PLACES

Mayors and City Design

02

About the cover: Franklin Street in downtown Boston. Courtesy Peter Vanderwarker. This photograph is from the exhibition, *The Image of Boston: Perception and Change in the Modern City*, which was on view at the Margaret Hutchinson Compton Gallery, The MIT Museum, last fall. The exhibition paired photographs Nishan Bichajian took in the 1950s to document the public image of Boston with photographs Vanderwarker took in 1995 from the same vantages. A catalogue, edited and with an introductory essay by Lois Craig, was published by The MIT Museum.

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Cities come in all sizes and flavors, not just big and apple. Our cities — urban, suburban and rural — are as varied as ourselves, and in as much need of cultivation.

Cities, in all their abundance and disorder, give structure to the lives of most Americans. That they are the skeleton of our civilization tends to be obscured by the popular fixation on large city–regions and the spine-chilling organizational problems they entail. The Big Apple promotional caricature for New York City reaches deep into America's ambivalence about cities. Manhattan (read "city") is both alluring and dangerous; the delectable forbidden fruit whose consumption is reputed to banish us from paradise.

Yet cities, as political entities of whatever scale, are a means of assembling public good. They provide essential services, establish the framework for entrepreneurial efforts and promote and protect knowledgeable civic conduct. As physical entities they should do no less and can do more — they can create, as they have so often in the past, places that will enhance the daily lives of their inhabitants and help secure the bonds of citizenship.

To become places about which people can care, cities need leadership and commitment. They need citizens who will stand up in their neighborhoods, administrators who will be attentive to qualitative detail, elected leaders who will champion the public interest and require that all parts of their city be designed with care.

In this issue of *Places* we report on one stream of initiatives that is designed to help mayors make good places of their cities — to bring out the best in the physical and community resources they steward. The Mayors' Institute on City Design, initiated ten years ago, brings together small groups of mayors who meet for several days with a comparable number of urban designers. Each mayor brings a case study for discussion, critique and suggestion, and each of the designers gives a presentation.

The Mayors' Institute was implemented with funding from the National Endowment for the Arts and later expanded by the NEA to include a series of regional institutes so that smaller cities could be served. Altogether, the program has had far-reaching impact. It has involved 259 cities throughout the country, nearly 200 urban design and development professionals, and ten schools of architecture and planning. Often, the mayors' case studies are subsequently studied in greater depth by faculty and students at schools affiliated with the institute. The story of this collaborative achievement is sampled in the following pages through articles, interviews with mayors and case study reports written by people who have participated in the program.

Reading through these stories brings forth images of the thousands of towns and cities with which our country is made — an array of places, each of which needs caring attention, all of which can benefit from educational programs like these that alert a city's leadership to the opportunities and risks at hand.

— *Donlyn Lyndon*

Many Mayors' Institute alumni comment that the institute gives them a greater understanding of the language of design, which enables them to be involved more effectively in design issues and to communicate those issues better to their constituents. Sometimes the most potent language is visual. These sketches, taken from casebooks prepared for sessions of the midwest regional Mayors' Institute held at the University of Minnesota from 1990 to 1992, elegantly summarize the challenges these cities face, often revealing tensions or possibilities that cannot be expressed as effectively in words alone.

William R. Morrish
Catherine R. Brown

Top: Appleton, Wisconsin. The redevelopment of Appleton's waterfront, which is changing from industrial to mixed uses, can make it a more attractive, integrated part of the city center while preserving historic elements.

Bottom: Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Sioux Falls is planning for further redevelopment of its riverfront and falls district. Large areas of railroad and industrial lands could be redeveloped, and outlying commercial development must be controlled.
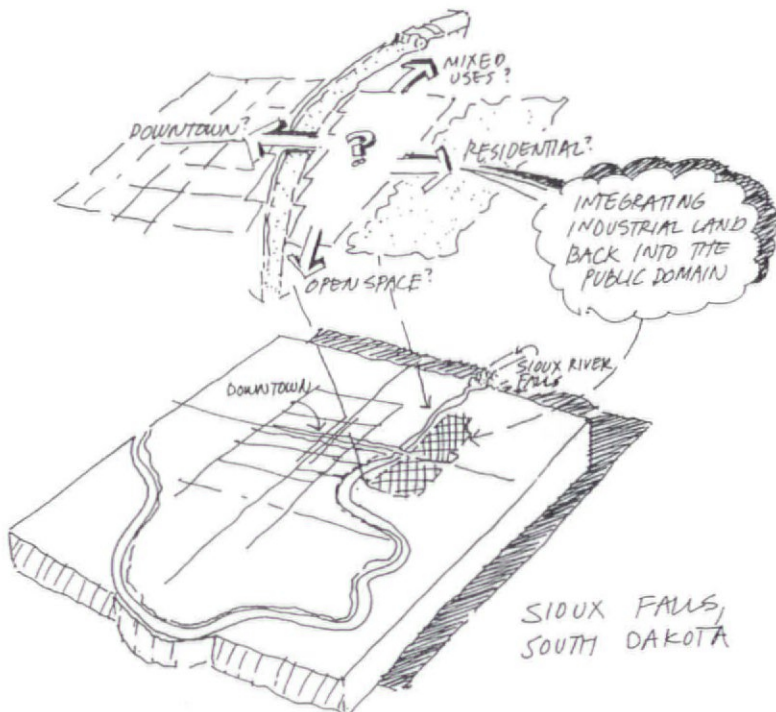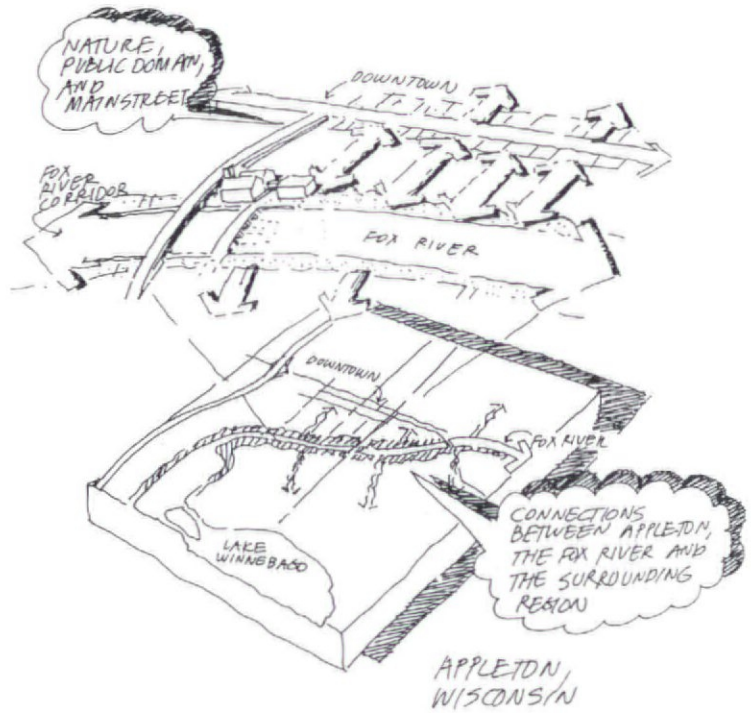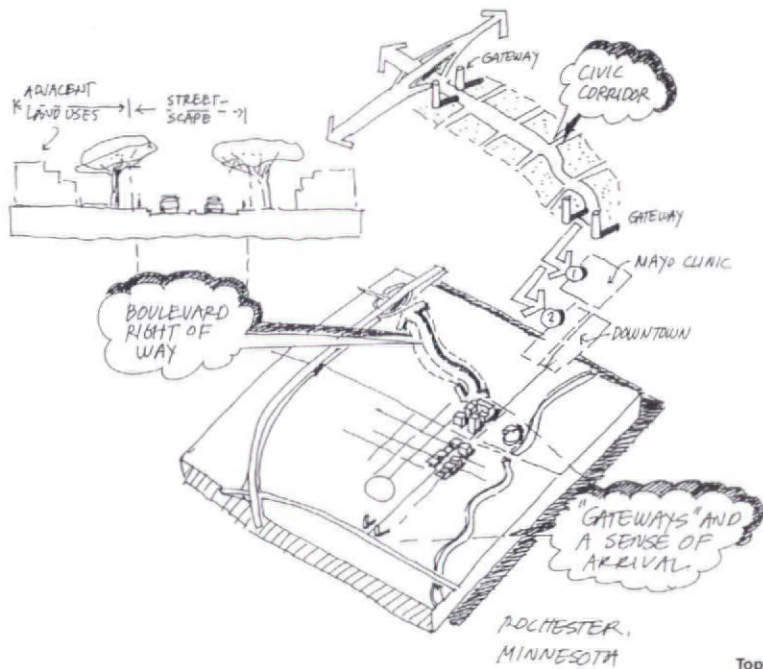
Top: Rochester, Minnesota. Streetscapes are being considered to help define the city — particularly gateways at roadway entrances and design controls for strip developments.
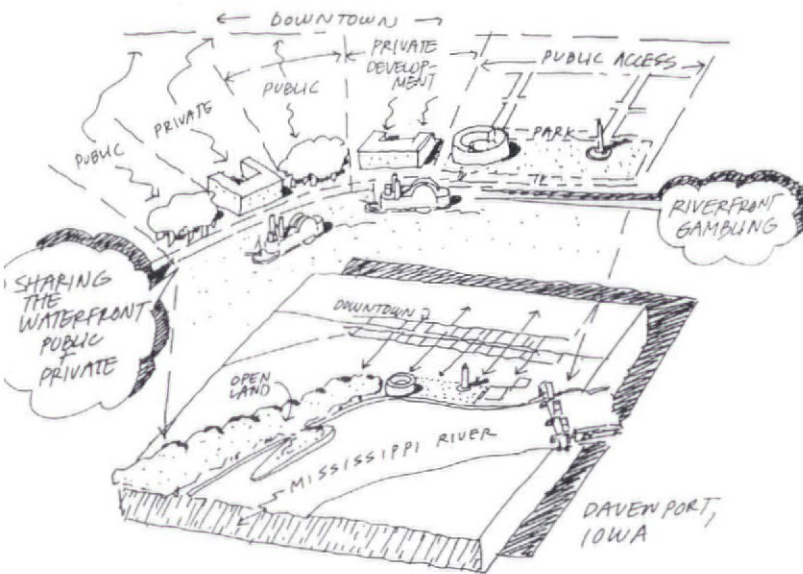
Middle: Davenport, Iowa. Private and public energies can interweave to capture the new energies from riverfront gambling and create a coherent waterfront that includes public recreation.
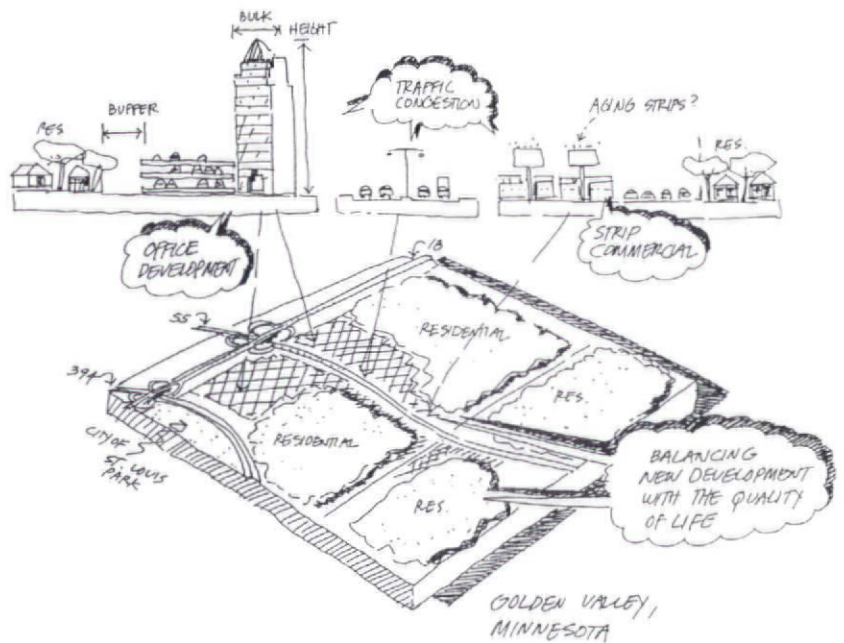
Bottom: Golden Valley, Minnesota. Commercial redevelopment pressures along expanded highway corridors call for design and density standards around several intersections.
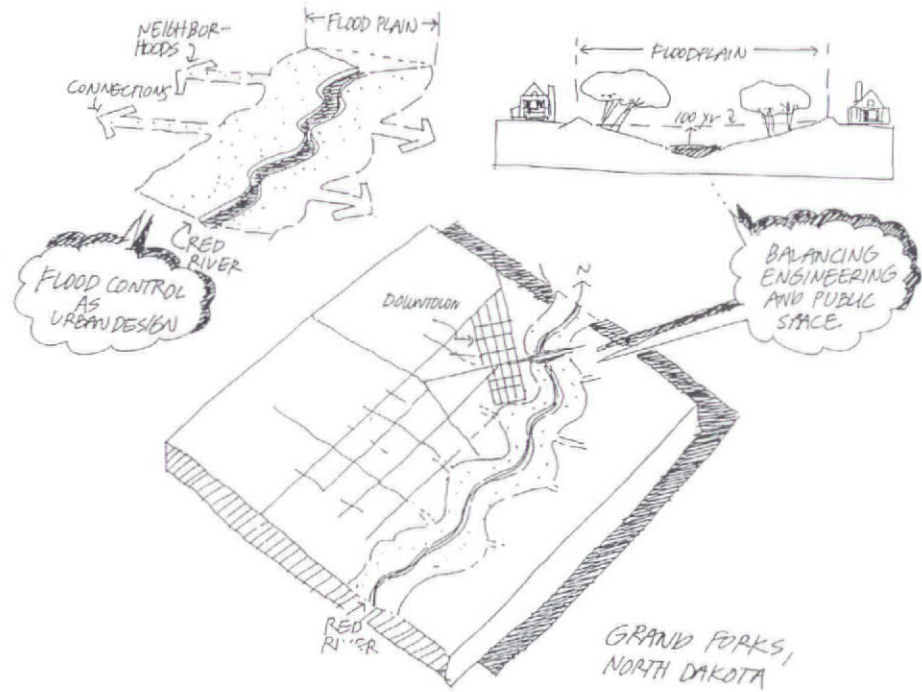
Top: Grand Forks, North Dakota. New infrastructure elements for flood control are being considered not only as an engineering matter but also as elements that can enhance the beauty of the city.

Bottom: Eden Prairie, Minnesota. How can Eden Prairie, which grew up as a suburb, locate and design a new government center and central district?

NEIGHBORHOODS

ELEMENTS

RIVER

THE BLUFFS

MISSOURI RIVER

CIVIC/PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND SPACES

TO OMAHA, NEBRASKA

TOPOGRAPHIC FEATURES

MISSOURI RIVER

DEVELOPING A STRATEGIC VISION

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA
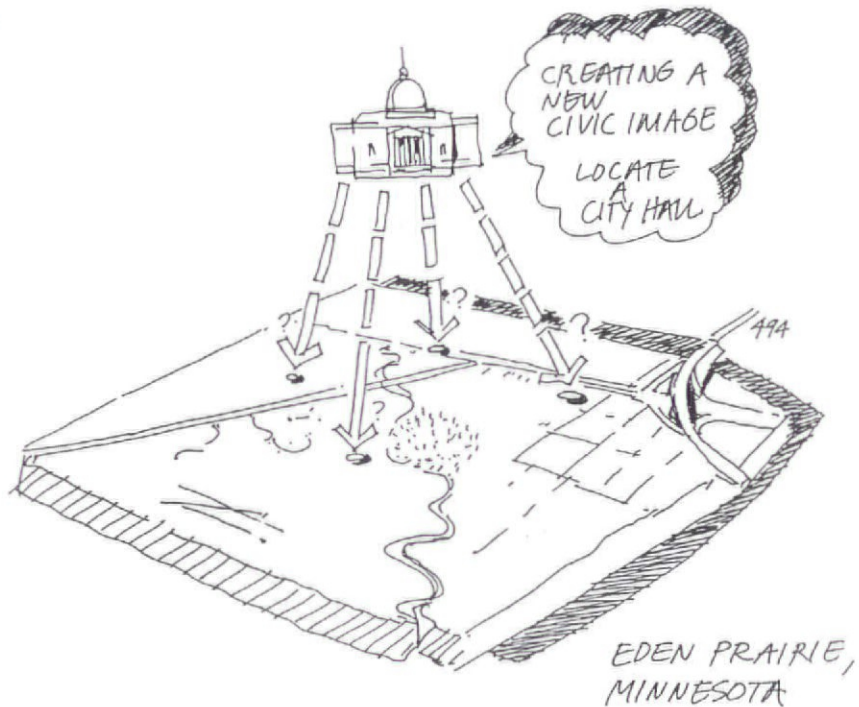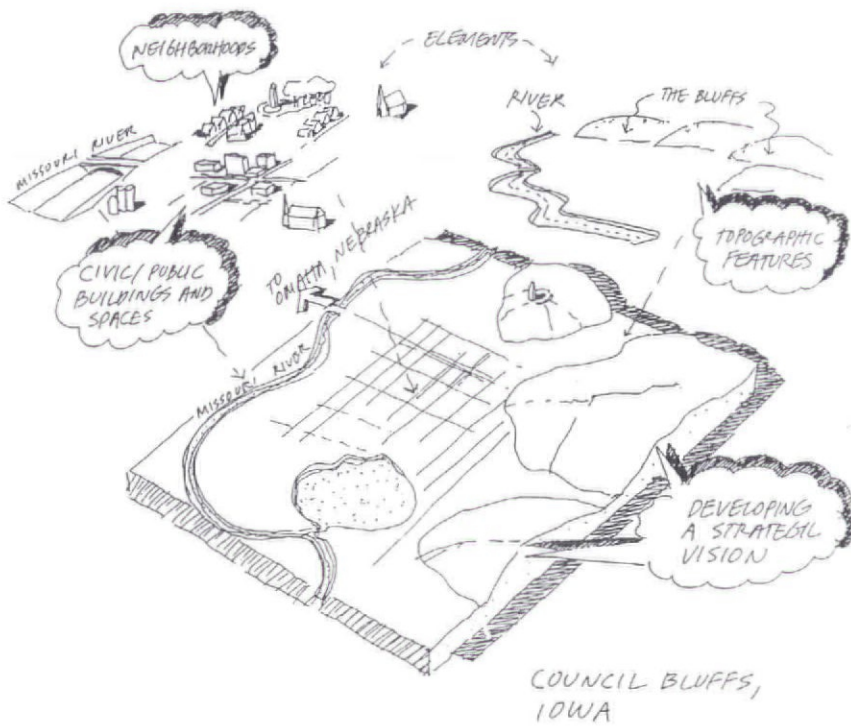
Top: Council Bluffs, Iowa.
The city seeks to preserve and manage its considerable natural scenic resources as well as certain historic landmarks and buildings.

Bottom: Hibbing, Minnesota. Revitalizing Main Street is important because it has always been more than just a cluster of stores. The city's significant landmarks, including its impressive civic buildings, are near Main Street and help create a sense of place.

ANDROY HOTEL

VILLAGE HALL

A COMMERCIAL MAINSTREET

B MAIN CIVIC BUILDINGS

OLD TOWN

HIGH SCHOOL

NEIGHBORHOODS

RECONSIDERING MAINSTREET "COMMERCIAL AND PUBLIC LIFE"

HIBBING, MINNESOTA
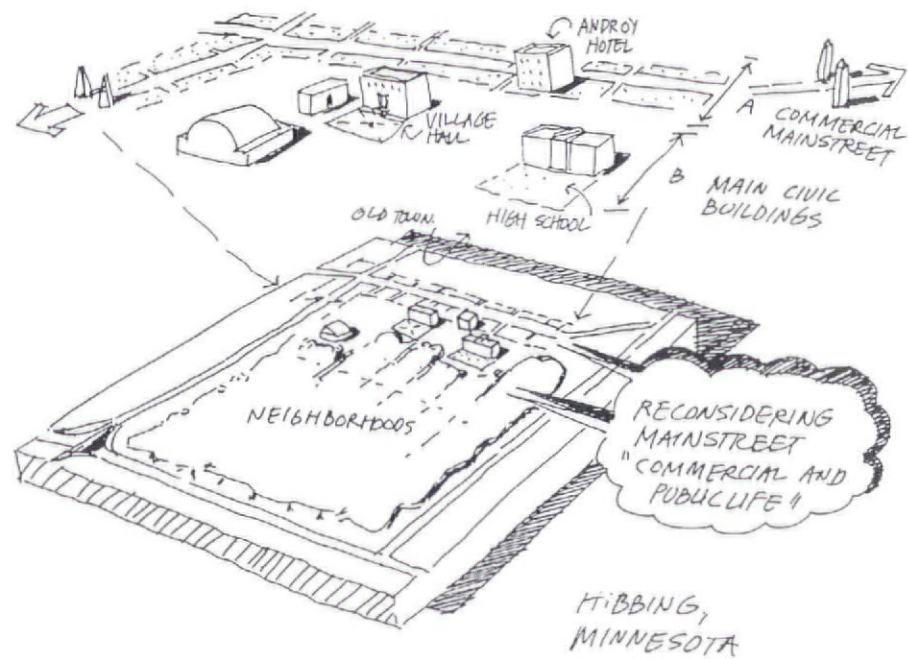
The Mayors' Institute on City Design

A Proposal : Joseph P. Riley, Jr.

Cities are being built and rebuilt. Some of the work is good. Some is terrible. Some is human in scale. Much is not. Some is attractive. Much is ugly. In Europe and in a few places in the U.S., we see attractive, livable human scale, beautifully designed and built cities. In the U.S., this is the exception rather than the rule.

Twenty-five years ago the obituary of the American city was being written. No more. The issue is no longer whether cities are dying but, rather, what kind of cities are being rebuilt. Will they be of human scale, oriented to the people, or ugly, brutal and cold? What can we do to make sure that the development that is occurring in our cities will help create attractive places and that we will be a nation of attractive and livable cities?

I have often said that I am the chief urban designer of my city. By that I mean that because of my position as mayor, I have many opportunities to affect development. Most large development plans come through my office. Almost always, the general support of the mayor is needed. Sometimes specific city approvals, such as variances, are required. Mayors also can be proactive, seeking out and encouraging certain development.

With so many of these projects, there are many pressure points or opportunities to make them better for the city or to allow them to be ordinary or worse. This is the case with most mayors. The more sensitive mayors are to good urban design, issues of livability, scale and diversity, the more willing and able they will be to help develop higher quality. If we could institute a program aimed at increasing mayors' sophistication and interest in urban design, we could have a substantial impact on the quality of development in American cities.

Mayors are very quick studies. They have to be to get elected in the first place. Once elected, depending on the various problems or crises in their city, they can become experts in particular fields. Mayors can become adroit and knowledgeable in urban economic development, in international trade, the arts or public safety, and they can be adroit in urban design. I am not saying that mayors should become architects or landscape architects, but that they should become so interested in and aware of issues of quality urban design that those who would develop in the city begin to expect that they will have to live up to higher standards than before.

To foster this knowledge among mayors, a permanent or annual institute should be developed. It could be named something like "The Mayors' Institute on Urban Design" and held at the University of Virginia. There would be a meeting once a year with a manageable number of mayors invited, say fifteen to thirty. Each year a different group would be invited. Perhaps the institute would invite the mayor and the city planning director. This would be an invitation-only event to make attendance be deemed an honor. An interesting program and curriculum would be developed. Perhaps there could be a function at Monticello, certainly at the Rotunda on the lawn. Efforts would be made to make it not only interesting but also fun.

I recommend the University of Virginia because you are the dean of the School of Architecture, because the campus offers mayors a retreat-like atmosphere surrounded by beautiful and lasting architecture and, most important, because it was designed by a politician, Thomas Jefferson. We would need to invite not only architects, landscape architects and architectural critics, but developers as well, and we would need at least one big name (like Philip Johnson or I.M. Pei) to address the meeting.

It may well be that this is something that I am personally interested in but is not feasible or

The Rotunda, part of the Academic Village designed by Thomas Jefferson, is the heart the University of Virginia campus and the setting for the national Mayors' Institute. Courtesy University of Virginia.

would be of limited appeal to the mayors. It will require substantial energy and commitment, and I imagine we would need to draw support from various public and private institutions, such as the University of Virginia, the National Endowment for the Arts and the United States Conference of Mayors.

I'm convinced that mayors can be catalysts for improving the awareness about and the quality of design in their cities, and hope we can establish a program that will rally them to this cause. *January, 1985*

his political and bureaucratic reputation on the line by becoming deeply involved in design. Each believed that better designed cities made for better citizens and had worked tirelessly, and at some cost, to prove it.

Having worked for six and a half years for Lindsay, I was certain that city design policies could be most effectively guided at the mayoral level. The invitation boldly suggested that mayors, knowingly or not, are cities' most important urban design leaders — so many of the decisions they and their planning directors make have design implications.

The Best Sort of Schooling : Jaquelin Robertson
The history of starts is important to evaluating outcomes.

The genesis of the Mayors' Institute was a symposium, "The Politics of Design," that I organized at the University of Virginia School of Architecture in fall, 1984. The symposium explored, from a politician's viewpoint, the factors that influence the delivery of planning and design services to U.S. cities. Does urban design have an effective popular constituency? What are the necessary requirements for implementing design policies? And what are the political costs or benefits of doing so?

The symposium sought news from the front line. Specifically, it examined the experience of two prominent mayors and a leading development director — John Lindsay of New York, Joseph P. Riley, Jr., of Charleston, S.C., and Edward Logue of New Haven, Boston and New York State's Urban Development Corporation. Each had put

After the symposium, Riley enthusiastically suggested that this kind of forum could be an ongoing institute that could advance our cause throughout the country — other mayors would certainly be interested in attending. His January, 1985, letter testifies both to his understanding of the issues involved and his commitment to acting on his beliefs. With it he became the "godfather" of the Mayors' Institute.

Riley had taken on the regeneration of Charleston, an endangered city when he came to office in 1975, and was incoming head of the U.S. Conference of Mayors; he could speak for and to a broad national constituency. I persuaded Frank Hueford, president of the University of Virginia, to allow future institutes to use the Academic Village. We sought financial support from Adele Chatfield-Taylor, then head of the National Endowment for the Arts Design Program and organizational advice from Joan Abrahamson, a former White House Fellow and Director of the Jefferson

Above and following pages: The Mayors' Institute. Courtesy Daniel S. Grogan.

Institute in California. Thus Joe would bring the politicians, Adele the lolly (and its important imprimatur), Joan a brilliantly practical sense of organization and I, on Jefferson's behalf, the setting — and, I swore, the Founder's blessing.

Joe, Adele, Joan and I agreed on several important shaping premises that set the tone and, I believe, accounted for the Mayors' Institute's initial success. First, each mayor would have to commit for two and a half days; no late arrivals or early departures. Second, they could not bring any advisors. They had to present personally both an

There would be roughly an equal number of mayors as faculty and their presentations would be interspersed — mayors addressing specific problems, resource participants more generic ones. Small groups working on large problems seemed like the most practical first step: an Institute would usually have not more than sixteen participants, the size of Jefferson's ideal learning group and the number around which the Academic Village was organized.

Finally, the meetings would take place in the Rotunda and some of the meals in the pavilions

executive summary of their city (in any format they chose but including maps and postcards, both contemporary and historic) and of the most critical planning and design problem that they faced. Third, there would be no press and, other than NEA staff, student helpers and invited faculty, no audience — no one to grandstand to. This was to be an open, candid and off-the-record discussion among peers who could share problems and prospects with one another.

