commercial development has taken place in Bellevue as a consequence of these efforts. By the mid-1990s there was 10 million square feet of commercial space and over 30,000 jobs in the downtown area. Land prices have escalated resulting in increased tax revenue to the city. A side effect of these successes and the concomitant rise in land prices is that unsubsidized housing in the CBD (a goal of the plan) seems unattainable. The parking restrictions and the prohibition on entrepreneurial parking lots has meant that some potential project developers have invested elsewhere but also that 15% of workers use the transit system and another 13% use car pools. These figures

may seem low but for suburban United States they are high.

## Major references

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## CASE STUDY

## The Center City District, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA: a business improvement district (1990 to 1995, continuing to 2015; now continuing to 2025)

Central Philadelphia, known as Center City, is defined as the area between the Delaware and Schuykill Rivers, the Vine Street Expressway and South Street - an area falling within about a 20-minute walk of City Hall. The historic core of the city (and of the founding of the United States) falls within it. The area did not see the overwhelming economic and physical environmental degradation that many downtowns of United States cities experienced in the 1960s but it had been stagnating. The construction of a new convention centre was begun in the late 1980s and has been in operation since the early 1990s. This hotly disputed initiative had been part of the effort to revitalize Center City. This development and a number of earlier urban design/planning efforts served as precedents on which the city could build.

Aggressive city planning/urban design under director Edmund Bacon had led to the revitalization (and gentrification) of the severely decayed Society Hill neighbourhood and other inner city areas, the unification of the railway system and the development of the Gallery, an internal centre city shopping mall. From the 1970s on there has been an increase in the number of households living within a mile (1600 meters) of the City Hall (although this increase was not accompanied by an equally significant increase in population). The population, itself was generally