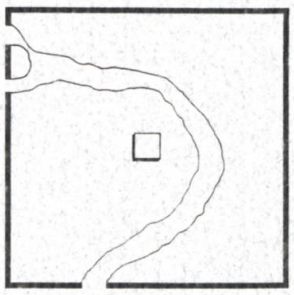
LAND *of* OPPORTUNITY

Columbus, Ohio • Design Charette

Central High School site +

1989

Partners for Livable Places



Franklinton Area Commission
Copy

1989

Prepared by:

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INTRODUCTION

On June 19 and 20, 1989, Partners for Livable Places, in conjuction with the Greater Columbus Art Council and Downtown Columbus Incorporated, conducted a Design Charette in Columbus, Ohio. This meeting was the first installment of the city's participation in "Shaping Growth in American Communities" and focused on Central High School, its 17-acre site and surrounding context.

Partners for Livable Places is a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the quality of life, enhancing economic development, and ensuring social equity in states, counties, cities, and communities. More than 1200 individuals, corporations, government agencies, municipalities, nonprofit organizations, and foundations across North America and abroad make up Partners' membership. In November, 1988, Partners launched "Shaping Growth in American Communities" – a four-year initiative currently involving 40 jurisdictions across the United States. The program is designed to help cities, towns, counties and states develop strategies to meet the challenges of change.

The process within each jurisdiction varies with the issues. For Columbus, we chose to develop a charette as our process tool, as it is an effective and remarkable problem-seeking and solution-oriented process. In the charette setting, experts thinking on their feet challenge each other, and create an energy far greater than could possibly be achieved by one-on-one consulting with relevant specialists.

The Design Charette was the first phase of a diverse agenda for Columbus. The following report outlines the process and strategies developed from the charette.

TEAM PARTICIPANTS

Partners for Livable Places Resource Team

Robert McNulty	President, Partners for Livable Places Washington, DC
Larry Conrad	Vice President of Corporate Affairs, Melvin Simon & Associates Indianapolis, Indiana
Jamie Greene	Architect/Planner, Pierce Architecture Bailey's Crossroads, Virginia
Joe Passonneau	Architect/Planner, Joe Passonneau Washington, DC
Elliot Rhodeside	Landscape Architect, Rhodeside & Harwell, Incorporated. Alexandria, Virginia

Columbus Resource Team

John Schooley	Architect, Schooley Caldwell Associates
George Acock	Architect, Acock Schlegel Architects Incorporated
Ray Hanley	President, Greater Columbus Arts Council
Henry Hunker	Professor of Economic Geography, Ohio State University, Past President of Columbus Landmarks Foundation
Karen McCoy	Landscape Architect Richard Trott & Partners
Alan McKnight	City of Columbus, Recreation and Parks Department
Merribell Parsons	Director, Columbus Museum of Art

Technical Consulting

Jim Barney	Director, Recreation and Parks Department
Georgia Elhers	Columbus Landmarks Foundation
Denny Griffith	Columbus Museum of Art
Carol Stewart	Chairperson, Franklinton Citizen Advisory Committee
Cleve Ricksecker	Chairman, Downtown Special Events Group
Ray Lorello	Department of Development, City of Columbus
Richard Noland	Director, Veterans Memorial Auditorium
Josiah Blackmore	President, Capitol University
Molly O'Donnell	City of Columbus, Recreation and Parks Department

CHARETTE AGENDA

Monday, June 19 – Tuesday, June 20

Day 1

Monday, June 19

11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.	Tour of Study Area Team Participants Only
2:00 p.m.-5:30 p.m.	Tour of Central High School Technical Consultants' Input
Break	
7:30 p.m.-10:00 p.m.	Dinner at Park Gallery

Day 2

Tuesday, June 20

8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m.	Work Session at Park Gallery
4:00 p.m.	Presentation to Dowtown Columbus Incorporated and Community Representatives

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The focus of the charette was Central High School, its site and the adjoining 65 acres on the west bank of the Scioto River in downtown Columbus, Ohio. We organized our investigation into five areas: The Larger Context – Columbus; Central High School; The Cultural Core – 65 acres; The Adjacent Areas; and The River Corridor. The observations and recommendations for each of these areas are detailed in the next section.

From the technical presentations on June 19th, we distilled five basic criteria that would determine the future of Central High School and adjoining 65 acres:

- Insensitive commercial development shall not occur on the Central High School site or the 65-acre site.
- The school and the immediate surrounding property will be in public use.
- There is to be active public access rights to the entire riverfront.
- The river bank is a meeting place and requires appropriate facilities.
- The 65-acre Cultural Core will be the focal point for Columbus as well as central Ohio.

The most remarkable fact about Columbus that emerged during the charette was the vast amount of publicly-owned land along the river corridor. With the acquisition of additional parcels, Columbus could create an 800-acre contiguous park along the Scioto River. For reference, this park would only be a few acres shy of New York City's Central Park. To our knowledge, no other city in the United States has the opportunity to create such a large and unique

public place. Columbus must seize this opportunity, and develop a program to assemble the necessary land. Assembly alone, however, will be insufficient without a broader context and purpose. Central High School, the 65-acre site, the River Corridor, and even pieces of greater Columbus must be developed as part of a larger plan.

During the presentations and subsequent discussions, we learned that most people have a genuine affinity for downtown Columbus, but that the crystalizing gesture needed to present Columbus as a great city has yet to be realized. The study area possesses the potential to provide such a gesture through the creation of a functional and symbolic hub. The need for creating such a hub was expressed a number of times during the charette – highlighted by themes of destination, pride, attractiveness, cultural programs, children's issues, information technolgy, statewide model learning center, children's museum and public art. Central High School, with its rich history and symbolic location should be the focal point of the hub.

We consistently heard a need for discovering and celebrating the river. Its mere presence and dramatic form provides a major asset for Columbus, so water linkages throughout the corridor should be highlighted. The linkages could begin at Central High School, with its immediate grounds becoming a sculpture garden connected to a linear sculpture park that would follow the stream corridor. With regard to the future flood wall project, Columbus should seize the opportunity to coordinate with the Corps of Engineers to make those protective barriers aesthetic as well as functional.

Water quality is another important item to be addressed; currently the color of the river ranges from brown to gray and has little appeal. San Antonio officials should be consulted on their successful efforts to produce high-quality water for their Riverwalk. If the opportunities of the river are to be maximized as a major asset to Columbus, some effort

must be made to improve the water quality. Perhaps an innovative filtration project or renovation of the dams could produce water with some degree of clarity. Columbus risks significant ridicule if it claims to have a great riverfront park system and yet the river itself appears muddy and somewhat stagnant.

The impact of any development in the study area should be extremely sensitive to the impacts on adjacent areas – in particular, Franklinton. The impacts should be uniquely positive, perhaps similar to Chelsea, Massachusetts, where Boston University has adopted the school system to provide life-long learning and care to the town's residents. The development of the study area should have special ties to Franklinton, creating a model demonstration of community relations. Taking advantage of Franklinton's unique history as the earliest European settlement site on the Scioto River would create added value for the overall plan.

The 65-acre site should have some symbolic definition, regardless of the theme or combination of themes, so that it would become the keystone for greater Columbus. This would be accomplished by establishing a cultural district and implementing special design controls over the buildings to give them a wholistic theme and value – similar to the cultural district in Dallas, Texas.

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Larger Context – Columbus

Columbus is a dynamic city with a unique system of rivers interlaced with uninspiring highway corridors. We could not ignore the potential of the study area's citywide context, as the careful develoment of the entire area is key to the success of the hub. The corridors, both river and roadway, should become corridors of distinction that lead people to the Central High School site. These corridors should be highlighted by streetscapes and parkland. They should become entryways into greater Columbus in which excellence and value in the infrastructure investment – the roads, the bridges, the landscape – is seen as denoting something special. The corridors must be sensitively designed using signage control, highlighted by pastoral vistas and they must provide visual and physical access to the rivers. They must be so well-planned that they are easily understood and interpreted as something special.

Symbolic gateways, entrypoints and the various connections are essential to the broader livability goals of Columbus, and of our study area in particular.

Central High School

Central High School is an an important legacy of Columbus history and should be retained at all costs. The school, sitting on 17 acres, occupies a position of prominence unparalleled in Columbus; it has special meaning for many Columbus residents and is architecturally, both aesthetically and structurally, worth conserving. However, keeping the building should not mean sacrificing innovative and exciting architecture on the larger site.

Primary access from the west side (presently the rear) of the school should be provided to allow for the creation of a pedestrian promenade along the river and linkages to the large common ground.

Physically, the school appears to meet the anticipated needs of the art museum. If the decision is made to adapt the school for the art museum, a national competion should be considered to generate ideas on how best to transform this significant building into an exciting home for the arts that respects its historic characteristics while expressing the dynamic potential of a great city.

Central High School could take on a multipurpose civic center function – generator of value, traffic, energy with themes of education, life-long learning, state pilot programs, visual and performing arts, etc.

The Cultural Core

The Cultural Core is a 65-acre tract of land embraced by the Scioto River on three sides and Conrail railroad tracks and Franklinton to the west. It contains the main intersection of the river, the city, and is embellished with dramatic views of downtown's orderly ensemble of civic structures. This is a natural hub for greater Columbus with Central High as the focal point.

The 65 acres should be developed as a cultural district with the Central High School building as its focus. The cultural district should include five to six major facilties including an amphitheater, museums, and other civic uses. Three facilities, Central High School, the train station and Veterans Memorial already exist and can be easily adapted. All facilities of the core should be linked via interrelated open spaces, boulevards, and pedestrian ways, and organized by a formal, public common meeting ground for the city in the

middle of the core west of Central High School. The common area would be analogous to the Mall in Washington, D.C., and remain as open as possible.

All new structures should be low-rise and set back sensitively from the riverfront; the downtown skyline should be respected and yet exploited as a backdrop for the core. High-quality visual and functional connections should be made, perhaps using special zoning and design guidelines.

Tree-lined boulevards should be created on all major streets and thoroughfares in the cultural core, as well as all major streets leading to the core: Broad Street, Town Street, etc. Efforts should be made to humanize the streets and bridges of Columbus; great civic gestures should be made where the existing bridges abut the core and downtown Columbus.

An information center, much like the one in Grenoble, France, should be a major part of the core. This would be a place where visitors can learn anything about the city, reserve tickets for concerts, obtain hotel reservations, exchange their money, park their car, post their mail, and learn about all the transportation options in the region. A variety of restaurants should be available throughout the core, especially along the river. Activities of the core should be available and appealing throughout the year; the vitality experienced in June should also be available in December.

A new building, perhaps a technology or environmental education center, should be constructed in the core. It should be so unique that people would come to marvel it. They would feel comfortable with it and the adaptive reuse of Central High School – the juxtaposition of old and new would be exciting, contemplative and educational.

A parking structure should be an important subterranean component of the core, ample in size and inconspicuous in appearance. As discussed during the charrette and shown in the drawings, the parking could be located under the large common area.

The 65-acre site should inspire special feelings for users and be easily interpreted by high-quality designed spaces, as well as graphics and signage. This cultural district will be the touchstone for cultural and environmental amenities in central Ohio.

The Adjacent Areas

Special physical, financial and symbolic relationships should be developed between the Cultural Core and the adjacent areas, with emphasis on outreach to Franklinton. Development of the core will have the greatest impact on the Franklinton community, and every effort should be made to ensure that this impact is positive. A model relationship should be forged that stimulates community pride, determination, and accomplishment. Franklinton is sure to become more valuable and desirable; people will want to move there. A special financing program should be considered to help residents improve their property, stay in the community and cope with the inevitable popularity.

A transition zone should be created between the Core and Franklinton with strict provisions on the uses, intensity and visual appearance of the development. This should provide the means for focusing the growth and providing the necessary linkages between the two areas.

Stronger connections should be made to downtown Columbus. Tens of thousands of people work directly across the Scioto River and efforts should be made to

improve the pedestrian access. Converting the old railroad bridges to pedestrian ways and 'pedestrianizing' the existing bridges and streets are two examples. Special lighting should be considered to give the area some unique cohesion and appeal.

Directly south of downtown, along the east bank, an appropriate mixed-use development (heavy residential) should be created to successfully link the Brewery District with the Cultural Core. The development should include generous open spaces with a festival character in a park-like setting to be used for public gathering and celebration.

We strongly recommend the construction of a new bridge that would connect Neil Avenue and Starling Street. This would provide direct access to future development at the State Penitentiary, The Ohio State University and Victorian Village.

The River Corridor

We defined the River Corridor as the area immediately adjacent to the Scioto River from just north of the 65-acre study area to the southern boundary of Lou Berliner Park, encompassing nearly 800 acres. Few cities in the world have the opportunity to create such a large, coherent public place; Fredrick Law Olmsted's thoughts on the Emerald Necklace in Boston can be considered an excellent precedent for Columbus.

The most interesting area of the corridor is the section directly in front of Central High School, where the dramatic 'S' curve begins. The river's form is quite special, and the school's physical relationship to the river constitutes a natural focal point for the city's hub. Access from this hub should radiate from Central High School up and down both sides of the river. The program would require systematic

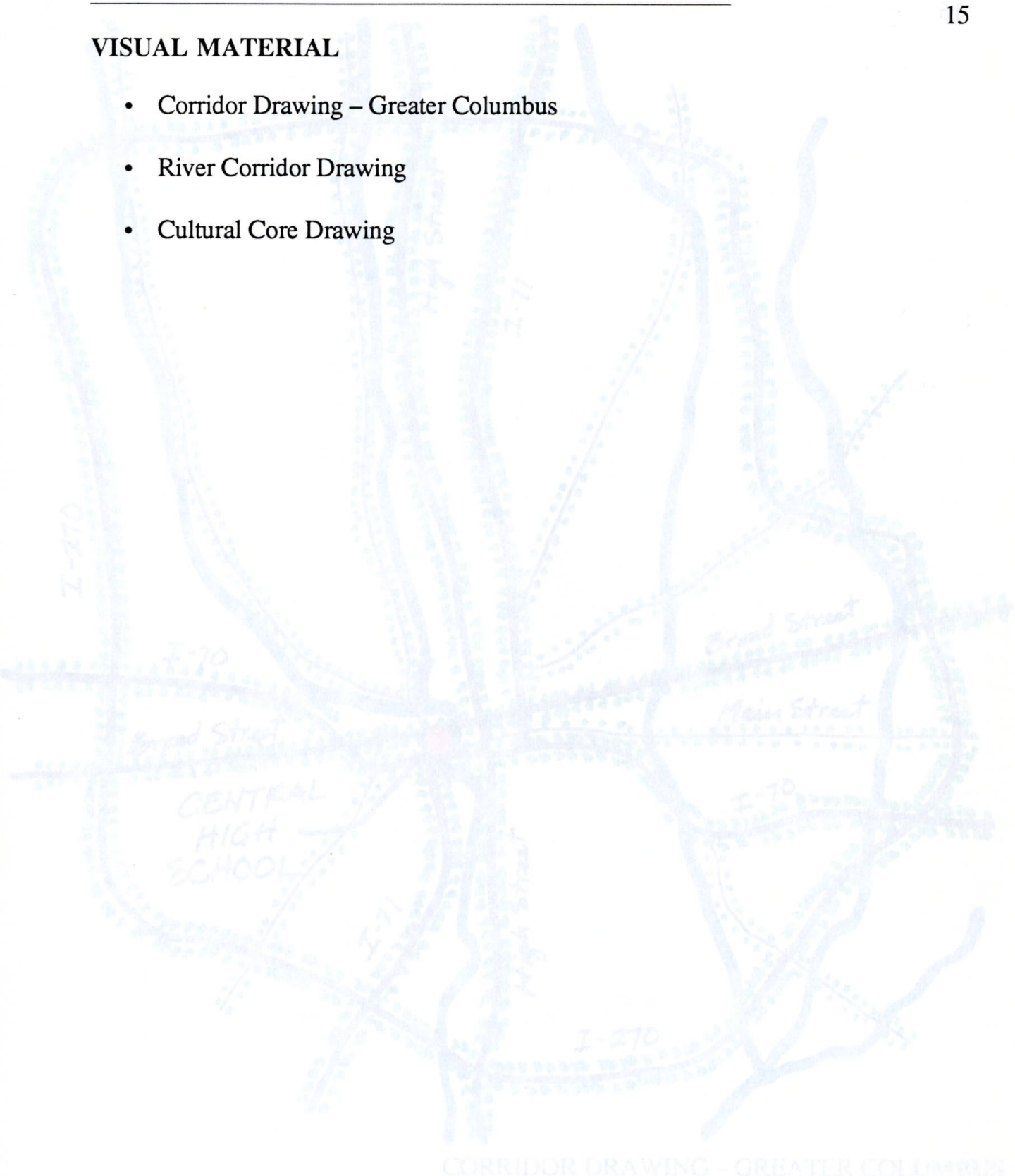
pedestrian access to the river's edge throughout the corridor.