As resource faculty we agreed to select professionals who had real experience in the politics as well as the design of cities. We wanted veterans with scars. Being in combat is different from merely writing about it and changes one's perspective with respect to what advice is most useful, what policies have the best chance of survival, and how to establish priorities and take political flak. Offsetting this pragmatically inclined group we would seek critics and urbanists who seemed interested in bringing theory and practice together — intellectual activists.

and gardens, all designed by a politician–architect. The participants were to be treated as the VIPs we felt they were so that in their memory the beauty, hospitality and pleasure of pointed informal conversation or a stroll in a garden would meld with the advice about hard problems and underscore the message of the values of the civilizing setting — the very thing we were meeting about.

These opening assumptions helped make the first few institutes different and compelling — very personal, interactive, supportive and, most important, educating to all of us. We were on the right track; the mayors were where it was at and they have blossomed.

The Mayors' Institute has been among the most rewarding and enjoyable professional activities of my life, the early resource faculty among my most valued friends and the mayors a continuing inspiration. It has been the best sort of schooling.

October, 1995

A Progress Report : Joseph P. Riley, Jr.

The Mayors' Institute on City Design has helped change the face of urban America for the better. It has been successful beyond my highest hopes. In more than 200 cities in the U.S., mayors have returned home from the Mayors' Institute as passionate and insightful urban designers. There are new waterfront parks, historic districts, protected skylines, tree-lined thoroughfares, beautiful affordable housing, energetic downtowns, restored residential neighborhoods, more sensitive transportation departments and systems, more human-scaled public buildings in the heart

Joan Abrahamson and others devising the appropriate framework from the beginning. We insisted that the mayors come without staff and present by themselves the urban design problem in their community. This has been enormously important: had we also invited staff such as a city planner or city manager, the mayors would have probably deferred to their experts. Consequently, mayors learn, many for the first time, that they have very good judgment about what should work not only in their city but also other places, and that their judgment is often as solid as the experts. Thus, they go home willing to

of cities rather than on the outskirts, and so much more. The mayors go back and change their cities.

Almost without exception, every mayor who attends the Mayors' Institute will tell you that those were the most valuable three days of their tenure as mayor. And almost without exception they will tell you that after the Mayors' Institute, they never look at their cities the same way again.

Mayors not only go back home to their cities more adept in the principles of good urban design, but they also become leaders in raising the level of public debate about proper physical development in their city. They become comfortable talking publicly about something they realize that they always cared about but did not think was a proper mayoral subject: the importance and need for beauty in their cities.

The concept of the Mayors' Institute has proven to be sound, but its success stems from Jaquelin Robertson, Adele Chatfield-Taylor,

challenge their traffic engineer or city planner, as well as the home town developer whose project is woefully out of scale or planned for the wrong part of the city.

American culture has not been one in which a passion for beauty and quality design in cities has been revered. Since we are the most urban nation in the world, this is a passion that our culture must embrace, and quickly. Because of the Mayors Institute, this passion has now been found in the leaders of cities in all fifty states, in cities of all different sizes and types. The mayors of America have become not only more skilled in the principles of good urban design, many have become their community's most articulate and passionate spokespersons for the quest for beauty in their city. *October, 1995*

Susan S. Weiner

If They Build it

I have always wanted to live in the city, to be an urban dweller.
But for most of my life I couldn't explain why, I didn't have the
language. I couldn't tell you that I wanted to live amid activity;
the comings and goings of commerce and entertainment offer
excitement and a variety and multiplicity of choices. I wanted the
convenience a city offers: driving to its major shopping district,
or using public transit to visit a neighborhood shopping area,

or walking to the local market. And, I wanted the proximity of neighbors: people who share the same excitement and choose to live in a community of similar people – a neighborhood.

A mayor who is faced with rebuilding a part of a city that has been dying for decades must understand principles of urban design – how design contributes to comfortable and successful urban living. The Mayors' Institute on City Design taught me those principles. It gave me the language to enthuse my constituents, to educate them and to encourage them to work together regardless of their separate agendas. And it helped us rebuild our downtown retail corridor, a part of our city that was about to take its last breath.

They Will Come
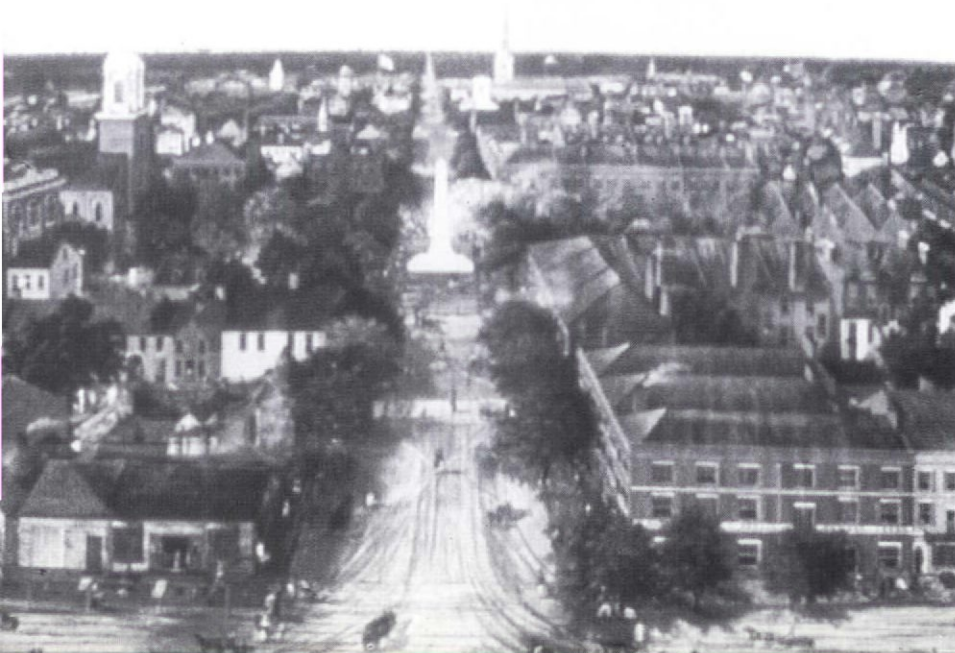
Top: River Street,
downtown Savannah.
Above: Savannah city plan.
Courtesy Metropolitan
Planning Commission.

Savannah, founded in 1733, is the oldest city in the largest state east of the Mississippi. Although the city is 17 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, the Savannah River, our northern boundary, offers remarkable accessibility as a deep water port. Our port, one of the five largest on the east coast, served cotton and rice shipping in the nineteenth century, operates as a container facility now and is home base for the 1996 Olympic yachting events.

Savannah's founder, General James Oglethorpe, created an unusual grid pattern. The city was conceived of as a collection of wards, each anchored by a square of uniform size and unique character. "Trust Lots" for civic and religious buildings were reserved along the squares. Rows of townhouses, built on "Tithing Lots" of equal size, lined most streets. This pattern was repeated into the nineteenth century, with 24 squares ultimately built.

King Cotton provided the wealth that funded the private homes designed by internationally-known architects. And, it was the ladies of Savannah who saved them from burning down. As General Sherman's March to the Sea reached the outskirts of Savannah, her gracious women met him and offered: "We will welcome you, house you, and feed you and your officers. Just promise us two things: Keep your soldiers out, and don't burn us down." That is why Savannah, unlike other Georgia cities,

enjoys two-hundred-plus years of architecture in America's largest historic landmark district.

Today, Savannah has a population of about 140,000 in a metropolitan area of about 250,000. Our unique city plan remains intact; only three streets have been converted for one-way automobile traffic and only one square has been lost. Savannah has been rated one of the most beautiful of America's cities and one of the ten best for pedestrians. That is because our city was designed and built on a human scale.

Savannah's downtown is dominated by its squares and the Trust Lots. Today it serves three distinct populations: approximately 7,000 residents, five million annual visitors (including a brisk convention business) and 14,000 employees in our central business district, which includes numerous government offices, banking and shipping concerns, residences, churches, professional offices and the Savannah College of Art and Design.

Terranomics

By 1991, however, Broughton Street, the city's main downtown commercial corridor, was dying. The first-floor vacancy rate in buildings along Broughton Street approached 40 percent. Many buildings were boarded up and upper floors were vacant; others had lost their original facade designs to renovations during the 1940s and 1950s. The lure of the suburbs, the convenience of parking at shopping malls and the general social decline U.S. inner cities experienced during the previous five decades contributed to the problem.

The city was at a crossroads. Twelve studies commissioned by previous city administrations sat gathering dust. Now a developer, Terranomics, was proposing an ambitious scheme. If, over ten years, the city would commit to a $25 million investment along six blocks on Broughton Street, the developers would spearhead an effort to attract $52 million in private investment from national retailers. The

public investment, more than $4 million per block, would come from the taxpayers' pocketbooks.

The city council debated the proposal intensely; citizen task forces made recommendations and the newspapers published countless letters on the matter. By November, 1991, most of Savannah's citizens were against the proposal and most of the city's political and business leaders were in favor. Adding to the political furor, a municipal election was held that fall. Five new city council members were elected and I, a political newcomer, was elected mayor. The outgoing council decided not to vote on the proposal, leaving the decision to the incoming council.

I was against the Terranomics proposal. Only six blocks of the commercial corridor were included in the plan. The plan called for national retailers who already had a presence in the indoor malls on Savannah's Southside. The proposal only guaranteed one job for a Savannahian. Worst of

all, the city would have to commit and spend its $25 million with no guarantee that the developers would raise their $52 million.

The new council approved the proposal by a 6-3 vote. I was firm in my belief, however, that it was a mistake. And so, for the first time in 48 years, a mayor vetoed a council resolution. The reaction was swift and strong, ranging from "What do you expect from a political newcomer!" to "She's got guts!" to "That's why we elected her and not the 21-year incumbent."

Those who believed that Terranomics was the last and only hope for Broughton Street mounted a political campaign to get the council to override my veto. Once again, the newspaper was full of reports and opinions. But this campaign was unsuccessful; the veto override failed; and the Terranomics proposal was added to the shelf with the other twelve studies to collect dust. It seemed to me that the entire city, including the council members, were looking at me and asking, "Okay, big shot, now what are you going to do?"

The Mayors' Institute on City Design
Lucky for me, soon after the vote I received an invitation to attend the Mayors' Institute. I suspect Charleston Mayor Joseph P. Riley, Jr., a founder of the institute, must have heard the news from Savannah (only ninety miles south of his city,) and taken pity on me. I recognized the invitation as an opportunity to present Broughton Street's problems to experts in planning, architecture, landscape design, housing and transportation — and to find a workable solution that could win the support of Savannah's city council, business leadership and residents.

Out of all of the lessons I learned during those three days, one has been the centerpiece of the Broughton Street revitalization. In a democracy, the "you" (elected officials) are too often pitted against the "they" (residents). The lesson is: "If you build it, they will not come. But if they

Left, center and above:
Broughton Street in 1985.
Courtesy Metropolitan Planning
Commission.
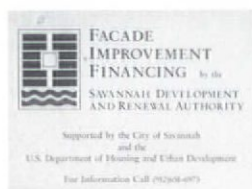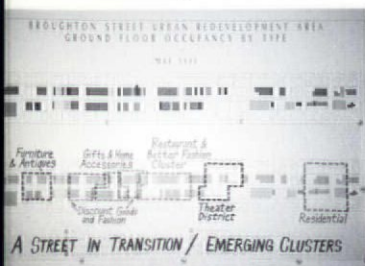
build it, they will come." If they (the residents, property owners, retailers and others) decide on, design and direct the street's revitalization to fit their needs, then they will use it.

My first step was to present this lesson to the city council. The council members were skeptical. I realized I had to build public support for my ideas. So we sponsored a city design institute for Savannah itself, bringing eight experts and more than 500 residents together in our civic center for a day of learning.

A city planner, architect, landscape architect, housing specialist and Mayors' Institute regional coordinator gave presentations during the morning. They showed slides and films and drew pictures on an overhead projector, teaching the principles of planning and urban design. After lunch, leaders from the many constituencies concerned about Broughton Street offered their perspectives on the problems: inappropriate zoning, lack of racial diversity, lack of upper-story housing, lack of citizen input, poor public transit facilities (parking and bus routes) and crime. They asserted the absolute need to maintain the status of our historic landmark district, through which Broughton Street traverses.

Displays of the previous 13 plans were mounted in the civic center lobby. By lunch time, citizens could be heard reviewing the studies and explaining why each was not a workable solution, because of how they did not use the basic principles of urban design just presented. By the end of the day, citizens were discussing the problems to be overcome, problems of which they had not been aware before.

The Development and Renewal Authority

City Council agreed to form the Savannah Development and Renewal Authority under an act of the state legislature. SDRA's mission is twofold. First, it conducts and carries out master planning activities for downtown Savannah (restricting SDRA's authority to only Broughton Street would

inhibit its success). Second, it seeks to improve the economic climate throughout downtown Savannah, with special emphasis on Broughton Street. The legislative charter gave SDRA the powers it needed to pursue thos missions, powers to which only an authority enacted by the state has access.

The authority is governed by board with 25 members, who are appointed by the council. The board is not a blue-ribbon panel of business interests; rather, it includes men and women who represent the diversity of our city, geographically, ethnically and professionally. Members of its technical advisory committee (local experts, including developers, architects and city staff) attend all meetings but do not have a vote. SDRA is supported by three employees: a director, assistant and secretary. SDRA opened its office on Broughton Street, renting the first floor of a newly renovated building.

SDRA does not have final authority in the spending of city funds; that is a power delegated to City Council. Otherwise, SDRA is autonomous, recommending funding packages to the council and implementing those programs funded. SDRA also raises private funds to support certain initiatives.

SDRA began operations in May, 1993, initiating several strategies to stimulate investment on Broughton Street. The authority formed relationships with all the property owners and merchants on the street, developed a centralized inventory of properties, worked with commercial Realtors to market the properties, established a low-interest loan program to stimulate historically appropriate facade renovations and identified opportunities for retail and service businesses. SDRA also began to coordinate improved street cleanliness and holiday promotions and implemented a plan for parking improvements.

Within its first twenty-four months of operation, SDRA has produced impressive results. The street's first-floor occupancy is up to 80 percent; a net gain of nineteen new businesses have created

Before-and-after images of typical renovation and facade improvement projects on Broughton Street. Courtesy SDRA.
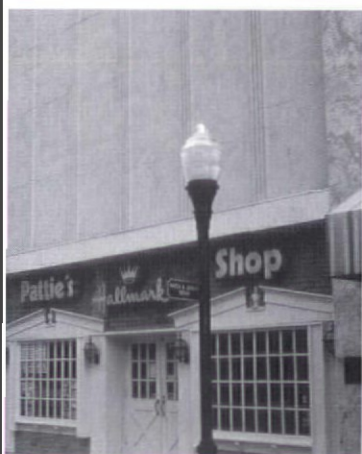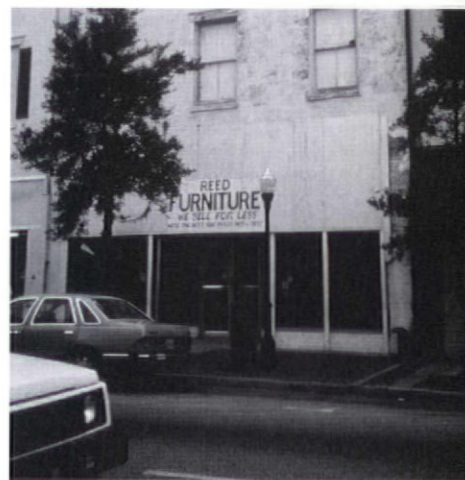
Right: City Lights Theatre, renovated in 1995. Courtesy SDRA.
Far right: Downtown Savannah. Courtesy Georgia Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism.
Below: Broughton Street today. Courtesy SDRA.
Oposite Page: The Firehouse Restaurant, renovated in 1994. Courtesy SDRA.
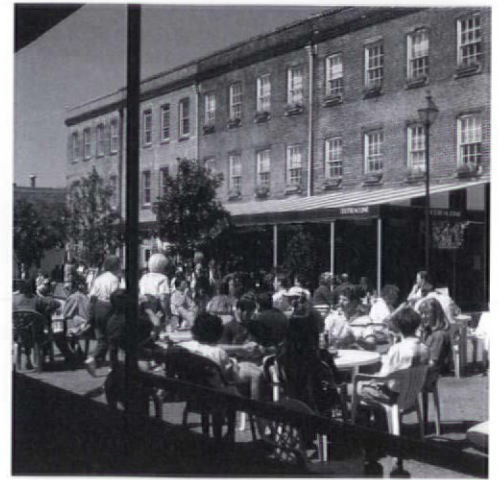
221 net, new jobs. Twenty-two building renovation projects have generated $4.5 million in private investment, with ten properties being acquired. Apartments and residential loft spaces have been created on upper floors and zoning ordinances changed to allow this mixed use.[1] The citizens of Savannah have seen more than $8 of private investment for every $1 of public investment from SDRA. It has worked: they have built it, and they are using it.

The next priority is parking, a complex and difficult problem given our downtown's need to support residents, visitors and employees within a city plan of squares. The first phase of SDRA's parking recommendations has been approved; a 450-space garage within one block of Broughton Street broke ground in 1995. Other components currently under way are design guidelines for renovation and a business retention and recruitment program.

Local government, the business community (tourism, retail and services) and the residents of downtown Savannah have formed a successful partnership. The community now has the responsibility, the authority and the resources to decide, design and direct this renewal effort. Today in Savannah, the city council is not telling our residents and tax-paying property owners what to do; they are telling us.

Because of this, and because of the lessons the Mayors' Institute offered me, Broughton Street is breathing. Its sidewalks are full of shoppers and visitors; restaurants of all varieties have sprung up; a cluster of shops selling antiques, furniture and home accessories is firmly established. A restored theater district is emerging. This success story has only begun; three decades of decay cannot be undone in two years. But the approach has been determined, the citizens are in charge and I have no doubt that the success will continue.

Donlyn Lyndon

re.

The presentations made by mayors at the Mayors Institute on City Design are testimony to the powers of place. These elected officials are people who care deeply for the places in which they live, who know that community character plays an important role in the lives of their citizens. None suggested that a city was admirable because it was indistinguishable from others, none offered testimony for anomie and placelessness.

placing
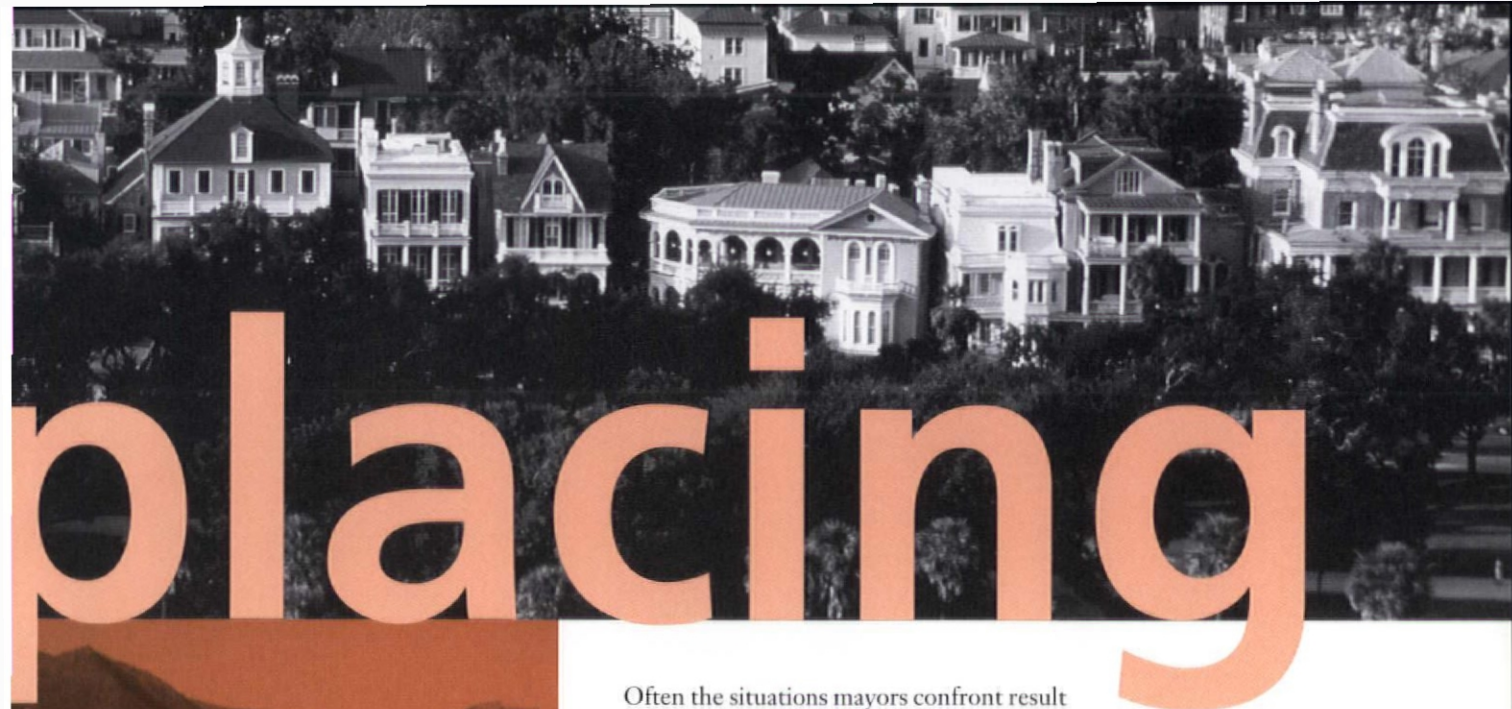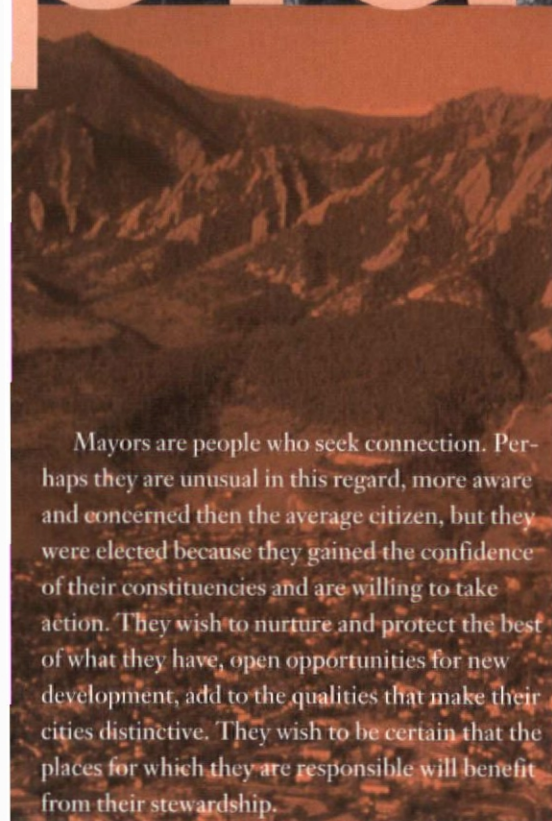
Mayors are people who seek connection. Perhaps they are unusual in this regard, more aware and concerned then the average citizen, but they were elected because they gained the confidence of their constituencies and are willing to take action. They wish to nurture and protect the best of what they have, open opportunities for new development, add to the qualities that make their cities distinctive. They wish to be certain that the places for which they are responsible will benefit from their stewardship.

Many of the problems mayors bring to the Mayors' Institute involve replacing something about their community that has been lost: main streets that have been abandoned in favor of outlying shopping centers, manufacturing districts that no longer have viable industries, waterfronts that have experienced a succession of uses and are now little more than wasteland, places to gather that no longer function as community meeting places, streets that are no longer pleasant to walk on. These together lead to a loss of identity, to the absence of any distinct character in the city that can be recognized and nurtured as a source of community pride and identity.

Often the situations mayors confront result from changing economic conditions — conditions that are altering the ways in which we live, work, exchange goods and conduct business. These changes are often exacerbated by the translation of real estate, which is rooted in locale, into mortgage assets and leases that are transferable, held by parties completely remote from and disinterested in local concerns. Several mayors brought problems resulting from redevelopment programs, intended to attract investment and tax dollars; the programs, however, proved to be overscaled and inappropriate, adding to the community's sense of loss and dislocation rather than contributing to its sense of well-being. Still other issues stem from narrowly focussed efforts to solve specific problems, often ignoring the very complex web of relationships inherent in city form.

The problems are endemic, but there are ways to overcome them. Many remedies have been suggested by Mayors' Institute participants, remedies that are cast in the particulars of the place being discussed. Here I will gather some observations, gleaned through discussions at the national and regional institutes held over the last decade, into some common themes. These are ways not only to replace qualities that have been lost, but also to re-place projects in their context, people in their communities, cities in their landscapes. They are valuable not only for mayors, but for all those who take part in the commissions, workshops, meetings and debates that accompany change.

Re-placing strategies should respond to the multiple layers of structure — architectural, urban and landscape.
Far left: French Quarter, New Orleans. © Neil Alexander.
Above: Charleston, S.C. Courtesy South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism.
Left: Boulder, Colo. Courtesy Boulder Convention and Visitors Bureau.

Santa Barbara, Calif., is remarkable for the consistency of its urban spaces as well as the architectural style of its buildings. Courtesy Santa Barbara Conference and Visitors Bureau.
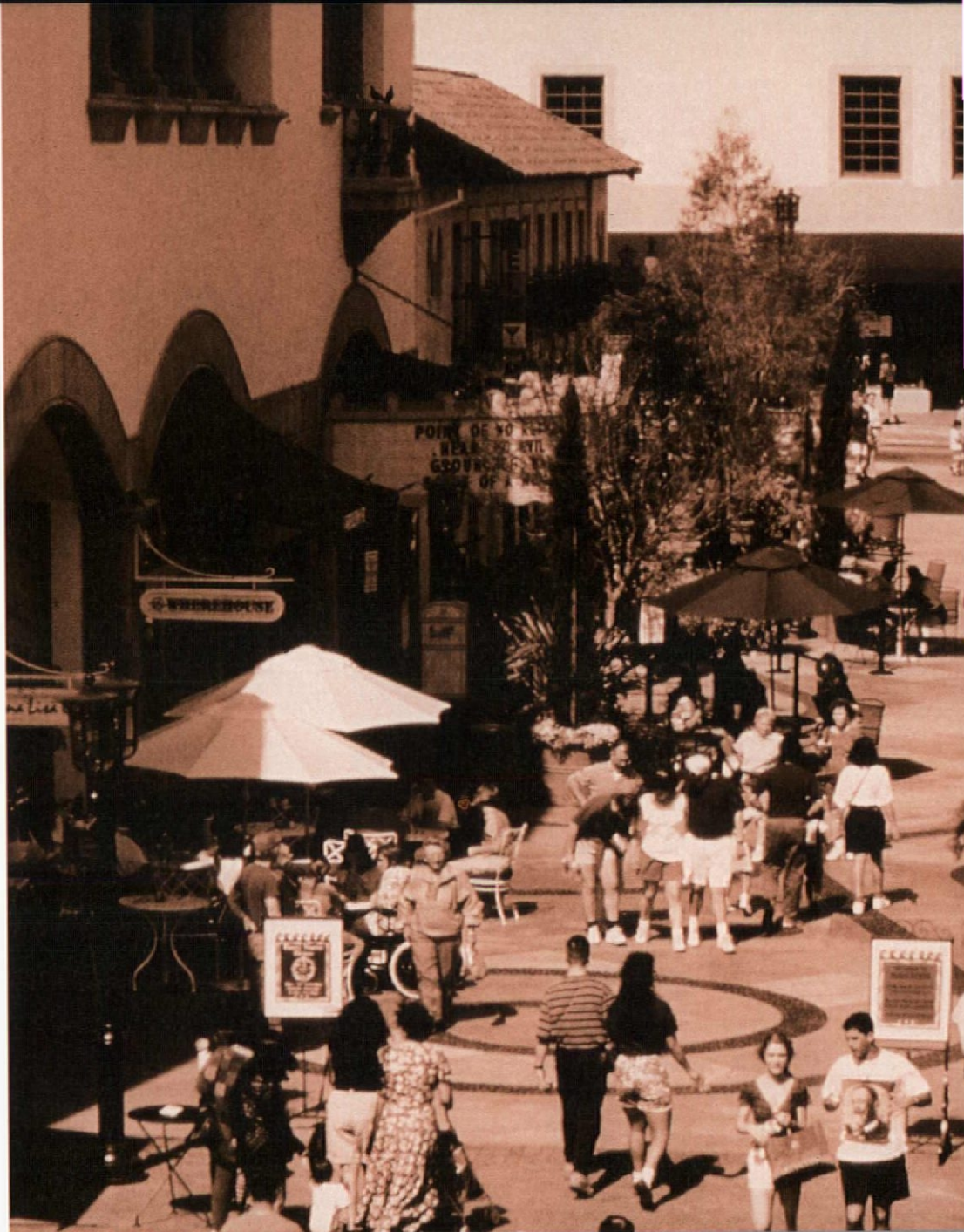
Oakland, California Downtown's Patient Progress

Oakland's downtown, long held hostage to the anticipation that it could ultimately attract a great shopping center to its heart, has finally overcome the mesmerizing fascination of that prospect. The city is recovering its downtown in an incremental fashion and devising

ways to extend the benefits of government rebuilding into surrounding areas.

