# Research Brief

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# A Preliminary Look at President Trump's Proposed Urban Renewal Agenda

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#### **Abstract**

During the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, then-candidate Trump promised an urban renewal agenda that would make communities safer, create jobs, improve education, and upgrade infrastructure. This analysis takes a preliminary look at the potential impact of President Trump's proposed urban renewal policies. The forecasting technique "Cross-Impact Analysis" was used to examine the potential impact of the proposed policies on urban problems. Findings from the analysis indicated that six of the ten Trump policy proposals (Great Education through School Choice; Safe Communities; Immigration; Tax Reforms to Create Jobs; New Infrastructure Investment; America First Foreign Policy) are likely to have a direct impact on identified urban problems, and one of the proposals ("Protect the African American Church") is projected to have no impact. In terms of urban problems most likely to be impacted, "city finances/budgets" was impacted by 70% of the policy proposals, "affordable housing" (50%), and "immigration" (40%). From a historical perspective, President Trump's policy proposals represent a shift in how the Federal government views urban problems and their solutions. They constitute an urban renewal approach predicated on reversing the impact of many globalization trends. Public, private, and non-profit organizations serving urban areas should expect federal policies that promote more publicprivate partnerships; a greater use of tax credits to drive economic development; a larger law enforcement presence; and no new dollars for initiatives related to environmental issues such as climate change.

#### Introduction

With the election of Donald Trump as America's 45<sup>th</sup> President, the American electorate sent a message it wanted change from business as usual. Of the many campaign topics discussed by then-candidate Trump, he often referenced the near "war zone" state of many American cities and declared "the conditions of our inner-cities today are unacceptable" (Trump, 2016). He indicated that if elected, he would put forth policy proposals that would make urban communities safer, create jobs, improve education, and upgrade infrastructure (Trump, 2016).

This research brief takes a preliminary look at President Trump's urban renewal proposals. The goal is to begin assessing the potential impact of those proposals on urban problems. To accomplish this goal, this brief identifies some of the major problems impacting America's urban areas today, and then examines the likelihood of President Trump's proposals to ameliorate those problems. The intended outcome is to help public, private, and nonprofit policy-makers position their organizations for implementing urban renewal under a Trump administration. As used in this policy paper, the term 'urban area' is synonymous with the term 'cities', and refers primarily to central/core cities in metropolitan statistical areas having a high degree of social and economic integration with surrounding communities (Census, Geography, 2017).

#### **Context for Understanding Urban Renewal Policy**

Over the last 100 years, the United States' population has become more urbanized going from being approximately 45% urban in 1910 to more than 80% urban in 2010 (Ratcliffe, 2015, p. 1). The U.S. Census Bureau defines urban areas as all territories, populations, and housing units located within urbanized areas (UAs) and urban clusters (UCs). An urbanized area contains a population of 50,000 or more people; whereas an urban cluster contains a population of at least 2,500 people but less than 50,000 people (Census, 2017). In the United States, approximately 80.7% of the population lives in urban areas, with approximately 71 % of those persons living in urbanized areas of 50,000 or more people (Ratcliffe, 2015, p. 1). Thus, the majority of the U.S. population lives in urban areas commonly referred to as "cities".

The trend of populations moving from rural areas to urban areas is a global phenomenon. This trend can be traced back to the industrial revolution of the early 1800s which created condensed, large-scale urban settlements (Weeks, 2011, p. 92) (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000, pp. 27-29). It was during this period that problems associated with urbanization began to appear. The early problems included issues such as overcrowding, un-sanitary health conditions, pollution, immigration, and transportation challenges (Weeks, 2011, pp. 93-95) (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000). These same problems also occurred in the United States during its early industrialization /urbanization period (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000, pp. xii, 30-43).

This brief history lesson illustrates that problems facing urban areas are not new. Urban areas represented by large cities have experienced different types of problems depending upon the social, economic, and political events occurring at that point in history. From a historical perspective, these problems and their proposed solutions have changed over time. As will be discussed shortly, President Trump's urban renewal strategy is in keeping with this historical perspective of solutions adapting to changing political, economic, and social conditions.

