolis-St. Paul not available. Data for City of Indianapolis and Marion County are not consistent over time because of city/county government merger. Data for Ohio's metropolitan areas are not complete.
Source: Census of Governments: Taxable Property Values, 1982 and 1992.

Table 4 Percent Change in Total Taxable Property Value in Ohio
(1983-1994, adjusted for inflation)

	Industrial	Commercial	Residential	Total
Cincinnati	–12.3%	73.7%	30.1%	40.6%
Hamilton Co.	–6.0	89.3	44.2	48.5
Suburban Cos.*	36.0	57.8	58.0	56.4
Cleveland	–24.4	32.2	12.7	14.0
Cuyahoga Co.	–13.5	42.2	33.9	31.5
Suburban Co.	–6.1	22.5	21.3	19.6
Columbus	29.6	42.8	48.7	44.7
Franklin Co.	28.4	46.0	54.9	50.1
Suburban Cos.	–3.4	47.6	58.1	52.5

*Only counties in Ohio.
Source: Ohio Municipal Advisory Council.

counties. However, the Cleveland area's central county was the only one of the three where growth of total property values exceeded that of the suburban counties.[6] It can be concluded that the loss of property values in Ohio is most acute in industrial properties.

Employment

This paper analyzes shifting employment locations for two reasons: One, it is expected that a direct relationship exists between commercial and industrial building permits and employment; the location of permits indicates where job growth will be found. Two, comparison of employment shifts between a central county and its suburban counties is a popular measure of urban sprawl and shifting development locations. Creation of jobs is the primary criterion by which many economic development activities are measured.

There is an especially strong correlation between industrial permits and manufacturing employment. Similar patterns of shifting employment location are found among the Great Lakes metropolitan areas. Analyzing changes in manufacturing employment in Ohio's three largest metropolitan areas reveals that opposite trends exist in central counties versus suburban counties. As can be seen in Table 5, central counties lost manufacturing employment over the first five years of the 1990s while suburban counties gained manufacturing employment. In the Cleveland and Cincinnati metropolitan areas the gains in suburban counties were not large enough to offset employment declines in the central counties, and the metropolitan areas' total manufacturing employment declined over the period. Columbus manufacturing employment remained fairly stable.

Total employment increased in all three metropolitan areas during 1990-1995. However, the rate of growth in the suburban counties was higher than that of the central counties. As can be seen in Table 5, Cuyahoga County, the Cleveland metropolitan area's central county, lost total employment during the period and all of the area's total job growth occurred in the suburban counties.

Table 5 Employment Trends in Ohio's Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990:1Q-1995:1Q

PMSA/MSA County	1990:1Q	1995:1Q	Change	% Change
Manufacturing Employment				
Cincinnati PMSA	131,281	117,380	–13,901	–10.6%
Hamilton*	116,329	98,248	–18,081	–15.5
Suburban Counties	14,952	19,132	4,180	28.0
Cleveland PMSA	241,389	225,760	–15,629	–6.5
Cuyahoga*	164,244	139,562	–24,682	–15.0
Suburban Counties	77,145	86,198	9,053	11.7
Columbus MSA	92,594	92,447	–148	–0.2
Franklin*	64,178	62,994	–1,184	–1.8
Suburban Counties	28,417	29,453	1,036	3.6
Total Employment				
Cincinnati PMSA	599,848	620,252	20,404	3.4
Hamilton*	527,099	531,756	4,657	0.9
Suburban Counties	72,749	88,496	15,747	21.6
Cleveland PMSA	1,026,157	1,051,794	25,637	2.5
Cuyahoga*	768,174	760,191	–7,983	–1.0
Suburban Counties	257,983	291,603	33,620	13.0
Columbus MSA	663,111	739,248	76,137	11.5
Franklin*	552,870	612,905	60,034	10.9
Suburban Counties	110,241	126,343	16,102	14.6

*Indicates central counties.
Source: Covered Employment and Payroll Data (ES-202), Ohio Bureau of Employment Services.

Policy Implications

Underlying Issue: Greenfield Development Dominates

Outside of downtowns, there has been little rebuilding in American cities. There has been no need for it, given the seemingly endless supply of suburban greenfield land and the degree to which public policy has promoted its development (through transportation, infrastructure, and tax policies). In contrast, rebuilding or redevelopment of central cities has received scant support.

Promotion of greenfield development dominates public policy and priorities. Consequently, cities experience ever-expanding blocks of obsolete, largely depreciated residential, industrial, and commercial real estate, some of which with brownfield conditions. If cities cannot gradually rebuild themselves as their real estate becomes depreciated and obsolete, they will gradually decline. And, as the analysis in this study suggests, the central county could eventually decline as well.