For many years the center of Oakland had a huge hole designated to become a megaretail center. Finally, in a change of strategy, the city took a measured approach. First, it supported a modest, small-scale complex of retail, office and public spaces adjacent to one of its downtown BART rapid transit stations. Then it lured a large, attractive federal building (with ground-floor retail front-

age and a glass atrium) to the edge of that complex, and a state office building next to that.

Most recently, the city has committed its own (earthquake induced) office expansion to the creation of a civic center that respects the cadence and character of the surrounding downtown district, in part by restoring a historic office building that serves as a visual landmark for the key downtown intersection.

In his presentation to MICD: West, Mayor Elihu
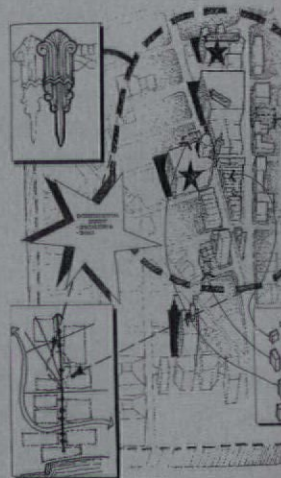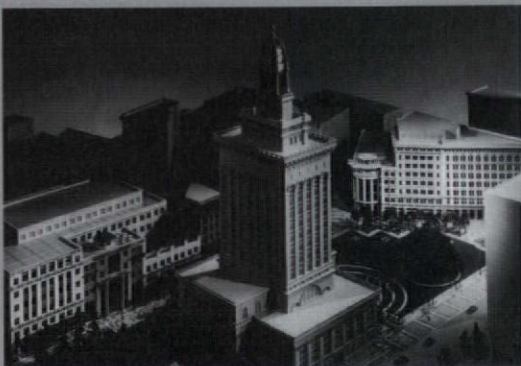
Re-Placing

The charge for the leadership of the city is to pay sufficient attention to both the needs of new enterprises and the qualities that have created value in the city in the first place — then to set the ground for continuing evolution. To remain healthy, cities need to respond effectively to new challenges while remaining firm in their commitment to creating good places, places that nurture and support responsible citizenship, places where people love to be.

To ensure that the best qualities of a place are conserved and extended, the citizens, staff and leadership of a city must require that new uses are fit carefully and strategically within the city fabric. New projects must be connected to what is presently there — re-placed, not just inserted — developed in sympathy with the way that citizens have thought about the place. They must give new impetus to historic patterns or sometimes substitute whole new patterns in a way that is considerate of the present and previous structure.

In the fabric of the city itself there should be a steady insistence on its most essential, characterizing aspects. These may be a particular style of building, as in Santa Barbara, a network of discernible relationships and careful details, as in Savannah, or a distinct relation to the natural landscape, as in Bozeman, Montana, whose mayor described the city's structure almost entirely in terms that related to the experience of the grand and beautiful landscape around it.

The terms of these relations are often fragile. Only by informed and persistent attention to the decisions that make up a city does a true sense of place emerge and hold the imagination of its citizens. Through their constant attention, mayors become designers of the cities entrusted to their care.

Case study images:
Left: Proposed civic center, with new construction to the left, the rehabilitated city hall in the center and the addition to the Broadway building on the right. Courtesy C.W. Fentriss and J.H. Bradburn Associates.
Center: Summary sketch of opportunities in downtown Oakland. Courtesy MICD: West.
Below: City Center, a retail and office complex, was the first step in reviving Oakland's downtown. Courtesy Oakland Convention Bureau.

Harris highlighted his concern for finding a strategy that would extend outward the new energies being brought into downtown, particularly along two main streets, Broadway and Telegraph Avenue. Such plans could use to advantage the area's remarkable heritage of terra-cotta commercial buildings and the uniquely distinguished, Art Deco Paramount and Fox Theatres.

The discussion centered on finding incremental strategies for change rather than counting on still

another version of the previously hoped for megaproject. This mall, with five department stores, would have combined renovation with new construction, so the city had not undertaken demolition in the area.

Thus this extended district has considerable resources with which to work: a BART stop in its midst, a mix of building sizes that allow for differing forms of initial investment, existing businesses (inlcuding a department store), cultural program-

ming in the restored Paramount Theatre, a new pair of ice-skating rinks brought in by the redevelopment agency and the new development energy the office initiatives bring.

Oakland has set the stage for a gradual but effective change in the vitality of these downtown spaces along the traditional spine of the city.

Charleston's waterfront park connects to the city by reflecting the adjacent street structure in its circulation plan. A range of spaces — from a busy promenade to an adventursome fountain to a quiet allee — serve as settings for many different activities. Designers: Sasaki Associates, Cooper-Robertson and Partners. Above photo courtesy Donlyn Lyndon; inset plan and opposite page photos courtesy Sasaki Associates.

## Reintroduce the Structure of the Place to its Inhabitants

Cities are great reservoirs of understanding, full of messages waiting to be deciphered by casual observation as well as by strict analysis and interpretation. The spaces and buildings of cities and the activities and relationships they support have formed the underlying matrix for cultural development and everyday life. Places remain powerful sources of binding experience, reference points around which people can share common understandings.

Cities should insist that change take a form that can be assimilated into the city's understanding of itself. But people who have lived in a place for a long time have often become so fully used to existing patterns and uses that they are no longer conscious of the essential elements that give character to that place. This makes it difficult for them to see opportunities for change, to recognize actions that may be destructive and to give priority to essential factors that they wish to hold constant.

Conversely, in many quickly growing areas there is a rapidly changing population and little developed understanding of the place. General

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Taking Responsibility for Rebuilding
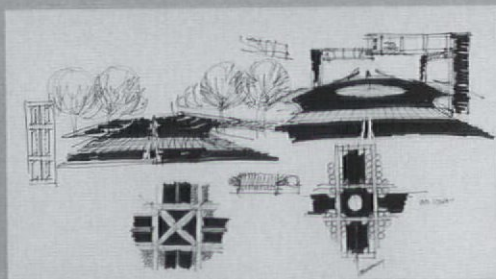
It would have been understandable had Mayor Ronald Norick canceled his trip to the Mayors' Institute last April. Days before, a bomb had destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in his city. The blast killed 169 people, injured hundreds and damaged more than 300 buildings.

But Norick honored his commitment. He came away with inspiration for a community-based planning process to help the area recover, and a promise of support from Samina Quraeshi, director of the NEA's design program.

The Murrah building was situated at the north edge of downtown. Before the disaster, this was a fringe area, zoned for industrial uses and occupied by offices, small shops and parking. After the blast, the area experienced severe decline; businesses closed or moved because of building damage and took away customers from businesses that remained. Clearly, the rebuilding process would require a new way of looking at the area.

In May, the NEA sent a fact-finding team of design professionals; the consensus from these meetings was to launch an inclusive planning process that would engage the energies and talents of the local design community, business owners and citizens.

"It took outside perspective to say, 'You have talent and we can help you with more.' We were in such a constant crisis that we didn't take time to think through those steps," recalls Jackie Jones, executive director of the Arts Council of Oklahoma City. The team's visits and the subsequent planning effort were hosted by the Arts Council, the city's planning department and Second Century/Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority.

Citizen volunteers (including designers and area property owners) were organized into six "district teams," each focusing on a specific area of North Downtown. For three weeks, they examined the issues, discerned opportunities and
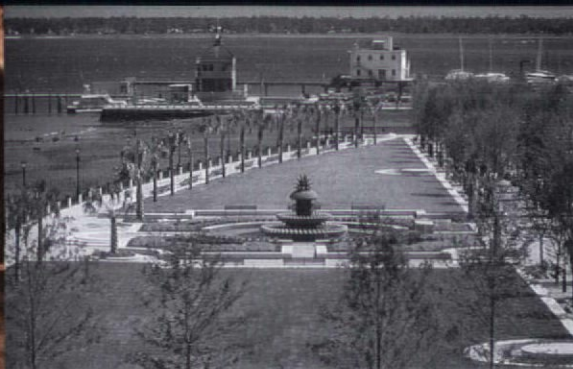
marketing images found in the media may be more familiar to incoming residents than the city's actual form, landscape or climate; traditional values may not be a part of any living understanding of the place.

To ensure that the city develops in a coherent fashion, that each of its parts builds towards a larger whole, it is necessary to build public understanding of the city's various parts, the ways in which they relate to each other and the resources already invested there. This requires a long, ambitious and continuous public education process, one that can likely only take place in segments, with neighborhoods and interest groups providing the initial impetus.

Structured properly, the processes of planning can themselves become an extended education program for the city. Walking tours, surveys, participation workshops and invited lecturers all can be utilized in shaping issues, focusing attention on the qualities of the place and inviting people to care about — not simply accept or ignore — the conditions of the city. Often there are rich

resources at hand; extensive collections of historical photographs, maps that are stored in city archives and, most importantly, citizens and professionals who are committed to building a broader understanding of the roots of the community and the various ways it might see its future. Cities do well to capture the devotion of these people, encourage their coordination and open opportunities for education, deliberation and debate.

Mayors can play an essential leadership role in bringing issues to public consciousness, but often feel hesitant to enter an arena that has been delegated to planners and design professionals. Frequently mayors, who know their cities well, have mentioned that the Mayors' Institute sessions have helped them to trust their own intuitions and introduced them to a language for communicating about design issues, which they previously had difficulty discussing. Several mayors returned to their cities and set up similar case review and discussion sessions, some involving city staff, some involving the general public.

Far left, below: Proposals for Broadway Avenue redesign. Center: Citizens' proposals on public view in July. Photos by David Fitzgerald, courtesy National Endowment for the Arts.

explored concepts to rebuild the area. In July, the national design panel reconvened and synthesized the "district teams" ideas into both early actions and long-term plans.

Shortly after the bombing, the federal government allocated Oklahoma City $39 million in emergency community development funds,

and the planning process established a framework for how to spend the money, planning director Garner Stoll said. About half will be spent stabilizing or demolishing damaged buildings, half on long-term capital improvements.

One idea generated by a district team, the redesign

of Broadway Avenue, will be the first project to receive funding. A longer term goal will be to develop entertainment activities that build on the street's "Automobile Alley" image, such as a cruise night or outdoor movies.

"The process brought together people who wouldn't have otherwise met each other," Stoll remarked. "Property owners got to know local designers, and as the federal money comes in, hire them to do the work. They were all part of the workshop and sympathetic
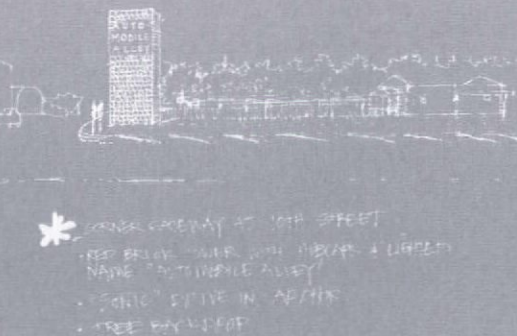
to it, and can help the property owners understand why it is a good idea to follow the recommendations."

"What this workshop did for many of us was give us permission to look for-

ward instead of backwards," Jones concluded. "That was really critical at that time for this city. Not without respect, but we had to take responsibility for rebuilding."
— Todd W. Bressi

Cooper Road

Create water shrine educational oasis

Large pond expansion with able free pattern

Power lines potential he...

Possible model for irrigation farm

Looking towers

Link bikeway trails, greenways, parks and canal to expanded sewage treatment plant

These ponds recycle water

The Gilbert groundwater recharge ponds serve many purposes

Why are these ponds here?

These ponds are part of a system to reuse the Town of Gilbert's reclaimed wastewater. Treated wastewater is piped into the ponds and seeps into the ground to refill the underground water supply, or aquifer. The ponds also provide a home, or habitat, for wildlife.

Who built these ponds?

The Town of Gilbert constructed the ponds. Volunteers planted the trees and shrubs, constructed nest and roost boxes, and designed the shade structure. Heritage Grant funds from the Arizona Game & Fish Department were used to help pay for the design and materials for the wildlife habitat features. More information is available at the viewing ramada, accessible from the Post station. Follow the red arrows on this map to get there.

Sewage Plant

Western Canal

Potential recreational, educational and environmental value

Unincorporated farm area

Western Canal

Old downtown

Canal

Freestone Park

Southern Pacific Railroad

Gilbert Road

City Hall

Canal

Section along canals

ert riparian woodlands are rare,
but rich in wildlife

Establishing Connections to the Larger Natural Environment

Time and again people lose sight of the natural features that have formed their cities. Often, the natural characteristics of a place have been so important to its growth and expansion that they have been inundated by growth and submerged in construction.

Mayors often come to the institute seeking advice about recovering their cities' sense of connection to the water. Many cities were founded in proximity to creeks, rivers or harbors, but these waterfronts have very often become neglected or abused. Usually the purposes for which the waterfront is useful have changed entirely. Places that once were landing, launching and hauling areas, zones for stevedores, truckers and fishermen, are now being designated recreation spots, with lunching, jogging and cycling or simply quiet contemplation, as the primary engines for change.

The management of water, its distribution as a resource and its reclamation from wastes, was once relegated to the status of an unconscious utility. But now it requires conscious choices, which can contribute to the overall development of the city. Many mayors bring cases having to do with the management of water resources — from

Tulsa, Okla., where the use of a floodplain for recreational purposes is being debated, to Gilbert, Ariz., where the treatment and disposition of sewage effluent has become a tool for the development of recreational areas and places for wildlife observation and education.

More subtly, the inherent structure of the land has been often been obscured by filling wetlands and hollows or cutting hills, making it difficult to understand the natural and human history of the place. Wetlands are an essential part of the ecological conditions that support wildlife habitat and they provide means for absorbing runoff in periods of high flow. Creek restoration and wetlands preservation are becoming part of the repertoire of city design — albeit sometimes with talk of restoration that seems altogether improbable, and of mitigations that are, at best, contrived.

Programs that pursue natural resource protection and enhancement can be a powerful tool for city design. However, when left to develop according to single-purpose criteria they can be as limiting as single-minded economics — inhibiting, rather than encouraging the creative incorporation of landscape factors into patterns that restore a sense of wholeness to the place.

Gilbert, Ariz., sought to couple the expansion of its sewage plant with educational and recreational activities. New recharge ponds include interpretive exhibits, and possibilities for a demonstration irrigation projects and for linkages with nearby canals and greenways were noted by the Mayors' Institute resource team. Drawings courtesy MICD: West, posters courtesy City of Gilbert.

Del Carlo Court, multifamily housing in San Francisco. Designer: Solomon Architects and Planners. Courtesy Christopher Irion.

Case study illustrations:
Right: Reading study area, courtesy MICD: East.
Far right: Reading Outlet Center. Penn-Lyn Studio, courtesy Bucks County Visitors Bureau.

Finding Consistencies

Citizens construct their sense of place through thousands of daily interactions, the conscious memories of which attach themselves to surprisingly few landmarks and events. Instead, people's sense of belonging to a place is grounded in the ubiquitous relationships among buildings — their frequency and position, their materials and form of construction, the character of their faces and the entries they turn to the public way — and to the layout and design of the roads, paths and landscapes that thread through the city.

When there is consistency in these elements and relationships, it is easier for people to form memories and to recognize common interests; it is more likely that these elements will attract allegiences and set the stage for continued development. Main streets, both the Disney and the "main streets" program versions, demonstrate the hold that a consistent (not strictly repetitive) pattern of buildings and streetscape can have on the imaginations of those who live in a place. Vigorously designed buildings from the past can also play a large role in determining city form, triggering concepts and emotions that can be shared, marking out reference points in the structure of the city.

Many cases that mayors have brought to the institutes involve the reuse of valued buildings. These buildings often serve as a good rallying point for change, allowing the affections that have developed around historic structures to spread to their surroundings and to set standards for the nature of what should be adjoining. With an example of genuinely significant design as the core element of an area, it is easier for communities to see the need for and to demand suitably scaled and carefully designed buildings.

Buildings that play a very significant role in defining the structure of the city and carry the memory of its history deserve uses that embellish their presence. Appropriate use is a judgment call, however, and is sometimes contentious, pitting concerns for preservation against claims for entrepreneurial vision.

We live in circumstances different than those that produced almost any building that is a candidate for historic preservation. There are, however, constancies in type of use and purpose that extend well beyond any given time period, and there

Reading, Pennsylvania The Outlets and The Center

Reading, Pa., has a gift for adjusting its economy to changing times. During the Revolutionary War, it prospered as a maker of cannons and rifles. Decades later, the Reading Railroad thrived as a leading shipper of the vast coal deposits to the north. In the 1900s, Reading emerged as an early center of automobile manufacturing. And in recent years its service sector, led by engineering, finance and insurance operations, has boomed.

Perhaps the brightest spot in Reading's economy is its role as a regional factory outlet center, attracting more than 12 million shoppers every year. Like the mayor of any city that draws so many visitors, Mayor Warren Haggarty Jr. wonders how outlet shoppers can be drawn to other activities in Reading — particularly downtown.

Many of Reading's outlets are located in renovated factory buildings barely a half mile, but a world away, from downtown. Most shoppers arrive by bus or car and do little walking beyond the outlets. Even if they made it downtown, they'd find a struggling retail district whose main street is lined with vacant lots — a legacy of decades of redevelopment failures.

The resource team made several suggestions about how to move shoppers around the city. One idea was to establish a bus or trolley route between the outlets and downtown; the vehicles could run on existing streets. Another was to establish low-cost or free "shopper parking" downtown and shuttle people from there to the outlets. Any transit link, the mayor was advised, should be as direct and convenient as possible.

Actions aimed at reinvigorating downtown should be considered in a broad context, the team cautioned. For example, a proposed civic center and hotel could be a catalyst, but its design should relate to the rest of the city. It should be pedestrian friendly with multiple entrances along Penn Street; it
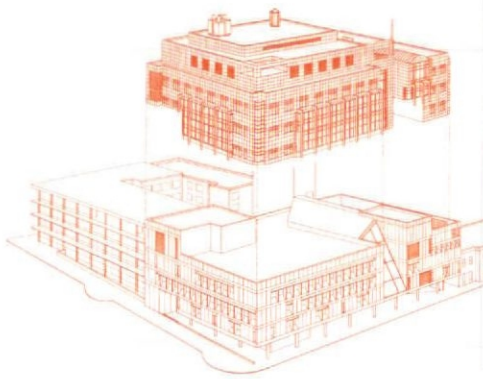
should be a serious search for uses that require similar dimensions, take advantage of the design elements incorporated in the building and can be suitably supportive to neighboring activities.

The retention of appropriate use and form in significant buildings is also of great importance to maintaining the structure of the city fabric — the cadence established by street intersections, building entries, the size of structures and the network of open spaces and vegetation that runs through the city and determines much of its character.

In case after case, mayors present problems created by changes in the location and size of roads or the rerouting of fundamental transportation patterns so they privilege through traffic. Such actions tear apart the equilibrium of places and call forth new patterns of movement and ways of building that are not appropriate for their location. Walter Kulash, elsewhere in this issue, discerns a growing sense among traffic engineers and transportation planners that they must balance the goal of maximum traffic flow with other objectives in order to create effective and pleasurable streets.

Streets are not the only public infrastructure that must be carefullly considered. The provision of lighting, utilities and communication systems, the disposition of sewage and storm water — the facilities required to support the life of the place — all need attention. Re-placing means equipping the area for the lives that will be lived there and making advantage of each act of construction to add to the qualities of the place.

Left to its own devices each city agency, like an individual corporation, will take action on its own terms, oblivious of larger opportunities for coordination. Streets will be resurfaced even while plans are being considered for their reconfiguration; trees will be brutally trimmed for maintenance convenience in areas where their shade and form are essential to the creation of handsome public ways. Mayors and city managers must take decisive action to bring the various agencies of government together, to reclaim purposeful control over all the actions of the city and put all capital investments, even of the most modest sort, to work in building a cohesive place.

The expansion of the Joslin Diabetes Center in Boston involved adding new space on top of an existing facility, establishing a new lobby and internal courtyard, and relocating clinic space to a streetfront. These changes clarified and intensified the structure of the area. Designers and engineers: Ellenzweig Associates; LeMessurier Consultants; BR+A/Bard, Rao + Athans Consulting Engineers; R.W. Sullivan Engineers. Photos: Steve Rosenthal.

should include other compatible uses along its front, avoiding the blank facade typical of such buildings; nearby activities should include restaurants and retail.

General studies of and policies for physical form and land use should set the framework for development at all scales. For example, the city should study the development potential of every downtown block under the current zoning, then determine where specialized public spaces should be located. In general, downtown should not try to directly compete with the outlets but rather offer something that complements the outlets such as restaurants or specialty retail. Dense development of housing and mixed use should be encouraged throughout the area, the team urged.

Signifcant visual elements of downtown, such as the historic Astor Theater, across the street from the proposed civic center, should be key components of the strategy. The vacant theater could be used as a neighborhood movie house or a dinner theater. Other suggestions included preserving the theater's facade and using it as an atrium for an office building or entrance to an interior shopping arcade; and restoring the marquee of the theater to give image to the project.
— *Matthew Bell, Siddhartha Sen*
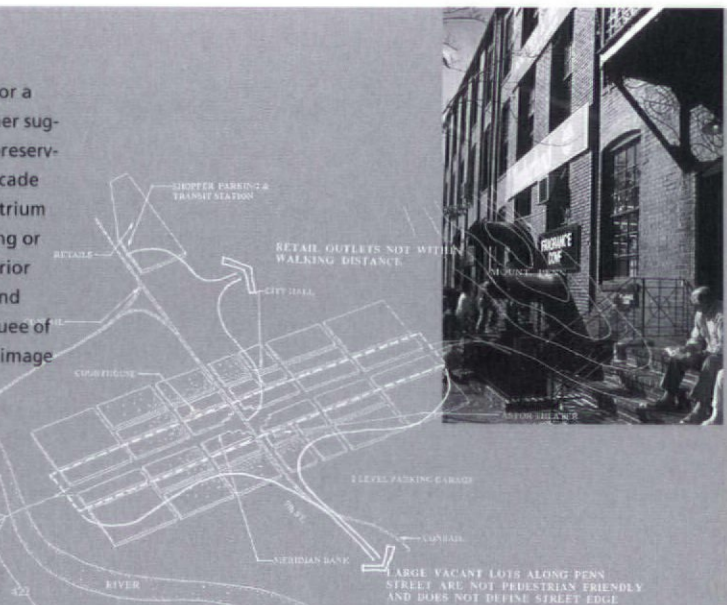
The murals in San Diego's Chicano Park enliven the areas under an elevated freeway. Left to right: *Los Niños del Mundo*, by Gato Felix; *Colossus*, by Mario Torero; and *Tree of Life*, by Felipe Adame, Guillermo Aranda, Guillermo Rosete and Vidal Aguirre.

Locating New Centers of Vitality

Perhaps the most difficult challenge for mayors is to nurture and encourage the kinds of imagination that will bring new life and energy to the city. Cities are evolving entities; they cannot reflect only their past. Buildings and public spaces need to support the places of which they are a part; they need also to bring new vitality into the city — contribute to, not merely enhance, its heritage. Traces of genuinely imaginative vision are neces-

sary for future interest in a community.

Bringing people into an area that has been neglected or abandoned is often difficult, but it is one of the most essential strategies for inducing vitality. At first this may be through holding special events; festivals, markets, walks and information sessions. Most effectively this will include the location of simple civic structures that focus public interest, such as the Public Boat House in Burlington, Vermont. Many cities have also used the

Richmond, California   Preserving and Transforming a Factory

Right: Ford Motor Assembly Plant. Courtesy MICD: West. Far right: The plant and the surrounding harborfront. Courtesy Ted Schroder Aerial Photography; Richmond Redevelopment Agency.

The former Ford factory in Richmond was built in 1938, very possibly in anticipation of the impending wartime mobilization. It sits on the most dramatic site along the north end of San Francisco Bay, adjacent to what was to become the astonishingly large and productive Kaiser shipyards.

The influx of war workers into the area permanently transformed the nature of the city and its demographics, leaving a permanent legacy of underemployment after the shipyards and the

factory were closed. Much of the waterfront edge of the former shipyards has been transformed into fenced and isolated islands of upscale rental and condominium housing and a marina, cut off from the rest of the city.

The plant sits alone on its point with the Richmond harbor to the west and a large potential park to the east. The challenge Mayor Rosemary Corbin brought was to find a suitable use for this great but isolated building, which now belongs to the city, was damaged in the 1989

earthquake and has FEMA funds designated for reconstruction. The building, designed by Albert Kahn, is a fine example of sawtooth clerestory-lighted industrial architecture, with a long, dignified facade facing the port facilities on the harbor and a more randomly configured east facing wall that was used for unloading and loading trains that pulled up next to the building.

Recommendations for the mayor included developing transportation access back into the center of the

city, paying close attention to the development of the adjoining areas as places of public use and finding modest incremental uses that would bring, for instance, community job training and start-up businesses into the structure,

Corbin wondered how rigorously any rehabilita-

resources of their local art communities to bring initial attention to a place and demonstrate care; creating surprising juxtapositions of form, color or content that spark a new look at existing opportunities or announce the presence of underrepresented ethnic communities.

Uses that can benefit from even short-term occupation of existing structures give an interim vitality that wards away vandalism and degradation. Professional offices and smaller start-up companies that cannot afford major installations frequently partake in the regeneration of an area. In many cities pioneer uses have included adventurous forms of housing: housing that is based on the conversion of existing structures spurned by the conventional market, or live-work units that are created out of building types not normally used for housing.

Encouraging the formation of groups of such uses may take some time and individual attention, but such efforts are often able to take hold and to bring areas back into the life of the city, faster and better than more wholesale means. Massive redevelopment projects that are dependent on large-scale market conditions often lead to long delays and a loss of local control. Businesses that have a stake in the local community and are prepared to make an extra effort to take advantage of the place can more immediately set the tone for development.

But locating people in an area is not enough. To spur new life and interest in the place, people

Stairway leading from Los Angeles Public Library to top of Bunker Hill office district. Designer: Lawrence Halprin. Courtesy Donlyn Lyndon.

must be visibly evident. Buildings and open spaces should be designed so that they reveal and celebrate the activities that take place in and around them. Buildings designed as stripes and mirrors project a world alien from individual human interpretation and involvement — a world where personal interests are disenfranchised. Such places proclaim loudly their interchangeability, their owners' allegiance to abstracted ideals and their ready disavowal of local constraints, sensibilities and implications.