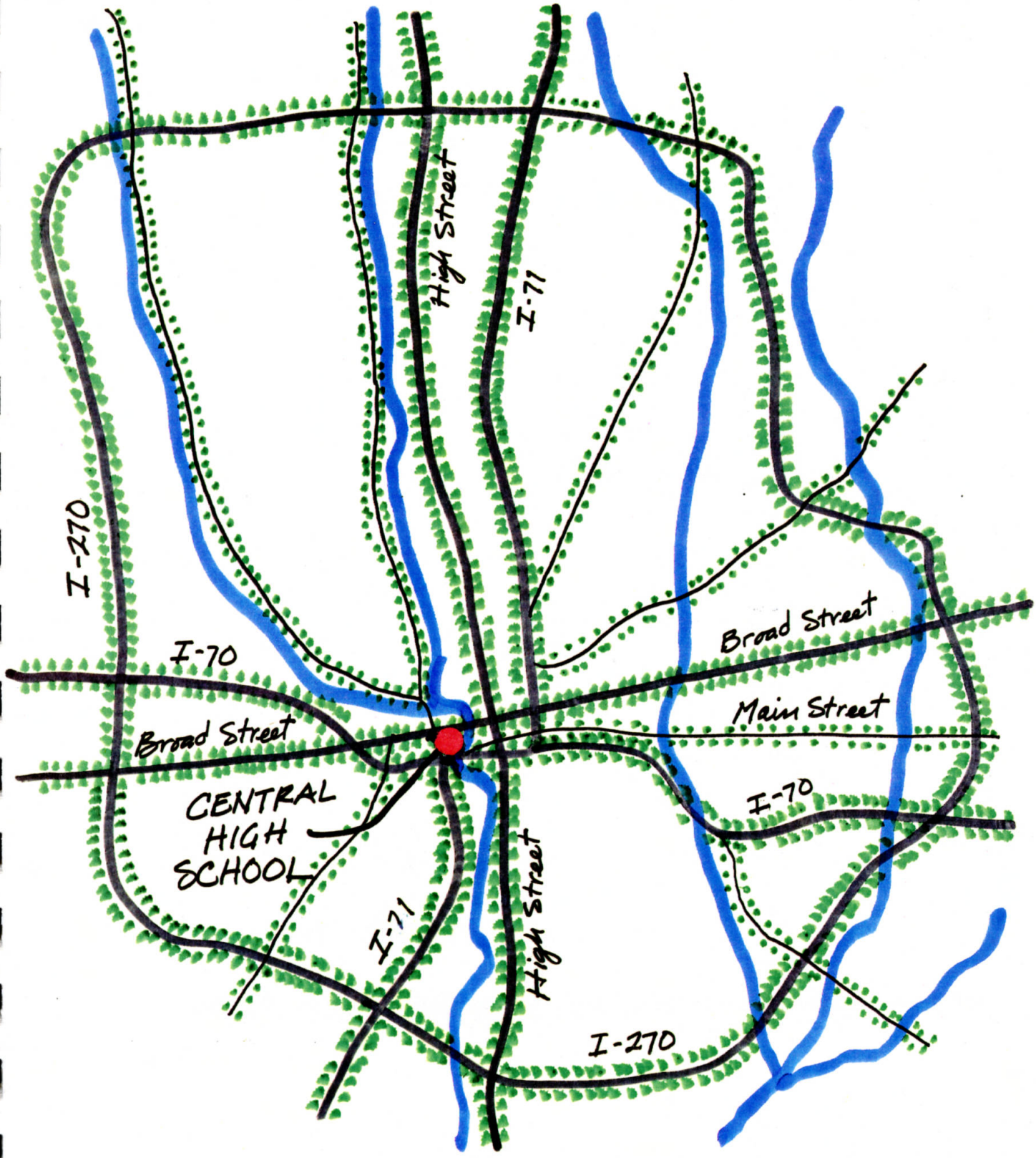
As mentioned earlier, improving water quality is essential to realizing the Scioto's full potential as major physical element in the city, and many of the ideas described in this report hinge upon the river being attractive and clean. With this in mind, any dam or filtration structure completed to achieve higher quality water should be designed as a work of art. We feel the same way about the Corps of Engineers flood wall project and any future bridges.

We regret the decision made to replace the Broad Street Bridge, and believe in time the decision-makers and citizens will regret it as well. The prolonged process to preserve or rebuild the bridge is well worth the effort.

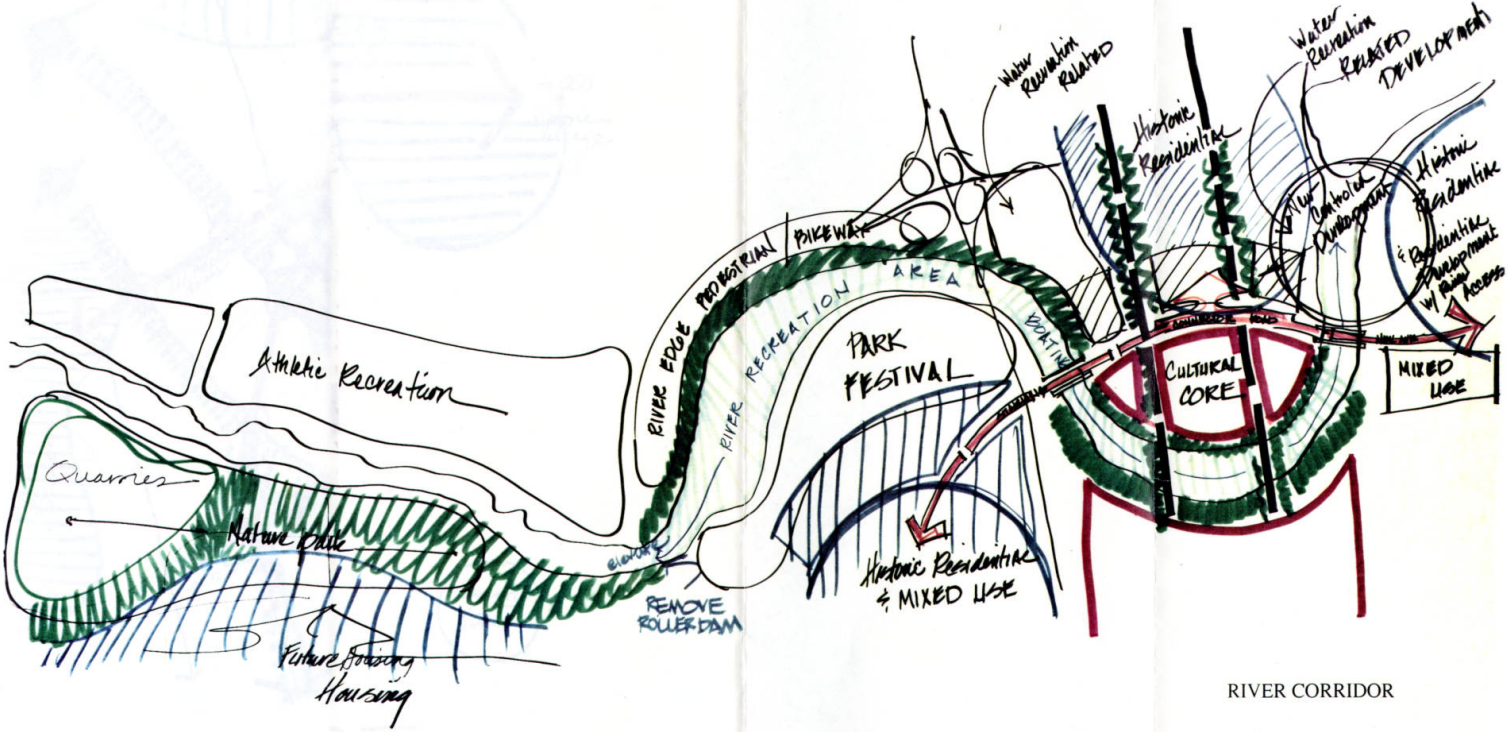
VISUAL MATERIAL

- Corridor Drawing – Greater Columbus
- River Corridor Drawing
- Cultural Core Drawing

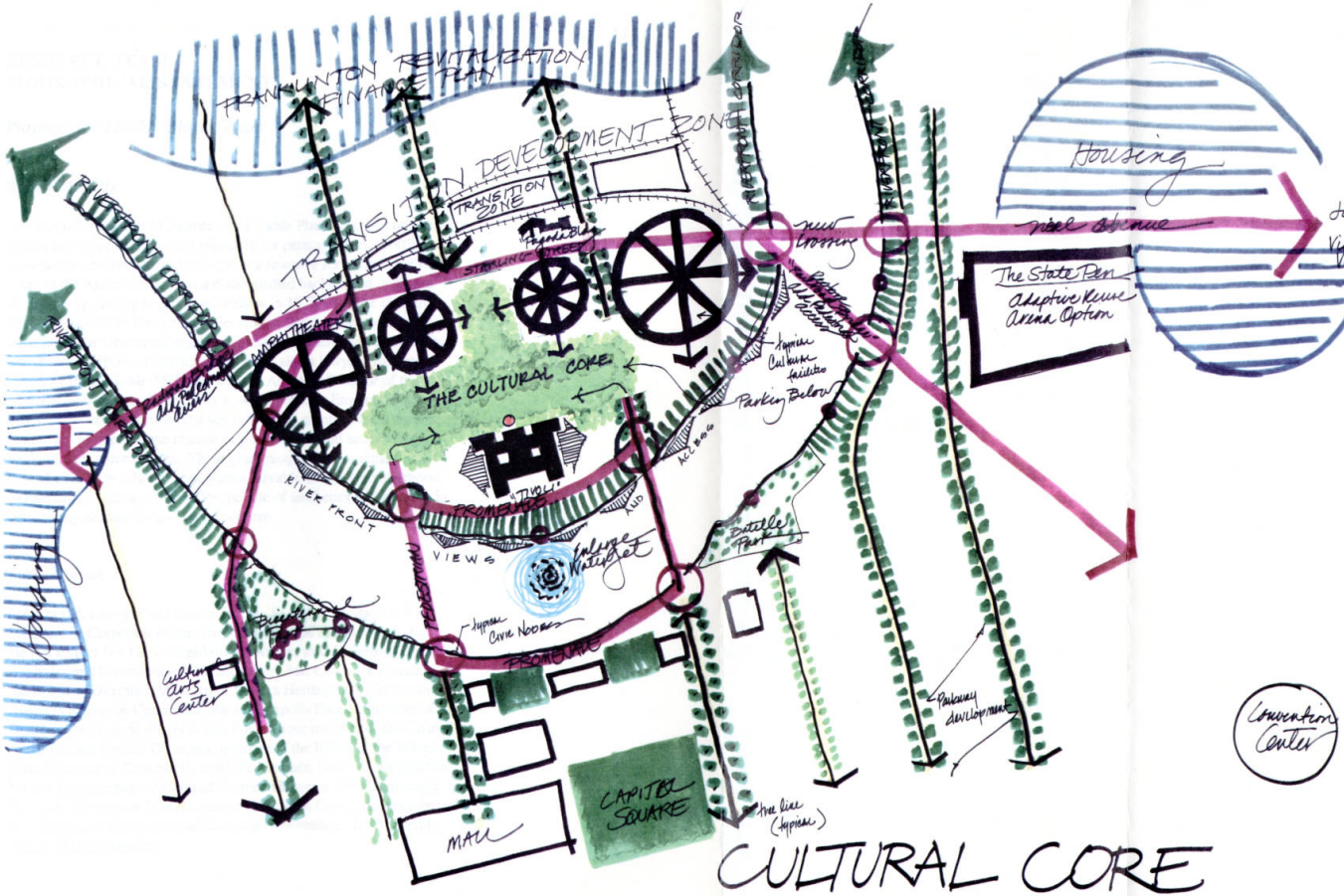




CORRIDOR DRAWING – GREATER COLUMBUS



RIVER CORRIDOR



CULTURAL CORE

RESOURCE TEAM
BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENTS

Partners for Livable Places Team

Robert McNulty

Mr. McNulty, founder of Partners for Livable Places and its president for the last 10 years, is known primarily for persuading local officials to view public and private partnerships as a resource for revitalizing older cities in the Americas. He has a distinguished background in design and planning, having been a Loeb Fellow in 1973-74 at the Harvard Graduate School of Design and a lecturer, adjunct professor, and acting Director of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at Columbia University's School of Architecture. He is also a lawyer. Before founding Partners, Mr. McNulty was the Assistant Director of the National Endowment for the Arts's, Architecture + Environmental Arts Program, where he pioneered a series of small grants to local municipal authorities to improve the climate of preservation and economic well-being in their communities. These grant programs – variously described as City Edges, City Options, Livable Cities, Neighborhood Conservation – set a new tone for the role of aesthetics and amenity in community economics and social concern.

Larry Conrad

Mr. Conrad, a lawyer and former Indiana Secretary of State, is Vice President of Corporate Affairs for Melvin Simon & Associates, Inc. He is a former law clerk, Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Birch Bayh, Jr., and Constitutional Amendments. Mr. Conrad is President of the Board of Directors, Museum of Indiana Heritage; Co-Chairman, Business Retention Committee, the Indianapolis Project; member of the Board of the Historical Landmarks Foundation; member of the Council of the Indiana Special Olympics; member of the Board of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; and Life Member, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was a 1980 Democratic National Convention Delegate and an Executive Committee member of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. He is listed in Who's Who in America.

Jamie Greene

Mr. Greene is a planner and an architect in Fairfax County, Virgina with Pierce Architecture, a firm specializing in educational and recreational facilities. He is currently working with citizens in a suburban Washington, D.C., community to adapt a fire station to a community center for the area's youth. Mr. Greene is also a Senior Planning Associate with Partners for Livable Places and assists with the development of "Shaping Growth in American Communities", a national demonstration program involving more than 40 jurisdictions. He was instrumental in developing the Urban Design Charrette for Arlington County, Virginia, as part of the Shaping Growth program. Mr. Greene serves as an advisor to the Southeast Fairfax Development Corporation, a major nonprofit development corporation in northern Virginia.

Joseph Passonneau

For more than 20 years, Mr. Passonneau has been the principal of Joseph Passonneau & Associates in Washington, D.C. He is a registered architect and engineer, a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, and a reknowned urban designer. Mr. Passonneau is a former dean of the School of Architecture at Washington University and continues to lecture at universities in the United States, Canada and Europe. He has written extensively on transportation and the design of cities, and his work has been duly awarded and published. Mr. Passonneau is currently serving as the Professional Advisor to the Toronto Waterfront Charrette for the Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront.

Elliot Rhodeside

Mr. Rhodeside, a Director and co-founder of Rhodeside & Harwell, Incorporated, has been practicing landscape architecture and planning for more than 20 years in Washington, D.C., Boston, Philadelphia and London. He has special expertise in streetscape design, master planning, open space and natural resource planning, and urban design and planning. His effectiveness in historic preservation planning was best demonstrated in The University of Virginia Historic Central Grounds Study, which received an honor award from the American Society of Landscape Architects. Other awards include a $100,000 Grant from the National Endowment for the Arts for the development of Boston Urban Wilds, a Natural Area Conservation Program.

Columbus Team

John Schooley

Having more than 35 years of experience in the field of architectural design, Mr. Schooley is an advocate of the "team approach," which brings together the special expertise of the appropriate design professionals that are needed for today's complex design and planning projects. His significant record of achievement in the architectural profession is recognized through numerous local, regional and national awards for design excellence. He holds the NCARB certificate and is a registered architect in the State of Ohio, and in 14 other states. He is an active member of many professional organizations, including: The American Institute of Architects, Columbus Chapter (past president), The Architect Society of Ohio/AIA (past president), and Architects Society of Ohio Foundation (president). Mr. Schooley received his Bachelor of Architecture degree from The Ohio State University in 1951, and served as an officer in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers until 1953 when he joined his father's architectural/engineering firm, Sims Cornelius & Schooley. In 1962 he became a partner, assuming the executive management responsibilities for the firm.

George W. Acock

Mr. Acock, a Principal of Acock-Schlegel Architects and Planners, has broad experience in Architecture and Planning. He, along with his partner, is responsible for the Design Phase of all projects and is involved with client interaction. Mr. Acock has taught at The Ohio State University's School of Architecture for 6 years and the School of Industrial Design for one year. He is actively involved in the Architects Society of Ohio and is a member of the American Institute of Architects. Mr. Acock is a registered Architect and is certified by the NCARB. He graduated from the Ohio State University with a Bachelor of Architecre degree.

Ray Hanley

Since 1985, Ray Hanley has held the position of Executive Director of the Greater Columbus Arts Council. Mr. Hanley spent three years with the Folger Theatre Group in Washington D.C., and was the first Managing Director of the Pittsburgh Public Theater. Prior to coming to Columbus, he served as Managing Director of the Fusion Dance Company based in Miami, Florida; there, in 1979, he established Hanley Associates Inc., an arts and entertainment consulting firm, through which he has advised such diverse organizations as the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Palm Beach County Council of the Arts. Mr. Hanley is a strong advocate for arts funding and programming in community settings, and is regarded as a leading consultant on public policy in the arts. He holds a Bachelor's degree from Quincy College in Illinois and a Master of Arts Degree from Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

Henry L. Hunker

Henry L. Hunker is Professor of Geography and of Public Policy and Management at The Ohio State University, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1954. Throughout his career, he has maintained an active interest in Columbus and the State of Ohio through his research and community service. In the late 1970s, Professor Hunker became actively involved in the preservation movement in Columbus and served as the second president of the Columbus Landmarks Foundation from 1979-1981. In 1981, he was an original appointment by Mayor Moody to the newly-created Historic Resources Commission of the City and served as its first chair. Professor Hunker remains active in issues related to preservation in Columbus, as well as in the City development. He is an Honorary Trustee of the Columbus Landmarks Foundation and, in 1987, was awarded its Recognition Award for Service to Historic Preservation in Columbus. In 1988, he was appointed by Governor Celeste to the Ohio Historic Site Preservation Advisory Board.

Karen McCoy

Karen McCoy, ASLA, holds the position of Project Manager/ Landscape Architecture and Planning with the firm of Richard Trott and Partners Architects Incorporated. Ms. McCoy's professional expertise lies in the areas of facilities analysis, site design for various-scale private and institutional buildings, campus facilities, and estate residential properties. Active in many Downtown Columbus organizations, Ms. McCoy is a member of Columbus Landmarks Foundation, the City's Arts and Entertainment Task Force, and the Downtown Lighting Task Force. Ms. McCoy has been a guest lecturer and juror for The Ohio State University's, Department of Landscape Architecture. Recently, two projects for which she served as project manager were recognized with awards: Walter Residence, Ohio Chapter ASLA Merit Award – 1988, and Adria/Erbamont, NAIOP National Merit Award – 1988. Ms. McCoy received her Bachelor of Science in Landscape Architecture from The Ohio State University in 1979, and has been a registered professional landscape architect in the State of Ohio since 1982.

