

Book Reviews

From the Outside In: Suburban Elites, Third Sector Organizations, and the Reshaping of Philadelphia. By Carolyn T. Adams. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014. Pp. 217. \$79.95 (cloth); \$23.95 (paper).

In her book *From the Outside In: Suburban Elites, Third Sector Organizations, and the Reshaping of Philadelphia*, Carolyn Adams describes how urban revitalization has become increasingly dominated by large nonprofit and quasi-governmental institutions. This change is a defining characteristic of the Third Sector model for urban revitalization. Under the model, urban development projects are led by large anchor institutions like hospitals, universities, and cultural organizations. Adams argues that the shift away from private sector-driven revitalization became pronounced in the 1990s and early 2000s after decades of deindustrialization and disinvestment in America's core cities. The suburbanization and globalization of industry created a leadership vacuum in older cities at the time when local political machines were weakened by growing fiscal stress. As a result, nonprofits and special-purpose governments became more influential in decision-making processes related to urban revitalization. Adams argues that the contemporary period of city-building based on the Third Sector model for urban revitalization reinforces deeply engrained patterns of urban development while simultaneously breaking from past institutional mechanisms.

Adams distinguishes her work from that of others who study the role of the Third Sector in the urban revitalization process. Other scholars argue that Third Sector organizations in older core cities are uniquely positioned to guide the redevelopment of urban neighborhoods since they are place-based anchor institutions that are integrated into the fabric of their communities. In contrast, Adams focuses on the influence of suburban interests in the decision-making processes of Third Sector organizations and their tendency to reconfigure the urban core in ways that promote the regionalization and globalization of the city. Although her analysis is based on a case

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study of Third Sector revitalization activities in Philadelphia, it has resonance for urban areas across the country.

Adams combines in-depth case studies, archival research, policy analysis, and qualitative field research to present a multifaceted picture of the emergence of Third Sector governance in Philadelphia during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Her book is organized into five substantive chapters that trace the influence of the Third Sector on urban revitalization in the city. In the first chapter, Adams describes how Third Sector revitalization projects have tapped into urban development patterns that can be traced back to the period following the Second World War, when regional transportation systems and other infrastructure were built. She argues that Third Sector urban revitalization does not follow a new model for regional development. Rather, it is built upon a foundation laid by special-purpose governments and public authorities in the past. The Third Sector model has retained a suburban focus and orientation, and the decision-making processes that drive it remain unaccountable to residents who live in the communities affected by urban redevelopment projects.

Adams develops this theme further in the second chapter of the book, where she examines revitalization projects pursued by large hospitals, universities, and cultural institutions in Philadelphia. She describes how these large anchor institutions have developed their facilities and campuses along existing transportation corridors in order to increase their accessibility to regional patrons and consumers of their services. As large anchor institutions have expanded in Philadelphia's urban core, they have spurred gentrification and raised concerns about the displacement of long-term residents. Although Third Sector revitalization has taken place on a project-by-project basis in a relatively fragmented manner, the cumulative effect has been to upscale centrally located neighborhoods and expand the downtown footprint of the city. Adams points out that Third Sector development projects are concentrated in and adjacent to the city's civic center but have not taken hold in less centralized areas of the city like North Philadelphia.

The social welfare implications of the regional character and locational tendencies of Third Sector revitalization projects are most clearly articulated in the third and fourth chapters of the book. In these two chapters, Adams examines two types of nonprofit organizations that operate on a smaller scale: charter schools and community development corporations

(CDCs). The third chapter of the book examines education reform in the context of the Third Sector model. Adams argues that the proliferation of nonprofit charter schools in Philadelphia has had two implications for community development: it has increased the geographic concentration of school buildings near the city's civic center, and it has spelled the demise of neighborhood schools in other parts of Philadelphia.

The articulation of a link between education reform and the Third Sector model is one of the more important contributions of the book from a social policy standpoint, since it illustrates the manner in which the transformation of social institutions and the built environment are interconnected. Like larger anchor institutions, charter schools make locational decisions that increase their access to transportation corridors that serve regional markets. Adams argues that the decision to locate charter schools near the civic center and other large anchor institutions is done strategically in order to make schools more accessible to the city-wide student population they recruit from and the public transit lines that carry children to schools. The location of charter schools near other Third Sector development sites also helps to stabilize downtown revitalization efforts, since charter schools lease idle commercial space near the civic center.