Requiring that buildings be designed with human-scaled elements and include places for external use and repose will not, in itself, transform corporate strategy — yet calling business to account as a participant in the creation of amenable cities is part of the evolution of a new attitude towards community responsibility, a new sense for the importance of human experience and sustaining values.
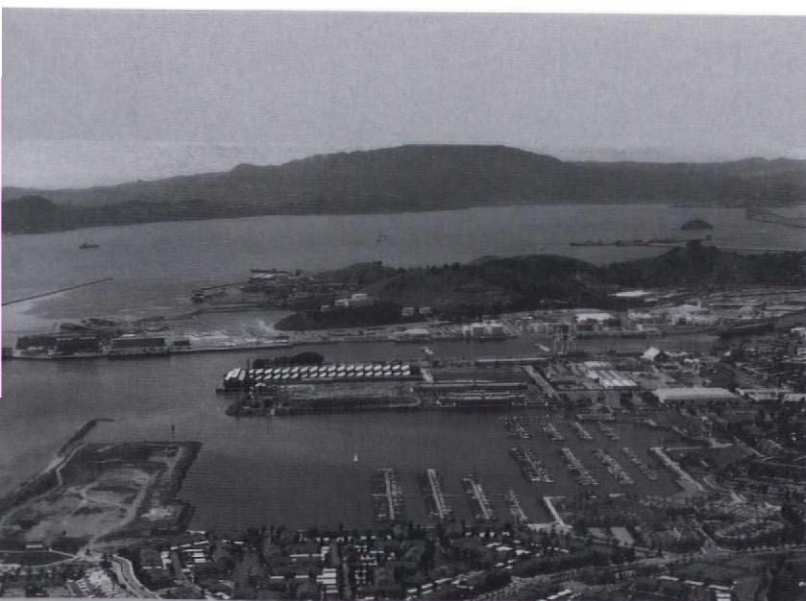

tion should conform to historic preservation standards. The team advised that the various parts of the structure be examined carefully and that differentiations in the character of the building could become the basis for locating differing uses, as well as for making appropriate modifications. The eastern, loading edge of the building might, for instance, receive substantial modification, even including connections to new purpose-built structures, while the western street face might retain its

sedate character and public frontage.

One subsequent follow-up study (conducted as a design thesis at the University of California, Berkeley) suggested that a new bus loop connecting the factory building to downtown might even drive right through the structure, implanting its presence and the new uses that it would house in the consciousness of people using the buses.

Detroit Eastern Market and area plan. Photo courtesy Theodore Spitzer, Public Market Partners. Plan courtesy Michigan State University.
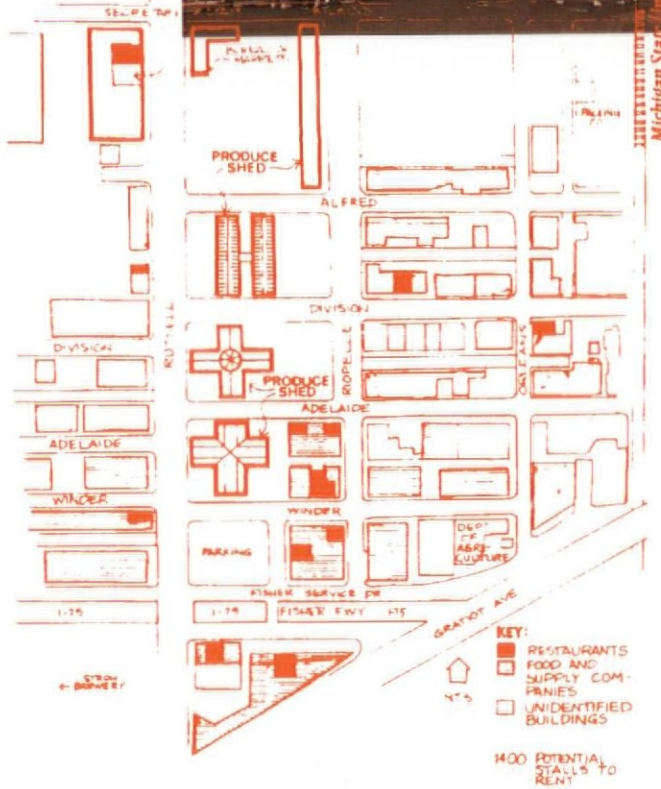
A Long-term Process; Short-term Urgency

Mayors coming to the institute know that effective city design is a long-term process. It will take years of continuing attention before coming fully to fruition. Yet mayors are pressured to take immediate, short-term actions that will maintain interest in the place and demonstrate their effectiveness as city stewards.

There are many versions of the long-term/short-term dilemma, ranging from financing schemes that involve bonding to the timing of public improvements that will eventually foster change in the private sector. A recurrent theme in cases brought by the mayors is the tension between the pressure for immediate action and the prospects of long-term benefits that may accrue if land is held in reserve for future development. Since land in a city remains a part of the everyday experience of the place, its character influences

Stockton, California Assembling Authority
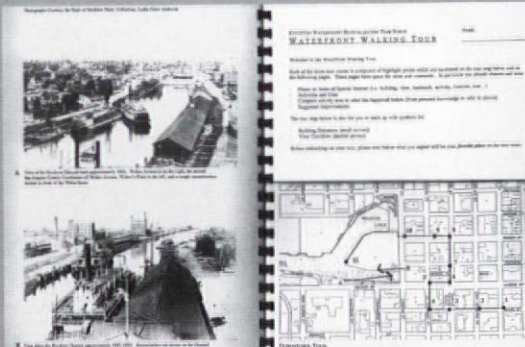
Stockton, Calif., sixty-five miles from the Pacific Ocean in California's arid Central Valley, is not commonly considered a waterfront city. Yet it was a provisioning depot for the Gold Rush, served by steamships from San Francisco, which reached it via the San Joaquin River.

Stockton was founded at the end of a channel that now terminates at the foot of downtown and the Civic Center. The city's port remains active farther down the channel, but this final segment of the waterfront has been vic-

timized by a series of unsuccessful development schemes. Weber Point, around which the channel forks, is vacant and unlandscaped, with abandoned parking lots, an occasional tree and a pervasive sense of neglect. A landmark hotel that stands where the channel once ended now fronts a parking lot built over the last stretch of water.

Mayor Joan Darrah expressed to the Mayors' Institute a concern for bringing this area back to life. With good reason, Darrah and others were doubtful that the

most recent redevelopment plan, which proposed to fill Weber Point with a convention center, office building, hotel and parking structure, would come to fruition. The resource panel questioned whether this would be a good use of such a distinctive and precious site, even if it were economically feasible. The mayor was especially distressed by a growing negative reaction in the community to downtown and to planning — a perception exacerbated by the empty waterfront.

the perception of the city, whether or not there are plans for its future. Vacant lots represent opportunity when interest in development is hot; they signal neglect and abandonment when there is no evident indication that they are valued. Action is required, and mayors are called upon to forge viable tactics for the present as well as to help construct an image of the future.

Those who wish to make change — whether political leaders, entrepreneurs of development, planners and urban designers or neighborhood activists — must assemble the authority to act. Only by subjecting proposals that have city-changing potential to informed public scrutiny, making sure that they are re-placed within a larger context, will those proposals be truly understood. And by engaging citizens in a series of such processes the issues can become a part of public discourse, forging the elements of mutual understanding and common aspirations that lend authority for decisive change. That authority will evaporate, however, if no actions take place.

Mayors frequently have the unenviable task of needing to sort their way through an array of bewildering proposals and recommendations — all the while maintaining a steady presence in the public eye, getting on with the responsibilities of leadership when the path is not yet clear. Understanding and articulating those things that make their community distinct, that lie at the root of their community's identity, can serve as a rallying point for mayors, city staff and constituents as they track a path through conflicting claims and contrary visions — re-placing elements of the city so that they will respond to present need while building cities that future generations will happily call home.

Case study illustrations:
Left: Workbook developed for task force walking tours.
Center: Waterfront area.
Right: Stockton Hotel.

The panel advised Darrah to initiate an extended community process to build public involvement and confidence in the waterfront's future. Following this advice, Darrah initiated a process that began with a site visit and presentation to the city council by Samina Quraeshi, director of the National Endowment for the Arts Design Program. Next Darrah appointed a twenty-eight person task force and hired a consultant team consisting of an urban designer, landscape architect, economic development specialists and workshop organizers.

The consultants' work with the task force and city staff has included finding ways to reintroduce the structure of the city and the characteristics of the site into the public consciousness. Based on their own analysis, the consultants organized walks and a boat trip to familiarize the task force with the site and its potential, and made presentations regarding waterside developments in other communities.

The task force met frequently in 1995, providing opportunities for various groups to present program ideas and development schemes. It conducted two public workshops and assessed the viability and desirability of various land use and design arrangements.

Just a little more than one year from Darragh's visit to the institute, the Task Force endorsed a long-term vision for the area and a series of short-term actions by various city agencies that will lead quickly to better use and care for the waterfront. These will include making the point an animated family recreation and events ground for the whole city, repairing the head of the channel and creating a "water square" fronting the Hotel Stocktonand furthering incremental waterfront development in ways that make effective connection to existing neighborhoods.

Immediate actions, some already initiated, include sponsoring cultural and recreational events along the water to encourage public involvement, capturing the benefits of a street improvements program to refurbish the edge of the point and greening significant portions of the open land.

There has, meanwhile, been extensive public involvement in the process, with media coverage that has brought a new consciousness of the city's assets. A variety of investors have used the forum provided by the planning process to air their interests and test public reaction to development proposals. The mayor has confidence that positive change is underway.

Richard Dagenhart

Building Projects

"One of the unsuitable ideas behind projects is the very notion that they are projects, abstracted out of the ordinary city and set apart. To think of salvaging or improving projects, as projects, is to repeat this root mistake. The aim should be to get that project, that patch upon the city, rewoven back into the fabric – and in the process of doing so, strengthen the surrounding fabric, too."

— Jane Jacobs, *"The Death and Life of Great American Cities"*

Building Cities
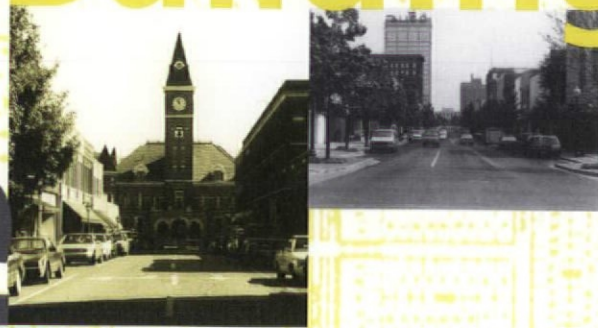
Not so long ago, the building of towns and cities in America followed a commonly recognized pattern. Citizens agreed, even if tacitly, how they would build their towns and how towns would appear. A clear and orderly framework of streets, blocks and lots related many different buildings, activities and people.

Now, we build cities mostly by building big projects – convention centers, sports arenas, civic centers. Often, these projects conflict with older downtowns and neighborhoods. Sometimes the problem is size: the project may be too large to fit comfortably into the older arrangement of streets and blocks. More frequently, the problem is the design of the project itself, and how the project relates to its surroundings. One of the most pressing challenges of city design – and one that underlies many of the issues mayors bring to the Mayors' Institute – is to discover how to weave these big projects into the city.

Left: City Hall, Athens, Ga.
Courtesy Richard Dagenhart.
Background: William Penn
plan for Philadelphia.

Building Cities

The traditional process of city-building was simple. Landowners subdivided large holdings, often farmland, into small blocks surrounded by streets. Blocks were subdivided further into small lots. Alleys often bisected blocks to give access to the rear of each lot, while streets provided access to the front. New subdivisions of land extended the town, adding new streets and blocks to existing ones.

Merchants bought lots in the center of town to build buildings for their businesses. Small builders purchased lots and built houses, at most a handful each year; a few built commercial buildings to lease or sell. Churches bought one or more lots for a small sanctuary; then, after a few years, purchased more for the minister's house or an education building. Cities acquired land, sometimes entire blocks, for city halls and other public buildings.

Houses, commercial buildings and civic structures followed simple conventions. Houses had facades and front yards that joined the street; house lots had boundaries marked by fences or hedges. They also had backs and private backyards, sometimes with carriage houses or garages next to the alleys. Storefronts met the sidewalk, back doors led to alleys for deliveries and common sidewalls joined one commercial building to the next. Government, churches and other institutions built free standing buildings, often sitting in the center of blocks. One could easily identify these institutions, if only because their buildings

East Point, Georgia Next Stop, Downtown

Residents of East Point, a city of 34,000 about five miles south of downtown Atlanta, are proud of their city's identity as a livable small town in a sprawling metropolis.

Until recently, East Point's compact downtown was affectionately called "Convenience Point." But ten years ago, the construction of a MARTA transit station began a sequence of single-purpose projects that destroyed the once vibrant downtown.

Transit construction displaced 126 businesses, and

only twenty-six reopened. MARTA built its parking lot, bus drop-off and kiss-and-ride lanes on the side of the station opposite the retail district, separating transit riders from downtown.

The city hoped to attract a regional commercial center on two superblocks of newly vacant land and formed a Downtown Development Authority. Expecting increased traffic, the city agreed to close its most important east-west street, eliminating a 100-year-old

railroad crossing and turning two major north-south streets into a one-way couplet. When no commercial developer appeared, the city and authority promoted other ideas, including an aquarium and an international village, believing that a big project could solve downtown's problems.

The recently elected Mayor Patsy Hilliard brought East Point's downtown problem to the 1994 Mayors Institute on City Design: South. At first, the resource team

believed that downtown suffered mostly from a weak economy and a noncompetitive location. But one panel member asked Hilliard, a California native, why she lived in East Point. She and her husband had looked at several areas in Atlanta, she

explained, and chose East Point because it was a livable, small community with a clear identity within a larger urban region. The team member said: "Mayor, listen to what you just said and act on that. Do things to make your town a good

differed from the domestic and commercial structures nearby.

This kind of city making happened because decisions about how to build existed within a pre-defined framework of streets, blocks and small lots. In colonial New England, where land holdings derived from royal land grants, property subdivisions for towns were usually informal, following medieval land subdivision and tenure practices. Many early towns in the Spanish Southwest generally followed the Laws of the Indies, which set out rules for arranging streets and blocks around a central plaza.

Gridiron plans were common in the Midwest and Northwest. Some cities reproduced simple versions of William Penn's well-known plan for Philadelphia. Others made pragmatic subdivisions of the Northwest Land Ordinances, reducing mile-square sections into smaller grids of city blocks. Sometimes, the town plan was only a diagram for land speculation, such as the railroad towns that reproduced themselves at each depot.

Occasionally, cities were designed completely, like James Oglethorpe's Savannah or Pierre L'Enfant's Washington, D.C. Yet even these cities were highly crafted elaborations of the traditional conventions of city building, weaving new ideas and solutions to new problems into the context of tradition.

Later, Olmsted's plans for towns and suburbs substituted a naturalistic looking landscape of curving streets and blocks for the typical grid. Nevertheless, he maintained conventional land subdivision practices using streets, blocks, alleys and lots, along with his new ideas for parks and parkways.

John Nolen's town plans in the 1920s made clearly defined and functionally distinct neighborhoods, civic centers and commercial districts. Still, he used the traditional framework of city building to bind these separate parts compactly into an overall city plan.

This traditional way of building cities, although seldom an art form, continued for so long because it reflected broad agreements about how citizens imagine, build and live in their cities. We seldom recognize that it was this simple framework of streets, blocks and lots that allowed such an abundant variety of towns and cities in America.

This urban framework, which always existed before individual buildings, made it possible to relate the many different parts of the city together – old and new, big and small, public and private, natural and artificial.

Case study illustrations: Left: MARTA station and parking lot. Below: Georgia Institute of Technology studio proposal fordowntown East Point. Bottom: University of Georgia studio proposal. Courtesy Richard Dagenhart.

place to live and everything else will take care of itself."

The resource panel recommended several actions to undo the single-purpose projects and make downtown more livable. Change one-way streets back to two-way. Reopen the street across the railroad tracks. Put MARTA parking and bus drop offs on downtown retail streets, not in the parking lot. Get the banks, churches and East Point residents involved. Use the city-owned vacant blocks as a park or subdivide them into small blocks and lots for small shops and housing. In short, make downtown back into what it was — the center of a small community.

Hilliard has set new directions for downtown. She convinced the authority to delay a new redevelopment plan until citizens could get involved. Architecture and landscape studios at Georgia Tech and the University of Georgia prepared alternative urban design proposals. In town meetings, a consensus emerged to eliminate one-way streets, and Hilliard is working with Georgia DOT to make the changes. Discussions with MARTA and the railroad are upcoming, and a new planning process will begin soon. Hilliard is now working enthusiastically to plan and build a downtown for her small town, not a big project to make a big city.
— Richard Dagenhart
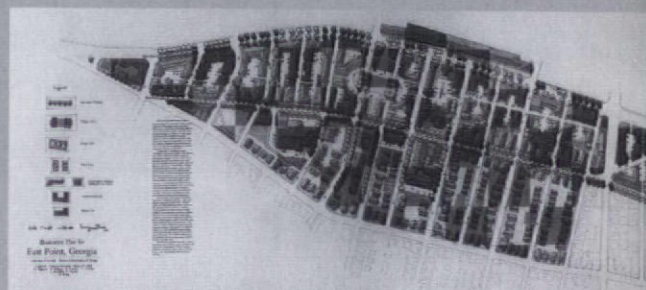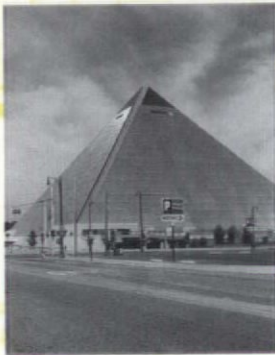
Building Projects

We still build within this older framework, filling vacant lots and replacing old buildings with new ones. However, since World War II, an increasing amount of public and private investment has been going to bigger and bigger projects. Cities of all sizes have them or dream of them: festival markets, convention centers, arenas, performing arts centers, and downtown housing communities.

Public officials, developers and citizens often believe that big projects like these will help their cities compete for shoppers, tourists, conventions and more development, or make downtown a more attractive place to live and work. They conclude that big problems or big opportunities need big investments, and that big investments promise big profits, big tax revenues and a lot of new jobs.

Big is not bad, but big projects present cities with difficult design problems. When compared with traditional city-building practices, these problems become more clear.

Projects are large. Big projects often conflict with the small city blocks that worked best for small buildings built one at a time. Often big projects erase streets and blocks to assemble large land areas. Even when a project occupies only one block, parking lots and loading docks may take up half or more of the site, creating blank spaces on public streets.

Projects have single or limited purposes. A building on main street had multiple purposes. It made the street a civic space, cooperated with its neighbors to build a continuous row of storefronts and included space for stores, offices or even housing. Today, most big projects concern themselves only with their own internal needs, budgets and schedules. The more a project focuses on its own criteria for efficiency and economy, the less it is concerned with how it might foster relationships between old and new, inside and outside, people and places.

Projects look inward, only to themselves. Early in the century, buildings like downtown hotels showed how a big project could meet its needs on the inside and the city's needs on the outside: shops, offices or display windows lined public streets, and the architecture expressed the project's significance at the most casual and monumental levels. Today, big projects like arenas (and, increasingly, office buildings and new hotels) turn themselves outside-in, revealing only ramps, elevators and service areas to the city.

Projects have barriers that exclude or buffers that separate. Traditional apartment buildings often had courtyards opening to the street, giving residents both privacy and direct connections to their neighbors. Today's urban apartment projects, usually segregated by income or lifestyle, separate themselves with gates, high fences or walls to protect the private backs of inwardly facing buildings.

Projects are isolated fragments. Urban renewal programs often assembled blocks and closed streets, encouraging new buildings to be independent from the rest of the city. We still build many big projects the same way, erasing or ignoring the old framework of streets and blocks. Empty park-

Above: The Pyramid arena, Memphis, Tenn. Courtesy Richard Dagenhart. Background: Frederick Law Olmsted plan for Riverside, Ill.

Greensboro, North Carolina Parking Makes Imperfect

The new Greensboro Coliseum is the envy of many cities. It is among the 20 largest facilities of its type nationally, with a 23,000-seat arena, a 2,500-seat theater, a 300-seat town hall and 120,000 square feet of exhibition space. The recently-completed project involved a $47 million expansion of the old War Memorial Complex, about two miles southwest from downtown.

The Coliseum illustrates the best and the worst of big projects. It skillfully combines several functions into a single complex, with a dramatic landscaped ramp from the 5,000-space parking lot to the main entrance. Sports teams, conventions, trade shows and the community praise how well the facility works, even during simultaneous events.

However, because the Coliseum ignores its surroundings, it could be anywhere. And the neighborhood next door wishes it were somewhere else: the shortfall of parking on site often forces Coliseum-goers onto nearby streets for parking.

Mayor Carolyn Allen, who attended the 1995 Mayors' Institute: South, brought two key concerns: First, how could the city address the overflow parking, a source of neighborhood complaints? Second, how could the estimated 3,000-space parking deficit be solved?

The resource team warned against confusing design and management issues. The parking overflow and deficit, it suggested, were manage-ment problems. The city could increase parking fees, find underused lots elsewhere and run shuttle buses. Tough on-street parking restrictions, permits for local residents and neighborhood watch programs to catch violators could stem the overflow. If more parking were needed, it should be built as part of an overall plan for the area so it is shared, rather than used only during peak times.

The design of the boundary between the Coliseum and the neighborhood was a more important issue than parking in determining how the Coliseum fits into the city, the team argued. One member observed that the existing single row of street trees would never make an effective boundary because of the extreme scale difference between the parking lot and the neighborhood.

Instead, the panel suggested, the parking lots could be redesigned as a series of boundaries. One step would be to replace the

ing lots or vacant buildings are common sights
around big projects.

If the issues mayors bring to the Mayors' Insti-
tute are any indication, both downtowns and sub-
urbs face similar problems. In the city, the chal-
lenge is to re-imagine big projects, finding ways
to weave them into the streets and blocks of older
downtowns and neighborhoods. On the periphery,
however, the challenge is to find new frameworks
– perhaps highways, parkways and greenways –
that bind big projects like malls, office parks and
apartments into new civic wholes.
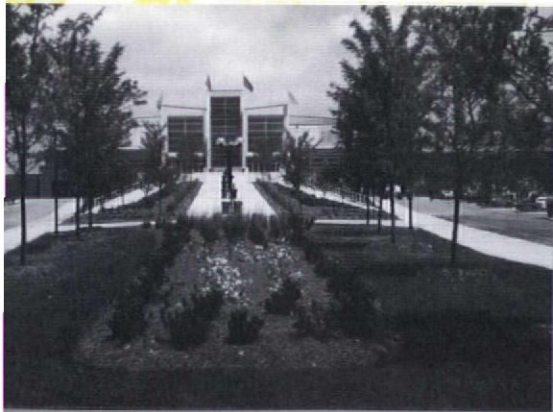
Case study illustrations:
Left: Ceremonial entrance
to the Coliseum, Greens-
boro, N.C.
Below: Plan of Coliseum
site and surrounding area.
Courtesy Richard Dagenhart.

streets that had been va-
cated to create the Coliseum
site. These would be real
streets, with sidewalks, trees
and lighting, and they would
connect to equally well de-
signed streets in the adjacent

neighborhoods. As a result,
the neighborhoods would in-
sulated from the Coliseum
by streets and blocks at the
scale of the traditional city.

Each new block could be
a small parking lot, the panel

said, surrounded by small
walls that would contain the
parking and make bound-
aries, like buildings along the
sidewalk. One panel member
suggested that if the 5,000-
space parking lot were de-
signed like a traditional city,
with streets and blocks, it
ultimately could be used for
many things: festivals, streets
that would be safe (most of
the time) for children to
bicycle along, flea markets,
and maybe even a park in
the parking lot.

After the Coliseum oper-

ates for a year or so, Mayor
Allen is planning to work
with the School of Architec-
ture at the University of
North Carolina at Charlotte
to explore some of these
recommendations in more
depth.— *Richard Dagenhart*

Cities and Projects

Mayors, city councils and citizens alike are becoming more cautious about these big projects. One concern is size. Mayors wonder if big projects, calling for large public investments, will deliver promised results or not. St. Petersburg Mayor David Fischer, calling the big project "the big fix," now argues for incremental development. Mayor Elihu Harris of Oakland is looking for ways to extend the city's successful incremental downtown development to neighboring areas.

Another concern is the design of the big project. Mayors, like Patrick Henry Hays of North Little Rock, are enthusiastic about their big projects because they are confident they will yield big benefits. However, knowing the missed opportunities of Thunderdomes and Pyramids, they also want to know that the rest of their downtowns will be improved as well.

Small and large cities around the county are trying to weave and reweave many different kinds of projects into the older framework of their downtowns. Some of these cities, like Baltimore, Portland and Chattanooga, have been at work for a decade or longer and offer visible evidence of ways to build cities with projects. Some clear design principles are emerging from these experiences.

Multiply project purposes. Several years ago, one strategy for making projects better for cities was changing single-use buildings to mixed-use developments. However, they were often just as isolated as single-use projects and made no contribution to their surroundings either. Current strategies emphasize multiple purposes, not just mixed uses, and multiple users as well.

When users become the focus of attention, project purposes multiply. Where people are going and what they do at their destination is less important than how they get there and what they do along the way. Uses can expand to respond to opportunities in the area, not just the project itself. The project can be designed to make streets attractive for pedestrians, parades and other civic events.

Turn projects inside out. Inward looking projects have been recognized as problems for a long time; ironically, remedies have emphasized interiors, too: winter gardens in office lobbies, historic-looking shopping mall arcades and pleasure gardens in the center of office parks.

Reversing these projects requires three related actions. First, spaces not tied totally to the interior should be turned outward. Second, parking and other means of arrival should be disaggregated from the project and distributed widely around it, so that visitors weave many routes to the project, supporting businesses and making surrounding streets more secure. Third, the entry should not be an efficient movement channel just to get many people quickly into a big interior, but an important civic space for the surrounding city.

Design boundaries, not barriers or buffers. Robert Frost's "The Mending Wall" described the traditional role of a boundary by observing that "Good fences make good neighbors." Surprisingly, some recent public housing modernizations, perhaps

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North Little Rock, Arkansas The Arena as Citizen

Camden Yards and Jacobs Field are well-known new baseball stadiums that successfully fit into older downtowns. Baltimore and Cleveland are not alone — cities of all sizes are proposing new downtown sports and entertainment facilities to stimulate economic development and introduce new energy. Making their new projects as good as Camden Yards and Jacobs Field is the concern of many mayors.

North Little Rock Mayor Patrick Henry Hays attended the 1995 Mayors Institute for City Design: South looking for ideas about making the arena planned for his downtown a civic building project that will amplify the progress that has already been made. For example, the oldest and poorest downtown neighborhood has been designated a historic district; Main Street is reawakening with a focus on arts and retail activity; and a 1.5-mile waterfront park is under construction.

The arena, planned jointly by the mayors of North Little Rock and Little Rock, will occupy a prime location. It will be on the east end of the new waterfront park, between the levee and the river, and only one block from Main Street. On one side a freeway will provide direct automobile access; on the other, an old railroad bridge offers future transit connections to downtown Little Rock.

The resource team argued that the city needed an overall downtown urban design strategy to bind the arena to a

the most difficult projects of all, reveal how big projects can be redesigned using boundaries instead of buffers and barriers to define territories.

Boston's notorious Columbia Point project was remade into Harbor Point using two key design strategies that could be used to rethink many big projects. The first was to weave a new grid of streets and blocks to eliminate the old super-blocks. This new grid created multiple boundaries at the scale of blocks and buildings. The second was to make private spaces for each town house and common open spaces for each apartment building. Every space has defined role; each is clearly either mine, yours, or ours.

Design cities before designing projects. Chattanooga is an example of a city that places city design before project design. Before the Tennessee Aquarium was even an idea, the city made two important decisions. First, a continuous park along the Tennessee River created a new regional framework, connecting the city to the river at many points, most importantly at Ross's Landing in downtown. Second, the original framework of downtown streets and blocks became the means to connect the traditional business center of downtown to Ross's Landing.