#### Urban Renewal Policy in the U.S.

Since its early inception, urban renewal has undergone many different versions depending upon which U.S. President and/or political party was in power (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000, pp. 413-414). Table 1 provides a timeline summary of recent U.S. urban renewal policies:

Table 1 Summary of Recent U.S. Urban Renewal Policies

Policy/Administration/Dates	Policy Intent		
"New Deal" period /Franklin Roosevelt administration / (1930s to 1940s)	Provided comprehensive housing, employment, and social services after the Great Depression		

"Crisis of Metropolitanization" period / Truman and Eisenhower administrations /(1945-early 1960s)	Began to address the negative consequences of suburbanization on core urban cities such as population losses, declining downtown commerce, losses in manufacturing
"War on Poverty" and "Great Society" period / Kennedy and Johnson administrations / (1960s)	Sought to address rising poverty and blighted conditions in inner-cities
"New Federalism" period / Nixon/Ford/Reagan/Bush administrations / (1970s to early 1990s)	Significantly reduced federal financial assistance to urban areas; reflected philosophical shifts in political power from Democrats (larger govt. role) to Republicans (larger private sector role)
"Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities" period / Clinton administration/ (early 1990s until early 2000s)	Combine private sector/market-oriented strategies with targeted federal aid to distressed urban and rural areas; began adjusting to impact of globalization such as the off-shoring of jobs & businesses
"Community Uplift Strategy" period / Bush II administration / (early 2000s to 2008)	Utilize more public/private and faith-based initiatives to address urban problems; reduced direct aid to urban areas and shifted funds to fighting terrorism/homeland security
"Supporting Urban Prosperity" / Obama Administration / 2008-2016	Viewed existing urban policy as obsolete and needing to be replaced by a model that focused on rational metropolitan growth
Sources: (O'Connor 1999) (Vliet 1998) (Harrigan	& Vogel 2000) (Hendrickson 2004) (Broder 2008)

Sources: (O'Connor, 1999) (Vliet, 1998) (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000) (Hendrickson, 2004) (Broder, 2008) (Obama, 2008)

The term "urban renewal" as used in the United States has its origin in Title 1 of the 1949 Housing Act. That act created the "Urban Renewal Agency" (URA) for the purpose of providing funding and coordination activities to help localities redevelop blighted urban areas (Sutton, 2008, pp. 27-29) (Vliet, 1998, pp. 617-618) (O'Connor, 1999, pp. 96-99). Thus, the term "urban renewal" became associated with federally funded activities designed to redevelop blighted urban areas by promoting activities such as affordable housing, business development, job creation, downtown revitalization, social services, and transportation. While the use of early urban renewal strategies were not without controversy and fostered negative impacts on certain populations (e.g., the displacement of inner city African Americans during the 1950s), it was a tool that did help spur redevelopment activity in urban areas (Sutton, 2008, pp. 27-32) (O'Connor, 1999, pp. 96-97) (Vliet, 1998, pp. 617-618).

#### President Trump's Urban Renewal Policy Proposals

On October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016, in Charlotte, North Carolina, then-candidate Trump delivered a speech outlining his ideas for improving America's inner-cities (Trump, 2016). Five days later, candidate-Trump issued a press release titled "Donald J. Trump's New Deal for Black America with a Plan for Urban Renewal" (Trump, 2016). As listed in Table 2, candidate Trump outlined several issues he believes are impacting the health and vitality of America's inner-cities overall, and the African-American community in particular. The policy proposals discussed during the Charlotte speech will serve as the basis for analyzing President Trump's urban renewal agenda.