The need for city redevelopment is well-recognized but its importance for central counties and the scale of need may not be. Major cities in the Great Lakes region have reached the point where extensive areas are in need of rebuilding and productive reuse. Over the next century, possibly up to one-half of the land area of these cities will need to be recycled.

In the case of Cleveland, for example, half the city involves about 35 square miles and 100,000 parcels of land. Is there market demand for that much reuse? Time will tell, but currently demand is estimated to be between 430 and 940 acres over a five year-period.[7] An annual demand of 150 acres extended over 100 years would result in 23 square miles of redevelopment. It is estimated that it would cost $20 million to prepare 150 acres of Cleveland's land for redevelopment (by assembling several hundred small parcels, demolishing remaining structures, digging out foundations, and cleaning up any contamination) for an average of $133,000 an acre—when greenfields 25 miles out in suburban counties can be purchased for $50,000 an acre. Unless that gap of $83,000 per acre ($12 million for 150 acres) is filled by public funds, Cleveland's redevelopment (outside of its downtown) cannot occur; the private sector cannot cope with the gap. Demand exists, but not in the face of extra costs amounting to $83,000 an acre.

Because greenfield suburban development has dominated public policy for decades, the subsidies it receives are not generally recognized as being subsidies. For example, a state government will consider $100 million to construct a new road through greenfields at the outer edge of a metropolitan area as being "a sensible investment" because of the economic development that thereby will be promoted. (The fact that much of that "development" may involve nothing more than moves from elsewhere in the area, such as the central city, is not considered.)

On the other hand, the same state government is likely to be more than reluctant to invest heavily in support of land assembly, brownfield remediation, and site preparation for redevelopment in the city. That would be considered a subsidy, not an investment—and because of the large size of this amount, it would be considered a "questionable" use of public funds. The state may offer a low-interest loan to assist with assembly or remediation, but not a grant. Funds for the new road are considered to be an investment (and not a subsidy) for consequent development.

The primary question is this: In the decades ahead, how much public subsidy will be given to promote the development of suburban greenfields and how much public subsidy will be given to promote the redevelopment of central cities? The answer will shape the fate of many of the Great Lakes cities and their central counties.

The City and the Central County Must Join Forces

It falls to local leadership—that of the central city and the central county—to bring about the change in state (and possibly federal) policy that will enable redevelopment to occur at a scale sufficient to strengthen the city and protect the central county. The process may have to start with city leadership convincing central county leaders that long-term, large-scale redevelopment is very much in their mutual self-interest.

An Action Program

An action program for city and county leaders would include the following elements:

Documenting the case for change. The case for change must be based on the reality of development trends and tax-base changes, and on likely outcomes if trends are not altered, including the progressive decline of some suburbs and the central

county itself. Documentation of state investments that promote greenfield development, and the power of those investments to pull residents and employers out and away from the city, is essential.

Visioning an alternative future. What could a new balance of public investments lead to? What could be the result if state and local governments were to promote urban redevelopment as much as they promote suburban greenfield development? Central city and county leadership, jointly, need to define what the future would involve if the needed policy change were to occur, and define the strategic plans for achieving that future.

Elements of that future would be a land-use plan and a corresponding long-term strategy for parcel assembly, brownfield remediation, and site preparation, all within a developmental framework. At one level, the focus would be on specific sites; on another level it would be on the large long-term scale of what the city is to become.

Communicating the case and the vision. Current residents of most major metropolitan areas may lack a sense of confidence about the future of their central city and possibly a number of suburbs. Who can say that current trends of spreading decline and outward flight will not simply continue, resulting in the gradual fall of one community after another? Who can say with confidence that elected officials, working with the private sector and community leaders, are creating a different future?

Communicating to the public the case for change and an alternative future is an essential component of the change process itself. Once the public sees that its officials are indeed addressing fundamental matters that will affect the future of their central county, city, and region, then support will come forth and confidence can be established. In that atmosphere, assembling scores of acres annually in Great Lakes' central cities becomes possible.

Footnotes

1 It should be noted that the building permit data include only new construction. The analysis does not take into account the rehabilitation or reuse of existing properties, which, for example, could be significant in some cities for commercial properties.

2 The data on property values include all real estate including rehabilitation.

3 For the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, the two central counties, Hennepin and Ramsey, are considered separately.

4 The same data source does not have information for other metropolitan areas in the Great Lakes states.

5 This was expected from the previous discussion showing that Franklin County's share of industrial permits grew.

6 Suburban counties are defined as all counties in the census-defined metropolitan area, excluding the central county. However, suburban counties may not represent the actual housing market area, which is the case for the Cleveland area.

7 Simons, Roby. *Brownfields Supply and Demand Analysis for Selected Great Lakes Cities.* Prepared for The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency by the Great Lakes Environmental Finance Center at The College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University, July 1996.