Alan McKnight

Mr. McKnight, a registered Landscape Architect, is the Administrative Coordinator for the Parks and Recreation Department in Columbus, Ohio. He is responsible for coordinating the department's capital improvements budget and grants program. Mr. McKnight also supervises a staff of Landscape Architects that perform long range planning, land acquisition, site development and construction documentation. He is active in the American Society of Landscape Architects and the Ohio Parks and Recreation Association. Mr. McKnight received a Bachelor of Science in Landscape Architecture from the Ohio State University.

Merribell Parsons

Merribell Parsons has held the position of Director of the Columbus Museum of Art since 1987. As Director, Ms. Parsons has launched a major marketing research program, a long-range planning study with special focus on building expansion, and new initiatives on collection development. Ms. Parsons spent eight years, from 1979 to 1987, with The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; first as Chairwoman and Curatorial Liaison for Education, and then as Vice-Director for Education. Prior to this, Ms. Parsons was the Chief Curator of Decorative Arts and Sculpture for The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Throughout her career, Ms. Parsons has acted as project director for numberous exhibitions. Under her leadership, the Columbus Museum of Art was awarded the 1989 Annual Artistic Excellence Award given by the Greater Columbus Arts Council in recognition of high artistic achievement for exhibition design and installation of "Son of Heaven: Imperial Arts of China." Ms. Parsons earned a M.A. degree from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, a B.F.A. degree from Newcomb College, New Orleans, and a diploma from Ecole du Louvre, Paris. She had been the recipient of several prestigious scholarships, including the Ford Foundation Fellowship in Museum Training awarded by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Clawson Mills Fellowship from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

This section contains a number of excerpts from publications – many prepared by Partners for Livable Places – that support the issues discussed in the report and during the charette.

The original documents:

- The National Council of Amenity Planners and Shaping Growth in American Communities, Vol 1, No. 11, June 15, 1989.
- The Return of the Livable City: Learning from America's Best, 1986
- Toward Livable Communities: A Report on Partners for Livable Places, 1982
- Design Arts 2: The National Endowment for the Arts Grant Recognition Program, 1981
- Design Arts 1: The National Endowment for the Arts, Grant Recognition Program, 1980
- Arts Spaces and Economic Development: Experience in Six Cities, 1986
- Plaza Puzzle, Landscape Architecture, August 1989.

Amenities

The National Council of Amenity Planners and Shaping Growth in American Communities

Charting a Course for Growth: The Arlington Charette

Arlington County, Virginia, one of more than 40 jurisdictions involved in Partners' Shaping Growth program, is located across the Potomac River from Washington, DC, and is in the midst of great prosperity.

Arlington is a prime location, and it is no stranger to huge office and mixed-use development. Yet the county's past experiences with development have not all been completely favorable—especially from the point of view of pedestrians and nearby residents.

Most recently, redevelopment along the Rosslyn-Ballston corridor, a three-mile stretch along the newly built Washington-area subway, had concerned county board members and citizens alike. Foremost in mind was whether this development, now halfway complete, would achieve a sense of orientation, an appropriate scale and sense of place.

Arlington chose the Managing Community Assets track of Shaping Growth as the focus for its 1989 participation and undertook the "Rosslyn-Ballston Corridor Mid-Course Review." The aim was to evaluate whether the county was indeed on the proper course to achieve its livability goals, based on completed development and on existing plans for the remaining half. Of central importance was retaining and enhancing the distinct characters of each of the neighborhoods along the corridor.

Through Shaping Growth, a three-day charette was held. The urban design team consisted of Charles Zucker, senior program director, American Institute of Architects; Jonathan Barnett, director of graduate studies in urban design at City College of New York; David Lee, vice-president of Stull and Lee, Inc.; and Michael John Pittas, head of an international consulting practice and formerly director of the Design Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts.

The distinguished team acquainted itself with the pattern of development underway through a bus tour, discussions with the county board and the citizens' advisory committee and presentations from the planning staff. The charette culminated in a four-hour brainstorming session involving the team and the county staff and concluded with a presentation of results to the county board (followed up by a summary report).

The charette process itself is a remarkable tool. (A "charette" is literally a vehicle for bringing forth new ideas. The term enigmatically derives from the French word for small cart or wagon. The wagon was drawn through the halls of architecture schools to collect projects at final exam time, and so contained the aspiring architects' spontaneous surges of ingenuity and creativity.)

In the charette setting, experts challenge each other, thinking on their feet. Not only does a charette bring great minds together, it creates a far greater energy than could possibly be achieved by consulting individually with the relevant specialists. Charettes effectively address the need for complex planning that requires cooperation among several disciplines.

According to County Manager Anton Gardner, Arlington "is very pleased with the charette and the energy developed through it. Many people have been reinvigorated to work on the items it identified." And, County Planning Division Chief Robert Brosnan commented that bringing in outside experts helps to see things in new ways.

Overall, the charette helped Arlington get a fresh view on its progress. It focused renewed attention on the smaller aspects that are so essential to creating a sense of a unified main street, as well as on potential improvements to aspects such as transportation and parking, housing, preservation, place-making, transitional areas and preserving retail character.

Other cities involved in Shaping Growth that have adopted the charette approach are Camden, New Jersey; Columbus, Ohio; and Dallas, Texas. And, because Shaping Growth extends over four years, ample time and resources are in place to create detailed implementation schemes. (The lack of built-in follow-up has been the one shortcoming of charettes.)

Arlington County has hired a consulting firm, RTKL, Inc., of Baltimore, Maryland, to help implement the charette findings and is currently setting other goals for the subsequent years of Shaping Growth.

The Return of the Livable City

Learning from America's Best

Robert H. McNulty
R. Leo Penne
Dorothy R. Jacobson
and Partners for Livable Places

ACROPOLIS BOOKS LTD.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Introduction

Throughout their nation's history, Americans have been ambivalent about their cities—seeing them as centers both of economic opportunity and social problems. While Americans have looked to their cities as generators of goods and services, and jobs and income, they have been much less inclined to value cities for the quality of life they can offer.

Many of America's most prominent, articulate, and influential intellectuals have been strong critics of urban life. Thomas Jefferson's animus *against* the industrial and urban society and *in favor of* the agrarian and rural is a theme that to this day produces a strong and favorable response in a large number of Americans. Jefferson wrote:

> For the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there, than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles. The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic will be made up in happiness and permanence of government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigour.

Though some of those as famous as Jefferson were urbanites, most of the nation's early opinion leaders were not. Fortunately for the nation, the more obscure prevailed. While some were disquieted by the prospect of the tremendous energy that might be released if great cities were formed, others were excited. In 1773, a Baltimore gentleman lobbying the Maryland Assembly for legislation favorable to his city wrote:

> Liberty, science, and commerce, the great friends of men, are sister adventurers. They are intimately, indeed inseparably connected together, and always take up their chief residence in the cities. Thither the greatest geniuses of the age generally resort, and incited by emulation or fired by ambition, they stimulate each other to successful exertions of native talents which might otherwise have lain dormant, and forever deprived mankind of much useful instruction. To them repair the patriots, the men of letters, and the merchants, who become the guardians of the people's rights, the protectors of learning, the supporters of their country's trade. Thus free cities, considered in this light, are the repositories, preservatives, and nurseries of commerce, liberty, and knowledge.

History has provided the vindication for this latter view. Cities have been engines of economic growth, the incubators of innovation, the civilizers of a wild land, and the arenas of opportunity for many with no other avenues open to them. In this process, however, American urban history holds substantial evidence in support of the negative view as well.

Environmental degradation resulted from the heavy concentrations of manufacturing facilities that produced the industrial revolution. Social degradation came as well, as large numbers of those on the bottom rung of the industrial economy were concentrated in cities along with the other means of production. Turn-of-the-century reformers were able to initiate significant efforts focused on housing, living, and working conditions of the poor, but also on more general improvements, including government reforms, intended to make cities more livable for all.

Throughout the first part of the twentieth century, city populations were swelled by migrations from rural areas, including the movement of large numbers of black Americans out of the South and into Northern cities. Opportunity for many of them translated into a greater burden of responsibility for the cities they entered. Post-war population growth, aided by the freeway system, FHA and VA mortgages, and substantial tax advantages for home ownership, led to the decentralization of metropolitan areas, which usually meant a shift of resources outward and a shift of problems inward.

In this latter period, it appeared that Americans viewed their cities as consumer items, to be used up and discarded. When national action was mounted, it was to address the "urban problem." Today, cities are more likely to be viewed as economic liabilities than as contributors to the nation's economic strength; and when cities are analyzed, it is usually in terms of comparative distress and decline. When cities have been objects of concern or action at the national level, the motivation has been to solve problems, not to preserve or enhance something of value.

Against this backdrop, it has not been easy to interpret the significance of the reports coming out of cities suggesting that many whose futures had looked bleak are experiencing substantial revitalization. Some have taken these

reports to signify the general rebirth of America's cities; others have dismissed them as wishful thinking. The truth appears to be mixed; many of America's cities, including some Sunbelt cities, have experienced and will continue to experience serious economic, social, and financial problems. No amount of wishful thinking will make the problems disappear, but the rebirth "success stories" are not fabrications. Behind them are real achievements in urban development and redevelopment.

Cities, along with the nation as a whole, are involved in a major economic restructuring as services and information-based industries continue to expand relative to manufacturing. This restructuring is opening up opportunities for urban economic development not yet recognized by many cities. Because an increasingly large share of businesses are less tied to traditional location factors such as proximity to materials, and because businesses are becoming more dependent on skilled workers and highly educated managers, a city's quality of life is becoming a more important influence on its development prospects. Cities that are attractive as places to live, work, and do business in will have a competitive edge in the emerging economy. Quality of life and economic growth will be more closely linked.

The cities featured in this book have discerned the growing importance of quality of life for economic development and are giving amenities a central role in their economic development strategies. Their experience suggests many possibilities. Attention to high quality design can improve the performance of retail developments. Well-conceived public space can enhance the attractiveness of central business districts to shoppers and office workers. The arts can play a critical role in mixed-use developments. Cultural facilities and events can improve the overall attractiveness to residents and visitors. Natural and scenic resources such as waterfronts and hillsides contribute to the special character that makes certain cities distinctive and attractive and may also offer untapped development opportunities. As cities focus on developing their amenity assets, the gap between improving the quality of life for residents and attracting tourists is narrowing.

The cases that follow support several general observations:

- Cities are showing a strong potential for economic growth and redevelopment.
- Most city development programs are stressing the distinctive and attractive features of the city that distinguish it from other cities.
- Amenities have a direct and significant role in the development programs of most cities today.
- City economic development strategies incorporate a much broader range of considerations than in the past, and in many cases are directed toward achieving general economic transitions.
- There is a new *civic spirit* energizing public and private institutions in cities and the difference between successful and unsuccessful cities may well lie in their civic assests—the quality of their government, business, and nonprofit institutions and their ability to collaborate to achieve objectives of mutual benefit.

Each chapter in *The Return of the Livable City* represents one of fifteen geographical regions illustrated by the map on Page xi. Chapters begin with the city which we feel best characterizes the overall view of leadership and creativity in the transformation from industrial economics to amenities economics. (In Chapter 9, both St. Louis and St. Paul are featured.) Case studies which follow these featured cities showcase individual issues and opportunities relating to an amenities strategy.

The cities featured in this book are demonstrating that quality of life and economic development go hand-in-hand; that a city that is attractive, interesting, and exciting is not only a good place to live in and visit, but is more likely to be economically successful. They may also be demonstrating that in this era, Americans may come to value their cities for the special unique possibilities they offer and, at the same time, find for them new and viable economic functions.

Author's Note

Most of the demographics in this work are of a 1983 date. The time following was spent verifying, analyzing and interpreting the data in order to produce *The Return of the Livable City*. City officials, economic conditions, and other specifics cited in this book may be different today—just as they will change again tomorrow. What will not change, however, are the principles of leadership, imagination, cooperation, and seeing civic liabilities turned into civic assets.

Jacksonville

In Florida's northeastern corner, where the St. John's River passes through the heart of Jacksonville on its way to the nearby Atlantic, the city is busily transforming its riverfront expanse into an exciting open space resource. The centerpiece of the riverfront revival is the twenty-three-acre, $4-million Metropolitan Park with its 2,400-square-foot performing arts pavilion, home of Jacksonville's two-day "Jacksonville and All That Jazz" festival, where premier jazzmen like Dizzy Gillespie, Buddy Rich, and Art Blakey perform each fall. In 1983 the festival drew an estimated 112,000 people, some of whom enjoyed the music while lounging on pleasure boats, yachts, and rafts moored in the river itself. That was the year Metropolitan Park opened, the festival having previously been staged in a Gator Bowl parking lot and in the nearby fishing community of Mayport. The festival is free, supported by corporate sponsors and concession sales. Its impact on the Jacksonville economy has been estimated at $200 million annually. The park itself was financed by a $1.75-million Land and Water Conservation Fund grant from the Interior Department, $1.3 million in city capital outlay funds, a $124,450 contribution from a local public broadcasting station, and a $600,000 donation from the Florida National Bank for the pavilion.

The park, which is completely landscaped, offers public decks and walkways, sheltered concession areas, 850 feet of docking, picnic areas, and a children's playground. There is covered seating for 3,000 people at the Florida National Pavilion and graduated seating for 5,000 on a stageside berm. Scheduled for construction in 1985 is a $4-million addition to the park that will consist of a twenty-acre marina and boat-launching facility.

Also planned on the north bank is a $33-million, 125,000-square-foot Festival Marketplace, featuring more than 100 shops, restaurants, and entertainment spaces. To be developed by the Rouse Corporation, the market is expected to open in 1987. A 1.1-mile linear open-space system and a public boardwalk called the Southbank Riverwalk are under construction on the opposite side of the St. John's. The master plan calls for a 3,000-seat amphitheater, an open-air wharf market, pavilions, marinas, and a ship museum.

Jacksonville mayor Jake Godbold, now in his second term, has made waterfront development a priority. From the first, even when the St. John's was polluted and sealed off from the city's life, first by derelict wharves and then by the parking lots that replaced them, Godbold saw the river as a potential amenity. He continued the previous city administration's policy of strict crackdowns on effluents and completed cleanup of the river. Then, by pursuing the jazz festival, Metropolitan Park, the Riverwalk, and other waterside projects, he brought the riverfront into the center of Jacksonville's consciousness as an open-space resource—work for which he was honored in 1983 with an award from the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

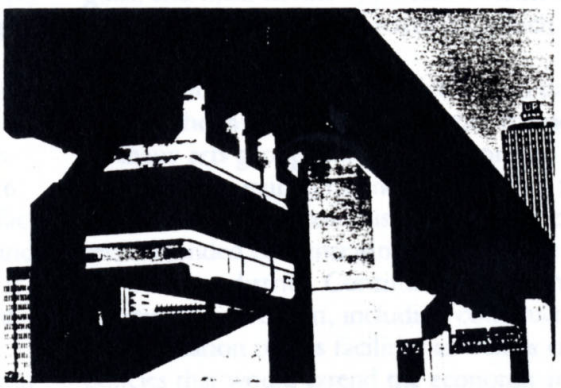
Memphis

Think of Memphis and what's likely to spring to mind are oddly mixed images of aging bobbysoxers crowding Elvis Presley's Graceland, hordes of Federal Express workers sorting mountains of packages at a frenzied pace, old-time blues music, and a murdered Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. If all those images in fact own a place in the character of this Tennessee city perched on its bluffs above the Mississippi, they hardly sum it up. Memphis is seeking a downtown rebirth perhaps best exemplified by the restoration of fabled Beale Street, the "Home of the Blues," a project aimed at boosting the local economy through cultural tourism. Memphis is also celebrating its historic association with the Mississippi by developing a cultural theme park on the open space resource of fifty-acre Mud Island, located in the river a third of a mile offshore.

Nobody who's familiar with the history of American popular music needs to be told about W. C. Handy and the Beale Street milieu that launched much of this country's jazz tradition. But before Memphians began moving to preserve it almost two decades ago, Beale Street had fallen on times so hard that not even the fondest recollection of its earlier musical glories could relieve its slum-infested, rundown grimness. Now, after much hard work by both the public and private sectors, Beale Street is in the midst of a comeback with a price tag that may approach $30 million.

The Beale Street Historic District is a two-block, nine-acre precinct of restaurants, bars, fast-food shops, the century-old A. Schwab's dry goods store, music emporiums, and a refurbished park dedicated to old W. C. himself. Opened in October 1983, the district is run by the Beale Street Development Corporation, a nonprofit, community-based organization that leases the property from the city and is responsible for maintaining its historical and cultural integrity. The development corporation has contracted with a local private firm to manage leasing, maintenance, security, parking, marketing, and promotion.

The revival of Beale Street can be traced back to 1966, when Memphis leaders designated the area a historic district and had it named to the National Register of Historic Places. The development corporation, formed in 1978, received $2 million in Community Development Block Grant funds to provide the public improvements needed to attract investors and the wherewithal to begin rehabilitating the historic structures that had survived the ravages of time, neglect, and urban renewal clearance.



A city bond issue, together with federal, state, and local funds, provided an additional $9.6 million to keep the revival going and construct new buildings. The city of Memphis manages all contracts, establishes overall development policy, and acts as agent/owner of urban renewal properties in the district. Attracted by such incentives as tax benefits for historic preservation, industrial development bonds, Small Business Administration funds, and shopsteading, private investment in Beale Street is growing.

In 1983 it was estimated that the Beale Street revival would directly create 630 jobs and indirectly create 1,500 more; its entertainment facilities were forecast to attract 875,000 visitors annually. So far the estimates of tourist volume and the resulting jobs have proven overly optimistic, partly because of the area's out-of-downtown location, its predominately black racial composition after dark, and disputes between music and business interests over the identity and purpose of the area. But the Beale Street revival is a reality, and, with luck and work, it can be the commercial success its planners envisaged.

