

wealthy, and a disproportionate number (37%) walk to work and 60% do not own a car. Despite these successes the center of the city, apart from some well-loved places and streets, was still seen as dirty and poorly maintained. In addition, many locally owned national and international conglomerates with little interest in Philadelphia other than as a source of revenue were buying up major locally owned businesses (Lehman, 2000). The city government was perceived to be incapable of making improvements. What then do to about it?

The Center City District (CCD), a municipal authority, was formed by city officials and the business community in 1990. In accordance with state law if more than 30% of the property owners objected it would not have been possible to do so. The proportion in opposition did not reach this figure. The formation of the CCD was also supported

by the City Council who authorized its operation until 1995 by a 14 to 1 vote. This authorization was extended in 1994 until 2015 and again in 2004 to 2025. The CCD is headed by Paul Levy, a one-time academic at the University of Pennsylvania, and has a 23-member board. The board has the power to chase the small proportion of property owners who fail to pay their dues. The CCD's budget (about \$14 million from a levy on the property tax) first went to the provision of sidewalk cleaning (provided by a private contractor) and public safety. The scope of its concerns expanded later. The goal was 'to increase the number of people on the streets – workers, residents, shoppers, tourists, conventioners and people drawn for entertainment – to recreate 1948 (Levy, 2001: 190).

In 1991 the board solicited proposals and received 75 responses from individuals



Photograph by George L. Claflin, Jr., FAIA

**Figure 9.8** Market street in the Philadelphia Center City BID in 2004.