The stated rationale for President Trump's proposals was that past urban renewal policies, especially those advocated by the Democratic Party, were not working for African Americans and innercity urban areas (Trump, 2016). As discussed in more detail later, President Trump's urban renewal strategy links local development to reversing many trends and relationships associated with globalization. This policy approach represents a significant shift in U.S. urban renewal policy from what was used over the last 80 years. It openly seeks to improve the conditions of urban areas by promising to reclaim jobs and federal monies from "failed" American foreign policy decisions (Trump, 2016), and then re-invest those monies and jobs into urban areas. As chronicled earlier, past U.S. urban renewal policies sought to adjust to the impact of globalization, but not outright reverse its effects.

Table 2 President Trump's Urban Renewal Policy Proposals

Issue/Policy Area	Policy Highlights					
<b>Great Education</b>	* Allow every disadvantaged child in America to attend the public, private,					
Through School	charter, magnet, religious or home school of their choice					
Choice	* Appoint a commission to investigate the school to prison pipeline					
	* Ensure funding for Historical Black Colleges and Universities; push more					
	affordable 2 and 4-year colleges;					
	* Support for trade and vocational education					
Safe Communities	* Fund and invest in training of both local and federal law enforcement					
	operations to remove the gang members, drug dealers, and criminal cartels from					
	neighborhoods					
<b>Equal Justice Under</b>	* Apply the law fairly, equally and without prejudice. There will be only one set					
the Law	of rules – not a two-tiered system of justice					
Tax Reforms to	* Lower the business tax from 35 percent to 15 percent and bring thousands of					
Create Jobs	new companies to America					
	* Have a massive middle class tax cut; push tax-free childcare savings accounts					
	and childcare tax deductions and credits					
	* Have tax holidays for inner-city investment, and new tax incentives to get					
	foreign companies to relocate in blighted American neighborhoods					
	* Empower cities and states to seek a federal disaster designation for blighted					
	communities in order to initiate the rebuilding of vital infrastructure, the					
	demolition of abandoned properties, and the increased presence of law					
	enforcement					
Financial Reforms to	* Implement financial reforms to make it easier for young African-Americans to					
Create Jobs	get credit to pursue their dreams in business and create jobs in their communities					
	* Repeal Dodd-Frank which has made it harder for small businesses to get the					
	credit they need					
	* Encourage small-business creation by allowing social welfare workers to					
	convert poverty assistance into repayable but forgivable micro-loans					
Trade	* Stop the massive, chronic trade deficits impacting American jobs					
Trauc	* Stop the offshoring of companies to low-wage countries and raise wages at					
	home					
	* If executives move their factories to Mexico or other countries, put a 35% tax					
	on their products before they ship it back into the United States					
Protection from	* Restore the civil rights of African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and all					
Illegal Immigration	Americans by ending illegal immigration					
	* Reform visa rules to give American workers preference for jobs					
	* Suspend reckless refugee admissions from terror-prone regions that cost					
	taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars, and use a portion of the money saved					
	by enforcing our laws, and suspending refugees, to re-invested in our inner cities					
	of emotions out turns, and suspending refugees, to be invested in our limit office					

Table 2 (continued) President Trump's Urban Renewal Policy Proposals

Issue/Policy Area	Policy Highlights				
New Infrastructure	* Leverage public-private partnerships, and private investments through tax				
Investment	incentives, to spur \$1 trillion in infrastructure investment over 10 years of				
	which the inner cities will be a major beneficiary				
	* Cancel all wasteful climate change spending from Obama-Clinton, including				
	all global warming payments to the United Nations; projected to save \$100				
	billion over 8 years, and use the savings to help rebuild the vital infrastructure,				
	including water systems, in America's inner cities				
Protect the African	* Protect religious liberty, promote strong families, and support the African-				
American Church	American church				
America First Foreign	* Stop trying to build Democracies overseas, wasting trillions, but instead				
Policy	focus on defeating terrorists and putting America First				
Other Issues Discussed					
School-to-Prison	Appoint a commission to investigate the school to prison pinaline and shut it				
	Appoint a commission to investigate the school-to-prison pipeline and shut it				
Pipeline	down by creating a new pathway that leads from a great education to a great job				
Obamacare	* Repeal and replace this disastrous law				
<b>Blighted Communities</b>	* Empower cities and states to seek a federal disaster designation for blighted				
	communities in order to initiate the rebuilding of vital infrastructure, the				
	demolition of abandoned properties, and the increased presence of law				
	enforcement				