Mud Island, once a nuisance that occasionally threatened to close the port of Memphis as a result of silting and flooding, has been transformed into a $63-million entertainment and recreation complex that celebrates the Mississippi. Development plans for the peninsula were

Photo: *Visitors to Mud Island can ride the monorail from downtown Memphis. (Photo by Dennis Reeder)*

Dallas

True to its image of thinking big and spending bigger, Dallas has launched the largest urban development ever undertaken in the United States—the sixty-acre Dallas Arts District. This mixed-use project located on the northeastern edge of the central business district is expected to attract investments of $2.6 billion. When completed, late in the 1990s, facilities for Dallas's major cultural institutions and smaller arts groups will be interwoven with 15 million square feet of retail, office, hotel, and residential space over the twenty-block area. Collaboration among all sectors of the community, public and private as well as arts organizations, has been the key to the district's progress.

A transformation is already evident in the area that was formerly dominated by warehouses and parking lots. New construction mingles with the few old landmarks that remain—the Arts Magnet School, the historic Belo Mansions, the Gothic-style Cathedral Santuario de Guadelupe, and St. Paul's Methodist Church. The district's cornerstone, the Dallas Museum of Art, designed by Edward Larrabee Barnes, opened in January 1984. I. M. Pei's concert hall is scheduled for completion in 1986. Other arts groups plan permanent homes; these include the Dallas Center Theater, now operating from a temporary facility in the district. The fifty-story LTV Center was finished in late 1984, and the Harbord Lone Star project, a $600-million skyscraper and retail complex, is under way.

These and future buildings fit into an overall design plan, financed jointly by the city and private interests, to be formulated by Sasaki Associates, a firm selected through a national competition. The plan envisages a pedestrian-oriented "people place" with a mixture of activities to appeal to many audiences. Flora Street, which runs through the center of the district, will be converted into a 100-foot-wide landscaped boulevard with limited vehicular access and 30-foot sidewalks. The Sasaki scheme is reinforced by regulations in the 1983 zoning ordinance, which established the district as a planned development. For instance, buildings along Flora Street must be no higher than 50 feet, must have 50 percent of their surface in glass, and must devote 75 percent of their first floor to designated retail activities, which include artist studios.

The idea for an arts district, which dates back to the mid-1970s, evolved from the need by many arts groups for bigger, improved facilities. The idea gained momentum when a 1977 consultant's report commissioned by the city recommended concentrating the arts in the central business district. Continued development of a comprehensive plan, including construction and utilization of arts facilities as well as city policies that would extend the economic impact of the arts, was supported by a 1978 National Endowment for the Arts Design Arts Program grant of $17,000. After approving the concept with strong backing by groups such as the Central Dallas Business Association, the city turned to the acquisition of land. The city shares financial responsibility with arts organizations, assuming 75 percent of the cost of purchasing the land and 60 percent of the construction expenses; cultural institutions are responsible for the remainder. Bond referendums in 1979 and 1982 provide the city's share, while the art museum and concert hall have undertaken successful fundraising campaigns. A public-private plan to finance improvements in the district such as lighting, streets, sidewalks, and a range of amenities, also has been worked out. Much credit for the city's efforts goes to former mayor Jack Evans and the volunteer arts district coordinator he appointed, O'Brien Montgomery, who moderates negotiations between the city and district property owners.

Despite this extensive commitment by the city, high real estate values have made it difficult for individuals and for arts groups, large and small, to locate in the district. Land costs soared as the district got under way, delaying acquisition of land for the concert hall. Along with the land swap that finally completed assembly of property for the concert hall was a unique transaction that reflects the strong backing the district has received from business and the Central Dallas Business Association. When a vital five-acre site in the heart of the district became available, the city could not afford to purchase it. Dallas CDB Enterprises, Inc., the charitable arm of the business association, acquired it with

the help of a loan quickly arranged by three Dallas banks. CDB Enterprises is "banking" the property, giving the city a two-year option to purchase it for cultural facilities at the original price plus cost. This arrangement keeps a lid on the price and gives the city an opportunity to explore and encourage creative development alternatives that might incorporate, for example, some type of shared workspace for individual artists.

In addition to acting as a financial conduit, the Central Dallas Business Association has functioned in many capacities, from advocate to manager. It has just completed the formation of three nonprofit organizations to manage the district; in effect, these organizations supersede the Dallas Arts District Consortium, a loosely structured coordinating body set up in 1981. The Arts District Management Association will be responsible for day-to-day operations, supplementing services such as maintenance and security; the Dallas Arts District Foundation will work to promote the district's cultural role; and the Friends of the Arts District will be concerned with developing financial and volunteer support. Creation of these groups is recognition that an effective management structure is essential if the Dallas Arts District is to recognize its full potential.

The private sector, the cultural institutions, the Central Dallas Business Association, and the city as a whole are what Jim Cloar, president of the business association, describes as the "four wheels [that] are making this wagon roll." They are doing so because they realize that the Dallas Arts District has such potential, Texas-size potential. It has the potential for business and culture to reinforce each other to revitalize a large downtown area, employ 30,000 people, and add $1.5 billion to the tax base by the year 2000. It has the potential to reorient people downtown, particularly in the evenings. Although it remains to be seen whether the business association can creatively overcome high real estate values and provide affordable workspace for artists, the initial signs are encouraging. Membership and attendance at the art museum have almost doubled in the past year, and commercial leasing is doing well. Finally, the Dallas Arts District has the potential to expand the image of the city so that citizens and outsiders alike will know that "the arts are big and getting bigger in Dallas."

Seattle

Seattle's livability is the product of a superb natural setting and a citizenry actively concerned about keeping and expanding its God-given riches. In the past twenty-five years, forward-looking civic leaders have created the programs that have repeatedly put this city one step ahead of the rest of the country. First to clean up its waters; one of the first to create a municipal arts commission and to enact an artists' zoning ordinance; first to institutionalize historic preservation—Seattle is one city in which a high quality of life is an undisputed objective for civic action. As a result, Seattle has maintained strong neighborhoods and a healthy downtown through good and bad times.

Today its high quality of life is one of the principal factors in the attraction and retention of a wide range of industries and services, making Seattle the business center for the Pacific Northwest and offering a much-needed increase in economic stability.

Background

Seattle is a young city, founded in 1851 by settlers from the East and Midwest who traveled overland to Portland and by boat to the port of Seattle. Lumbering was the major industry in the frontier town. In 1893, Seattle became a major terminus for the transcontinental railroad—an event that triggered its ascendance over nearby Tacoma.

When the Washington Territory was formed in 1853, Seattle was offered as the site for the new university instead of the future state capital (which went to Olympia). Today that decision has paid off handsomely: the University of Washington is the city's largest employer, plays an important role in the city's cultural life, and is a critical ingredient in efforts to maintain and expand investment in high-growth sectors.

At the turn of the century, city engineer R. H. Thompson began several projects that became crucial to the city's future: the digging of a canal from Puget Sound to Lake Union and Lake Washington; the dredging of the Duwamish River and creation of the Harbor Island; and the regrading of Seattle's hills. The marine improvements created the areas where Seattle's dynamic port activity continues today.

Thompson also established a municipal water supply system using runoff from the nearby Cascade Mountains, and he proposed that the city tap its nearby rivers for hydroelectric power. Today, Seattle's municipal utility, Seattle City Lights, creates 70 percent of its power from hydro. The utility also had the foresight to avoid the financially disastrous nuclear construction of the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS). As a result, Seattle has the cheapest electricity in the country (it costs about one-quarter the price in major eastern cities).

The Olmsted brothers were active in Seattle at the turn of the century, too, designing a park and parkway system for the city, and the city made its initial investments in amenities during that period.

World War II brought a boom to Seattle with airplane construction at Boeing Field and a major naval station across Puget Sound at Bremerton. Seattle's economy continued to rise and fall with Boeing and the Navy, booming during the war years and subsiding thereafter. In 1970 and 1971, cancellation of the supersonic transport and slack demand for the 747 led Boeing to lay off two-thirds of its work force of 100,000. As a record 10,000 people left the city, a billboard went up saying, "Will the last person leaving Seattle turn out the lights?"

Yet Seattle's livability rests with a "pioneer spirit" that refuses to give in to adversity. Partly as a result of an ambitious program of public improvement and mostly as a result of increased employment at Boeing, the city's economy began to improve around 1973. A dramatic, steady increase in the financial and service sectors created new employment and brought new growth to the Seattle metropolitan area (although population in the city proper declined slightly).

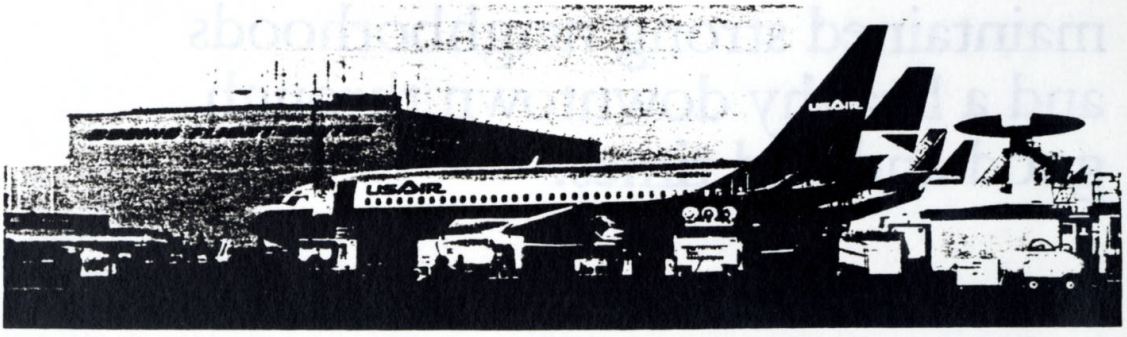


Photo: *The Boeing company remains key to the health of Seattle's economy despite diversification in recent years. (Photo by Dennis Reeder)*

During the recession of 1981–82, Boeing's employment was reduced to 50,000, and unemployment again rose to 15 percent—double the national average. Seattle is just coming out of this crisis, with trade and travel to the Pacific Rim countries spurring new economic activity. City officials expect that Boeing's employment will never again rise above 80,000. Yet the substantial growth in services, finance, and trade during the past ten years have diversified the economy, and Seattle will never again be so dependent on a single industry as it has been in recent decades on airplanes and earlier on lumber.

From METRO to Forward Thrust

A constant in Seattle's past has been the ability of committed individuals to create major public improvements. One of the most prominent of the city's civic leaders in recent years is Jim Ellis, a lawyer who founded METRO and Forward Thrust. Ellis typifies Seattle residents' commitment to getting things done.

Seattle's Father of Livability

Seattle's Jim Ellis is a retiring, soft-spoken lawyer who knows how to get things done in the public arena, and a model for what today might be called a "civic entrepreneur." Ellis's work to improve the quality of life in the Seattle area began thirty years ago when he represented a small sewer district abutting Lake Washington. His belief that only a regional agency could effectively clean up the polluted lake led to the conception of METRO, a King County superagency responsible for sewage disposal, transportation, and planning.

The regional approach to transportation was later adopted, and METRO is now one of the country's finest public transit systems. A regional approach to planning, too, is standard today, with Ellis leading an effort to protect 6,000 acres of surrounding farmland threatened by development with $15 million in publicly approved funds. His role was central, as well, in the development and passage of Forward Thrust. And he is still in the forefront today, working for approval of a new convention center and extension of Freeway Park. That park, in fact, is dedicated to Ellis for his vision and determination in its creation. In thirty years Ellis has achieved what most planners only dream of: getting the residents of his city to think and to invest in a better future today.

A profound love of Seattle's natural resources drives Ellis, and the projects closest to his heart—Lake Washington's cleanup, Freeway Park, farmland preservation, the bike trail to the Cascades, and other parks—are all attempts to preserve or enhance these resources. While other Seattlites doubtless share his vision, few have been so able or so committed to getting things done in the public arena. Certainly, a large part of Ellis's success in capturing public opinion stems from his ability to remain an independent, private citizen, free from political associations and interests.

He is a firm believer in the democratic process and the volunteer spirit. He once estimated that the hours he spent in the office working on the convention center proposal in one year cost his firm a quarter-million dollars in billable time.

He is concerned that the growing use of litigation by paid advocates will circumvent the process of "going to the people" and destroy the consensus-seeking ways that have governed Seattle's public affairs in the past thirty years. "It's a harder game now than it used to be," he says with frustration.

It is difficult to imagine Seattle today without the legacy of Ellis's unique achievement. As John Fischer wrote fifteen years ago in *Harper's*, Ellis is an example of what "one man—armed only with an idea and lots of persistence—can do to change the quality of life in his community."

In the 1950s, Ellis and other leaders became concerned about pollution in Lake Washington, which forms the eastern boundary of the city. Dumping of raw sewage had left the lake covered with green algae. Ellis proposed a regional agency, METRO, consisting of Seattle and the other towns surrounding the lake, to oversee cleanup activities. After an initial defeat at the polls, Ellis's proposal was approved in September 1958, along with $153 million in funding. A decade later—when the federal Clean Water Act first set national goals of swimmable, drinkable water—Lake Washington was already clean.

The cleanup of Lake Washington revitalized the city's greatest natural asset, a large deep-water lake that provides recreation and spectacular views for countless Seattle residents. Just as important, it set a framework for regional cooperation that became a model for other cities and was later used to establish Seattle's transportation network (also called METRO).

Instead of resting on their laurels during the growth years of the 1960s, Seattle's civic leaders, including Jim Ellis, were already looking to the future. In a speech to the Rotary Club in 1965, Ellis warned that unless the city invested in parks, transportation, highways, sewers, and other public facilities, growth could destroy Seattle's quality of life. Backed by $500,000 from the business community, a staggering package of potential improvements was drawn up requiring $819 million of new bonding authority (in thirteen separate issues). The program was called "Forward Thrust."

In February 1968, more Seattlites voted on the Forward Thrust package than would vote in that year's presidential election. The voters approved $334 million of the original package, the largest per capita public improvement program in any U.S. city. The sum earmarked for parks and recreation—$118 million—surpassed the total public investment in Seattle's parks up to that time.

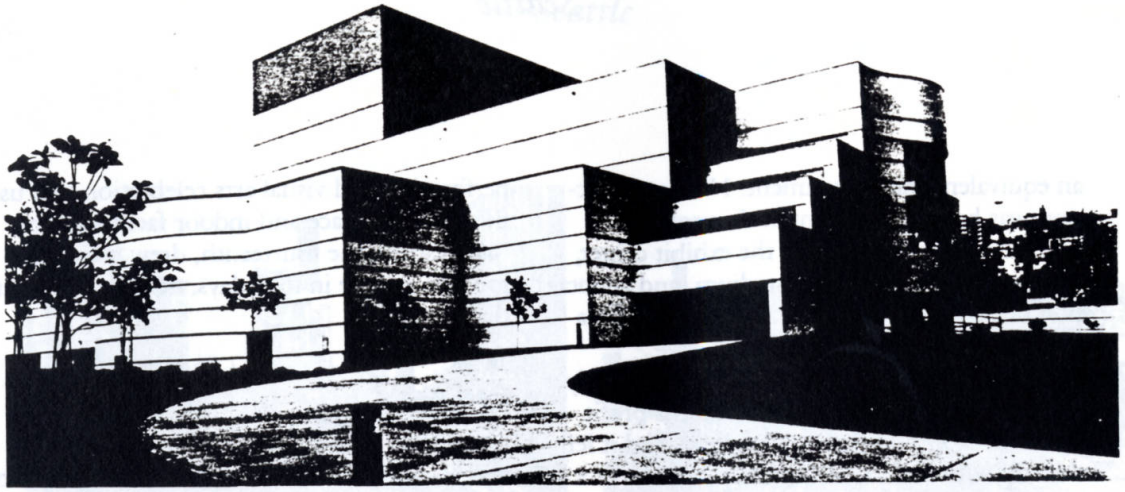
The Forward Thrust bond package required the bonds to be sold and a major share of the improvements to be completed within twelve years—by 1980. By the end of 1979, all voter-approved bonds had been sold and 88 percent of the funds spent. The improvements financed by Forward Thrust clearly have made an invaluable contribution to Seattle's quality of life.

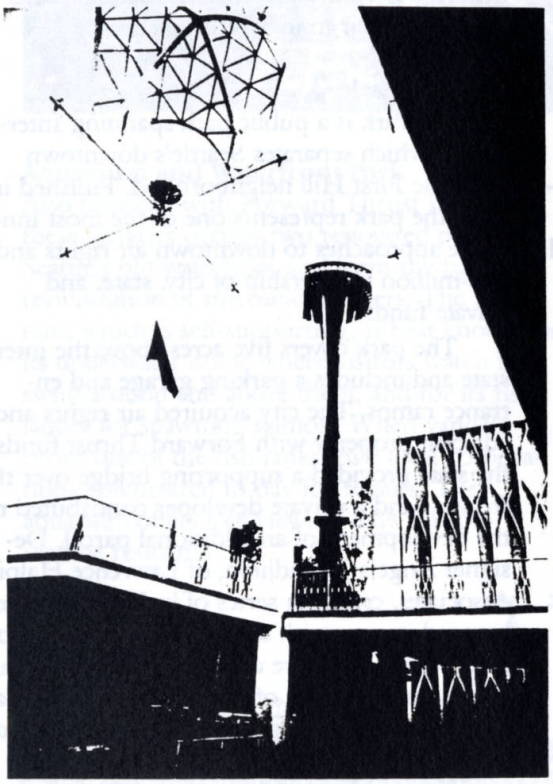
Forward Thrust financed the Kingdome, Seattle's indoor stadium, home of the Mariner baseball team and Seahawk football team; the modern, efficient Sea-Tac airport; the aquarium and zoo; 200 miles of highway improvements; 50 miles of waterfront preservation; and 4,000 acres of park lands and community centers, including the nation's first park over a freeway and a park encompassing a former gasworks. Forward Thrust also established the Seattle Design Commission—a professional group that advises the mayor and city council on qualitative aspects of city capital improvements; it is the only paid commission of the city. Forward Thrust gave the city an important psychological boost during the Boeing crisis; it was an important part of the mayor's election campaign and it energized government and citizens.