The aquarium idea emerged to join these old and new urban frameworks and to be a key element for building the city's new tourist and service economy to replace its rust-belt past. The Ten-nessee Aquarium was never thought of as a "big fix" by itself.

Mayors and Cities

An important lesson from the tradition of American city building is that a public framework of streets, blocks and lots always preceded the building or the project. It is the prior framework, either a simple grid diagram or an elaborate city plan, that allows one building to relate to another, one business to another and one project to another. The framework, not its buildings or projects, binds the city into a civic whole.

We may argue about the size of new projects, their architectural design, or the urban framework itself. Some will prefer grids of small streets and blocks. Others will seek looser arrangements that join local or regional landscapes. As the size of projects increases and as cities continue to decentralize, we may need to rethink the frameworks we use, just as Olmsted added parks and parkways to address the evolving city a century ago. But the framework itself cannot be excluded if our cities are to be more that just accumulations of big projects.

Many mayors attending the Mayors' Institute are suspicious of big projects. They ask questions and want ideas about how to design, or redesign, them. This is encouraging evidence that America's long tradition of city-building may yet survive the "big fix" of the big project.

Case study illustrations:
Left: North Little Rock study area.
Below: North Little Rock waterfront, with railroad bridge to the left, arena site in the center and freeway bridge to the right.
Courtesy Richard Dagenhart.
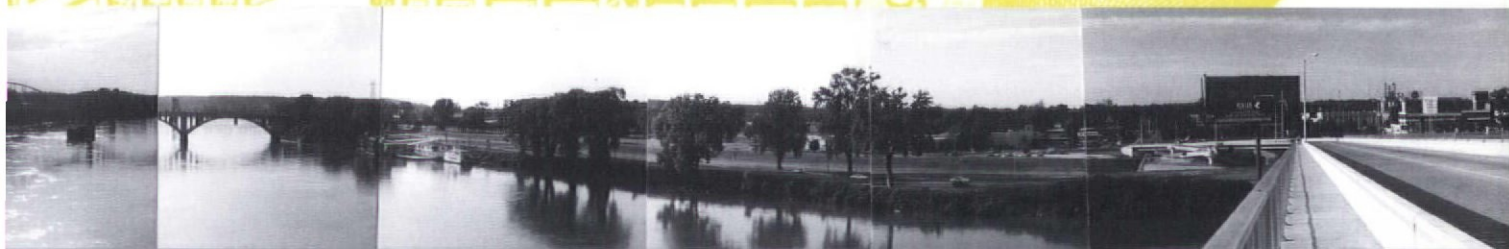
larger "river district." The key is the street network: existing streets and blocks should be kept and improved, streets removed during urban renewal should be put back. The team agreed with the mayor that these streets should extend through the levee (movable gates would provide flood protection), making the river park part of downtown.

The team then suggested turning the arena inside out, so as many activities as possible face streets. Concessions and restaurants could serve both the arena and passers-by; leasable office space could be built on the perimeter of the arena, making a more intimate architectural connection to surrounding spaces. The team noted that distributing parking in small lots and avoiding skybridges would encourage pedestrian activity on the streets.

The team recognized the importance of the direct transit connection to the Little Rock Convention Center across the river. However, it urged that the transit line arrive on downtown streets or the River Park, not right in front of the arena.
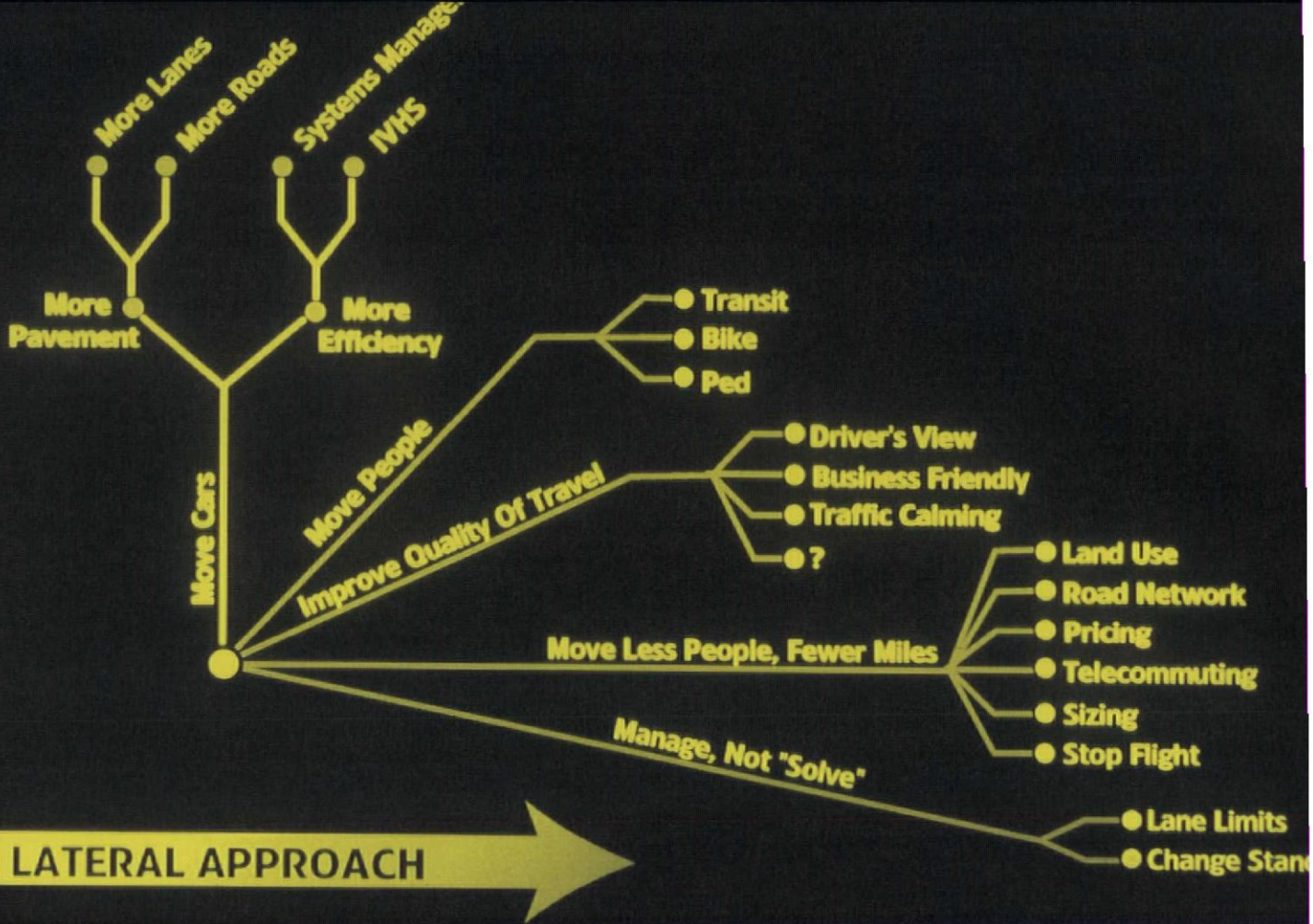
Finally, the team recommended that the arena have direct access to River Park, so that activities on the river will directly relate to activities in the arena. One team member suggested the idea of a civic "balcony" connecting the arena to the river, so that it would be used not just during events but at other times, too.

A recent countywide referendum approved a one-cent sales tax to finance the arena. Mayor Hays is working with the Donaghey Project for Urban Studies and Design, an outreach center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, to prepare detailed urban design plans for downtown, the River Park and the arena before detailed architectural design begins.
— *Richard Dagenhart*

LATERAL APPROACH

Diagram labels:

- More Lanes
- More Roads
- Systems Manage...
- IVHS
- More Pavement
- More Efficiency
- Move Cars
- Move People
- Improve Quality Of Travel
  - Transit
  - Bike
  - Ped
  - Driver's View
  - Business Friendly
  - Traffic Calming
  - ?
- Move Less People, Fewer Miles
  - Land Use
  - Road Network
  - Pricing
  - Telecommuting
  - Sizing
  - Stop Flight
- Manage, Not "Solve"
  - Lane Limits
  - Change Stan...

Walter Kulash

Above: Old and new paradigms for traffic engineering. Right: Trip assignment in a traditional urban street network. Illustrations courtesy Walter Kulash.

I am a traffic engineer. I love the smell of freshly laid asphalt on a cool winter morning! For the first twenty or so years of my career I worked in the very normal traffic engineering direction of providing ever more capacity. This was the transportation problem, not enough capacity, and engineers devoted all their efforts to moving more traffic, whatever the cost.

As early as the 1960s, there were indications, such as citizens' revolts against urban freeways, that public acceptance of continued road expansion might be limited. In recent years, the

pendulum has begun to swing rapidly in that direction. Local elected officials, primarily mayors, tell us that the cost of providing ever more capacity has been too high, financially as well as in terms of quality of life. We are entering a new motor age, one in which the goal of maximizing traffic speed and volume is being balanced against other goals for creating livable urban settings.
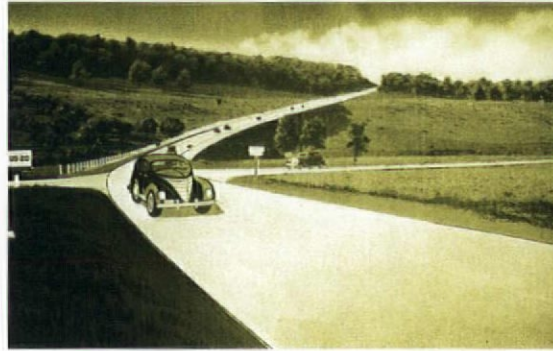
The**Third**Motor**Age**
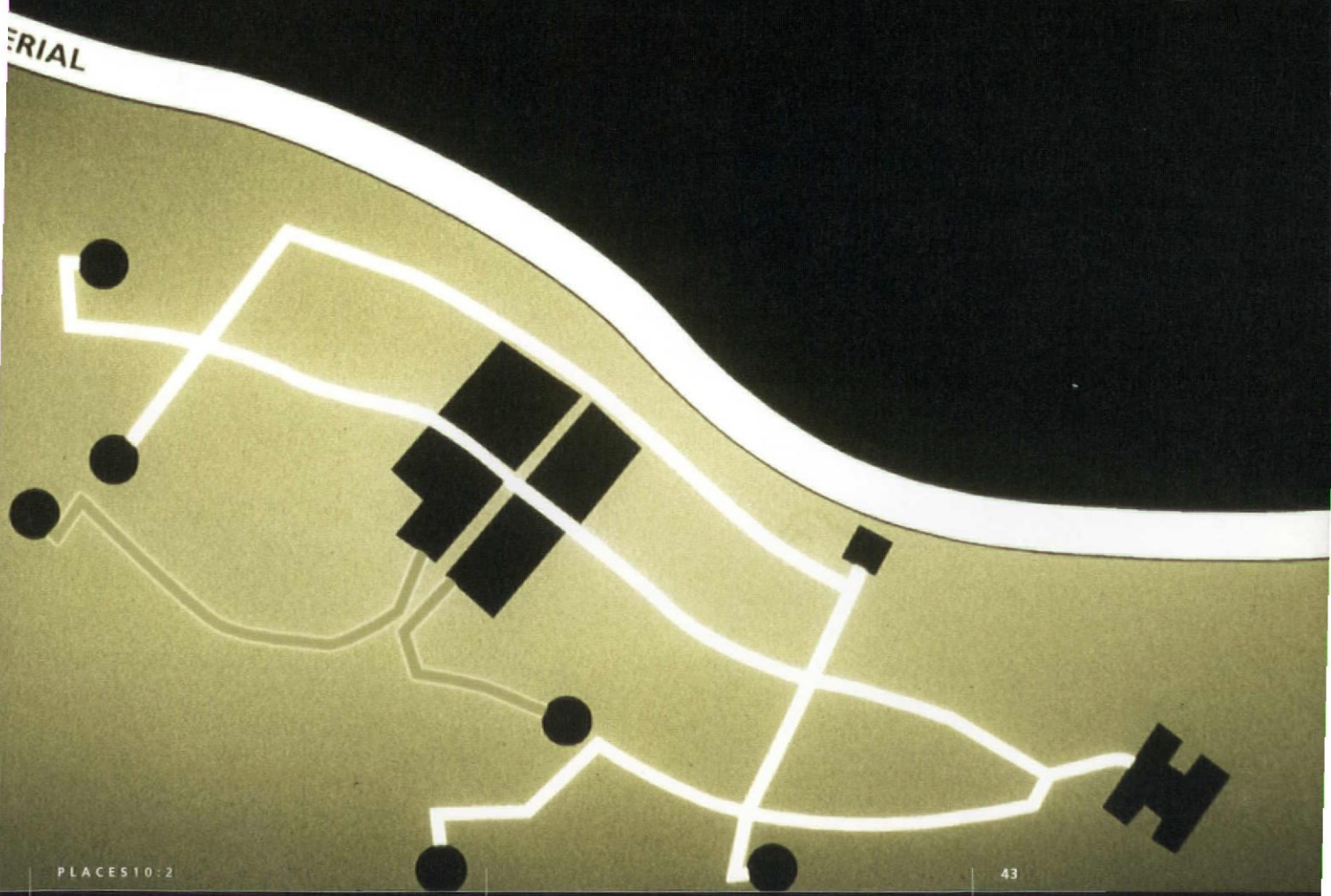
The First Motor Age

It will help me explain where we are going if I describe from where we have come. The field of traffic engineering evolved very rapidly from unexpected quarters. William Eno, not a household name, was the father of the field. He never drove a car himself, but he was an avid horseman, and he realized that we would have to deal in an organized fashion with this tremendous invention that was crowding horses off the streets.

Eno helped establish many of our traffic conventions, like green signals for go, red for stop and

driving on the right side of the road. He also had some prescient insights about the automobile. For example, he cautioned that a proposal for a pedestrian bridge across New York's Fifth Avenue was a bad idea. We would not learn to live with the automobile by separating ourselves from it, he warned.

In those early years, we did not try to rebuild our cities to accommodate cars. We thought we could incorporate cars by adapting existing street forms. The designs have proven to be enormously durable: Almost every city, for example, still has the twenty-four- to twenty-six foot-wide street type with generous sidewalks and plantings.

Through this period, cities grew in a familiar fashion. Their form started with a few major streets, quite often inherited from pre-urban paths, waterways or livestock routes. Then, as the city grew, more pieces of fabric were added. The pieces didn't always match, and they were quite often under different political jurisdictions, but the process was very organic and natural. From a traffic engineering point of view the interesting feature of this system was that it was a dense, highly connected network. There were many ways to get from one point to another.

Traffic engineering proceeded very rapidly after an initial codification of the rules, and by 1941 it had produced a manual of almost anything you needed to know about the subject. For example, we had watched capacity carefully, and the 1941 *Traffic Engineering Handbook* reported that the capacity of a lane of traffic was remaining steady at about 1,500 vehicles per hour. Cars were improving, drivers were becoming more skilled, traffic engineering was advancing, but a lane still carried 1,500 vehicles per hour. Apparently, we were up against a human performance capability.

The Second Motor Age

Traffic engineering's adolescence started in the 1920s, with visionaries who concluded that we had to reconfigure our cities and our lives for the automobile. They argued that there was no longer a place for traffic-filled streets; cities could no longer adapt to, or live with, the automobile. We begin to see distinctly suburban street patterns with separate land uses, major boulevards (but fewer of them) and no more fine-grained street network.

A 1928 diagram by LeCorbusier accurately describes this new street and land-use pattern — major arterials going directly into a pod of land use. Our own American icon, Frank Lloyd Wright, came to exactly the same conclusion. The "Broadacre City," as he called it, is "everywhere or no-where." This was part of the image of the second motor age — big arterial roads, few of them, isolated land uses, suburban-type towers surrounded always by a sea of green.

From these visions certain things are missing. You never see a storage place for all the vehicles: where would they park? Where did people buy and sell things? The two activities that dominate our landscape today — parking and the notion

that once you bundle people together on a road somebody is going to want to sell them something there — did not occur to these visionaries.

The dominant features of our present road system took form at this time. The pattern of isolated pods of development was thought to be appropriate for the automobile age, separating traffic, with its impacts, from surrounding activity. The expected extinction of walking eliminated the need to have origins and destinations within walking distance of each other. The functional classification of roads established a hierarchy of streets according to their intended traffic use, and it dictated that the upper end of the spectrum, the arterial street, be reserved for long-distance, high-speed travel, ideally unimpeded by friction from driveways and commerce.

Until this time traffic engineering was the duty of the already overworked municipal engineer. But the second motor age also marked the emergence of the professional, full-time traffic engineer, isolated from other disciplines. The consequence of this isolation has been to remove the practice of traffic engineering from the broader concerns about what makes cities healthy and pleasant.

A Third Motor Age?

Until now, we traffic engineers have defined and responded to the traffic problem with vertical thinking: Cars aren't moving, so get out there and move the cars. That typically has meant more pavement — wider lanes, more lanes, wider turns. Lately, these strategies have become very difficult and expensive, and attention has turned to making the pavement we already have more efficient through innovations like intelligent vehicle highway systems, smart cars and better signal systems.

Now a growing number of mayors, commissioners and citizens are rephrasing the question. Isn't moving people, not cars, what we really mean to do? What about improving the quality of travel, rather than its quantity? Can we move fewer people fewer miles? What about changing our land use or stopping the need to constantly flee from cities? Who says that vehicles must move at an unimpeded flow regardless of what that is doing to our cities? We've changed many types of standards over the years; isn't it time to rethink our standards on traffic?

We are now realizing that trying to cure traffic congestion with more capacity is like trying to

cure obesity by loosening your belt. We've loosened the belt for fifty years, but the problem has only become worse.

We're starting to realize dangers we've been creating in our new street layouts — the ones supposedly designed for this new motor age. Conventional suburban street patterns direct every trip through one (and only one) way out of a particular land use pod and onto an arterial, which is the only route to the entrance of another land use pod. This makes an ugly mess out of arterials.

them with dense street networks. This pattern handles traffic by dispersing trips through the network in a variety of ways. Traffic never builds up to a large volume on any single route, and people make local trips, like going from home to school, without getting on major arterials.

This dense network of small streets outperforms the pattern found in suburbia. A network theoretician would explain this performance in terms of redundant routes, multiple intersections and the uncooperative nature of traffic flow. Simi-

A Trip in a Typical Suburb
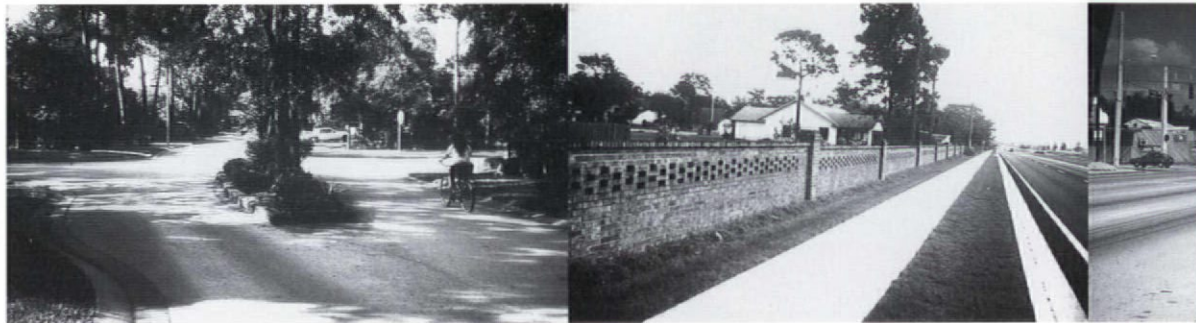
Moreover, we are bundling thousands of people together in one place, along arterials. Almost no kind of municipal will or citizen outcry can stop businesses from wanting to sell something to this captive audience.

On the other hand, we're realizing the treasure we have in our traditional street layouts. Our old pattern of development, found in the core of almost every city, mixed land uses and connected

lar networks of highly interconnected links are the basis of computer design and telephone networks. This is not news to traffic engineers, but factors like land use codes and subdivision design have driven road design in the opposite direction.

Our highway capacity manual makes an interesting and little understood point: there is no economy of scale on wide streets. It says that the maximum capacity of a street is about 1,900 vehi-

Case study illustrations: Map of central Jonesboro, with case study area indicated. Inset: Typical residential street in case study area. Courtesy Richard Dagenhart.

Jonesboro, Arkansas Greenway or Arterial?
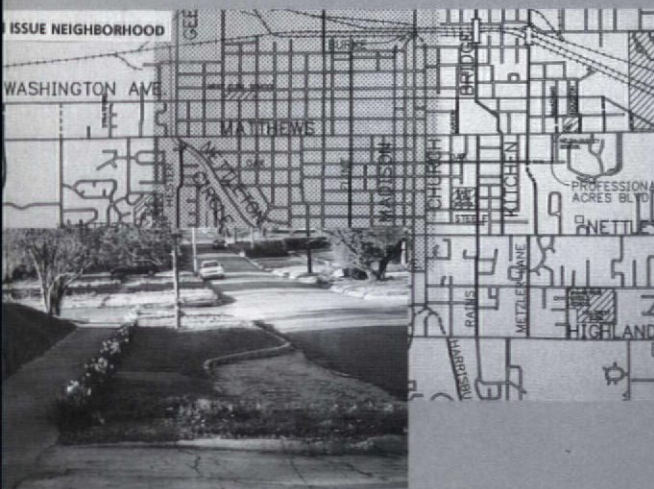
Jonesboro's mayor proudly claims to have no problems, only opportunities. Nevertheless, the opportunity that Mayor Hubert Brodell finds most challenging is one that mayors could do without. Rapid development has saturated the city with automobile traffic, which is overwhelming the orderly arrangement of streets, blocks and neighborhoods that have made the city so livable.

Jonesboro, the economic hub of the Arkansas delta,

has grown from 31,000 residents in 1980 to about 60,000 today. Once it was an agricultural center; now its young, educated and affordable labor force attracts manufacturers, like Post Cereals, from throughout the central states. With associated job growth in the regional medical center, the university and retail sales, Jonesboro expects a population of 100,000 within 20 years.

But these opportunities come with costs. Growth naturally occurs on the fringe.

Yet, most employees work downtown or commute through it, and they complain about the traffic.

Brodell knows the importance of the older, established neighborhoods near downtown. They make a community by housing young married couples and elderly persons who are seeking affordable housing, traditional neighborhood ambiance and convenience to the entire city. Residents of these neighborhoods complain, too, about the

cles per lane per hour, times the number of lanes. There is no economy gained with wider streets. A lane carries this 1,900 vehicles whether it's on a beautiful little residential street, a handsome commercial street or the ugliest arterial in the world.

Another interesting feature of traffic is that you move the most vehicles at twenty-five to thirty-five miles an hour — the design speed of traditional urban streets. Most people think that we can move more vehicles at higher speeds, but the increase in spacing that drivers require outweighs

retail store on two different road systems.

Our first trip begins on a pleasant local street in a conventional suburban subdivision. Consider the quality of the typical daily trip. In this subdivision, you quickly come to the collector street, which has been walled off to protect the subdivision from traffic. Inevitably you travel on a commercial strip because this is the only available route. You arrive at a parking lot and walk into your destination.

How does our quality plot look? Our trip was good when we started off in that nice subdivision,
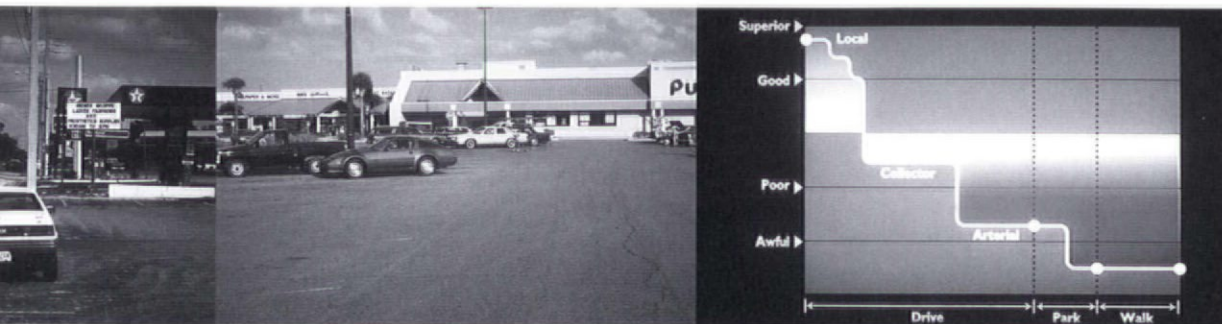
the increase in speed. You can prove it yourself. Go out and count!

Trip Quality — The Missing Dimension

Traffic engineers are concerned with the speed and capacity of travel. Other qualities may actually be more important to travelers, but they are not measured. To illustrate this difference in quality, let's take a typical daily trip to a local

the trip along the walled connector wasn't so good, it became poor along the arterial, and I've not found anybody who likes the parking lot walk! Most of the trip was bad, and the most important parts of the trip, where we were actually meeting the environment with our feet, were the worst of all. Can't we do better?

Let's take a comparative trip in a traditional urban setting. You start off in a traditional neigh-

high traffic volumes on their streets. Brodell knows that ultimately too much traffic will destroy these neighborhoods, leaving deteriorating housing, a declining tax base and a loss of jobs.

At the 1994 Mayors' Institute on City Design: South, Brodell described traffic issues in one neighborhood, whose streets are remarkably beautiful. They are narrow, only 18 to 20 feet wide, yet their rights of way are about 60 feet, with sidewalks at the property line. As a result,

20-foot greenways run along both sides of the street. These spaces are used as big grass lawns or sometimes for trees and flowers. Many older houses have parking spaces gracefully indented into the greenway.

A recent traffic plan offered two alternatives. One widened streets so they could carry four lanes of traffic, two in each direction. This would increase capacity but would be expensive and destroy the unique street character. The other chan-

neled traffic on pairs of one-way streets. Although this would conserve the street character and avoid the costs of street widening, it was opposed by residents. They resisted the inconvenience of one-way streets and had no desire to live in a neighborhood split by arterials, whether traffic runs one way or two.

The resource team suggested the plan was too narrowly conceived — both alternatives tried to move more traffic through a

neighborhood that really shouldn't have any more. The team made three suggestions. First, in the short term, distribute traffic more widely throughout the city, using the existing streets more effectively without channeling traffic onto arterials. Second, increase the number of continuous crosstown streets to better distribute traffic. Third, address land use issues. Managing growth and land use may not be politically popular with some constituencies,

but it is necessary to manage traffic effectively.

Brodell, who won a recent re-election campaign dominated by planning and traffic issues, is still struggling with Jonesboro's traffic politics: some of the four-lane streets are being built in his older neighborhoods. He only wishes that the new ideas of traffic planning had been developed five or ten years ago, when traffic solutions for Jonesboro still really opportunities.
— *Richard Dagenhart*

borhood environment. Then you come to a connector street. (This street, by the way, is carrying the same density of traffic as a major street, and this is how good it can look while it's doing that.) After driving down an arterial street, you arrive at a shopping area, such as this lovely, rebuilt environment in downtown Knoxville. There is parking available, and a brief walk to your final destination.

The first trip may have been a little quicker, but who cares? It was an awful experience. The

drive into an area, park once and walk to numerous destinations. In a suburban "park many" atmosphere, you drive, park, go to a single destination, get back in the car and repeat the process. The former creates nicer environments, enormously less exhaust emissions and fewer vehicle trips — and is highly valued by places that have it.

There are many ways to make traffic flow differently and change the character of streets. One can narrow intersections so only a single vehicle can get through, or create elaborate, deliberate

A Trip in Traditional Urbanism

second trip was lovely, most of the way. Anybody who sells a product recognizes immediately that the second trip would be vastly preferable to the first. We can sell that product more easily, financially and politically. We traffic engineers have never dealt with having to sell what people really want and are just beginning to understand this.

Traffic engineers are also beginning to understand the "park once" environment, in which you

narrowings that make drivers behave differently, deflecting their path.