Source: (Trump, 2016)

### **Identifying Urban Issues for Analysis**

To help identify what existing problems President Trump's proposals will be addressing, this study identified two national sources with experience in dealing with urban problems. Each year, the National League of Cities (NLC) produces a "State of Cities" report that examines important issues identified by mayors in their "state of the city" addresses. The NLC is a U.S. non-profit organization that represents the interests of 49 state municipal leagues and more than 19,000 cities, towns, and villages (NLC, 2016).

Table 3 --- Listing of the top 10 issues identified by Mayors in NLC "State of Cities" reports

There's Eisting of the top to issues identified by Mayors in the State of Cities Teports				
2014	2015	2016		
Economic Development	Economic Development	Economic Development		
Public Safety	Infrastructure	Public Safety		
Budgets	Public Safety Budgets			
Education	Budgets	Infrastructure		
Transportation	Education	Education		
Housing	Housing	Housing		
Environment	Data/Technology	Environment/Energy		
Health Care	Environment/Energy	Demographics		
Energy	Demographics	Data/Technology		
Immigration	Health Care	Health Care		

Table 3 presents a listing of the top 10 issues identified by Mayors in the NLC's 2014, 2015, and 2016 "State of Cities" reports (Langan & McFarland, 2016). For each of the major issues identified, the report presents additional "sub-topics" under each broad category. For example, Economic Development has 22 sub-topics such as jobs, downtown development, and neighborhood revitalization. Public safety has 20 sub-topics such as crime rate, gun violence, race, emergency preparedness. Infrastructure has 30 sub-topics such as roads, sewers, drinking water, and internet/broadband.

The National League of Cities also released a report titled "<u>The 10 Critical Imperatives Facing Cities in 2014</u>" (NLC, 2014). That report focused on identifying imperatives NLC believed were the most challenging to the cities and towns it represents. Table 4 lists those imperatives:

**Table 4 "The 10 Critical Imperatives Facing Cities in 2014"** 

Imperative	Discussion/Elaboration		
Fragile Fiscal Health	Cities continue to confront the prolonged effects of the economic downturn and remain vulnerable to cuts in federal funding		
Deteriorating Transportation Infrastructure	The overall transportation system needs to be more efficient, including upgrading older systems and adding new modes like light rail and bus rapid transit		
<b>Shrinking Middle Class</b>	More families are slipping into poverty and straining social service programs		
Inadequate Access to Higher Education	Economic development depends upon more residents successfully obtaining postsecondary degrees and credentials		
Need for Affordable Housing	Foreclosures and empty houses have destabilized entire neighborhoods in cities across the country		
Less-Than-Welcoming Return for Veterans	Returning service members face a higher risk of unemployment, homelessness, and family problems		
Gang Violence	Neighborhoods suffer unacceptably high numbers of deaths and injuries; are plagued by physical decay; and withdraw from civic engagement		
Broken Immigration System	Cities need a federal solution that secures the nation's borders and provides a path to citizenship for immigrants		
Climate Change and Extreme Weather	Catastrophic events cost human life, destroy property, disrupt entire economies, and wipe out local infrastructure		
Lack of Public Trust in Government	Public trust in government is very low		

Source: (NLC, 2014)

#### **HUD-identified Issues**

To obtain national perspective from a federal agency charged with conducting urban renewal activities, documentation from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was obtained. In a HUD report titled "The U.S. 20/20 Habitat III Report, HUD along with 40 other organizations representing federal, state, and local governments, academia, philanthropy, nongovernmental, and the private industry identified challenges and potential solutions to urban development in the United States (HUD, 2016). The report identified such problems as declining tax

revenues; increasing homeless populations; the negative impact of demographic changes and immigration; declining growth rates of central cities; lack of affordable housing; terrorism; environmental hazards; and combating aging infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and water/sewer treatment facilities (HUD, 2016, pp. 51-62).