Forward Thrust set a pattern for civic improvements in Seattle that makes it stand out among U.S. cities. The program was initiated by concerned citizens, approved through a democratic process, and then entrusted to local government, which managed projects with competence and imagination. High-quality planning and design have gone into all Forward Thrust projects, and very few have become embroiled in political controversy. In the end, $333 million in voter-approved bonds generated $706 million in total investments, including interest, state and federal grants, and private contributions. An estimated 22,811 worker-years of employment were created through Forward Thrust, many during the recession years of 1968 to 1973.

Forward Thrust left a legacy of improvements that will benefit Seattle for long into the future. This type of foresight typified the entire Forward Thrust period. At a time of economic good fortune, Seattlites were progressive enough to invest their money in improvements for the coming generation.

Between METRO and Forward Thrust, Seattle and the local business community, led by Ed Carlson of Western International (now Westin) hotels, hosted the 1962 World's Fair. The fair was financed by a $7.5-million city bond issue approved by the voters in 1956 and





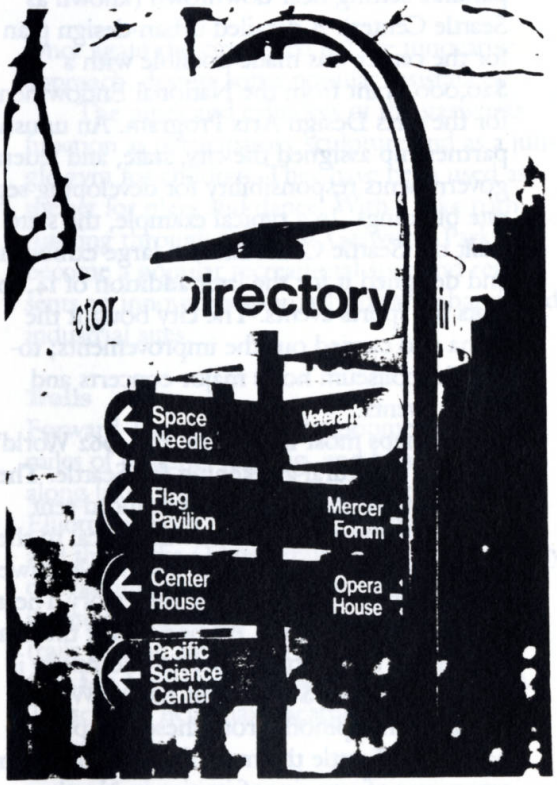
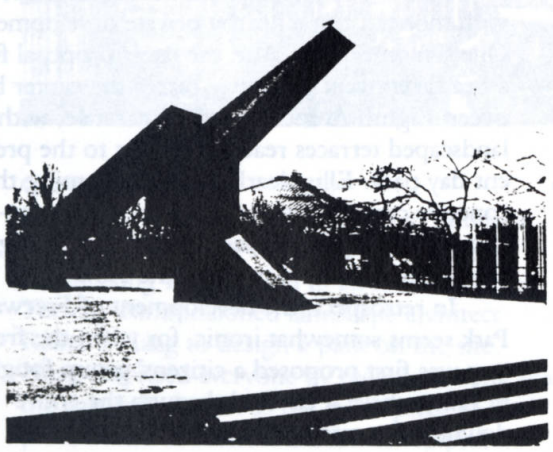


Photo top: *The Bagley-Wright Theater, home to the Seattle Repertory, one of the many cultural facilities on the grounds of the Seattle Center.* Photo middle left: *The Science Museum at the Seattle Center, built for the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, has provided Seattle with a permanent resource for science education.* Photo middle right: *A directory kiosk puts visitors to the Seattle Center on the right track.* Photo bottom left: *Outdoor sculpture at the Seattle Center, one of many examples throughout the city.* Photo bottom right: *The Space Needle, erected for the World's Fair, has become an easily recognized Seattle symbol. (Photos by Dennis Reeder)*



an equivalent state investment. New construction was kept to a minimum through renovation of an armory as the exhibit center, retention of a high school stadium, and adaptation of an auditorium into a 3,000-seat opera house.

The Seattle World's Fair remains the only one in modern times to have cleared a profit ($600,000 on a $25-million budget), and it left the city with a permanent cultural center in a parklike setting near downtown (known as Seattle Center). A detailed urban-design plan for the center was made possible with a $20,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts Design Arts Program. An unusual partnership assigned the city, state, and federal governments responsibility for developing separate buildings. In a typical example, the state built the Seattle Coliseum as a large exhibit hall and designed it for the later addition of 14,000 seats for sports events. The city bought the arena and carried out the improvements; today the coliseum hosts major concerts and sports events.

Perhaps most important, the 1962 World's Fair was a cultural awakening for Seattle. The availability of theater space at reduced rent (generally about half-price) was critical to the new companies that formed: Pacific Northwest Ballet, Seattle Opera, Seattle Repertory Theater, and Seattle Symphony. All perform at the Seattle Center; the Seattle Repertory company is based in the new $10-million Bagley Wright Theater. The spinoffs from these companies have given Seattle the most diverse performing arts roster of any city of its size in North America.

The center acts as a permanent arts district, home not only to performing arts groups but also the location for several prominent sculptures from a program under which a small portion of construction costs for city projects is used to purchase works of art. The monorail, left from the World's Fair, remains open past midnight, providing quick (about ninety seconds), easy access from downtown. Hence, Seattle Center can be thought of almost as a downtown arts district.

During Labor Day weekend, the Seattle Center is host to the Bumbershoot Festival, a performing and visual arts celebration that uses the outdoor space and indoor facilities. The 1984 festival, the fourteenth, drew more than 100,000 people in four days, netting a profit for the event.

Parks

Seattle's park system, greatly expanded by Forward Thrust, is an essential element of the city's livability and includes several parks famed for their innovative character.

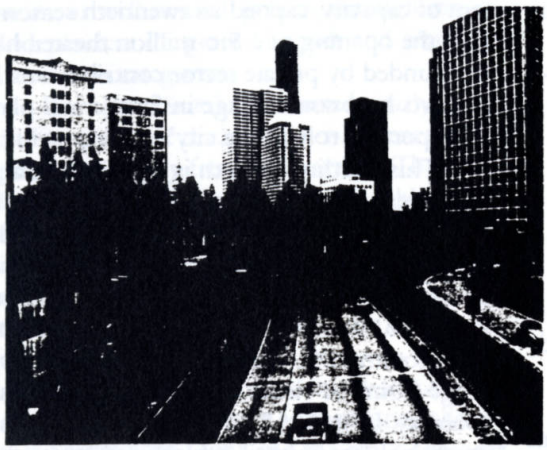
Freeway Park

Freeway Park is a public park spanning Interstate 5, which separates Seattle's downtown from the First Hill neighborhood. Finished in 1970, the park represents one of the most innovative approaches to downtown air rights and a $24-million partnership of city, state, and private funds.

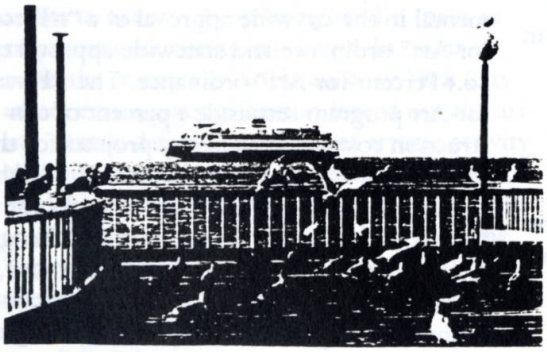
The park covers five acres above the interstate and includes a parking garage and entrance ramps. The city acquired air rights and adjacent property with Forward Thrust funds, the state provided a supporting bridge over the freeway, and a private developer contributed to the development of an additional parcel. Designer Angela Danadjieva, of Lawrence Halpin Associates, created a series of lushly landscaped terraced spaces, with a thirty-six-foot-deep concrete "canyon" where a 10,000-gallon waterfall blocks out the noise of freeway traffic. The park succeeds as a popular public space and a major pedestrian route to downtown.

Freeway Park is currently being expanded with money from a nearby private development, One Union Square. And the latest proposal for a Seattle convention center places the center between Eighth Avenue and the interstate, with landscaped terraces reaching across to the present-day park. Ellis clearly envisages taming the concrete canyon with nature. He calls the enlarged Freeway Park design "the closest thing Seattle will ever have to a Central Park."

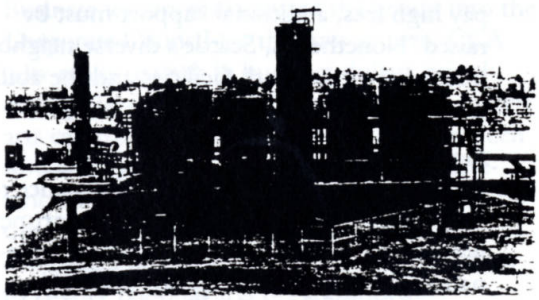
In retrospect, the development of Freeway Park seems somewhat ironic, for when the freeway was first proposed a citizens' group fought in vain to have it covered through the entire downtown stretch.



Aquarium and Waterfront Park
Also financed with Forward Thrust bonds, these facilities occupy two renovated piers on Seattle's old waterfront and form the basis for revitalization of surrounding piers. The aquarium, which is self-supporting, is best known for its underwater dome where visitors watch fish swim around and above them, and for its fish ladder for spawning salmon. When vandals broke one of the fish tanks, two local corporations volunteered to pay for repairs. The aquarium offers free viewing days for low-income residents.



Gasworks Park
Forward Thrust bonds were used to purchase the twenty-one-acre site of an obsolete gasworks along Lake Union in an industrial area. The city commissioned landscape architect Richard Haag to design a park on the site. Haag surprised everyone by recommending that the gasworks be left as the centerpiece to the park, a kind of abstract industrial sculpture.



Once again the city opted for the innovative approach, despite some popular resistance.

The pipes and cylinders of the gasworks function as participatory sculpture and as a jungle gym for children. They have been used as the set for plays and dance. With a bike path running through the park, Gasworks Park has become a popular recreational spot and represents an innovative approach toward abandoned industrial sites.

Trails
Forward Thrust funded development of ninety miles of walking, jogging, and bicycle trails along lakes and rivers. Two in particular, the Elliott Bay path north of the central waterfront and the Burke-Gilman trail along the University of Washington and Lake Washington, are heavily used. Eventually, the city hopes to develop trails leading all the way from the city to the Cascade Mountains (about forty miles away). These trails help make Seattle a superb city for recreation.

Neighborhood Parks
Without a doubt, the strength of the Seattle park system is its network of neighborhood parks. More than 200 neighborhood parks and playgrounds were developed with Forward Thrust funds, including 50 miniparks in densely settled areas. Eighty-one percent of Seattle residents use the parks at least once a year.

The city also operates twenty-four neighborhood community centers. Each community center has a neighborhood advisory council of residents, which programs classes and recreational activities at the center. The councils, which are independent of the Parks Department, pay for all activities through fees. In low-

Photo top left: *Freeway Park, Seattle's imaginative use of air space over the freeway that passes through the center of the city.* Photo bottom left: *Three of Seattle's most distinctive features, a Puget Sound ferry, an Elliot Bay pier, and seagulls.* Photo right: *Gasworks Park turned an unsightly liability into an intriguing recreation area on the shores of Seattle's Lake Union. (Photos by Dennis Reeder)*

income neighborhoods, where residents cannot pay high fees, additional support must be raised. Nonetheless, Seattle's diverse neighborhoods have good park facilities and the ability to shape programs to meet their needs.

Maintenance

Forward Thrust doubled the maintenance responsibilities of the Seattle Parks Department without increasing public funds for maintenance. The department spends $14 million annually on maintenance (half on grounds and half on buildings) but still falls short of the need. As a result, the city has tried—largely without success—to bridge the gap with private and voluntary support.

Safeco Insurance has been the most generous corporate supporter, funding a new parks guide, a graphics system for the zoo, and selected zoo exhibits. In addition, Safeco, with Burlington Northern, financed the aquarium repair mentioned earlier. A Seattle Parks "gift catalog" generated little response, however, as the city did not actively market it. Another effort to pay neighborhood nonprofit groups for park maintenance was canceled after five years because of poor results.

The most successful volunteer project has been the "Adopt-a-Park" program in which corporations and individuals donate their time to park maintenance; 10,570 hours were donated in 1983, amounting to $126,000 in saved maintenance costs. Still, this figure represents only 1 percent of the city's maintenance budget. In September 1984, Seattle voters showed their commitment to public improvements once again by approving a $55-million bond issue for maintenance and repair to parks, buildings, and streets. This was the third attempt to gain approval of the package. A large portion of the funds will be devoted to major repairs in Seattle's older, Olmsted-designed parks.

Arts

In 1983, Seattle spent $1.4 million on the arts through its arts commission. An additional $3.9 million in sustaining project and grant support came from the private sector. The Seattle Repertory Theater, with subscriptions at 97 percent of capacity, capped its twentieth season with the opening of a $10-million theater, half of it funded by private sector contributions. The arts have come of age in Seattle and play an important role in the city's quality of life.

This startling growth is the result of a thirty-year popular effort involving government, business, and nonprofit organizations. Allied Arts, a "membership-supported civic organization with an arts agenda," was founded in 1954 to advocate the interests of Seattle's artistic community. The organization's concerns range from the visual arts to urban design and livability. In 1958, Allied Arts helped create a municipal arts council, which inadequate funding rendered ineffective.

Allied Arts worked with Seattle World's Fair planners to ensure that performing arts facilities would be adequate for future use by local companies. The Seattle Repertory Theater opened in the playhouse in 1962. Along with the theater program at the University of Washington, it has fostered the development of several other companies.

In 1971, Seattle became one of the first cities in the country to establish a city arts commission. The legislation, still considered a model of its kind, was largely written by Allied Arts. Two years later, Allied Arts was instrumental in the citywide approval of a "1-Percent-for-Art" ordinance and statewide approval of a "0.5-Percent-for-Art" ordinance. The 1-Percent-for-Art program sets aside 1 percent of construction costs on certain city projects for the purchase of visual art works, including both large-scale public art and smaller works for the "portable collection." There are also a King County Arts Commission, founded in 1967, and a Washington State Arts Commission, founded in 1961, making the level of public funding of the arts here among the highest in the nation.

Because the Seattle Arts Commission is prohibited from giving general support to arts organizations, it purchases "services" such as reduced-price or free performances or visual arts exhibitions. In this way, it channeled $700,000 to just over 100 organizations in 1983. These organizations include the large groups, such as Seattle Rep, Seattle Opera, and Seattle Art Mu-

seum, as well as small groups through the Independent Program Support and Neighborhood Arts categories.

Last year, Seattle purchased nearly $400,000 in art through the 1-Percent-for-Art program, largely from local artists. The portable collections of the city and its public utility, Seattle City Light, exceed 700 and are displayed in buildings throughout the city. The city gathers them annually for a Christmas exhibition at the Seattle Center, where plans are being studied for a permanent city gallery.

Even more important, the "1-Percent-for-Art" process has become so institutionalized that Seattle City Light and the city's engineering department select an artist to be involved in the design process. The result has been some of the most creative public art in the country, such as the city's decorated manhole covers and the playful substations of Seattle City Light.

The Seattle Arts Commission also supports writers and composers in creating works for local performance. In 1983, it supported three playwrights, two poets, and a composer in the creation of new works. A literary addition to the commission's newsletter also publishes works by writers of the Northwest.

In 1978, Allied Arts worked with the city to create an artists' housing ordinance allowing artists to occupy cheap living/studio space in empty manufacturing buildings. In order to avoid the example of SoHo in New York City, where ensuing gentrification forced out the artists, Seattle defined the range of artistic activity allowed. Two years later, the arts commission used a National Endowment for the Arts grant to create the *Seattle Artists Housing Handbook*. Today some 300 artists take advantage of the zoning ordinance, in Pioneer Square and north of Pike Place Market.

Seattle has an outstanding record of corporate support to the arts and is the only city in the nation with a united arts fund managed and operated by its business sector. The Corporate Council for the Arts (CCA) is the largest single source of contributed operating funds to local performing and visual arts groups. United business funding began in the Puget Sound area in 1969 as an initiative of six major cultural institutions working with interested businesses. Business leaders restructured the group into the Corporate Council for the Arts in 1976. CCA now ranks seventh in business dollars raised among the forty-nine cities that conduct united arts campaigns for operating support. Between 1976 and 1984, more than $7 million in unrestricted operating support was provided to arts organizations through CCA. In 1984 alone, 375 companies provided $1 million in CCA grants to twenty regional arts organizations.

Although restricted from soliciting additional operating dollars from CCA's participating business membership, art groups campaign actively in the business sector for special project assistance, debt retirement, and capital/building funds. A survey conducted in 1983 documented that $3.2 million was provided directly to arts organizations that year for these nonsustaining purposes.

The Downtown Seattle Association has joined the arts arena with "Out to Lunch," a summer series of Friday lunchtime and afternoon concerts in the city's parks and plazas and public spaces of office buildings during the summer. During the winter, concerts move into building lobbies under the "Artstorm" series.

In general, corporate and public sector support of the arts is more generous and less confrontational in Seattle than in other cities. Carl Petrick, the Seattle Arts Commission's executive secretary, estimates that local arts organizations receive about 10 percent of their revenues from the city, county, and state arts councils—a significantly higher proportion than that in other cities. Next year, the Seattle Arts Commission will begin to support a folk arts and an art-in-education program, two programs initially supported by the business community.