Reclaiming pavement from traffic is becoming popular. In the Miami Beach art deco district, a wide street was narrowed to one lane of pavement in each direction to make more space for night time crowds, street life and commercial displays. In Beverly Hills, traffic lanes are being turned into spaces for sidewalk cafes and diagonal parking.

Hagerstown, Maryland The Design of the Public Square

Left and center: Hagerstown's public square in 1808 and today. Right: Central Hagerstown. Courtesy MICD: East.

Hagerstown's downtown has never stopped working. Its pattern of streets and buildings remains intact, spared from destructive renewal projects. Distinguished buildings have retained viable uses, and the region's cultural institutions continue to call downtown home. Small successes, such as the relocation of utility lines to rear yards and the maintenance of stable neighborhoods nearby, have helped sustain downtown's office, business and retail activities.

But the Public Square, the physical and symbolic center of the city and region, is another story. The two streets that cross in the square suffer from both high traffic volume (abetted by street widenings that shaved space off the square) and the noise created by trucks seeking a shortcut through town. A heavy dose of greenery renders the space unusable for many of the activities one might expect in a grand public square. Not surprisingly, the quality of the space

and the activities around it has steadily declined.

Mayor Steven Sager came to MICD: Northeast in 1995 looking for ways to help the square bounce back. The city had won some victories, attracting new office and retail uses to the square by promoting greater use of the space after business hours and on weekends, times when it typically had been empty. These efforts have been gradually re-establishing the value of the space in the mind of the community.

Discussion at the institute addressed current plans for the redesign of the square and initiated broader, conceptual thinking about traffic and its impact on downtown. Sager was encouraged to reroute through truck traffic around downtown, retain traffic patterns that support retail uses and tame traffic to improve the pedestrian environment. Traffic noise and speed problems could be addressed by re-timing the lights, reducing turning radii, changing the

Then there are various innovative traffic control devices. Speed bumps are respectable, better looking and better engineered than the nuisances we associate with drive-in restaurants. They perform a valuable service by slowing traffic and encouraging it to use other routes. The round-about traffic circle is making a comeback. It's a thoroughly respectable traffic engineering device that can lend scenic appeal. A recent article in the *ITE Journal* demonstrated convincingly that roundabouts have higher capacity with better

pectedly strong course toward intermodalism. Florida and Texas, suddenly finding themselves highly urbanized, have moved rapidly with intermodal policies. Ten U.S. cities have installed new light-rail systems in the last decade, and several are expanding. Portland, Baltimore and Denver have demonstrated impressively how light rail can be a stimulus for better land use and urban design.

The Third Motor Age will see urban designers, environmentalists, community activists and advocates of livability permeating transportation plan-

safety that normal intersections, in most cases.

In the emerging Third Motor Age, the U.S. is moving toward an intermodal transportation policy — an understanding that growth in automobile mobility is not infinitely sustainable and that other modes of transportation (walking, transit) must satisfy a greater portion of travel demand. This is evident at all levels of government. The Federal ISTEA legislation set an unex-

ning. Engineers, who have traditionally dominated transportation planning and design, will ultimately respond with creativity in devising operable standards for assuring new qualities, such as livability. In fact, terms like "parkways," "boulevards" and "signature streets" are already entering the road planning vocabulary. The design of streets as premier urban spaces, once an exciting and promising endeavor, is poised for revival.

texture of paving in the square, and pulling the stop lines for traffic back to the edge of the space. Trucks might be discouraged by weight limitations on downtown streets.

The resource team also encouraged Sager to look to the history of the square for

ideas about a new design. The 1970s remodeling of the square and designs now being considered interpret the square as a green public park, not the commercial marketplace it once was. Given the square's narrow width, the mayor was encouraged to seek solutions that maximize the sense of enclosure created by the historic facades surrounding the space and to simplify the design by eliminating clutter at ground level. Proper lighting and simple paving could

enhance flexibility for formal and informal uses.

Redevelopment activities initiated by Sager and the Chamber of Commerce are continuing. Several rehabilitation projects on or adjacent to the square are funded and will be complete within two years. As a result of his experience at MICD, Sager and his staff have adopted a comprehensive plan to address traffic and other problems downtown.
— *Matthew Bell, Siddhartha Sen.*

John Hoal and David Block

Changes to the national economy and the approach to urban development over the last fifty years have created a disturbing social and economic split in American cities. Most cities are now building "new town" adjacent to or near "old town." Although this phenomenon is not with out historical precedent, it is happening today at an unprecedented scale and rate, isolating the two parts of the city from one another and creating fierce competition between them.

As old town has failed to respond effectively to national trends in the development, retailing and service industries, new town has emerged as the most economically viable portion of the city. Not surprisingly, many mayors come to the Mayors Institute concerned about old town — downtowns, civic centers and inner-city neighborhoods.

Many of the problems mayors bring result from the attempt to build and maintain two separate and self-sufficient downtowns, each trying to fulfill the roles old downtowns have traditionally served. The perception that costs for preservation, environmental clean-up, demolition or rehabilitation make development in old town overly expensive fuels a widening spiral of disinvestment that continues the continued erosion of old town's economic base. In contrast, new town continues to attract new business and development because of its proximity to middle-class

A House

labor and customer pools, lower development costs, minimal bureaucratic restrictions, greater financial incentives and subsidies, and better city services and business amenities.

All that has been accomplished is the distribution of investment and activity over a larger geographic area, with little economic growth for the region overall. This intramural competition flouts the ancient adage that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Of course, the fortunes of new town are not as far removed from those of old town as many believe — the economic burdens of declining old towns can and do trickle up to limit the growth potential of new towns.

By recognizing that old and new towns are configured to meet different needs, mayors can minimize competition and allow each portion of the city to serve its proper role. Old town should remain the focus of civic life and community identity. It allows for activities that require a fine-grained mix of uses and buildings: urban residential development, loft housing, live-work arrangements, small business incubators, and tourism and entertainment attractions. In fact, many small-to medium-sized commercial enterprises initially located along the strip mall find the pedestrian traffic of old town to be a valuable business asset.

New town offers different opportunities and

possibilities for attractive and functional urban design over the long term. However, for new town to remain competitive and economically healthy, its design must evolve to work at the scale of the pedestrian as well as that of the automobile. For instance, connecting and relating large-scale, isolated developments by means of well-designed boulevards and streets that accommodate cars, pedestrians and bikes would be a good start.

Many of the discussions at the Mayors Institute, therefore, examine strategies for locating and designing civic infrastructure. How can it accommodate higher densities of infill development, allowing for long-term, sustainable growth without sacrificing the immediate benefits of the strip? How can it allow for clear, attractive and convenient connections to old town, so the two parts of the city can grow together?

Where new town is outside the mayor's jurisdiction, the solution to this problem is complex. Without a regional governing structure to coordinate development strategies and distribute development revenue more equitably, communities must work on their own to establish healthy relationships with their neighbors.

But when old and new town are under the same jurisdiction, city government controls the destinies of both. While cities are not always able to change powerful national trends and policies, they can follow a number of strategies that allow each part of the city to do what it does best.

The mayor should assume responsibility for clarifying the uses, features and activities that are appropriate for old and new town and reinforcing them through city policies and spending. Mayors can help identify the design resources in each part of the city — such as an old, vacant downtown building or a popular park near the commercial strip — and put them to the best use.

Mayors have a variety of tools — planning, budgeting and management — to work with. An urban audit (or cost accounting) can help them determine the levels of capital investment, city services, tax revenue and financial incentives related to old and new town — and how to craft capital and annual budgets and development approvals processes that level the playing field.

Mayors should recognize that the public realm of streets, squares and parks in old town must be

Divided

managed as carefully as the public realm of the shopping mall in new town. City building maintenance is often the first thing to be cut from the budget, even though poorly maintained public buildings send a negative message about the city's image to potential businesses and residents.

Finally, mayors should remember that cities are systems of relationships. Old town should be linked to new town by simple and direct pedestrian and vehicular connections such as boulevards, transit rights of way or shared landscape features like riverfront greenways. These elements should create a sense of continuity and make the city structure legible — facilitating the flow of people, goods and business, and underscoring the common destiny of the old town and the new.

Christine L. Saum

Mayors

Tomilea Allison.
Courtesy David Snodgress.

Tomilea Allison, Bloomington, Ind.

Mayor Tomilea Allison asked the Mayors' Institute for advice on restoring a historic structure, known as the Showers Building, in a decaying light industrial neighborhood near downtown. The city wanted to reuse the building as a new city hall and hoped that the project would serve as a catalyst for further renewal. Allison spoke about early resistance to the project, how it was overcome and the impact the project has had on the surrounding area.

CS: What did people in the community think about restoring the Showers Building?

TA: There was strong opposition. The building itself has always been one that everybody loved, partly for its architecture — the saw-toothed roof and the brick facade — and partly because it had been the home of a major local employer. But a lot of people, including certain members of the city council, considered reusing the building a folly because it is located in a valley near some railroad tracks and where some disreputable bars once were.

CS: How did you overcome that opposition?

TA: The building was finally rehabilitated through a three-way partnership between the city, Indiana University and a private developer known as CFC.

Because CFC had had previous success with rehabilitation projects, it was able to convince people that it could do a good job.

The major obstacle to the process was the university's massive bureaucracy. Although the university was supposed to lease office space in the finished building, it wasn't certain it wanted to. The entire process took six years, and we had our dedication last November.

The city's investment in the old factory has already spurred other projects, Allison notes.

TA: To the west of the Showers Building, an old creamery has been renovated into offices. Just beyond that an artist relocated an old house for offices and rehabbed a building for studios. To the east, the county agreed to buy an old manufacturing plant for conversion to offices, a project that was delayed due to environmental contamination. North of that, a local businessman has bought buildings that housed an adult bookstore and shady motel, and has rehabbed them for use as a group home for teenagers and a nicer motel. All of this started after the city began work on the Showers Building.

on City Design

At the institute, we discussed downtown as having four nodes that should be connected with pedestrian pathways — the Showers Building, Courthouse Square, Indiana University and the convention center. Near its gate, the university is constructing a mixed-use project that will have retail on the first floor, offices on the second and apartments on the third. As part of that project, a landscape architect with the university developed a streetscape improvement plan which we asked him to extend throughout the rest of the area. The university is paying for improvements in its area, the library board has agreed to incorporate the streetscape plan into its expansion plans, and the city is paying for the remainder of the improvements, with funds raised through the Showers Building bond issue.

Mayor Allison's experience at the Mayors' Institute helped her make the vision of a new city hall in this area acceptable, but the learning experience did not begin or end there.

TA: I had an interest in design before, and I've always been a local activist. I became interested in the physical fabric of the city after a new shopping mall began to empty out downtown. And I read a lot.

Mainly I try to get design introduced early — one of my biggest frustrations is not having money for design in the early stages to help sell a project — and to plant ideas everywhere I can.

Gary McCaleb, Abilene, Tex.
Mayor Gary McCaleb wrote "Ten Commandments for City Design" while attending the Mayors' Institute. They included "Thou shalt never give away a public street, and "Thou shalt (almost) never build a building higher than five or six stories." Since then, he has remained one of the institute's strongest supporters.

Gary McCaleb.

CS: You've talked about the importance of "design thinking" in revitalizing cities. What do you mean by "design thinking?"

GM: Some people think in visual terms while others think more quantitatively. I find that people seem to fall into one of three categories. As soon as you begin to describe a design concept, some people get it immediately. Others are able to get it with more explanation, such as when you show them a picture. There are others who will never get it because design is not in their frame of reference. These people tend to think of themselves as more pragmatic, even though I believe that good design is also functional — it can enhance usefulness, acceptance and appeal, all of which a mayor should be developing with regard to the way citizens feel about their city.

CS: What is the mayor's role in promoting design thinking?

GM: The mayor doesn't have to assume the role of master designer. The mayor can have a lasting influence on the city by identifying good design thinkers in the community, encouraging their efforts and placing them on key committees and boards in order to permeate all decision-making areas.

I also see the mayor as an elaborator. You can't let yourself think that if people don't understand right away they never will. If you really have a good idea, you have to be patient and keep trying to help people understand. I keep in mind something Walt Disney said, that nobody has the right to kill a good idea before it gets a chance to live.

CS: How has design thinking helped Abilene?

GM: It's the story of our whole downtown. In 1989, downtown was almost gone — closed buildings, boarded up windows. We had som proposals, but every time I gave a presentation people questioned whether we weren't just pouring money down a rathole. The two most important projects were the old train depot and the railroad hotel across the street. Abilene is a railroad town, and trains still run right through the middle of the city. That's why, I argued, the hotel and the depot were so important.

The depot was refurbished for use as a visitors' center and cultural affairs office; the hotel was transformed into a museum. These projects were done with a combination of funds raised by private business and citizen groups, local foundation grants and city support — both financial and in-kind. Those two projects really got things going. Later, the Paramount theater was totally redone. It now shows classic movies every weekend.

Our latest initiative is to plant trees. Abilene is in flat west Texas, so in 1990 I challenged people to plant 10,000 trees every year for ten years. That's about one tree for every person in Abilene, and so far they've been doing it. It has really changed the way people feel about the community. It is not very encouraging to drive through a downtown that's boarded up and covered with graffiti. Now we have new restaurants and stores, and businesses who had moved out of downtown have moved back in. We've even planted trees along the right-of-way in order to transform the railroad into a long, green park. There's no question that our people feel better about their city.

William A. Johnson, Jr.

William A. Johnson, Jr., Rochester, N.Y.

Mayor William Johnson, Jr., was elected on a platform that emphasized a commitment to city investment in struggling neighborhoods. His first project was to attempt to create a new pedestrian-oriented shopping area that would spur local commercial development.

WJ: My first impulse was to use a vacant grocery store site as an anchor for a development of small shops, modeled after a successful project I had seen in Cleveland. I've had an incredibly difficult time, though, in finding a tenant for the grocery store. In Rochester, there is a single chain that dominates the local market, and that chain keeps closing stores in the city so that everyone will have to shop at the superstores they have built right outside the city limits.

So I found a model in Richmond, Va., where a small grocery store operator, with the help of a number of investors, took over five inner-city stores from another operator who no longer wanted to operate them. They call it Community Pride Grocers. I found a wholesale distributor to agree to form a partnership with a small-scale local grocer operator — to provide technical support and competitive pricing — and told them the city would help them compete with the larger chain. We had a public meeting to try to convince people in the neighborhood that they should support this store when it opens, and we have grass-roots support, but the developer is still nervous.

The store has become a symbol. If we can make it work here, in one of the worst neighbor-hoods in the city, we can do it all across town. Nobody wants to drive through a neighborhood where the shops are all boarded up. We have to return life to this city.

CS: What is the biggest frustration you face, as mayor, in trying to improve the quality of the design of your city's public places?

A significant frustration is the common perception that good design that reflects the special character of the community is a frill or a luxury. This is a particular problem when working with chain or franchise operators who use a cookie cutter approach to development. A resource base of how standard designs have been adapted to fit local character without prohibitive costs would be a great help.

CS: Why should mayors be concerned about the design of their city?

How a community looks to its residents and businesses, both current and future, plays a major role in how citizens, taxpayers and voters feel about their community. It also sends and image, positive or negative, to those investors who will influence the future economic health of the community and its residents.

Kay Granger.
Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

Kay Granger, Fort Worth, Tex.

Mayor Kay Granger created an uproar when she told her city manager that proposals for an addition to the local library were so bad they ought to start over again.

KG: When I became mayor, I inherited plans for a new central library that we could not afford. Our existing library was partially underground, and it leaked like a sieve. The plan for the badly-needed new facility called for $20 million. We had $5.5 million. "Okay, "I said. "We can't afford to build this right now, but we can at least fix the leaks." Then I got the bill for the leaks: it would cost $2.5 million of the $5.5 million we had.

What to do? I was stumped until an architect brought me the idea to build a building on top of the existing one, sealing the leaks and providing for the eventual expansion we needed — all of which could be accomplished for $5.5 million.

Shortly after I returned from the Mayors' Institute, the city manager called me into his office. He showed me four proposals for the library and asked, "Which one do you want?" I was astonished that I was being given the decision to make, just like that. I looked over the four designs. "Not a one," was my reply.

At the Mayors' Institute, Joe Riley had told us to do anything necessary to stop bad design. Fall on the floor in a fit if you have to, but do whatever you can to stop bad design.
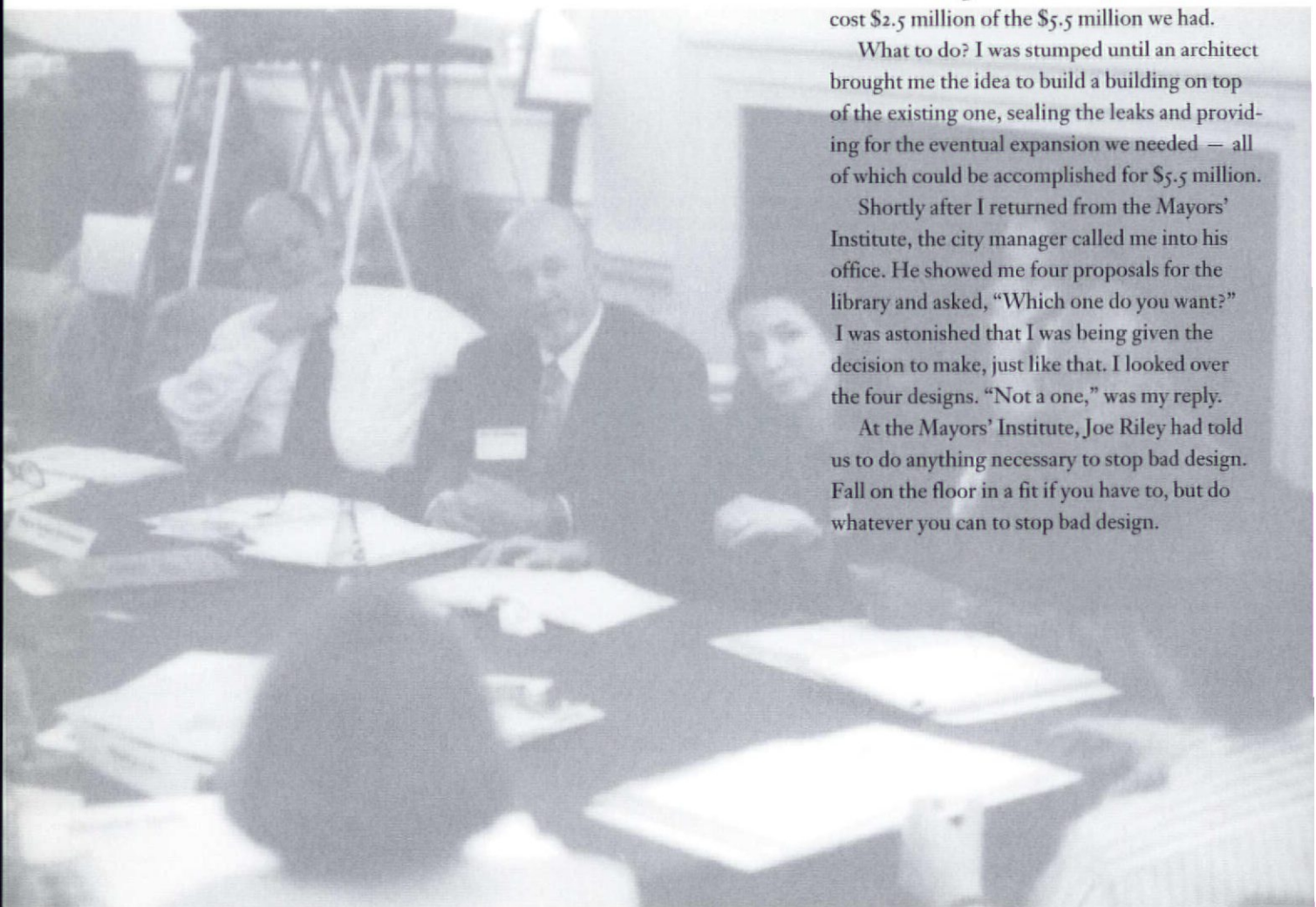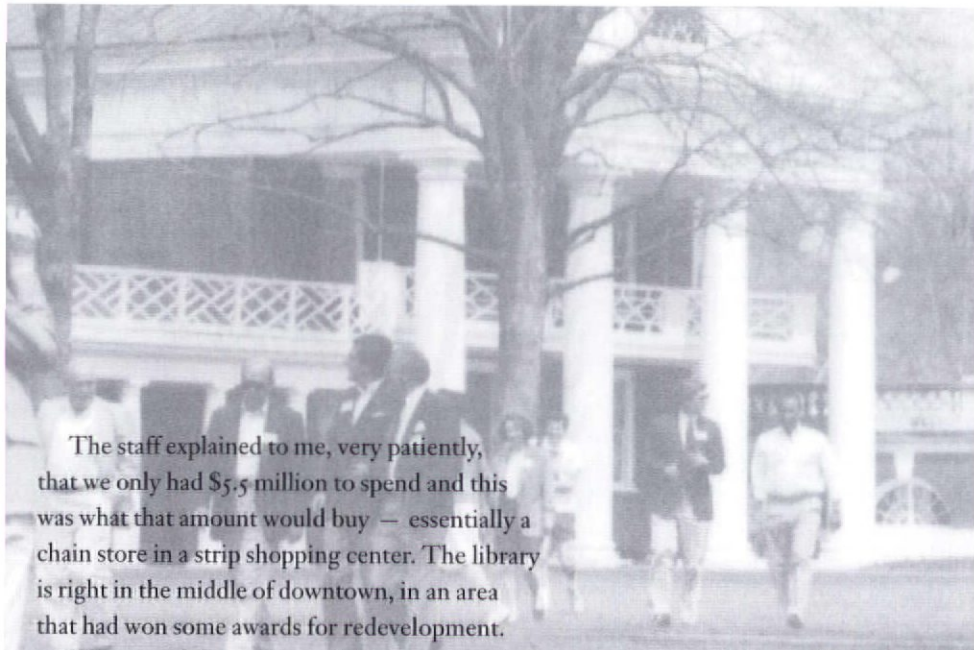
The staff explained to me, very patiently, that we only had $5.5 million to spend and this was what that amount would buy — essentially a chain store in a strip shopping center. The library is right in the middle of downtown, in an area that had won some awards for redevelopment.

We stopped the project and began a visioning process to talk about what a library should be and how it should function. Time and time again, I was told by staff that we couldn't do what we were doing. "You don't have enough money," they'd say. "You don't have enough time. Just get on with it. Choose one." We persevered. We brought others in. In our minds we collectively began to build a public building of distinction, structure and style.

Another architect joined the team, working with us to bring in a design that fit out downtown, fit our vision and accomplished both the expansion and the repairs. We will soon finish our library building — not a complete library, but a two-block-long, 50,000 square foot shell (the size of the originally conceived $20 million facility). The interior buildout will take a little longer and will be completed as we have the funds, but this public building is beautiful and the people are proud of it.

The change in design has made all the difference in the world. The project was originally envisioned as an emergency repair. We built our building, fixed our leaks and formed a foundat-

ion to raise the $4.5 million for finishing the interior, according to plans by the same architect who designed the rest of the building. People are so pleased with what we are doing that private donations are right on schedule.

The biggest frustration for me is that the people most responsible (in my case, city staff) are so often willing to put up with bad design or no design. It's frustrating that one should have to throw a fit to avoid bad design. But my involvement has made a great deal of difference in a project that will last for years after my time in office has been forgotten. Good design lasts. So do mistakes.
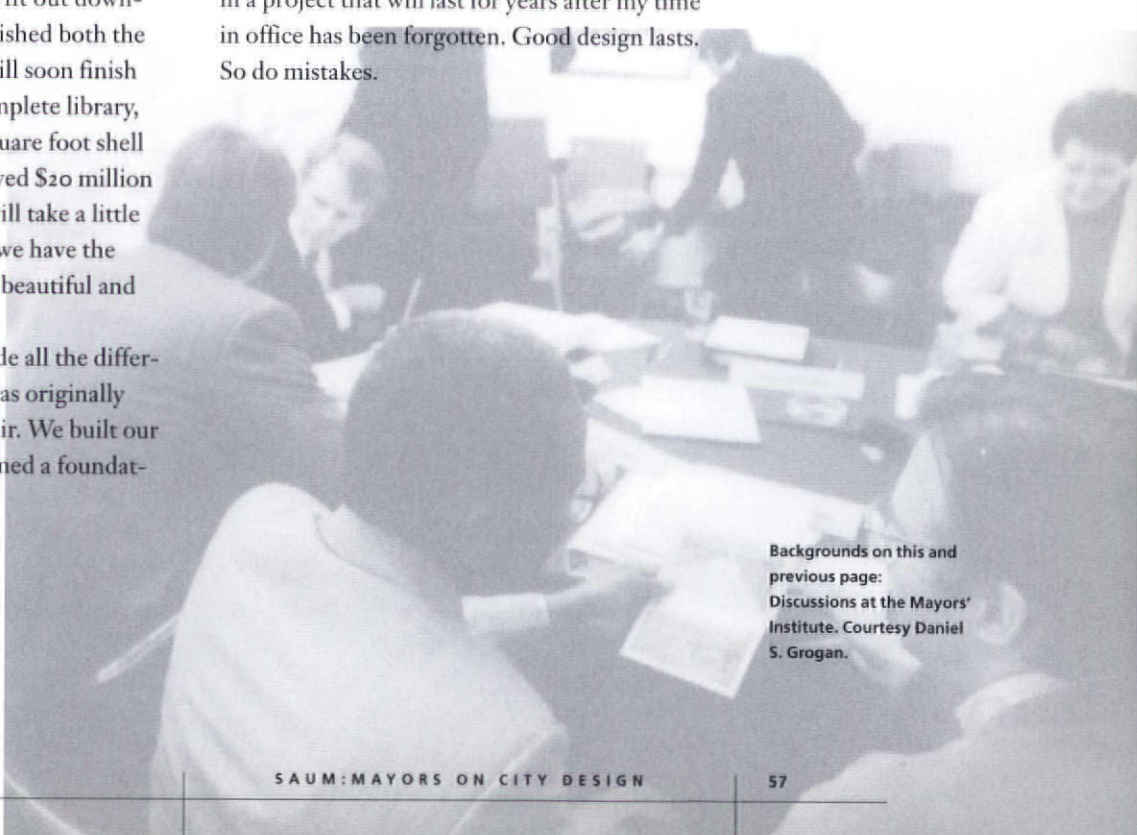
Backgrounds on this and previous page: Discussions at the Mayors' Institute. Courtesy Daniel S. Grogan.

Donovan Rypkema

Th

Dependenc

This essay is about place. It is about community, which isn't the same thing as place. Mostly, it is about economic development — about what cities are going to have to do to compete in the twenty-first century. Significantly, that has much to do with fostering a sense of community and a sense of place.

What is a "place?" First, it is not a synonym for "location." A location is a point on the globe; an intersection of longitude and latitude. Certainly every place has a location but not every location meets the test of being a place. I start with that contention by noting the titles of recent books from which I have taken many of the ideas that follow: *The Experience of Place, A Sense of Place, The Great Good Place, The Power of Place, Placeways.*

These are by all authors from different disciplines with different perspectives. But there are two very important common denominators. First, all of them deal with something called "place." Second, for each of them, a place is imbued with something beyond its physical characteristics — something intangible, an experience, a sense, a power, a quality of being good.

If place is something more than a location, what is it? Place has been defined as "a location of experience," as "the container of shapes, powers, feelings and meanings" and as "a matrix of energies." The definition I like best comes from landscape artist Allan Gussow, who defines place as,

"a piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feelings."[1]

Psychiatric writer Winifred Gallagher has investigated the impact of place on human behavior. She writes, "In a very real sense, the places in our lives influence our behavior in ways that we often don't expect. A good or bad environment promotes good or bad memories, which inspire a good or bad mood, which inclines us toward good or bad behavior." She talks about the effect of place on the level of fantasy in children, the crime rate, attitudes of office and assembly line workers, and urban decay.[2]

Sociologist Ray Oldenburg takes a different perspective. Oldenburg contends that human beings need what he calls a "third place" — home being the first and work being the second. He is rather specific about the characteristics of these "third places." They are filled with people, they are not exclusively reserved for the well-dressed crowd, there are abundant places to sit, human scale has been preserved, and "cars haven't defeated the pedestrians in the battle for the streets." Just think for a moment about your favorite neighborhood and see if it doesn't meet those tests.