However, the proliferation of charter schools has been detrimental for neighborhoods in less centralized locations. In cities like Philadelphia, the school-age population has been declining for decades. The creation of charter schools has accelerated the rate of enrollment decline in traditional public schools and has increased pressures to close neighborhood schools in the city's most distressed communities. The loss of neighborhood schools has had a destabilizing effect on a spectrum of social institutions in Philadelphia's poorest communities. In the past, school buildings in poor communities were hubs for civic engagement as well as delivery of community and social services. Today, many of the buildings that previously served this function are boarded-up symbols of neighborhood abandonment and blight. Adams points out that the Third Sector model for education reform has had implications far beyond how the school curriculum is delivered. It has also reinforced physical development patterns in cities that favor investments in downtown revitalization over neighborhood revitalization, while simultaneously decoupling school buildings from the social context of the communities where students live.

Adams develops this critique further in the fourth chapter of her book, pointing out that the closure of traditional public schools weakens urban social institutions in distressed inner-city neighborhoods and places addi-

tional pressure on the handful of small CDCs that are attempting to stem the tide of neighborhood disinvestment and decline. In this chapter, she describes how the availability of funds for affordable housing development and social service delivery in declining neighborhoods has been deteriorating in recent decades. This situation has been further complicated by increased pressure from foundations and intermediaries to redirect these resources to Third Sector urban revitalization projects. Adams's point is that smaller grassroots nonprofits are at a competitive disadvantage in the new institutional milieu. The emerging Third Sector model is increasingly focused on using scarce philanthropic resources to leverage urban revitalization projects sponsored by large anchor institutions like hospitals, universities, and cultural institutions. Although minority and low-income communities still accrue some benefits, Adams argues that smaller neighborhood-based nonprofits are at a distinct disadvantage when competing for access to resources to support neighborhood revitalization, affordable housing development, education reform, youth programs, and other social services.

In her final chapter, Adams describes how the influence of suburban interests in the decision-making processes of larger Third Sector organizations gives them an edge when competing for access to resources. The fifth chapter of the book is based on a network analysis of governing boards and decision-making bodies of Third Sector organizations in Philadelphia. Adams finds that suburbanites from affluent communities in the Philadelphia region have a disproportionate influence over the governance of Third Sector organizations engaged in urban revitalization activities. In a piecemeal fashion, these elites engage in advocacy for urban revitalization projects that link the institutions they are affiliated with to the broader region, often at the expense of less advantaged communities in the city. One of Adams's more troubling conclusions is that the elites who participate in the governance of Third Sector organizations do not make decisions in a manner that is guided by broader urban development goals or planning. Instead, the networks that influence the Third Sector consist of a fragmented group of elites engaged in institution-building rather than city-building. Moreover, elected officials do little to temper this parochialism. Instead, they feed it by engaging in project-based transactional politics instead of pursuing integrated, long-term planning.

Adams's conclusions draw from points made in the book's individual chapters. She identifies a need for more coordination across Third Sector projects, more city-wide planning, and greater nonprofit accountability to

disenfranchised groups. This is a valid assessment of weaknesses in the Third Sector model. In her initial effort to contextualize the Third Sector's role in urban revitalization, Adams is successful in opening a number of new lines of inquiry for others to incorporate into future research. For those interested in community development and social welfare policy, the take-away from this book is that there is ample room for critical analysis of the role of Third Sector organizations in the delivery of social programs and services. In particular, Adams reminds us that efforts to revitalize downtowns are not always a panacea, even when they are led by large anchor institutions like hospitals, universities, and cultural organizations that are held in high esteem and seen as benevolent by the general public. It remains incumbent on scholars, activists, and others who advocate for the oppressed to examine Third Sector organizations with a social equity lens and press them to be more introspective.

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The Fissured Workplace: Why Work Became So Bad for So Many and What Can Be Done to Improve It. By David Weil. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014. Pp. 424. \$29.95 (cloth).

The Fissured Workplace: Why Work Became So Bad for So Many and What Can Be Done to Improve It is a timely, enlightening, and pivotal book that systemically sets out the various underlying causes, consequences, and policy implications of the multilayering of what had been the traditional employee-employer relationship. Rather than directly employing people on their own payrolls, more and more large corporations have begun outsourcing or subcontracting work to smaller companies that must compete against one another for a share of the corporations' work. This has led to stagnant wage rates, declining benefits, and less predictable work for many workers. To explain this ongoing fracturing, David Weil connects what may be seemingly unrelated trends, patterns, and forces at work in establishments and labor markets.

This important study of the interface between institutions and markets could play a role similar to that of *The Transformation of American Industrial Relations* by Thomas A. Kochan, Harry C. Katz, and Robert B. McKer-