## **Categorizing Urban Problems for Analysis**

In examining the problems identified in the HUD and NLC reports, the two lists are similar, but not identical. To help establish a comparative basis for this analysis, urban problems identified by NLC and HUD have been merged into the following categories:

- Safe Communities/Public Safety
- Education
- Infrastructure
- Budgets/Declining tax revenues/Economic Development
- Immigration
- Affordable Housing
- Environmental Hazards

#### Framework for Analysis

Because President Trump's proposals are still in the conceptual stage as of this writing, only a conjectured, qualitative analysis would be appropriate at this point. Therefore, this analysis used the iudgmental forecasting technique "cross-impact analysis" to examine the relationship between the Trump proposals and identified urban problems. The goal of this technique is to identify how key variables/events interact and produce likely results from those interactions (Dunn, 2008, pp. 187-195). To help conduct this analysis, dependent and independent variables were assigned to facilitate a cross-matrix analysis between the Trump proposals and targeted urban problems. The problem areas identified from the NLC and HUD reports are the dependent variables for this analysis. President Trump's proposals are the independent variables seeking to positively impact the dependent variables. Table 5 visually displays findings from the cross-impact analysis of the "independent variables" (Trump proposals) and the "dependent variables" (Urban Problems). In lieu of assigning traditional numeric weights to measure the probability of a relationship between the dependent and independent variables, this analysis used as judgmental criteria the terms "direct", "indirect", or no impact/cannot be determined. Direct impact denotes the policy was specifically worded to address the policy problem. Indirect denotes the policy was not specifically worded to address the policy problem, however it contains elements that can influence the severity and/or duration of that problem. No impact/cannot be determined.

**Table 5 Cross-Impact Analysis of President Trump Proposals** 

# **Urban Problems Identified**

Trump Proposals Through School Choice	Safe Communi/ Public Safety	Educ √(a)	Infrastruct	Budgets /Declining Tax Revenues / Eco. Dev.	Immigra	Affordable Housing	Environ mental
Safe Communities	√(a)	√( <b>b</b> )		√(b)	√( <b>b</b> )	√(b)	
Equal Justice Under the Law	√( <b>b</b> )				√( <b>b</b> )		
Tax Reforms to Create Jobs				√(a)		√( <b>b</b> )	
Financial Reforms to Create Jobs				√(a)		√( <b>b</b> )	
Trade				√( <b>b</b> )		√( <b>b</b> )	
Protection from Illegal Immigration	√( <b>b</b> )			√( <b>b</b> )	√(a)		
New Infrastructure Investment			√(a)	√(a)		√(b)	
Protect the African American Church							
America First Foreign Policy					$\sqrt{(\mathbf{a})}$		

 $<sup>\</sup>sqrt{(a)}$  = Direct Impact  $\sqrt{(b)}$  = Indirect Impact Empty Cell = No Impact/cannot be determined

(represented as an empty cell) denotes the policy does not directly or indirectly impact the policy problem, or there is not enough information available to make a determination.

#### **Findings**

Table 5 visually displays the results from the cross-impact analysis. Results from the analysis indicate that 7 of the 10 Trump policy proposals have either a direct or indirect impact on the "Budgets/Declining Tax Revenues/Economic Development" category. From a likely impact perspective, it appears the majority of President Trump's proposals have a high probability (70%) of impacting city budgets/finances. What is difficult to determine is whether that impact will be positive or negative. Uncertainty exists due to several reasons including not knowing if the Trump proposals will be accompanied with federal funding; whether the Trump proposals will require some type of cost-sharing mechanism; or whether the Trump proposals will be enacted as un-funded mandates. With the exceptions of the "New Infrastructure Investment" proposal promising to generate over \$1 trillion in infrastructure investment over 10 years, and the policy proposal "canceling wasteful climate change" spending to save \$100 billion over 8 years (Trump, 2016), none of the proposals at this point have any firm revenue/expenditure projections attached to them. As is often the saying in administrative circles, the devil is in the details. While there has been some indications the U.S. Congress is willing to provide financial funding for some Trump proposals (Bolton, 2017), there is also a lot of uncertainty regarding which proposals will be funded, at what level, and with what stipulations (Viser & McGrane, 2017). At this point, there are not enough details associated with the proposals to determine if city budgets will be improved (or harmed) by the Trump proposals.