The most striking thing about the arts in Seattle is the way in which they have become an accepted part of government and an accepted part of city life. New works of public art are debated gleefully in the press; a 1980 *Seattle Times* series on the city's public art prompted an avalanche of reader mail. Annual appropriations for the Seattle Arts Commission are considered as necessary as parks or education. "When the

arts are an accepted way of doing business," says Petrick, "they have arrived."

The reasons behind this acceptance have often been debated. Undoubtedly, the strong support for the arts of the city's past two mayors has been an important factor.

During his two terms in office (1970–1977), Mayor Wes Uhlman made the arts one of the priorities of his administration. His support for the establishment of the Arts Commission, his advocacy of historic preservation, and his early stress on livability as an important objective for local public policy and programs led to achievements at home and made him a national leader in the field as well.

Charles Royer, mayor since 1978, has continued and expanded the tradition. In declaring Seattle the first-place winner of the 1984 City Livability Award, the U.S. Conference of Mayors stated: "In order to incorporate the arts into Seattle's development, Mayor Royer and his city government have taken a comprehensive approach to arts development and funding, which nurtures not only Seattle's cultural institutions, but also its arts organizations, community of artists, and the cultural needs of its people."

Seattle's population is one of America's most highly educated, and the city leads the country in library book circulation per capita. The steady winter rain certainly stimulates artistic activity, both active and passive. Certainly, the phenomenal record of the arts in Seattle reflects a twenty-year period of active public involvement in improving the quality of life. It is an outgrowth of that individualistic, democratic spirit in Seattle that demands more from its city.

Pioneer Square and Pike Place Market

Pioneer Square and Pike Place Market are Seattle's most popular tourist attractions, the two endpoints that give the downtown its character. Yet both came close to being destroyed. The manner in which these areas have been preserved and managed illustrates the distinctive participatory process of decision making in Seattle.

Pioneer Square, the center of Seattle's original downtown, had become, over the years, a rundown area and a haven for the city's large transient population—the original "Skid Road," a term coming from the skids for sending logs from the hilltops into Elliott Bay. An urban renewal plan approved in 1963 would have sent a high-volume road through the district. Soon after, an organization called the Pioneer Square Association (PSA), led by an achitecture professor at the University of Washington, Victor Steinbrueck, began to lobby for preservation not only of the buildings but of the district's distinctive character. In 1968, PSA presented the city council with a 100,000-signature petition; in 1970, with the support of Mayor Wes Uhlman, it achieved enactment of a Historic District Ordinance, one of the first in the country. Allied Arts was involved in preparing the ordinance and has been active in "keeping the historic district review board on course" ever since.

Once the historic district was established, the city government applied its resources to restoration of Pioneer Square with care and imagination. Art Skolnik, former chairman of the city's Pioneer Square Task Force who became manager of the district, proved adept at merging preservation and development goals. City and federal funds were used to create two important public spaces designed by Grant and Ilze Jones, Pioneer Square and Occidental Square. Brick sidewalks, stone paving, and lighting based on original features were carefully chosen. In 1975, the Pioneer Square historic district was overlaid with a special review designation; the neighboring International District was also designated a city Landmark District.

Today Pioneer Square has an eclectic mix of young professionals, artists, seamen's missions, and street people. When people congregate for an impromptu volleyball match in Occidental Park, something of Seattle's distinctive character can be glimpsed.

The saga of Pike Place Market is more clearly a case of the people beating city hall. Built in stages from 1907 to 1932, the market brought together local farmers and shoppers in

a multiethnic whirl of activity. The haphazard layout of the market, on a steep site between First Avenue and the waterfront, so fascinated Victor Steinbrueck that he spent hours trying to depict it in drawings.

In 1969, as the market and surrounding area fell into decline, the city proposed a 220-acre urban renewal project that called for clearing the entire area. Steinbrueck organized a spinoff of Allied Arts, called Friends of the Market, and embarked on another lobbying campaign against concerted city and business interests. The group gathered enough signatures to place a seven-acre historic district proposal on the ballot, where it passed. It was the first historic district in the country enacted through a citizen's initiative.

Again, city government, once defeated, swung around in support of preservation efforts. Federal urban renewal funds were used for renovation of the market and surrounding buildings and for temporary relocation of tenants. The Pike Place Market Preservation and Development Authority, a public, nonprofit corporation, was established as the preferred developer and manager of the market.

What distinguishes Pike Place Market from other city markets is its overriding social purpose and the breadth of activity of the Preservation and Development Authority. The market has been deliberately restored to its original state, unglamorous and undignified. A total of 282 housing units—200 of them low-income—have been built or renovated in the historic district. The market includes a health clinic, senior center, day-care center, and soup kitchen. Funds have come from general operating revenues; Safeco and other corporations provided funding for the health clinic. The function of the market—to have the shopper meet the grower—is jealously maintained.

The merchants, who benefit from relatively low rents (from $5 to $23 per square foot), actively participate in decision making. (Recent controversies over Sunday opening and inclusion of farmers from east of the Cascade Mountains generated wide press coverage.) The market survives "the cost of being a democracy," as one person has termed it, by sale-leasebacks and equity syndications of historic buildings under the 1981 tax act. In these ways the market covers an annual shortfall of about $200,000.

Pike Place Market is described by Seattleites as "the soul" of their city. In its atmosphere of barely controlled chaos, vigorous democracy, and social and ethnic diversity, the market is a microcosm of what makes Seattle unique. The way in which the market was saved, with a grassroots effort followed by nearly $50 million in federal and city support, typifies the way this city does business.

Seattle's Office of Urban Conservation—the first of its kind in the country—was created in 1975 to coordinate preservation goals with all city activities. According to Art Skolnik, the first head of the office, "We were concerned with neighborhood preservation and stabilization, with getting rid of rats as well as drafting legislation for capital improvement programs."

Transportation

Seattle's restricted setting has made transportation a major concern. Without an extensive, well-used public transportation system in the city, Seattle's natural and man-made amenities would be eroded by concrete highways and auto exhaust—a fate that almost befell the Olmsted-designed arboretum in the 1960s. Here as in other areas, public concern has led to establishment of a well-maintained system that is one of the most heavily used in the country.

Photo left: *The products of nearby Puget Sound and the Pacific beyond are prominent offerings in the Pike Place Market.* Photo right: *Seattle area farmers retained their traditional spots when Pike Place Market was renovated and preserved. (Photos by Dennis Reeder)*

In the early 1960s, Seattle voters rejected a fifty-five-mile heavy-rail system to be funded through a property tax assessment. Then, in 1968, the voters rejected a $385-million proposal—one of the thirteen Forward Thrust proposals. The impasse was particularly frustrating because strong neighborhood resistance had stopped several freeway projects and Seattle's traffic was increasingly snarled.

In 1972, Forward Thrust led a successful campaign to double the countywide sales tax surcharge for METRO, to 0.6 percent. This tax, along with a 1-percent-of-value annual assessment on car owners, provides the majority of METRO's funding. METRO has committed itself to running a high-quality bus system, marked by investment in good equipment, good maintanance, and imaginative planning. The following list includes some of METRO's successes:

- An effective system of bus lanes on freeways with convenient, sheltered stops has greatly increased commuter ridership. Contributing factors include low fares (60¢ peak, 50¢ off-peak within city limits), the high cost of parking in downtown, and freeway congestion.
- Seattle is one of few U.S. cities with an extant network of electric trolley buses (trackless trolleys). When most trolley cables were being pulled down during the 1960s, the lack of availability of diesel buses that could handle Seattle's hills led Seattle Transit to maintain some lines. Today, 109 of METRO's 1,000 buses are electric and, because of the low cost of electricity in Seattle, they are cheaper to run than diesel buses. METRO is now embarking on a $50-million expansion of the electric bus network.
- In 1974, METRO initiated free bus service in the downtown area to boost retail activity; the service has proved a great success. Passengers boarding downtown do not pay while entering; if they ride outside the free fare zone, they pay while exiting. This system not only boosts ridership but speeds up bus stops in the downtown by allowing entrances and exits through both doors.
- Seattle has invested heavily in new buses of high quality and has maintained them well. Its fleet now includes 150 German-made articulated buses, which have been successful, especially on high-use freeway routes.
- After many years of debate, Seattle is considering construction of a transit tunnel under the downtown to feed suburban routes into two downtown terminals. The tunnel would be convertible to a light rail system if the city should decide to convert it. New buses are being designed for the tunnel by a German firm. The buses will operate on diesel up to the tunnel; then they will be hitched up to other buses and converted to overhead electric power for the rest of the journey. Seattle is the first city in America to experiment with this concept.
- Almost all downtown bus stops are fitted with bus shelters, which have a clear map of downtown bus routes and bus schedules. These amenities typify the service of a system that has invested heavily for the future.

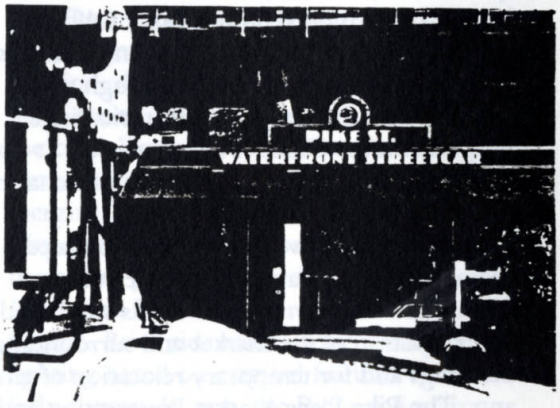
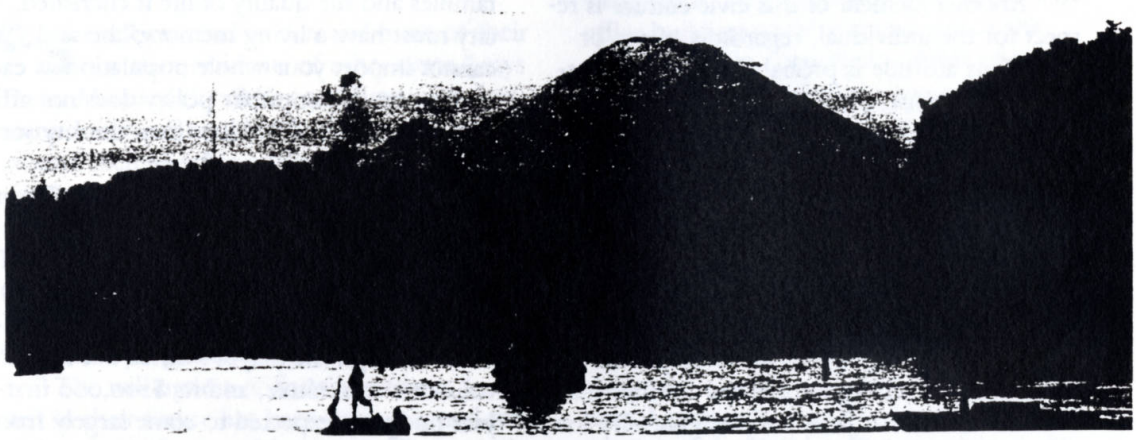


Photo: *The Seattle waterfront, still filling its traditional economic role, also attracts large numbers of visitors who are served by streetcar. (Photo by Dennis Reeder)*

Healthy Neighborhoods, Healthy Downtown

Where else can you be five minutes from downtown and in a residential neighborhood?" is a rhetorical question often asked by Seattleites. Thriving, close-in neighborhoods are a major reason why Seattle never experienced urban decline to the extent that many East Coast cities have. Although there are poor neighborhoods, no one area can be classified as a slum. These neighborhoods support a downtown retail core that survived the toughest of times and is healthy today.



To a great extent, neighborhood strength is a result of Seattle's topography. In this city, views are everything, and the views are stunning: Puget Sound, Lake Union, Lake Washington, the Olympic Mountains, and majestic Mount Rainier. Seattle's hills lend themselves to easily defined neighborhoods, and neighborhood identification is strong. Seventy percent of the city is zoned residential, 60 percent single-family residential. Many lots, even in wealthy neighborhoods, are small; this allows the single-family development.

City government works with these active neighborhoods, rather than against them, through a system of community councils, the Parks Department's community centers, and the Neighborhood Improvement Program. This last program, funded by a $12-million bond issue as part of Forward Thrust, provided 130 capital improvement projects—mostly street paving, lighting, and sewers—in twenty medium- and low-income neighborhoods. Neighborhood needs were assessed and projects proposed by local resident committees.

During the past ten years, the city council has also acceded to the wishes of several close-in neighborhoods for "down-zoning" areas where potential high-rises could block residents' views. And the Department of Community Development pays much attention to the health of neighborhood business centers. Nine community service centers act as "little city halls," and the Neighborhood Assistance Office acts as a technical assistance center for neighborhood groups.

Because city council members are nonpartisan and elected at-large, they are responsive to all districts and thus, potentially, to all neighborhoods in the city, expanding the possibilities for neighborhood influence in council decisions.

Political Process and Product

Civic affairs in Seattle are marked by a high degree of individual participation and an attempt to reach consensus. As a result, government officials and neighborhood activists agree that decisions take longer to make but are usually—not always, but usually—better for the participatory process. And once decisions are made, an atmosphere of consensus allows projects to go forward effectively.

The people involved in the political process joke about the length of the decision-making process and the "crisis of the month" atmosphere. Yet the fact remains that Seattle, compared with East Coast cities, is lacking in social conflict. There is in the city a civic culture based on certain common beliefs, most prominently that Seattle is a nice place to live and should remain so. This is reflected in the commonly heard remarks that "people live here

Photo: *Water, forest, and mountains joined in a view of Mount Rainier from West Seattle. (Photo by Dennis Reeder)*

because they want to" or that residents who move away will always return.

Another element of this civic culture is respect for the individual, regardless of age or class. This attitude is probably rooted in Seattle's frontier past. Historically, one of the reasons that Seattle seems to have attracted so many transients is that the city has been widely known to be more tolerant than others.

Ten years ago, Seattle made a commitment to improving the life of its elderly, and today it is one of the nation's best cities for the elderly. Mayor Uhlman became a leader, not only in Seattle but nationally, for the development of programs for the elderly, and the commitment has continued. Bus fares for them are very low, taxi script is provided for those who cannot take the bus, utility discounts are available, and United Way senior centers are in most neighborhoods. The city also maintains an office of senior services to act as an ombudsman. In 1981, city residents approved a bond issue for 1,000 new units of low-income elderly housing by a 77 percent majority.

Mayor Royer is making children a special focus of his administration. The city wants to make the same commitment made to the elderly to children through KidsPlace, described as "a kids' lobby for a vital Seattle." KidsPlace grew out of public concern over changing demographics that were quietly eroding Seattle's basis as a city of middle-class families:

- More than half of the children in public schools are from single-parent families,
- Three-quarters of the mothers in Seattle work,
- Half of the public school students in Seattle are minorities,
- From 1970 to 1980, the number of children in Seattle declined by 36 percent.

"What happened in Seattle is identical to what happened elsewhere," says Donna James, director of KidsPlace. "The difference is that this has always been a neighborhood town, and there's a strong feeling that we don't want this city to turn into a Los Angeles."

Bruce Chapman, a former Washington secretary of state, put it more strongly at a YMCA forum in 1981: unless Seattle made a concerted effort to improve its schools and neighborhoods and to tackle crime, it would lose its families and the quality of life it cherished. "The city must have a living memory," he said. "You cannot import your whole population in each generation. If the public policy does not affirm the importance of families, then the city very possibly does not have a future."

Chapman proposed a "kids' lobby" that would help children's views find a way into city projects. The resulting Child and the City Task Force, headed by a Seattle pediatrician, evolved into KidsPlace. The program is now coordinated through the mayor's office but is run by a volunteer committee, and its $200,000 first-year budget is expected to come largely from private donations.

Thus far, KidsPlace has conducted a survey of children under twelve, along with a "Mayor for a Day" contest, for the best suggestion by a child for public improvement. In other surveys, parents and children will assess traffic, recreation, public transportation, and safety in their neighborhoods. At a major conference in April 1985, specific recommendations for city projects will be made.

Some people dismiss KidsPlace as a public relations gimmick, but Mayor Royer is taking it very seriously, and James insists that it is "still more of an attitude than a project." The object is to create an attitude in the city so that children's views are factored into all decisions, including program and funding priorities of city departments. She cites a public housing project where door peepholes will be lowered so that children can see who is at the door when their parents are not at home. And publicity generated by KidsPlace may have helped the passage last September of a $64-million bond issue for school improvements.

Although any assessment of KidsPlace's effectiveness must be several years away, the program typifies the city's willingness to try to shape the course of events through public action. "In ten years," says James, "I think you'll see the same kind of results for kids and families as our efforts during the past twelve years to make Seattle a good place for the elderly."

High Quality of Life as a Goal

"Seattleites tend to demand more of their city than residents of other cities," says David Moseley, the city's community development director. Blessed with the natural beauty around them, Seattle residents have continually shown themselves willing to pay the costs of making their city a better place to live: cleaning up Lake Washington and investing in parks, transportation, the arts, and public facilities. This foresightedness has earned Seattle a reputation as a progressive city.

The willingness of Seattle residents to invest in their future has been demonstrated time and again in the past thirty years. They voted to clean up Lake Washington ten years before the federal government became involved in water pollution control. They supported the largest public improvement project of any American city—Forward Thrust—just before a severe depression crippled the city. The jobs and quality-of-life improvements provided by Forward Thrust helped pull Seattle through the 1968–1973 "Boeing crash."

As the depression waned, Seattleites were determined to protect the intrinsic qualities of their city against the possibility of unchecked growth. They blocked new freeways and fought to preserve the character of their downtown. In the early 1970s, government, business, and neighborhood leaders began work on Seattle's first comprehensive land use plan. The city council has now approved nearly all elements of the plan with little controversy.

Seattle was one of the first cities in the country to use the zoning process as a tool for quality-of-life amenities. In the early 1970s, it enacted a floor-to-area ratio (FAR) bonus system for downtown construction, which allowed developers to build higher in exchange for adding pedestrian amenities such as plazas or arcades. In 1982, acting in the belief that most of the plazas had not been worthwhile, the city council established a design review process for the bonus tradeoff.