Oldenburg's "third places" include public spaces within neighborhoods. He reaches the same conclusion as Gallagher does about place and personal safety, observing, "Attachment to

1. Alan Gussow cited in E.V. Walter, *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 209.
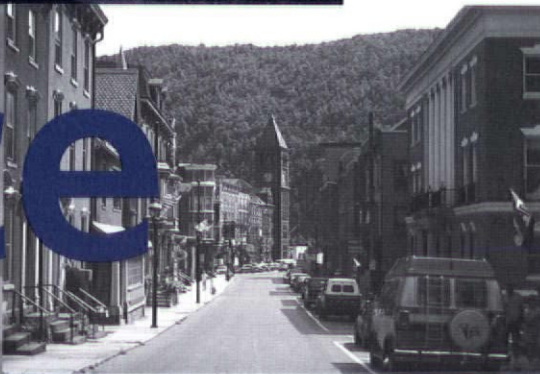
2. Winifred Gallagher, *The Power of Place* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993), 132

of

Place

Top: Lancaster County
landscape. Courtesy Pa. Dutch
Convention and Visitors Bureau.
Center left: Winslow
CoHousing, Bainbridge Island,
Wash. Courtesy CoHousing
Company.
Center right: Jim Thorpe,
Pa., main street.
Below: North East Harbor,
Me.,waterfront.

the area and the sense of place that it imparts expand with the individuals walking familiarity with it. In such locales, parents and their children range freely. The streets are not only safe, they invite human connection."[3]

Daniel Kemmis, the mayor of Missoula, Montana, is frustrated with political gridlock on the local level. But is his solution more government programs, more members of his political party in office, or more news conferences? No. Instead he takes a wonderful step back from the cacophony of politics and grounds himself. He writes:

"(W)hat 'we' do depends upon who 'we' are (or who we think we are). It depends, in other words, upon how we choose to relate to each other, to the place we inhabit, and to the issues which that inhabiting raises for us. If, in fact, there is a connection between the places we inhabit and the political culture which our inhabiting of them produces, then, perhaps, it makes sense to begin with the place, with a sense of what it is, and then try to imagine a way of being public which would fit the place."[4]

Regardless of their particular perspective, Gallagher, Oldenburg and Kemmis reach the same conclusions: place has an immense impact on how we think and act as human beings; the quality of the built environment around us is, overall, getting worse instead of better; and there has been a marked shift away from the interaction between people and their place.

There is also a renewed recognition of the importance of a concept called "community." One forum for this interest is an emerging national movement called "communitarianism," led by sociologist Amitai Etzioni and joined by Common Cause founder John Gardner, presidential advisor William Galston, Columbia University law professor John Coffee, pollster Daniel Yankelovich and others. Their platform, spelled out in Etzioni's book, *The Spirit of Community*, is multifaceted and much of it not germane to this discussion. But their definition of "community" is useful: "a place in which people know and care for one another — the kind of place in which people do not merely ask 'How are you?' as a formality but care about the answer."[5] Just as there is an intangible sense that makes a place out of a location, so there is an intangible spirit that makes

a community out of a municipality.

Others are researching, writing and talking about this concept of community as well. Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon expresses concern that "communities" are insufficiently recognized by the court system. Theologian John Snow bemoans rootlessness and the lack of communities to support families. Sociologist Robert Bellah and his colleagues contend that reaching *The Good Society* — the title of their most recent book — requires "paying attention," by which they mean paying attention to community.[6] Neighborhood activists, downtown associations, inner-city housing organizations, small town development groups are surfacing as major proponents of community in their locales.

The use of the word "community" is certainly not new. In the 1960s there was a call to community in the form of the "power to the people" movement. But that so-called community was out to save the world; today's community is out to save the neighborhood. That community was naive but also decidedly self-righteous; today's community is realistic and unpretentious without being meek. That community was ideological and decidedly on the left; today's community is political but not particularly partisan and is much more "help ourselves" than "you have to help us."

So we have one interdisciplinary group of thinkers, observers and theorists who are rediscovering the significance of place. At the same time we have another interdisciplinary group of thinkers, observers and theorists, joined by some local activists, who are proclaiming the critical importance of community.

In their search for meaning in place and community, these writers (none of whom represents him or herself as an historic preservationist or urbandesigner) have found what preservationists and other design advocates have already discovered. The character of our built environment, historic areas and others, is directly related to both the strength of our communities and the quality of place.

What virtually none of these writers has recognized is that the two concepts, community and place, are inseparable. "Place" is the vessel within which the "spirit" of community is stored; "community" is the catalyst that imbues a location with a sense of place.

Once understood in this context, many things

3. Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place* (New York, Paragon House, 1991), 210.

4. Daniel Kemmis, *Community and the Politics of Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 41.

5. Amitai Etzioni, *The Spirit of Community* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 31.

6. Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swindler, Steven M. Tipton, *The Good Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 254.

begin to make sense. The anger that is deeply felt when a neighborhood landmark is razed is not a reaction to the loss of the building (it was only stone and wood, after all) but to the taking away of a piece of the community. This context also tells us why preservation is an overwhelmingly local endeavor, why the demolition of a building in your town isn't, frankly, too important to me, nor my neighborhood loss to you. Those aren't our communities. It explains why strong neighborhood groups are much more often found in older neighborhoods than new — the sense of place and the spirit of community have had time to reinforce each other.

Place, Community and Economic Development

Each of these writers has his or her own slant on why the sense of place or the spirit of community is important: for public safety, political participation, cultural development, aesthetic richness, neighborliness, legal balance, mental health, conflict resolution. Those are all important outcomes and I am sure place and community affect them.

What I know most about is economic development, and I can tell you the same thing is true: a sense of place and the spirit of community will be crucial for successful economic development well into the next century.

Let me begin with two simple facts of economic life. First, a community cannot survive without economic health, and second, economic health cannot be maintained without economic growth. While towns, cities and nations can stand the periodic ups and downs of business cycles, failure over the longer term to have economic growth will inevitably lead to economic decline. Economic decline is fewer jobs and lower pay for the jobs that do exist. Without jobs, people either move away or become permanent dependents of the state. Departure and dependency have the same end result — loss of community, however you define it.

While we do need economic growth, we don't necessarily need more people. It is possible to have economic growth without having population growth, through better education, higher productivity, innovation and import substitution.

We are in the midst of a major shift in how the economy functions. There are four interrelated aspects of this shift: globalization, localization,

quality of life as the critical factor in economic growth, location dependency being replaced by innovation and place dependency.

The first two factors are globalization and localization. For all the discussion we hear, globalization has only just begun. We are in a global economy, a global marketplace, and in coming years it will only be more so. Those that choose to opt out for the sake of parochial interests, provincial ideology or protectionist isolationism will simply be left out, doomed to economic decline, and their citizens will be the losers. "Think Globally, Act Locally" was the slogan of antinuclear activists in the 1970s and of environmentalists in the 1980s. From now on, it will be a slogan for economic development.

The exciting part of globalization is not the "think globally" part, it is the "act locally" part. Current trade policy debates largely ignore the vital role individual towns, cities, even neighborhoods have in the globalization process. But as Michael Porter writes in *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, "The process of creating skills and the important influences on the role of improvement and innovation are intensely local. Paradoxically, open global competition makes the home base more, not less important."[7] Porter maintains that the process of building skills, improvement and innovation are local because education, face-to-face communication and interaction with co-workers, and complimentary and competitive industries are also local.

Akio Morito, founder of Sony, calls this phenomenon "global localization." Richard Knight, a professor at the University of Amsterdam, argues that "Cities are in ascendance because they are the nexus of the global society" and that how individual cities fare "will depend on their ability to anticipate and adapt to the challenge [of globalization]." While some individuals can work for limited periods in technological isolation, certain industries, particularly knowledge-based industries, must interact with each other on an institutional basis. Further, the innovators within those industries are stimulated by random encounters with people and situations. That happens almost exclusively in cities. Business guru Peter Drucker ties this global localization to community. In *PostCapitalist Society* he writes that tomorrow's

8. Richard V. Knight, *Cities in a Global Society*, (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989), 223. Peter F. Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society*, (New York: Harper Business, 1993), 214-215.

9. Philip Kotler, Donald H. Haider, Irving Rein, *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry and Tourism to Cities, States, and Nations*, (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 20.

educated person "must become a 'citizen of the world' — in vision, horizon, information. But he or she will also have to draw nourishment from their local roots and, in turn, enrich and nourish their own local culture."[8]

The third factor is the importance of quality of life, which is the most significant variable in economic development decisions. What constitutes "quality of life"? A variety of lists have been made. But every item on every list I have read can be divided into one of two categories: the physical and the human. Do you think that it's only coincidence that the physical might be redefined as "place" and the human redefined as "community"?

Quality of life is the amalgam of those things that make a place out of a location and a community out of a bunch of houses. That's why the debate cannot be allowed to place economic development and quality urban design in opposition to each other. Today, for lots of reasons, economic growth will only take place on a sustainable basis where there is a high quality of life; and securing quality of life is at the heart of what preservation and community design is all about. When "quality of life" is defined by gated housing developments, then only three variables are considered important in the quality of life criteria: clean, seemingly safe (though usually illusional) and homogeneity. But that definition is neither how most Americans are going to live in the future, nor does it provide the human interaction nor the evidence of community evolution that in the end are more important elements for sustainable "community."

Quality of life is sometimes painted as the soft side of economic development, while infrastructure costs, tax rates and utility costs are the hard factors. Yet more and more institutional investors in municipal bonds are looking increasingly at the local quality of life to determine if they want to buy the bonds or not. Without quality of life, they reason, reinvestment won't occur. No reinvestment means no economic growth. No economic growth means economic decline. Economic decline means less tax revenue. Less tax revenue means the bonds can't be paid off.

The last factor is the shift from cities being location dependent to cities being place dependent. Think about how nearly all cities began; they were founded and grew because of their

dependence on a fixed location. They were located on a seaport, or near raw materials, at transportation crossroads, or close to a water source, or at a point that was appropriate as a military defensive outpost. They were location dependent.

The most far reaching book about tomorrow's economic development strategy, *Marketing Places*, was written by three professors at Northwestern University who call their strategy "place development." In part they write, "A place's potential depends not so much on a place's location, climate, and natural resources as it does on its human will, skill, energy, values, and organization."[9]

Tomorrow's cities (at least in North America, Japan and Europe) will be innovation and place dependent. Please note that I said place dependent, not location dependent. Our product will be knowledge and information. Information is a product whose inventory takes almost no storage space, can be created anywhere, can be transported instantly and cheaply, and can be adapted, expanded and modified at will. Cities will either innovate and build on the strengths of their place or they will decline. They will no longer be able to make excuses that, "copper prices are down" or "they moved the interstate highway interchange" or "a new harbor opened up down the coast." The physical characteristics of a community, natural and manmade, new and old, are the corporeal manifestations of place and, by extension, community. All of the benefits that Oldenburg, Gallagher, Kemmis, and Walter see in "community" are decidedly diminished as the quality of the physical design and quality of the community are diminished.

There is one important economic consequence of these four economic trends that affect our cities — the matter of community differentiation. In the free market, it is the differentiated product that commands a monetary premium. If in the long run we want to attract capital, to attract investment to our cities, we must differentiate them from anywhere else. It is our built environment that expresses, perhaps better than anything else, our diversity, our identity, our individuality, or differentiation.

Missoula mayor Kemmis reinforces this. He says, "Any serious move by a local economic development organization goes hand in hand with an effort to identify and describe the characteristics of that locality which set it apart and give it a

Cities can attract capital and investment by recognizing what differentiates them from other places. Clockwise, from far left: Charleston, S.C.; Mercer Slough Nature Park, Bellevue, Wash. Courtesy Jones and Jones.; Camden, Me., waterfront.

distinct identity."[10] The major reason preservationists struggle to maintain their city's historic resources is to maintain the city's distinct identity.

There is one dark cloud on the horizon — the so called "property rights" movement. This burgeoning movement is making a concerted attack on land-use regulation throughout the United States. We have to challenge this movement head-on. In forum after forum, point by point, we cannot allow their hogwash to go unanswered.

If quality of life is the significant variable for economic development, and if the physical environment is a major element of quality of life criteria, then there is no greater threat to sustainable economic growth than the elimination of those community-based enactments whose sole purpose is the protection of the physical environment, whether it is built or natural. In the name of real estate rights these myopic fast-buck artists are dooming the economic future of our communities, not the preservationists, environmentalists, urban design advocates and their allies. Yet the property rights advocates are getting away with claiming the opposite.

I want to conclude with two quotations that, I think, effectively convey both the importance of sense of place and the significance of the spirit of community. First, the widely admired American author Eudora Welty writes, in her collection of essays entitled *The Eye of the Story*:

"It is our describable outside that defines us, willy-nilly, to others, that may save us, or destroy us, in the world; it may be our shield against chaos, our mask against exposure; but whatever it is, the move we make in the place we live has to signify our intent and meaning."[11]

Nearly 150 years ago John Ruskin was referring to buildings but I think what he wrote applies to our entire communities as well. He wrote:

"When we build let us think that we build for ever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labor and wrought substance of them, 'See! This our fathers did for us.'"[12]

10. Daniel Kemmis, *Community and the Politics of Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 88.

11. Eudora Welty, *The Eye of the Story*, (New York: Vintage, 1990), 122.

12. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 176-177.

Alex Krieger

The Virtues

We want to spread out, we want to stand apart. Few such dreams support city making, which traditionally has meant making places that endure. Partly because of our uncerta

of Cities

We Americans have long shown an ambivalence towards the city. We have been ambivalent about the value of urbanity to our culture, about the appropriate form that the city should take and, especially, about where one individuals are best placed in relationship to the city.

Americans always dream of having a good place to live, but their dreams do not often enough include the city. How is "a good place to live" imagined? People dream of a charming porch, a conversation held across a trimly kept yard, a bicycle leaning against a picket fence, lots of green space or a stately home. As enticing as these evocations are, they do not depict a city very well.

Indeed, a number of American cultural predilections inadvertently work against establishing good urban places to live. Among our yearnings, for example, is the desire to be on the move. We want to move up, physically, socially and economically. We want to move away, start again, do it better the next time around. We want to spread out, stand apart, express our individuality. We want to occupy a sizable parcel of land. Hence a popular late-nineteenth century railroad poster soliciting

through symbolism (or is it irony), placing monumental lions to guard our mobile home parks.

Such yearnings for progress, mobility, individuality and space continue to determine thousands of choices for dwelling on the periphery of cities. Not surprisingly, municipal officials, town planners and mayors frequently remark on the diminishing urbanity within their communities. Of course, they do not phrase it that way. They decry the popularity of regional malls, lament the lack

ate with

increasing frequency.

Estranged from the new city, we seek
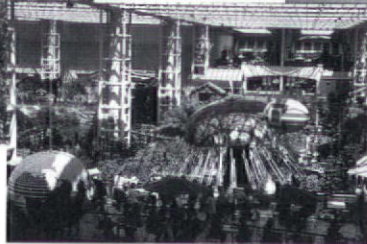
migration to California promised "43 million acres of lands untaken! A climate for health and wealth, without cyclones or blizzards."

Ever on the move, we have shown more interest in consuming than in maintaining or nurturing. We want to progress. We believe in the new, and in the future, although increasingly the new must have the feel or look of being old. It is not the quarter acre that we already own but one of the tens of millions yet untaken about which we dream. Notions of rootedness, stability and permanence of place, which in many cultures are identified with good places to live and with urbanity, have been a less pressing concern among Americans. We are content with depicting stability

of activity along main street, worry about the decrease in downtown investment and the migration of residents and businesses to outlying areas. They blame sprawl for their problems while envying the good fortune of prosperous suburbs.

In pondering how their towns and cities might confront such challenges they often, paradoxically, outline a vision that emulates the perceived advantages of life on the periphery. It is not certain whether such emulation ever brings residents, merchants or places of work back to town. But this emulation clearly contributes to the erasure of distinctions between cities, suburbs, hamlets and other forms of settlement. This homogenization has been an underlying goal of

American city design, yet its ramifications have not been fully considered.

Pondering human nature, Ralph Waldo Emerson often reflected on the difficulty of acquiring, much less maintaining, both "rural strength and religion" and "city facility and polish." Less philosophical by nature and not inhibited by metaphysical opposites, town boosters before and especially since Emerson have sought, often claimed, to overcome this difficulty. Their efforts to establish what others have ennobled as the "middle landscape," "borderlands," "garden cities" or "edge

lating city life amidst nature. It should be about maintaining proximity to both of the realms, city and nature, that are necessary for sustaining civilization. The successful suburb requires the continuing existence of both city and nature — preferably nearby.

Thus, to compete with their ever spreading peripheries, cities and towns might best maintain their own virtues. Under the leavening forces of rampant disaggregation, however, we need frequent reminders of what those virtues are.

Propinquity. In an age promising ever more

comfort in convention. We build

Left to right:
Las Colinas, Tex.;
downtown Pittsburgh;
Forest Hills Gardens, Queens,
New York City; Roland Park,
Baltimore; Statue of President
McKinley, North Adams, Mass.;
water tower, Riverside, Ill.; City
Hall, Buffalo, N.Y.

cities" ultimately reinforce Emerson's doubts. The great swaths of development between the ever receding country and the ever thinning town seem conducive to acquiring neither rural strength and religion nor city facility and polish.

So perhaps Woody Allen's claim that he is "two with nature" contains a useful insight about town design. The long-standing American yearning for a state of settlement in which the virtues of urbanity and nature are enjoyed simultaneously has been exposed as a form of fool's gold that devalues both town and country. We may, at last, be at the point of understanding empirically what early advocates of the model suburb hypothesized: The idea of the suburb should not be about simu-

instant communication it is easy, but wrongheaded, to assume that physical proximity is no longer important. Perhaps the fundamental virtue of cities is that they still bring people together, they are where society engages itself face to face.

Consider that each day some 75,000 people visit the Mall of America, located conveniently outside Minneapolis and St. Paul. Do they go there merely to shop, or is the place popular because it enables a primitive kind of propinquity to occur? Some mall-goers do shop (although retail sales lag behind industry standards), while more seem to be riding the indoor roller coaster, posing with the giant Snoopy, building Lego® castles and enjoying the crowd.

Our need for contact with others is so great that we will commute great distances to places like malls, forgetting they are but simulations of environments traditionally found in cities. The popularity of recreational shopping, tourism, theme parks, sporting events, specialized museums, movie theatres and even charity walk-a-thons expresses our subliminal need for social contact — often for the sheer pleasure of it.

Juxtaposed realms. The demise of vital downtowns parallels the rise in the use of the term "central business district." Why would anyone want to live, shop, dine, relax, meet a friend, cruise in a convertible, attend a concert, see a movie, go to school, take a walk with a sweetheart or simply hang out in a place called the "central business district"? The appeal of downtowns has become diminished even for businesses, which eventually leave in search of environments that offer their employees a wider array of amenities.

Lewis Mumford once defined a town as the place where the greatest number of activities are congregated in the smallest geographical area. Instead of pining for the return of business interests to the downtown we should turn our attention to overcoming the absence of all other interests.

Density. An essential ingredient of a town is its density, measured not in square feet but in the juxtaposition of artifice with activity. "I have three chairs in my house:" Thoreau wrote, "one for solitude, two for friendship, three for society." Thoreau may have preferred solitude, but he understood the civilizing force of aggregation.

Density, as distinct from congestion, promotes engagement. Human interaction, made possible by proximity, is far more difficult to sustain where things are spread out across great distance, the fax and e-mail notwithstanding.

Photographer Alfred Steiglitz often urged his students to move in a little closer, to crop their scene a little tighter, after they composed a shot. Similar advice would benefit those who build the American city. Outside of a few pockets of genuine congestion, greater proximity among buildings and activities would enhance sociability. Cities have much to gain by filling in, and much to lose by thinning out.

Heterogeneity within an ordered fabric. Cities and towns offer an important lesson in both architecture and citizenship: buildings, like citizens, warrant their idiosyncrasies so long as they behave civilly toward their neighbors.

The beauty of Boston's Back Bay lies in the tension between the similarities and differences among the facades along a block, and in the repetition of such blocks along streets that differ subtlety in dimension, landscaping, edge definition and principal use.

But when buildings and people are isolated on lots of one half-acre or more, the need for civility lessens. Indeed, there is an illusion of autonomy about buildings spread over a vast landscape. You can presume an indifference toward your neighbors when you are not arrayed cheek-by-jowl.

Neighbors unlike ourselves. The diverse house types found in towns and cities can accommodate a variety of social, economic and age groups. Some of the most charming early suburbs, like Forest Hills Gardens in Queens and Roland Park in Baltimore, also contained a rich mix

of our dreams. When
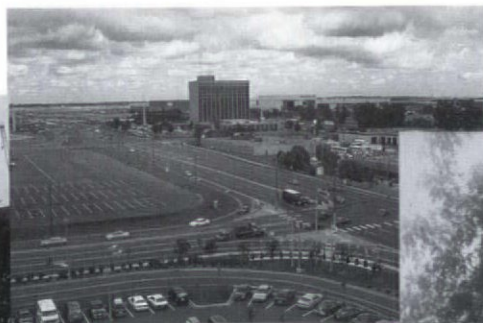
of dwelling sizes and clusters.

This mixing is not particularly popular among contemporary suburban developers, many of whom cater their subdivisions to increasingly narrow segments of the population. A growing concern about such environments is that they breed indifference, or worse, intolerance, towards social groups whose members live beyond their gates. Such indifference is unlikely to promote democracy.

Towns have always been made up of defined neighborhoods and even enclaves. Nevertheless, regular interaction among groups is ensured by the proximity of these neighborhoods to each other and the streets and public spaces they share. Such interaction, or the promise of it, remains one of the advantages of town life.

Social landmarks. Landmarks confer coherence and legibility, not status. They highlight things that are meaningful to a community, like remembering a president or marking where water is stored. The landmarks in a town constitute a valuable lexicon that help residents understand — and commemorate — their time and place.

Landmarks are not produced by labeling or through form alone. This is apparently beyond the comprehension of those who name their shopping strip "Center Place" and their office park "Landmark Square," and mark each with a faux campanile.

Texture and narrative. The many buffalo gargoyles on the face of Buffalo's city hall not only are endearing but also relate the city's name to an epoch of frontier urbanization. An old storefront in New Bedford, Mass., pulsates with reminders of whaling and trade ships; a street in modern Tokyo that exhibits the near-cacophony of a culture obsessed with digital technology.

Robert Browning's comment that "less is more" was not intended to describe the visual texture of a town's public realm. The aphorism's principal modern proponent, Mies van der Rohe, could also be heard to say, "God rests in the details."

The public face of towns and cities benefits from such excesses, which tell the many stories of how humans occupy a place. Towns and cities should cultivate the telling of these stories, and those yet unheard.

Connectivity. Some of today's most frustrating rush hour snarls occur on the perimeter highways that pass through relatively uncrowded suburbs. Arterial highways channel traffic and, therefore, limit choice. Relief from congestion may be miles away, at the next set of exit ramps, and only then if one knows where the ramps lead.

A network of urban streets — even if narrow, crooked or redundant — provides actual choice and, more importantly, the promise of choice. By taking a quick left followed by a right, one can
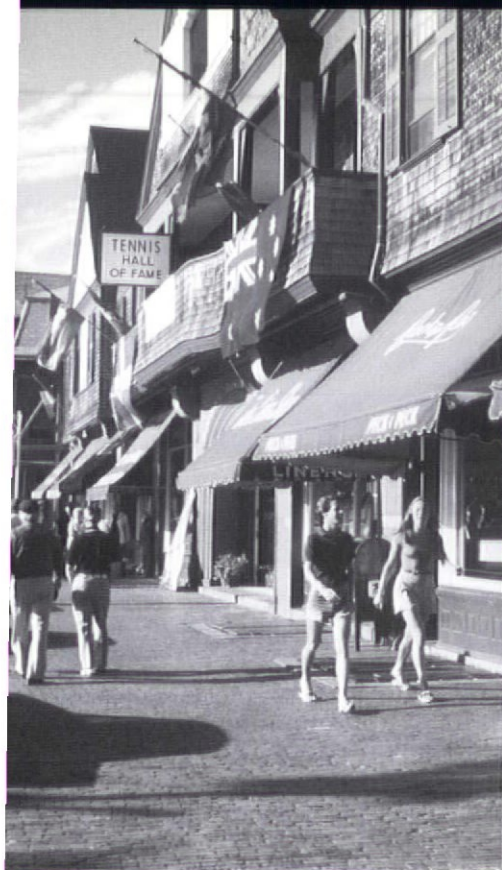
Left to right:
Tokyo; suburban street near
Phoenix; perfect street section,
Roland Park; Newport, R.I.;
view from restaurant interior
into a street; suburban
townhouses.

find a parallel street, avoid a traffic back-up, imagine a short cut or simply maintain a sense of control and freedom. This is an advantage that every city cabby understands, but few highway engineers ever acknowledge.

Streetfronts. In a typical contemporary subdivision the elements furthest from the street right-of-way seem to receive the greatest design attention. Unfortunately, this leaves much of what influences the experience of the public realm undesigned. On the inside of the fence in a Phoenix subdivision there are beautiful homes, immaculate lawns, wonderful terraces, decks and gardens. On the public side there is an corridor for circulation.

In 1904 an anonymous photographer produced a view of Roland Park that he labeled "the perfect street section." Everything that is in the public eye is carefully designed — hedges, berms, drainage swales, sidewalks, tree alignments, stoops and porches — all of the pleasures provided by fronting on a street, instead of an artery.

Immediacy of experience. Americans are known for their dislike of walking. Yet they actually walk hundreds of yards each day through parking lots, shopping malls, corridors of large buildings and airport terminals. It is ironic how much of this walking is caused by providing for the convenience of the automobile, and how much of it is forgettable.

The suburban landscape seems to only offer destinations. But in cities it is the seductions along an interesting path that make walking — and urban life — enjoyable.

Sustainability, persistence and adaptability. While few parts of any city warrant strict preservation, virtually all of them have potential for reuse. Un-fortunately this is often overlooked in the zeal to build anew, usually somewhere else, under the dubious supposition that rebuilding will enable us to get it right the next time.

The town of Southfield, a few miles north of Detroit, now boasts a daily commuter population greater than Detroit's. The chief advantages of Southfield, a strip of office parks strung along a highway, seem to be that it is new and not Detroit. With each new Southfield a Detroit withers, but, one suspects, only temporarily. Long after the single-function office towers of Southfield become outmoded (or simply less new and less profitable) the infrastructure, street system, history, monuments and neighborhoods of Detroit will persist to facilitate, even inspire, reuse.

The persistence of a city's morphology and institutions strengthens people's connections to a place. The archetypal suburban landscape, with

its coarse grain of development, relative absence of history and single-use zoning has yet to prove as adaptable as historic urban landscapes to changing social habits or needs.

Overlapping boundaries. A city is like a stack of translucent quilts, with layers of social, architectural and geographical strata — sometimes carefully, sometimes imperfectly registered. Subtle or precise, such overlapping of precincts is crucial to place-making.

An environment without perceivable boundaries is amorphous, indistinguishable from its surroundings and generally placeless. This is sadly characteristic of much of the modern metropolitan landscape. With apologies to Robert Frost, good fences may not insure good neighbors but neither does their absence foster connectivity or communality.

Public life. Downtown shopping malls like Toronto's Eaton Centre are marvels of design and magnets for activity. But a careful observer will note the limited range of activities allowed inside.