Another noteworthy finding which emerged from the cross-impact analysis concerns the problem of immigration. Four of the 10 Trump proposals (40%) have a direct or indirect impact on the problem of immigration. In the HUD and NLC reports, the problem of immigration is primarily viewed as challenges associated with the provision of social and economic services to legal and illegal immigrants. Under the Trump proposals, immigration is viewed more as a law enforcement and economic competition problem. This distinction is important because it represents a potential "mis-match" between what cities/urban areas have identified as being needed, and what the Trump administration views as being needed. The distinction is also important because it has financial implications for city budgets (positively or negatively). As with other findings in this analysis, there is uncertainty regarding the funding/cost scenarios associated with the Trump proposals. Approaching the immigration problem from a law enforcement perspective verses a social services perspective requires different administrative and programmatic mechanisms. For planning purposes, there is a 40% chance the Trump immigration policy proposal will impact cities/urban areas. From a policymaking perspective, the major question is "how"?

In reviewing other findings from the cross-impact analysis, seven of the ten Trump policy proposals (70%) are directly aligned with the urban problem areas identified for this study. Those policy proposals were Great Education through School Choice; Safe Communities; Tax Reforms to Create Jobs; Financial Reforms to Create Jobs; Immigration; America First Foreign Policy; and New Infrastructure Investment. From a "policy fit" perspective, most of the President's proposals appear to directly address key problems facing urban areas today. An assessment that seems to hold true across all findings is the difficulty in determining the proposals' likely financial impact. It is difficult at this point to fully assess the likely impact of the policies given the sparsity of details currently available. From the perspective of urban policymakers and administrators who will likely be involved with implementing the Trump proposals, a major question is how will the policy proposals be structured and funded. How a policy is structured, funded, and implemented can positively or negatively impact the success of that policy (Dunn, 2008, pp. 46, 236-244) (Kraft & Furlong, 2010, pp. 80-83). Therefore, the success of the President's proposals will depend heavily upon how they are structured and funded for implementation.

Two other noticeable findings from the analysis involve the lack of correlation between the independent variable/Trump proposal ("Protect the African American Church") and any of the dependent variables ("urban problems"); and the lack of correlation between the dependent variable/"Environmental" and any of the independent variables (Trump policy proposals). The first finding involves the lack of correlation between the Trump proposal "Protect the African American

Church" and any of the urban problem areas. As stated earlier, neither the HUD report nor the NLC report listed "protecting the African American Church" as a major urban problem area. Based upon the information currently available, it is difficult to determine President Trump's rationale for including this policy as part of his urban renewal agenda. In terms of this study, the cross-impact analysis indicates that proposal is not likely to have any impact on improving urban problems. The second noticeable finding is the lack of correlation between any of the Trump proposals and the urban problem area of "Environmental". As discussed earlier, President Trump's Charlotte speech specifically talked about cancelling "all wasteful climate change spending" (Trump, 2016). The speech makes no other related references to the urban problem area "Environmental". This lack of reference, if intentional, could be a warning sign of the Trump administration's views regarding addressing environmentally-related urban issues.