The new downtown plan, expected to be adopted by the city council in June 1985, contains one of the most innovative FAR bonus systems proposed by a city. The system is clearly weighted to create housing; no FAR in a new office building could exceed 15 unless the developer built a specified number of moderate-income housing units. (By comparison, a seventy-six-story office tower currently being built in Seattle has a FAR of 28, 8 above the maximum under the new plan.) No FAR could go above 10 without providing amenities; the list of amenities includes performing arts theaters and pocket parks.

Attention also has been turned to remaining open land in the area. The city council has designated 909 acres of outlying land as a potential greenbelt, but thus far only about 10 percent of the land has been purchased. An even bolder initiative—certainly one of the first of its kind in the country—is the farmland preservation effort led by Jim Ellis. In 1979, King County voters approved a $15-million bond for purchasing the development rights to 6,000 acres of farmland deemed as critical or threatened.

Future Issues

Construction of the seventy-six-story tower above Seattle illustrates the unprecedented growth in the downtown. Seattle is no longer a well-kept secret hidden behind the Cascade Mountains, and the way in which the city deals with downtown development will determine how well it can maintain its unique quality of life.

Much of this drama is being played out along the old waterfront. Situated between Pioneer Square and Pike Place Market, this area faces great development pressure. It is also home to many of Seattle's transient people—in missions, on sidewalks, and in single-room-occupancy hotels.

A new development company, Cornerstone Development, headed by Paul Schell, a former city community development director and one-time mayoral candidate, has just completed a project called Waterfront Place, consisting of a luxury hotel and office, retail, condominium, and market-rate apartment space in several ren-

ovated buildings and two new ones. More than 2 percent of construction costs went into street amenities such as paving, sidewalks, and lighting; the overall quality of design in the project is high.

Nevertheless, Waterfront Place stimulated objections from some community groups about the displacement of inexpensive housing. An agreement was reached under which Cornerstone's developers contributed to the development of low-income housing elsewhere in the downtown. To date the project has not done as well as hoped, and Schell has been so frustrated by the experience that he has publicly stated his unwillingness ever to work again in Seattle. Says one city official, "Schell is just the kind of developer we should try to *keep* in this city."

Jim Ellis worries about the loss of consensus in Seattle as voluntary citizen activists are replaced by full-time advocates "already funded and looking for causes. This city showed a remarkable ability in the past to adapt reasonably. Now differing groups adapt unreasonably. In the long run, it will reduce our capacity for effective action."

Ellis also cautions that Seattle's past achievements were supported by a generous private sector. "We must not become too greedy in the future," he warns.

During the 1984 campaign for passage of a $55-million bond issue for renovations to city parks, buildings, and streets, a citizens' group called Shareholders of Seattle campaigned *against* the referendum, claiming that the renovations were needed only because the city had neglected the facilities in the first place. They suggested that the same money might be more equitably used to provide adequate housing and services for the city's poor.

Does the current situation represent a breakdown of consensus in Seattle, or is all this discussion just democracy as usual? Certainly the stakes over valuable land in the downtown are rising. The convention center proposal is being blocked by the Downtown/Neighborhood Association's demand for more low-income housing. The long-awaited Westlake development at the monorail terminal has failed once and is again embroiled in controversy.

Already the influx of young professionals into the Pioneer Square and Pike Place Market areas is leading to increased complaints about the transient population that has traditionally occupied these areas. And although the improvements to these areas and the waterfront have been in many ways beneficial to Seattle, they may have begun a social transformation that cannot be reversed. Problems brought with gentrification may threaten the delicate balance between the fortunate and the unfortunate that has traditionally characterized Seattle's social makeup.

It is clear that, despite twenty-five years of effort, Seattle's civic leaders will continue to face challenges that will test their commitment to the city's livability and their ability to craft innovative solutions to the city's problems.

Selected Vital Statistics

Population, 1980[1]	493,846
Population: percentage change, 1970–1980[1]	−7.0%
Race, 1980[1]:	
White	80.2%
Black	9.4%
Other significant—Asian	7.9%
Median age, 1980[1]	32.4 years
Percentage born in Washington, 1980[1]	44.2%
Civilian labor force:	
1970[2]	247,066
1980[1]	265,852
Percentage change, 1970–1980	8.0%
September 1984[3]	281,233
Labor force percentage of manufacturing:	
1970[2]	18.6%
1980[1]	16.4%
Unemployment rate:	
1980[1]	5.9%
1982[1]	10.9%
September 1984[3]	7.4%
Median family income, 1979[1]	$22,096
Percentage of families below poverty level, 1979[1]	6.6%

1. County and City Data Book, *1983. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.*
2. Characteristics of the Population, *1973. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.*
3. *Labstat, Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

San Antonio

To produce a faithful portrait of San Antonio, the third-largest city in Texas and an odds-on favorite among American cities to become one of the nation's urban standard-bearers for the 1990s, you have to be able to hold two contradictory images in mind simultaneously.

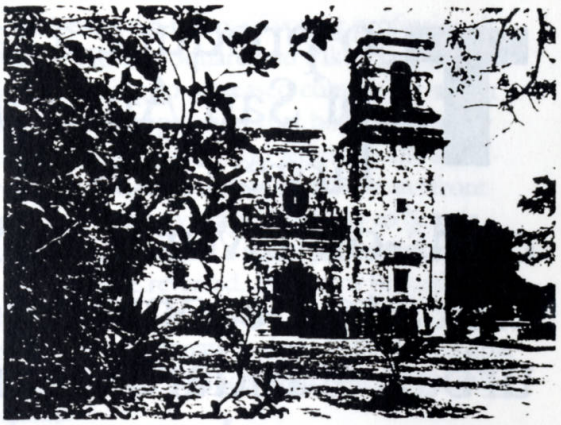
First image: The bulk of American city dwellers would cheerfully kill for the natural amenities that are San Antonians' birthright. Forget dust, sagebrush, and spavined longhorns competing for a limited supply of dry grass. Although semiarid, San Antonio's part of South Texas is the lovely, wooded hill country, where clear rivers feed clear lakes, and the average temperatures range only between a high of 86 degrees (F) in July and a low of 43 degrees (F) in January.

San Antonio

"A city old in history and new in ideas . . ."

—Abelardo L. Valdez, U.S. Chamber of Commerce

One of the country's oldest cities, San Antonio is also rich in history and architecture. Its Spanish-Mexican-American culture has survived aggressive exploitation for tourism and a period of intense intergroup strife in the 1970s. Its economy, distorted by the subsidies it receives from tourism ($654 million in 1980) and the presence of five military installations ($1.8 billion in 1982), declined from the 1930s until this decade, but was never ravaged to anything like the extent "Rust Bowl" cities have been. Diversification, not rebuilding, is the point of economic development in San Antonio.



The base from which diversification begins is a regional one. San Antonio is the center of finance, agribusiness, tourism, transportation, medical services, and wholesale and retail trade for the large and growing south Texas region.

An aggressive effort to attract high-technology firms and research centers has begun to pay off. Total employment between April 1983 and April 1984 grew 7.2 percent, and unemployment, at 5.4 percent in 1984, is lower than both the statewide level (6.4 percent) and the national (7.6 percent). New office construction doubled between 1980 and 1984 (the city has a standing inventory of 4 million square feet) and occurred not only in the outlying areas but downtown as well, strengthening the city's core.

Arts and culture are themselves a $50-million-a-year business in San Antonio. In fiscal year 1984, the municipal budget made almost $3.8 million available to support the arts, probably one of the highest per capita arts expenditures in the nation. Historic preservation is a civic passion in San Antonio, and even the briefest catalogue of historic residential districts, missions, and other important buildings takes pages. The Alamo, saved from ruin just after the turn of the century, is a Texas historical shrine. Paseo del Rio, the walkway embracing the San Antonio River on its leisurely journey through the heart of the city, was saved from being paved over in the 1920s and has been called "one of the best pieces of urban design in America."

For its attentiveness to the arts and conservation, the city has won awards from such organizations as the United States Conference of Mayors and Citizens Forum on Self-Government; in 1983, the latter gave the city one of its coveted All-America City awards.

Beyond winning recognition, San Antonio's attention to arts and cultural activities has provided it with something more tangible: yet another tool for leveraging more high-tech firms into its economic orbit. High-tech firms like cities with amenities that appeal to their generally well-educated employees along with good schools and good weather.

The image, then, is of a city that has and uses an abundance of the attributes the noted

Photo left: *The Alamo, San Antonio's best-known landmark.* Photo right: *Mission San Jose y Miquel de Aguayo, founded in 1720 and known as the Queen of Texas missions. (Photos courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

The San Antonio River, a narrow channel that winds its way through the city's downtown, was not always regarded as one of the city's loveliest and most charming assets. During the 1920s and 1930s, frequent and disastrous flooding nearly caused city planners to convert the river into an underground storm sewer. However, with the help of dedicated preservationists, a 1939 WPA project solved the flooding problem by creating a bypass channel. With the city's 250th birthday in 1968, San Antonio continued its commitment to the river by developing the celebrated San Antonio River Walk. A twenty-one-block tract of restaurants, shops, hotels, barges, subtropical greenery, and an outdoor theater, the river walk has been described as a microcosm of the city itself. High-quality architectural design, landscaping, and signage have guaranteed the river walk's beauty and historic flavor. Today, the San Antonio River Walk is the popular centerpiece of the city, animated throughout the day and evening by local people and tourists.

urbanist Jane Jacobs defined as essential to good city living: interest, charm, variety.

Second image: Fifty-four percent of San Antonio's estimated 840,000 residents belong to the Hispanic "minority." Some are descendants of Spaniards or Mexicans who came to what is now Texas some two generations before the American Declaration of Independence; others are descendants of Mexican nationals who came later. Still others came on their own, legally or not. Another 7 percent of the city's population is black. The remaining 1 percent "other" minorities include tribal Hmong from Laos and refugees from Vietnam.

In all, 62 percent of the city's population is "minority," which leaves less than 40 percent of the population in the "majority," which is denominated "Anglo" in disregard of the likelihood that few of its members' ancestors came from England and the fact that many early non-Hispanic settlers were German, Polish, and French.

In appearance, the Hispanic culture is integrated with the non-Hispanic in San Antonio and—if one judges by the heavy use of Spanish words and place names, the delight in Mission and Mexican colonial architecture, and the food—even dominates the cultural mix.

In fact, the economic and political aspects of the San Antonio culture were for many years controlled by what one long-time observer of the city calls the "German-Anglo oligarchy." This group's instrument for economic control of the city was ownership of the businesses and banks.

In the 1930s, San Antonio was Texas's largest city and its financial capital. But lulled by the regular, and hefty, contributions that five military bases and the tourist trade made to its economy, its leaders allowed the city to stagnate. They were not much interested in industrial development and even less interested in redistributing what profit the economy *did* produce to the Hispanic "minority."

Their failure produced bad news that endures. In 1979, the effects of the absence of one redistributive mechanism, equality of education, were still writ large in city statistics: in that year, according to local figures, 217,000 San Antonians were unable to read or write English. The median family income of Anglos was $18,345, that of Hispanics, $13,320. And there were 76,700 Angelos with college degrees compared with 11,000 Hispanics.

Photo: *San Antonio's world-famous Paseo del Rio, the downtown riverwalk along the banks of the San Antonio River. (Courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

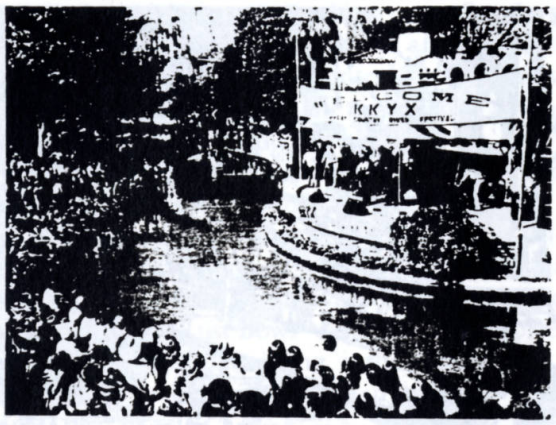


Photo: *Each January brings the Great Country River Festival to the banks of the Paseo del Rio. (Courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

Neal Peirce and Jerry Hagstrom, in *The Book of America*, provide a picture that statistics cannot:

The great West Side barrio [of San Antonio] is one of the most striking slums of the continent. For block after block, the tiny shacks and hovels stretch on, many with outdoor privies and lacking water. Until the federal government's poverty programs started in the 1960s, the city of San Antonio largely ignored the barrios. But even in the early 1980s, many of the streets were not paved, and every year floods still led to several deaths.

Ironically, the failure of the San Antonio power structure in the post-World War II years resulted in some good news. Having slept through that period of intense national industrialization, San Antonio is now free to concentrate on a very different kind of economic growth—growth spawned by new information and medical technologies.

The political instrument of the German-Anglo oligarchy was the Good Government League, which began as a reform organization to combat governmental scandals in the 1950s and has continued into the 1980s as the slate-making body for municipal elections. The league's hold on municipal politics was strengthened by low turnout among the Hispanic voters and by the city's system of electing all members of the city council at large, rather than by districts. Hispanics *had* been elected to the city council but usually only with the blessing of the league, which came to realize that it had to balance the slates it dictated with the occasional Hispanic and, later, black and woman.

That hold was broken in the 1977 municipal elections, the first held on a district basis as a result of an earlier, successful challenge to the at-large system by the U.S. Justice Department. Into the new political equation in San Antonio poured the awakening activism of Hispanic citizens rankled by years of getting the short end of municipal services, such as schools, streets, and drainage, and organized by Communities Organized for Public Services. Of eleven new city council members, one was black and five, including a young urban planner named Henry G. Cisneros, were Hispanics.

Cisneros, the son of an Air Force lieutenant colonel, had grown up in San Antonio and had returned to teach urban planning at the University of Texas at San Antonio after getting his bachelor's degree at Texas A&M and graduate degrees from Harvard and George Washington universities. He was a White House Fellow during the Nixon administration, and he worked in San Antonio's model cities program.

Elected mayor in 1981 (the first Mexican-American mayor of a major American city) with the support of both Hispanics and Anglos, Cisneros was reelected in 1983 with 94 percent of the vote. At home, he gets uniformly rave reviews. A local business leader calls him "a jewel." And the farther he goes away from home, the louder grow the raves. He has been the subject of intense and highly favorable attention from the national press and is besieged with invitations to address almost every prestigious forum one can think of.

Much of the attention results from his prescriptions for developing San Antonio's economy. Cisneros savors the irony of San Antonio's long economic sleep during the postwar years and counts it a plus, even though one result was the development of a service economy in which the poor are mired. Unfettered by an aging industrial base that it never bothered to develop, he argues, San Antonio is freer than Rust Belt cities to leap into the high-tech, research, and biomedical segments of the economy of the twenty-first century. Near to Mexico both geographically and culturally, the city can expand upon its existing trade ties with the "Giant to the South" and, in time, become home base for national and international

institutions with research and management interests in the whole of South America.

But while the failure of leadership that let the city sleep so long conferred this unintended advantage, the failure of leadership that allowed the city's human capital to stagnate conferred a disadvantage recognized to be serious enough to offset all the other advantages San Antonio has in attracting high-technology and research activities: climate, beauty, charm, history, interest, and vivacity.

It takes technologically competent workers to staff the kinds of technologically sophisticated industries and research centers Cisneros wants. The city has two options: provide them from among the city's current population or import them. Cisneros made it clear that only the first option is acceptable: "The separation of the technologically illiterate from the technologically competent threatens to be a more serious problem for society than even racial discord."

The mayor is an unabashed proponent of economic development. But he has made it clear that, to be acceptable to San Antonio, such growth must satisfy two criteria:

1. It must "bring people into the mainstream who have never been there before." Cisneros has scorned welfare programs as redistributive mechanisms because, he believes, "Welfare produces no permanent change toward self-reliance." At the same time, he says, the benefits of economic development don't trickle down without government intervention. "The free market alone will not reach them [the poor]."

2. Growth must not destroy the city's historic charm, for it is not only a priceless asset in itself, it is an economic generator as well—a magnet to high-tech firms.

The strategy San Antonio is employing is a strategy of amenities, and its power and subtlety were perhaps best captured by John L. Kriken, writing in the May/June 1984 issue of *Ekistics*:

The strategy is based upon taking existing educational and cultural facilities and, by combining them, making a unique resource for the city. In San Antonio, one can clearly see all the strategies, all the city's energies, working to build and to extend the city's economy and, therefore, the city's livability.

Image two, then, is one of a city bent upon development but committed to preserving its character and producing a fair distribution of the benefits of economic growth.

"We need a place where trained people want to be. San Antonio is a very good place to live—people want *to live there."*

—Elliott Sopkin, Advanced Micro Devices

The Amenity of Education

San Antonio is "going by the book" in pursuing its strategy, and in this case the book, *San Antonio: Target '90,* is an eighty-four-page workbook. Inside are 177 steps for government, education, the private sector, and individuals to take in the 1983–1985 city council term in order to achieve goals to be attained by 1990 in nine broad categories of municipal life.

Each major goal—some of them breathtakingly ambitious, none of them a piece of cake—is set forth in the rather dry, urban plannerese the mayor studied in college. Then the series of decisions to be made are listed. Following this listing is blank space for citizens and civic leaders "from all sectors of our community" to write their comments.

Outside, *San Antonio: Target '90* has a slick red-white-and-blue cover with its title printed boldly in black, a four-color aerial photo of the city, and the emblem of the All-America City Award of Citizens Forum on Self-Government, which San Antonio won in 1983. Inside, logical, orderly, technocratic. Outside, aggressive, eye-catching, and unashamedly boosting the city.