You will be ushered out unto the street for behavior deemed inappropriate by the management.

On the street, lowly or grand, you have rejoined the town. In a city the sense of proximity to a public realm remains palpable, with standards of acceptable public behavior discretely reinforced. An urban environment cherishes this relative openness and yields to privatization only with some reluctance.

The potential for a centered life. Against most planners' predictions, Los Angeles — the proverbial score of suburbs in search of a town — has recently grown a visible downtown. It is mostly a collection of corporate office towers, the product of speculative land economics at work. Yet perhaps there is something in human nature that seeks comfort in centering, and such vertical outcroppings of commerce satisfy that impulse, at least scenographically.

While there may be fewer economic and technological reasons for concentration, centers such

Left to right:
Salem, Mass.; Eaton Centre,
Toronto; Los Angeles;
Boston; Minneapolis;
Rockefeller Center,
New York City.

again to radical innovation, like urban renewal, not because we are intellectual chameleons, but beca
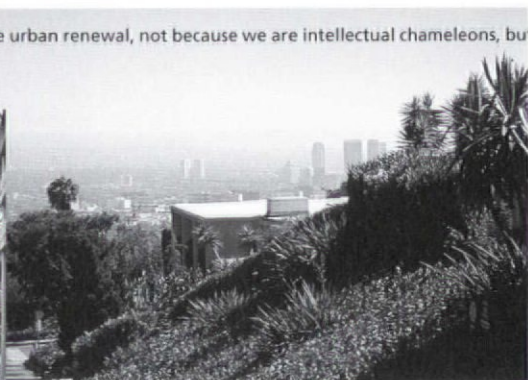
as the new Los Angeles downtown are expressions of support for concentration as a matter of social choice rather than a residue of history.

This characterization of centering recalls Kevin Lynch's concepts of significance and consonance, and it occurs at varying scales of urban settlement. Certainly at any moment the reigning economic and political institutions require visible expressions of presence and power. A democratic society retains a healthy skepticism about such grand or imperial tendencies to center. Yet, at the scale of a town common, courthouse or city hall square, library, neighborhood school or even a particularly vital intersection, this tendency to center can be found.

There are those who continue to believe that we will disaggregate, migrating away from cities to live in closer proximity to the splendors of nature, with technology providing a modicum of electronic social contact. Then how does one explain the invention of the internet cafe? Will not the very

convenience of being able to perform most daily errands, most work functions and most business transactions from the privacy of our own homes (or anywhere else for that matter) compel us to escape from our disengagement from society?

The virtue of the contemporary city is that it retards the isolation we have so doggedly crafted for ourselves. In the city — and nowhere else, as poignantly — a citizen can still partake of the pleasures of overlap, the pleasures of proximity, the pleasure of propinquity.

ential nature of the city remains elusive. The contemporary city remains elusive in part because of its immensity and in part because of our desire to escape its amorphousness.
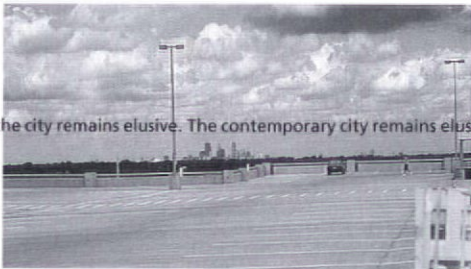
Mayors' Institute Alumni

Over the last ten years, 288 mayors representing 259 cities have participated in the Mayors' Institute. The problems they have brought demonstrate not only the breadth but also the similarity of design challenges cities face, regardless of their size or location. For more information about the case studies listed here, contact The Mayors Institute on City Design, 401 F. Street NW, Washington D.C. 20001, (202) 393-4112.

Alabama

Richard Arrington	Birmingham	
Steve Hettinger	Huntsville	Long Range Park Plan
Michael C. Dow	Mobile	Civic Buildings: Creating a Positive Impact

Alaska

Tom Fink	Anchorage	Convention and Performing Arts Center

Arizona

Wilburn J. Brown	Gilbert	Canals and Recharge Ponds: Water Management and City Design
Ken Forgia	Peoria	Washington Park
Terry Goddard	Phoenix	
Herbert Drinkwater	Scottsdale	Residential Development along Downtown Waterfront
Neil Giuliano	Tempe	Creation of a Public Open Space System
Thomas Volgy	Tucson	Defining the Emerging Arts District

Arkansas

Mike Dumas	El Dorado	
Fred Hanna	Fayetteville	Exhibition Hall and Civic Place: Downtown Square
Hubert A. Brodell	Jonesboro	Neighborhoods and Traffic
Lottie L. Shackelford	Little Rock	
Patrick Henry Hays	N. Little Rock	Arkansas River Park and Arena
Keith Ingram	West Memphis	

California

Tom Daly	Anaheim	The Brookhurst Corridor
Tim Nader	Chula Vista	The Mid Bayfront
Jozelle Smith	Culver City	
Sharifa Wilson	East Palo Alto	Revitalizating Whiskey Gulch
Nancy Flemming	Eureka	Creating a Sense of Arrival
Michael Sweeney	Hayward	Redeveloping the Cannery Area
Larry Agran	Irvine	
Peggy Mensinger	Modesto	
Carol Whiteside	Modesto	Redevelopment of Western City Entrances
Dan Albert	Monterey	"Window-on-the-Bay" Park
Rita Valenzuela	Monterey Park	Reuse of a Warehouse District
Elihu Harris	Oakland	Upper Broadway Retail Center
Rick Cole	Pasadena	Santa Fe Depot Redevelopment
William E. Thomson, Jr.	Pasadena	
Patricia Hilligoss	Petaluma	C Street and 2nd Street Area Redevelopment
John Longville	Rialto	Downtown Revitalization; Connection to Transit
Rosemary Corbin	Richmond	The Ford Building
Terry Frizzel	Riverside	Rehabilitation of the Mission Inn
Anne Rudin	Sacramento	City Block Decisions
W. R. "Bob" Holcomb	San Bernardino	Maximizing the Benefit of Downtown Development
Albert J. Boro	San Rafael	Freeway Frontage Redevelopment

Sheila Lodge	Santa Barbara	Cabrillo Boulevard Site Development
Katherine Beiers	Santa Cruz	
Jack Doyle	Santee	Developing Civic and Commercial Identity
Don Jordan	Seaside	Ford Ord Base Conversion
Joan Darrah	Stockton	Revitalizing the Stockton Channel Area
Lawrence E. Stone	Sunnyvale	
J. Sal Muñoz	Temecula	Old Town Temecula Revitalization

Colorado

Leslie Durgin	Boulder	Thirtieth Street Study Area
Linda S. Jourgensen	Boulder	
Wellington Webb	Denver	
Ann Azari	Fort Collins	
Susan Kirkpatrick	Fort Collins	River Environmental Learning Center
Linda Morton	Lakewood	Colfax Avenue: Revitalizing old U.S. 40

Connecticut

Joseph Ganim	Bridgeport	Linking to the Waterfront Across a Railway
Gene F. Enriquez	Danbury	Downtown Redevelopment Plan
Dolores Hauber	Groton	Promoting Tourism and Preserving History
Carrie Saxon Perry	Hartford	
Michael Peters	Hartford	Lewis Street Redevelopment
John DeStefano, Jr.	New Haven	Fair Haven Waterfront Redevelopment
William A. Collins	Norwalk	

Delaware

| James H. Sills, Jr. | Wilmington | Riverview Plaza and Lower Market Street |

Florida

Robert O. Cox	Fort Lauderdale	
Jim Naugle	Fort Lauderdale	Dorsey Heights Neighborhood
Wilbur C. Smith III	Fort Myers	
Ralph Fletcher	Lakeland	North Downtown and Parker Street Neighborhood
Christine Moreno	North Miami	
Glenda Hood	Orlando	John Young Parkway Development
David J. Fischer	St. Petersburg	City Detox Center
Dorothy Inman-Crews	Tallahassee	
Nancy Graham	W. Palm Beach	Northwood Business District

Georgia

Gwen O'Looney	Athens/ Clark County	Athens Festival Park
Charles A. DeVaney	Augusta	
Patsy Jo Hilliard	East Point	Reinventing Downtown
Tommy Olmstead	Macon	Coordinating Downtown Redevelopment
Lee Robinson	Macon	Theater and Train Station Reuse
Susan S. Weiner	Savannah	Redevelopment of Broughton Street

Hawaii

| JoAnn Yukimura | Kauai County | Nawiliwili Harbor Park |
| Linda Crockett Lingle | Maui County | Kihei ... Next Five Exits |

Idaho

Brent Coles	Boise	Making Place at the New Towne Square
Dirk Kempthorne	Boise	
Thomas V. Campbell	Idaho Falls	Design Alternatives for Crossing Road and Rail

Illinois

Arlene J. Muldar	Arlington Heights	Train Station Relocation and Development Opportunities
Roger Cook	Belleville	Long-term Design and Development around Three New Transit Stations
Daniel McCollum	Champaign	Beardsley Park Neighborhood and Boneyard Crossing
Joan Barr	Evanston	Expanding the Library
Lorraine Morton	Evanston	Improving the Howard Street Commercial Corridor
Daniel Pierce	Highland Park	Defining Appropriate Infill Projects
Charles E. Box	Rockford	Expanding City Hall
Alan Larson	Schaumburg	Rehabilitating Olde Schaumburg Centre

Indiana

Tomilea Allison	Bloomington	Preservation: Showers Furniture Factory
James P. Perron	Elkhart	Project Progress and Environmental Clean-up
Paul Helmke	Fort Wayne	Headwaters Park Development
Thomas Barnes	Gary	Revitalizing Broadway: Safety and Image
Stephen J. Dailey	Kokomo	
Joseph Kernan	South Bend	City Enhancements to the East Bank
Belle C. Kasting	Vincennes	Development of a Greenbelt along the Wabash

Iowa

Tom Hanafan	Council Bluffs	Preserving and Managing Resources
Thomas W. Hart	Davenport	Protecting Ties to the River
Terrance M. Duggan	Dubuque	Improved Access to Old Main Street Historic District and the Riverfront
Bernard L. McKinley	Waterloo	Highway Corridor Enhancements
John Rooff	Waterloo	Cedar River: Heart of a Regional Heritage Area

Kansas

Frances Garcia	Hutchinson	Cow Creek: New Focal Point for Downtown
Robert L. Walters	Lawrence	South Lawrence Trafficway
Edith Stunkel	Manhattan	Expanding a Library into a Neighborhood
Harry "Butch" Felker	Topeka	Extending Street Improvements

Kentucky

Denny Bowman	Covington	Entrances to the City
Pam Miller	Lexington	Linking Downtown with the University
Jerry Abramson	Louisville	Retail Strategy for the Galleria
David Adkisson	Owensboro	StreetScape 2000
Geraldine Montgomery	Paducah	Public Assembly Facility

Louisiana

Edward Randolph, Jr.	Alexandria	
Tom Ed Mc Hugh	Baton Rouge	Housing and Public Art
Robert Powell	Monroe	
Cliff Aucoin	New Iberia	Downtown and the Teche
Hazel Beard	Shreveport	

Maine

William Burney, Jr.	Augusta	Approproate Planning for a Contingent Future
Patricia Bourgoin	Gardiner	Unifying the Central Business District
James Howaniec	Lewiston	Revitalizing Downtown with an Arts District
Thomas H. Allen	Portland	Putting New Chess Pieces Into Play

Maryland

Kurt L. Schmoke	Baltimore	
James S. Grimes	Frederick	The Carroll Creek Park Master Plan
Steve Sager	Hagerstown	The Role and Design of the Public Square

Massachussetts

Judith H. Robbins	Attleboro	Designing a Different Kind of Downtown
Alice Wolf	Cambridge	The Cambridgeport Rezoning Plan
Theodore A. Pelosi	Haverhill	Reconnecting with the River
Kevin J. Sullivan	Lawrence	Urban Design as a Catalyst for Economic Development
John K. Bullard	New Bedford	
Rosemary S. Tiernay	New Bedford	Lower Historic District and Waterfront
Thomas Concannon	Newton	The Needham Street Corridor: A Street in Transition
David B. Musante, Jr.	Northampton	Redeveloping the Downtown Hospital Site
James A. Sheets	Quincy	Redirecting How Commerce Happens
Robert Markel	Springfield	Riverfront Access and Revitalization

Michigan

Elizabeth Brater	Ann Arbor	Fate of the Ann Arbor Inn
Ingrid Sheldon	Ann Arbor	The Stadium Boulevard Corridor
Gerald R. Helmholdt	Grand Rapids	Revitalizing Oldtown/Heartside
John Logie	Grand Rapids	Heartside Redevelopment
Edward Bivens, Jr.	Inkster	Carver Homes Subdivision
Terry J. McKane	Lansing	Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan
Robert D. Bennett	Livonia	Design Standards for "Big Box" Stores
Donald F. Fracassi	Southfield	Retrofitting the City Center

Minnesota

Gary Peterson	Eden Prairie	New Govenment Center
Mary Anderson	Golden Valley	Directing Redevelopment Pressure
Richard A. Nordvold	Hibbing	Revitalizing Main Street
Sharon Sayles Belton	Minneapolis	Hennepin County Public Safety Facility
Chuck Hazama	Rochester	Streetscapes and Open Spaces
George Latimer	St. Paul	
James Scheibel	St. Paul	Identifying a Cultural District
Norm Coleman	St. Paul	
Katherine Trummer	South St. Paul	Redevelopment for Light Industry

Mississippi

C.C. "Frank" Self	Greenville	
Ken Combs	Gulfport	I-10 Interchange and Highway 49 Corridor
Kane Ditto	Jackson	Tying Public Buildings Into a Civic Center
Jimmy Kemp	Meridian	
David Armstrong	Natchez	
Robert Walker	Vicksburg	Central Business District

Missouri

Mary Anne McCollum	Columbia	Flat Branch/Market Square Redevelopment
Louise Gardner	Jefferson City	
Emanuel Cleaver III	Kansas City	
Glenda Kelly	St. Joseph	Curbing Downtown Retail Decline
Freeman Bosley, Jr,	St. Louis	Redevelopment of Pruitt-Igoe Site
Vincent Schoemehl, Jr.	St. Louis	
Janet Majerus	University City	Saving the Tivoli; Preserving the Loop

Montana

James W. Van Arsdale	Billings	
Tim Swanson	Bozeman	Gallatin Performing Arts Center
Daniel Kemmis	Missoula	Pedestrian–Bicycle Path Through New Park

Nebraska

Ken Gnadt	Grand Island	Design of a New Government Center
Bill Harris	Lincoln	
Mike Johanns	Lincoln	Development and Downtown Vitality

Nevada

Jan Laverty Jones	Las Vegas	Fourth Street Entry Corridor
Pete Sferrazza	Reno	

New Hampshire

Brenda J. Elias	Franklin	Designing and Managing Recreational Resources
Raymond Wieczorek	Manchester	Marking Historic Relationships: The Millyards
Rob Wagner	Nashua	River Access and Downtown Streets

New Jersey
Aaron Thompson | Camden | South Camden Industrial Redevelopment
Cardell Cooper | East Orange | Urban/Suburban Schism on Main Street
Sharpe James | Newark | Redeveloping an Overburdened Road System
Robert L. Brown | Orange | Revitalizing the Transit Station and Plaza
Joseph Vas | Perth Amboy | A Multicultural Public Realm
Barbara Boggs Sigmund | Princeton
Arthur J. Holland | Trenton
Douglas Palmer | Trenton | Creating the Canal Park

New Mexico
Martin Chavez | Albuquerque
Louis E. Saavedra | Albuquerque | Project Central Avenue
Ruben A. Smith | Las Cruces | Revitalization of the Downtown Mall
W. Samuel Pick | Santa Fe

New York
Thomas M. Whalen, III | Albany | Development Around Liberty Park
Juanita M. Crabb | Binghamton
Anthony Massielo | Buffalo
Arthur Thompson | Freeport | Urban Design Issues for the Nautical Mile
David W. Brenner | Oneonta | Designing Choices for Downtown Vitality
Paul A. Buccellato | Poughkeepsie | Remaking the Waterfront
William A. Johnson, Jr. | Rochester | Bell's Site Redevelopment
Thomas P. Ryan, Jr. | Rochester | Connecting Around the Expressway
Almeda C. Dake | Saratoga Springs | Designing the West Avenue Corridor
Karen Johnson | Schenectady
Alfred Del Vecchio | White Plains | Little Fifth Avenue and the Malls

North Carolina
Kenneth S. Broun | Chapel Hill | Downtown Chapel Hill
Sue Myrick | Charlotte
Carolyn Allen | Greensboro | Greensboro Arena Area
V. M. Nussbaum, Jr. | Greensboro
Rebecca Smothers | High Point | The Sears Block
Martha S. Wood | Winston-Salem

North Dakota
Michael Polovitz | Grand Forks | Multi-use Flood Controls
Orlin W. Backes | Minot | A Parking Strategy for Downtown

Ohio
Samuel D. Purses | Canton
Joel R. Campbell | Dublin | Neotraditional Design of New Neighborhoods
Wallace Davis | East Cleveland | Redevelopment of Windermere Transit Station
Robert Paulson | Solon | Downtown Streetscapes

Carty Finkbeiner | Toledo | Waterfront Redevelopment
Marilyn Swope | Zanesville | Making Zanesville More Legible from Interstate 70

Oklahoma
Ronald Norick | Oklahoma City | A Canal in Bricktown
Rodger A. Randle | Tulsa | Residential Infill Development Downtown
Susan Savage | Tulsa | Multi-Use Drainage Improvements

Oregon
Edith Heningsgaard | Astoria | Waterfront Revitalization
Craig Lomnicki | Milwaukie | Revitalizing a Major Boulevard, Connecting Downtown to the Riverfront
J. E. "Bud" Clark | Portland
Bill Morrisette | Springfield | Main Street

Pennsylvania
Joseph S. Daddona | Allentown
William Heydt | Allentown
Kenneth R. Smith | Bethlehem | Turning the Corner at Broad and Main
Barbara Bohannan-Sheppard | Chester | Industrial Waterfront Redevelopment
Joyce Savocchio | Erie | Creating a Cultural Arts Center
Janice Stork | Lancaster | Redeveloping Sunnyside
Warren Haggerty, Jr. | Reading | Civic Center Redevelopment Opportunities
Lee A. Namey | Wilkes-Barre | Parking Downtown
Charles H. Robertson | York | Revitalizing George Street

Puerto Rico
Ramón Luis Rivera | Bayamon | Urban Train Station
Baltasar Corrada del Rio | San Juan

Rhode Island
Robert J. McKenna | Newport | A Harbor Walk
Francis L. Lancôt | Woonsocket | La Survivance on Main Street

South Carolina
Joseph P. Riley, Jr. | Charleston
T. Patton Adams | Columbia
Robert Coble | Columbia | Streetscaping: A City Priority
William Workman III | Greenville | Downtown South
Betty Jo Rhea | Rock Hill
James E. Talley | Spartanburg | I-585 Pine Street Greenway

South Dakota
Merle D. Lewis | Huron | Developing the Rules for Good Development
Jack White | Sioux Falls | Redeveloping the Riverfront

Tenessee

Gene Roberts	Chattanooga	
Don Trotter	Clarksville	Central Business District
Charles Farmer	Jackson	
Victor Ashe	Knoxville	

Texas

Gary McCaleb	Abilene	Designing City Entrances
Frank C. Cooksey	Austin	
Evelyn M. Lord	Beaumont	
Patricio M. Ahumada	Brownsville	Market Square District
Ygnacio D. Garza	Brownsville	Improving the Streets
Mary Rhodes	Corpus Christi	Seaside Pedestrian-Oriented Development
William Tilney	El Paso	Union Plaza Development
Kay Granger	Fort Worth	Urban Transportation Corridors
Janice R. Coggeshall	Galveston	
Barbara Crews	Galveston	Seawall Boulevard
Saul N. Ramirez, Jr.	Laredo	
Robert E. Burns	Midland	Downtown Midland
Lila Cockrell	San Antonio	Inserting the Dome Downtown
Robert Sheehy, Jr.	Waco	Brazos Riverfront

Utah

Glenn Mecham	Ogden	Surviving the Downtown Mall
Bradley A. Olch	Park City	Lower Park Avenue Redevelopment
Palmer A. DePaulis	Salt Lake City	
J. Steven Newton	Sandy City	

Vermont

Peter Clavelle	Burlington	Lakefront Railroad Development
Ann Cummings	Montpelier	Creating an Arts District
Jeffrey N. Wennberg	Rutland	The Two Faces of Downtown

Virginia

Patricia Ticer	Alexandria	Potomac Greens and Yard Redevelopment
Frank Buck	Charlottesville	
Alvin Edwards	Charlottesville	West Main Street Corridor
William Ward	Chesapeake	Jordan Bridge and South Norfolk Revitalization
Mason Andrews	Norfolk	Redevelopment of R-8 Downtown Lot
Joseph A. Leafe	Norfolk	
Gloria Webb	Portsmouth	Infill Development of the Downtown Waterfront
David Bowers	Roanoke	Linking the Downtown for Tourism
Robert Griffith Jones	Virginia Beach	
John Hodges	Williamsburg	

Washington

Tim Douglas	Bellingham	Creekside/CBD Revitalization
Louis Mentor	Bremerton	Downtown Waterfront Renewal Area
Peter Kinch	Everett	Downtown Devevelopment: Balancing Old and New
Debra G. Ertel	Federal Way	Creating a Civic Focal Point
Dan Kelleher	Kent	Downtown Redevelopment Zoning
Jack Geraghty	Spokane	Convention Center and Downtown's East End
Karen Vialle	Tacoma	Linking the CBD and Thea Foss Waterway
Bruce E. Hagensen	Vancouver	Fort Vancouver National Historic Site
Pat Berndt	Yakima	Gateway Center Development

West Virginia

John W. Lipphardt	Wheeling	Center Wheeling and Retail Development

Wisconsin

Dorothy Johnson	Appleton	Retaining Fabric for the Next Phase
Kathryn Bloomberg	Brookfield	Developing a Traffic Plan
Samuel Halloin	Green Bay	The Downtown Fox Riverfront
Joseph Sensenbrenner	Madison	
John Norquist	Milwaukee	Reshaping around the Highway
Marigen Carpenter	Neenah	A New Overpass as a Downtown Gateway
Carol Opel	Waukesha	Downtown Riverfront Redevelopment

Wyoming

Don Erickson	Cheyenne	

Selected Reading List

At each Mayors' Institute, resource faculty are invited to present lectures on city design topics. Over the last ten years, the institute has accumulated a broad range of essays that have educational value for public officials, design professionals, teachers and students. The papers on the following list can be obtained by contacting The Mayors Institute on City Design, 401 F Street NW, Washington D.C. 20001, (202) 393-4112. Those marked with an asterisk can be obtained by contacting *Places, A Forum of Environmental Design*, 110 Higgins Hall, Pratt Institute School of Architecture, 200 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn NY 11205, (718) 399-6090.

Adele Fleet Bacow	Design Advocacy: The Role Mayors Play
Jonathan Barnett	Demystifying Urban Design: A Bibliography
Ellen Beasley	Design Guidance: Inspiring the Review Process
Robert Campbell	How to Use the Mayors' Institute on City Design
Robert Campbell	The City is More than Contingent*
Adele Chatfield-Taylor	Historic Preservation and the Mayor
Peter Clavelle	The People's Boathouse of Burlington*
William A. Collins	Urban Design: The Mayor's Role
Robert Davis	The Seaside Story
Robert Davis	Re-Discovering the American Dream
Michael Dennis	Public Space
Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk	Traditional Neighborhood District Ordinance
Michael Freedman, Gregory Tung and Terence Bottomley	The Forgotten Art of City Design
Jerry Hagstrom and Robert Guskind	The New Suburban Reality: Densification and Design
Gary Hack	Successful Cities: What Outside Consultants Can Do
Robert Harris	Places of Privilege*
Randy Hester	Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Sustainable Happiness*
Philip K. Howard	Disposable Cities: An Overview of Our Post-War Areas
Allan Jacobs	Urban Design and the Political Realm*
Daniel Kemmis	Building and Politics
Spiro Kostof	The Design of Cities*
Michael Kwartler	Design Guidelines and the New Zoning
Edward J. Logue	Delivery Systems
Donlyn Lyndon	Five Ways to People Places
Richard Moe	Using Preservation to Build Communities that Work
Laurie Olin	Design of the Urban Landscape
Michael Pyatok	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design in Residential Neighborhoods
Joseph R. Passonneau	If You Can't Get There You Can't Live There: Ten Recommendations for Improving Urban Transportation
Barton Phelps	Corridor: The Highspeed Roadway as Generator of New Urban Form
Christine L. Saum	Introducing the Mayors' Institute on City Design
Vincent C. Schoemehl, Jr.	Economics, Politics and City Design*
Richard Sennett	The Civitas of Seeing*

*Article published in *Places*.

David Block is coordinator of the Mayors' Institute on City Design: Midwest, and a graduate student in architecture and urban design at Washington University. He has worked as an editor and translator for Princeton Architectural Press in New York and holds a bachelor's degree in English Literature from Harvard University.

Catherine R. Brown is special projects coordinator and senior fellow at the Design Center for the American Urban Landscape at the University of Minnesota, and is a *Places* contributing editor. She is directing a study of the physical design issues of public housing projects in Minneapolis and coordinating the publication of a neighborhood design workbook, *Planning to Stay*. She directed three midwest regional Mayors' Institutes.

William R. Morrish is director of the Design Center for the American Urban Landscape at the University of Minnesota and a *Places* contributing editor. He is currently directing a study of Twin Cities communities to develop better connections to the Mississippi River, and recently completed a project that identifies strategies for reclaiming and enhancing recreational systems in existing neighborhoods.

Richard Dagenhart teaches architecture and urban design at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, where he directs the Mayors' Institute on City Design: South. He holds degrees in architecture and city planning from the University of Arkansas and the University of Pennsylvania. Dagenhart has practiced and taught architecture and urban design for 20 years.

John Hoal is director of the Mayors' Institute on City Design: Midwest, based at Washington University, where he is acting director of the master of architecture and urban design degree programs. He is also Director of Urban Design for the St. Louis Development Corporation, the economic development arm of the City of St. Louis.

Alex Krieger is a professor of architecture and urban design at Harvard University and director of the Mayors' Institute on City Design. He is a principal in Chan Krieger Associates in Cambridge and author, with Anne Mackin, of *A Design Primer for Cities and Towns*.

Walter Kulash is a principal with Orlando-based planning consultants Glatting Jackson Kercher Anglin Lopez Rinehart. He has extensive background in traffic and transit planning, and currently focuses on restoring balance to urban streets and adapting traffic planning to new urbanism design paradigms. He studied engineering at North Carolina State and Northwestern universities.

Joseph P. Riley, Jr. was re-elected mayor of Charleston, S.C., last November. He is a founder of and frequent participant in the Mayors' Institute on City Design.

Donovan Rypkema is a preservation consultant who specializes in the economics of preserving historic structures and is currently working with the National Main Street Center. He lectures, teaches and has authored many articles and publications. He studied preservation at Columbia University.

Jaquelin Robertson is a partner in New York City-based Cooper Robertson and Partners. He founded the New York City planning department's Urban Design Group, was the first director of the Mayor's Office of Midtown Planning and Development and served as a New York City Planning Commissioner. He studied at Yale and Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Christine L. Saum is an architect and executive director of the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a program established by the National Endowment for the Arts and administered by the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University.

Susan S. Weiner was elected mayor of Savannah, Ga., in November, 1991, and served one four-year term. She was the first female mayor in Savannah and the first female mayor of a large city in Georgia, and she has been recognized for her leadership by the national media and academia.

Siddhartha Sen teaches in the graduate program in city and regional planning at Morgan State University and holds a Ph.D. in Regional Planning from the University of Illinois. He has assisted in community development for areas in Atlanta, Southern California and Baltimore, and has published on urban design and international planning.

Mayors and City Design