## **Factors Impacting Study Findings**

Cross-impact analysis can be a very useful tool for making judgmental predictions regarding the likely occurrence and impact of future events. However, the accuracy of this technique's predictions can be affected by other events, factors, and conditions (Friedman, 2016) (Dunn, 2008). Therefore, the likely impact of the Trump proposals are also subject to numerous events, factors, and conditions. Example of these factors include whether the U.S. Congress will provide legislative and financial support for the proposals; whether the U.S. and World Court systems will uphold legal challenges to certain Trump policies such as immigration and revised trade policies; whether other foreign countries will take retaliatory economic measures in response to President Trump's changes in international trade agreements; and whether local and/or national resistance to policies like school choice will lead to a revision or rescission of those policies. Because so many factors can impact this study's findings, it is suggested this analysis be viewed as an exploratory tool, and not as a prescription tool, for policymakers engaged in urban renewal activities. This study's goal is to help policymakers position their organizations for likely changes in federal urban renewal policy. While there are many factors that can impact President Trump's proposed urban agenda, findings from this study suggest the urban problem areas of immigration, safe communities/public safety, infrastructure, affordable housing, and city/urban finances are most likely to be impacted.

#### Discussion

As chronicled earlier, urban areas have historically experienced problems related to population density; immigration; pollution and poor sanitation systems; shifting employment patterns; lack of available and affordable housing; and transportation-related issues. Many U.S. presidents have proposed various forms of urban renewal programs dating back to the 1920s/30s such as President Roosevelt's New Deal Program (Vliet, 1998) (O'Connor, 1999) (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000). The problems facing urban areas have changed as economic, political, demographic, and social conditions have change over the years. In trying to identify a general framework or theme for President Trump's urban renewal agenda, there does not appear to be one main tenet that encapsulates his program's focus. Many of his urban renewal proposals use a "Global-Local" linkage as a basis for addressing today's urban problems. Even though President Trump's Charlotte speech framed his program as a "New Deal for Black America", his policies seem to focus on linkages between today's urban problems and U.S. globalization policies such as trade and immigration. In a sense, President Trump's proposals are premised on the proposition that improving local conditions will require **reversing** certain international trends and their resulting impacts. Evaluating the proposals from this "reversal" premise, President Trump's urban renewal approach seems politically appropriate given the widespread backlash against the effects of globalization. While it is debatable as to the appropriateness of his urban renewal approach, it is not debatable that this approach contains complex issues as related to policy implementation. Reversing decades of globalization trends, arrangements, and impacts will not be an easy task.

While globalization is certainly a major factor shaping President Trump's urban renewal policy, it would be a mistake to simply view his proposals only through the prism of globalization. The Trump

proposals are rooted in other prisms such as race, conservatism, and nationalism. Indeed, President Trump's campaign slogans of "America First" and "Make America Great Again" help establish a general framework for understanding his urban renewal agenda. The urban renewal themes specifically referenced in the Charlotte speech of safe communities, great education, and high paying jobs mask the larger philosophical and nationalistic issues forging the Trump presidency. Based upon current and projected geo-political economic conditions (Friedman, 2016), President Trump's proposed policies represent a novel approach to urban renewal.

#### **Conclusions**

President Trump's policy proposals lay out his vision for urban renewal in America. While they help identify the President's urban renewal priorities, they also raise many issues regarding the implementation and potential success of those proposals. President Trump's strategy can be very advantageous for urban areas if his policies are structured to provide additional resources to combat urban problems; or they could be harmful to urban areas if the policies include large unfunded mandates or a decline in existing financial aid. Although details are limited, several preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this study. These include:

- \* Cities/urban areas can expect increase federal activity in the areas of safe communities, protection from illegal immigration, and new infrastructure investment;
- \* Cities/urban areas should not expect any increases in federal funding for environmentally-related issues such as climate change;
- \* Cities/urban areas should expect their finances to be impacted, however there is considerable uncertainty at this point as to what that impact will be; and
- \* Cities/urban areas should expect to see more public-private partnerships; a greater use of tax credits to drive economic development projects; and a larger law enforcement presence.

President Trump's urban renewal strategy signals a significant shift in how the Federal government views urban problems and their solutions. It implicitly and explicitly advocates reversing many globalization trends and arrangements. Public, private, and non-profit organizations will need to rethink how urban renewal is conducted at the local level. Things have changed. How cities and urban areas adjust to those changes will help determine the future vitality of America's urban areas.

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