The purpose of the document, the mayor writes in an introduction, is "to begin a dialogue to develop goals which San Antonio can achieve by the year 1990. . . . Our goals must be pragmatic, realistic, clear and achievable. They must provide a sense of direction for the community, a standard against which our accomplishments can be measured, and a rallying point for our diverse hopes for San Antonio."

When the recommendations have been chewed over by individuals and organizations, they will be edited and the booklet will be reissued.

The sections on education demonstrate that Kriken's insight about the city's strategy has several levels of meaning. The strategy is bold not because San Antonians are gamblers but because they understand the wisdom of the investor's admonition, "Hang on tight to what

"San Antonio has become a cosmopolitan city with all of the friendly qualities of a small town. There is hardly any place I need to go that is more than thirty minutes away. The combination of good climate, quality of life, and leadership talent are hard to beat."

—Bob Marbut, President, Harte-Hanks

you have and risk losing it; invest what you have and preserve it."

In the higher education category, *Target '90* sets eight objectives to be attained by 1990. Three of them give the flavor of the strategy:

1. "Develop a comprehensive University of Texas at San Antonio campus on the HemisFair plaza which will make UTSA more accessible to the western, eastern, and southern sectors of San Antonio and Bexar County.

2. "Establish a university-based research capacity that can lead San Antonio to academic excellence in selected disciplines.

3. "Encourage acceleration of UTSA's role in graduate engineering programs and as a center of excellence in a selected technological field."

Each of the eight higher education objectives is accompanied by more specific statements of what must be in place by 1990—just eighty-two months from the book's publication in July 1983, as the mayor noted in the introduction. A look at the last three objectives will reveal much about how San Antonio goes about its business and why it is succeeding.

By 1990, the city wants a full graduate engineering program to be in place and the school's engineering program to be recognized as a center of excellence in a given technology, such as software engineering. The city also wants Texas A&M and the University of Texas system to cooperate in applied research and education at a facility to be located in San Antonio.

One serious obstacle to San Antonio's dream of becoming a center of high technology and research was the lack of local brainpower in the form of trained engineers. The absence of a school of engineering at the University of Texas campus in San Antonio, or at any of the seven other institutions of higher learning in the area save Trinity College (a private school whose small engineering curriculum was heavily liberal arts in nature), denied local young people, especially Hispanics and blacks, the opportunity to gain an engineering background. This deficiency, clearly, also hindered the creation of a mechanism to redistribute income in the city.

The need for such a school had been detailed in 1980 by a subcommittee of United San Antonio, the local public-private partnership entity that is presided over by Lila Cockrell, Cisneros's predecessor in the mayor's office.

All the different points of view were represented in the unfolding of the engineering school story. A coalition of community activists, the business community, city government, and educators, including the president of University of Texas in San Antonio, saddled up to go out and get an engineering school. Their first target was approval from the board of regents that is responsible for the five (non-medical school) campuses of the university. A presentation of their case to the regents was in order.

A San Antonio "presentation" reveals much about the city's approach to achievement and holds lessons for other cities wanting to sell themselves. Typically, such a presentation is planned well in advance; each element of the community is given a portion of the message to deliver; each portion and the whole presentation are painstakingly prepared and rehearsed until it is dress rehearsal time; the speeches are integrated with the slide shows and other graphic blandishments; the presenters make it clear that every segment of the community staunchly supports the request being made; every person and every group gets a moment in the spotlight; and, at the end, Cisneros comes on to pull all the segments together.

His approach blends the necessary elements. His drawl tells you he is a Texan; his crisp rendition of Spanish words and phrases tells you he is a Mexican-American; his unabashed feelings tell you he is a San Antonian; his face tells you he is proud to be all three. All the players are acknowledged—especially Lila Cockrell, whom he likes to refer to as "mayor emeritus." The case is wrapped up, and the curtain descends. When the regents got such a presentation, the vote approving the engineering school in San Antonio was unanimous.

More, however, was needed. In places where specialized education is important for high-tech development, cities must learn how to operate in the realm of educational politics. Publicly funded higher education in Texas is divided roughly in two. On one side, the liberal arts are generally thought to be the province of

the University of Texas, while technical education is the province of a gaggle of more specialized schools, principal among which is Texas A&M. To bridge the gap between them, the Texas legislature established the Coordinating Board of the Texas College and University Systems, whose members are appointed by the governor to, among other things, avoid duplication and overlap in the investment of tax dollars in higher education. They must approve all requests for new programs, such as San Antonio's. The delegation's next stop was a two-day meeting of the coordinating board.

At first it appeared that San Antonio's request and two others would be denied—possibly because the board thought a new engineering program was more the province of one of the state technical schools than of a University of Texas campus, or because the deans of other engineering schools were unwilling to have a new boy on their pedagogic block.

Then luck, the critical element of success, came into play. The president of the University of Texas Board of Regents requested an unscheduled appearance and spoke strongly in favor of the request. There followed a San Antonio presentation, and the board approved the San Antonio application while rejecting the other two. With the enthusiastic support of the president of UTSA, the school of engineering was organized, and by late 1984, close to 900 students were enrolled. This feat was one of the achievements for which the city was awarded All-America City status.

Education is the key to economic opportunity in San Antonio in two respects. First, high-quality educational institutions increase the attractiveness of the city to growth-sector business investment. And second, San Antonians who are able to take advantage of the education offered are more likely to fill the jobs created. But improvements in higher education alone do not produce more jobs now for the "technologically illiterate." Growth is one thing, the distribution of its benefits another.

This problem has not been ignored in San Antonio. In one case, a new downtown hotel project was subsidized by an Urban Development Action Grant, by an Economic Development Administration Grant, and by Community Development Block Grant funds. The Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC) invested $1 million of Community Services Administration (CSA) funds in the project and will share in the profits and appreciation. MAUC was also a training provider under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and negotiated an arrangement making 60 percent of the new jobs available to Mexican-American graduates of MAUC's training and recruitment programs, giving preference to minority contractors, and reserving 50 percent of the retail space created for minority entrepreneurs.

In another instance, a high-tech firm located in an economically unstable area of the city on an industrial park parcel financed in part with UDAG, CDBG, and EDA funds. The city negotiated an agreement with the firm to use its consolidated Department of Economic and Employment Development as the "first source" for hiring 400 employees in exchange for the purchase by the city of a computer learning system from the firm for $1.5 million. The firm then agreed to set up a special training center for new employees from the area.

"Linkages" of this sort do not occur spontaneously or without effort. In San Antonio, consolidating the training and economic development functions into a single city agency makes it much more likely that jobs the city helps bring into being go to city residents who need them the most.

Education is an amenity that is a necessity as well, and both elements are integrated in San Antonio's strategy. Culture is the other San Antonio amenity that is a necessary part of the city's economic future.

The Amenity of Culture

"Use it or lose it" appears to be San Antonio's attitude toward the patina of cultural amenities that overlays its other charms and provides its civic image with a soft, natural glow. The city seems to have struck a balance between an appreciation of its cultural resources for their own sake and an understanding of their development potential.

The arts are important in San Antonio—past, present, and future. The future first. Two

sections of *San Antonio: Target '90* provide the big picture of what the city proposes to achieve by 1990. Many of the proposals are embedded in the development section of the document and deal with objectives such as integrating the city auditorium with other convention facilities; getting agreement on open spaces and water features (San Antonio has water on the brain); establishing historic preservation as a "dominant community ethic"; achieving a unified, bilingual signage and graphics system; and constructing a performing arts center for symphony, ballet, and musical presentations. The document makes no apologies for viewing cultural amenities as another tool in the economic development kit.

San Antonio: Target '90

San Antonio: Target '90 proposes the following goals for the San Antonio arts community by 1990—

1. Make the San Antonio Symphony one of the ten best in the country.
2. Enact a long-term plan to make the city's museums interpreters of the region's cultural and historical attributes.
3. Establish San Antonio as the nation's leading center for Hispanic music and visual and performing arts.
4. Make the San Antonio Festival, the city's annual three-week celebration of itself, an international attraction.
5. Develop a first-class ballet company.
6. Make the Carver Cultural Center, the city's black arts institution, a full-service auditorium and cultural facility.

Were Dallas or Houston, San Antonio's two larger and richer municipal siblings, to enunciate such a set of goals for the arts, the temptation would be strong to chide those cities for Texas-style tall talk. Coming from San Antonio, where the arts are as integral to everyday life as cafes and buses, they do not sound unachievable, however audacious.

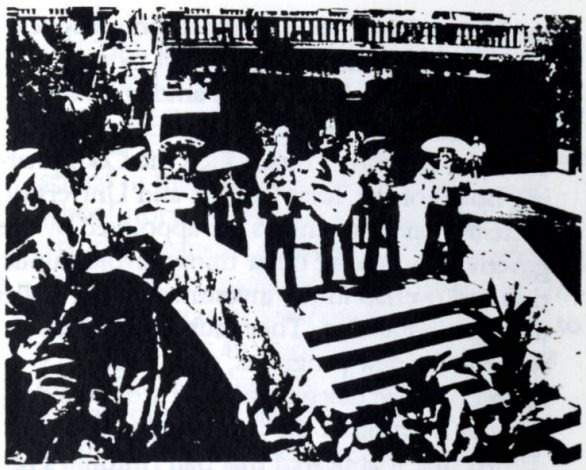


Photo: *Mariachi musicians provide a special San Antonio flavor to a dinner at many of the city's restaurants. (Courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

Their very scope, indeed, is consonant with a strategy that relies on daring to pull off a balancing act that is admittedly difficult: achieving economic development while preserving the city's cultural and historic amenities from the ravages of growth. Here again, the city is relying on the best defense being a good offense.

There is a second, noteworthy characteristic of the strategy. As noted elsewhere, the city's support of the arts is, per capita, among the highest in the nation. The city will serve as a catalyst for developing sources of financial aid and services for the arts, but artists and their patrons must find their own equivalent of a redistributive mechanism (analogous to education) that will assure self-support and reliance. The city will generate support but will not intrude into decisions concerning what the artists should perform or produce.

These are the conditions of a partnership between the city government and private groups and individuals interested in the arts, the kind of public-private partnership that characterizes the city's major undertakings. The city has fulfilled its responsibilities under its terms. In addition to the $3.1 million a year the city spends directly on the arts, there is at least an additional $1 million that goes indirectly for such things as support of the Carver Center and summer neighborhood performing arts talent shows called the Our Part of Town program.

The city's support of the arts goes beyond financial assistance. It has inventoried the historically and architecturally significant buildings in the city to facilitate saving and reusing important structures. The mayor has stepped in to

mediate disputes between preservationists and developers, and out of his ad hoc efforts has grown an awareness in the community that he will be there to help.

Cisneros's personal interest in the arts demonstrates publicly and forcefully his belief that "the arts are an essential element of urban livability." "He shows up at anything that has to do with the arts," one local resident has said.

The city's private sector partners are holding up their end of the bargain, too, by supporting an impressive array of undertakings. For example:

- The San Antonio Symphony gets out of the concert hall and into parks, shopping malls, and outdoor theaters to play, free, for non-concert-goers.
- The Musicians Union Performance Trust Fund cosponsors with the city musical entertainment in out-of-the-way places like nursing homes.
- Local troupes perform everything from rock concerts to ballet in the Sunken Garden Theater, once an abandoned rock quarry.
- The San Antonio Botanical Center blends displays of the decorative arts with its flowers and trees and makes its site available to the public for weddings and meetings.
- Residents of public housing projects have cooperated in painting murals on the exterior walls of their communities. The result has been less vandalism and graffiti.

Perhaps most illustrative of the city's approach to the arts is another, much more ambitious project, the rehabilitation of the old Lone Star brewery into a museum. The exuberantly ornate building is an artifact of the days when the beer Americans drank was produced locally. Built in the late nineteenth century, it was closed in 1930. The San Antonio Museum Association acquired it and the city government and private interest in the city helped it raise $10 million to convert the building into a center of the arts of the southwestern United States.

The "catalytic" role the city government plays in the realm of the arts was evident in the restoration. Not only did the mayor support the museum's appeal to firms and citizens for financial contributions, the city backed applications to federal agencies for money to make the conversion happen.

The association and the city were rewarded both tangibly and intangibly. The museum is proving to be a big attraction to tourists and to San Antonians as well. *Newsweek* magazine called it one of the five outstanding examples of architectural restoration of 1983, the year it opened, and *Architectural Digest* called it an outstanding example of reuse.

Conclusion

Setting aside the megatrendy hype, it is clear that "on the merits" San Antonio's story has many morals. The city's distinctive and historically and culturally interesting past, long a tourist attraction, is being turned into a tool to leverage other types of development. Its amenities, which could be swamped by growth, are being enhanced through careful attention prompted by development objectives as well as preservationist principles. Its development policies are directed toward distribution issues as well as growth, not trusting trickle-down to bring jobs and income to the people on the bottom rung. It is an old city in a new region, preserving its past to create a future. In the

Photo: *The modified Romanesque architecture of the Lone Star Brewery has been preserved and transformed into San Antonio's Museum of Art. (Courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

process, San Antonio is showing one path that Hispanic Americans can follow to a full-share participation in the nation's economy, society, and politics.

That path is being blazed by many, most of them not mentioned here. Cisneros is the point man, and the effectiveness of his leadership is, as is always the case, a combination of the setting and the individual. Two propositions say much about his contribution: "Ideas count," and "Think big." Few mayors are likely to produce a 242-page blueprint for high-tech development, but executives who want to redirect the economies of their cities must inject their actions with solid thinking, whether it be original or not.

"Vision" is needed as well, to pull together the many parts that make up a successful city and project them into the future. Elected officials typically shy away from words such as "visions" and "dreams" and the mayor of San Antonio is no different. But his vision of San Antonio's future has been a vehicle for building a strong, like-minded coalition that knows where it is going because its disparate elements are all using the same road map.

The preface to *San Antonio: Target '90* artfully pulls the parts of the dream together into a fictional but coherent and persuasive whole. It allegedly is a reprint of a newspaper account, datelined San Antonio, 1990, of the Conference on the Americas in the Third Mil-

United San Antonio

The national press and knowledgeable San Antonians correctly credit Mayor Cisneros with stimulating the city's current economic development efforts. But he inherited from leaders in the public and private sectors the initial momentum for economic diversification. Former mayor Lila Cockrell and United San Antonio (USA) are two important elements of that inheritance.

During her terms in office (1975–1981), Cockrell never got the national attention Cisneros has attracted, although San Antonio was at one point the largest city in the country to have a woman mayor. She nevertheless built the base from which Cisneros now operates—she and a group of forward-looking business and civic leaders who were dissatisfied with the city's poky economy and backwater image.

United San Antonio was founded in 1980 by Robert McDermott, a local business leader; Cockrell served as the first executive director. USA was the successor to the San Antonio Economic Development Foundation, also a product of McDermott's leadership. But the foundation fell victim to the ethnic polarization of the city in the 1970s and was attacked by neighborhood leaders as an elitist organization bent on keeping the economy much the way it was: oriented to tourism and a service economy in which Mexican-Americans felt trapped.

The intent of USA was to establish a forum for communication among business, government, and the community that would transcend the confrontational attitudes of earlier days. As McDermott has stated, United San Antonio represents "a peace treaty. It has made us a dynamic city instead of a bunch of warring factions. Inclusiveness is the watchword."

USA's underlying objective is to generate economic development and to improve the area's quality of life. Under Lila Cockrell's leadership, the organization is focusing on San Antonio's efforts to support technical education and high-technology development. USA's list of accomplishments is impressive: organizing the San Antonio Coordinating Council for Economic Development, spearheading the effort to secure bachelor's level engineering programs at the University of Texas at San Antonio, organizing and securing funding for the San Antonio Foundation for Engineering Education, and holding a series of public forums on education issues.

Cisneros has been quoted as saying, "What the [ethnic and racial] population distribution [of San Antonio] means is that the cultures must learn to understand one another. And that is what is happening. This is a city that has had to learn to accommodate different points of view." If he is right, much of the credit for the instructional experience goes to Cockrell and United San Antonio.

San Antonio

lenium, "an event which attracted over 500 leaders from twenty-two nations and included addresses by the presidents of the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Canada, the World Bank, and the InterAmerican Development Bank."

The story says the conference is sponsored by a consortium of San Antonio institutions with research and management interests in Latin America. "Although still in its infancy," the story continues, "the consortium has already gained an outstanding reputation, with its scientists and researchers ranked among the top in the field of applied research in genetic structures and the reproductive process of plants—areas of critical importance to the production of food and fiber in Latin America."

The account then goes on to detail how the city developed to the point where it could host the conference and cites delegates' invocation of the "spirit of San Antonio" that has spread through the delegations and made the conference productive.

"The history of American cities shows that those that know what they want and where they are going are the most likely to succeed. Cities, you know, can be masters of their own destinies."

—Henry G. Cisneros, Mayor

Selected Vital Statistics

Population, 1980[1]	785,880
Population: percentage change, 1970–1980[1]	20.1%
Race, 1980[1]:	
White	79.1%
Black	7.3%
Other significant—Spanish origin[A]	53.7%
Median age, 1980[1]	27.2 years
Percentage born in Texas, 1980[1]	71.7%
Civilian labor force:	
1970[2]	232,333
1980[1]	323,567
Percentage change, 1970–1980	39%
September 1984[3]	406,323
Labor force percentage of manufacturing:	
1970[2]	12.1%
1980[1]	11.9%
Unemployment rate:	
1980[1]	5.5%
1982[1]	6.8%
September 1984[3]	5.4%
Median family income, 1979[1]	$15,859
Percentage of families below poverty level, 1979[1]	16.9%

A. Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.
1. County and City Data Book, *1983. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.*
2. Characteristics of the Population, *1973. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.*
3. Labstat, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Photo: *The 750-foot Tower of the Americas symbolizes San Antonio's aspirations. (Courtesy San Antonio Convention & Visitors Bureau)*

Building Livable Communities

A Report on Partners for Livable Places 1975–1982

"An educated public, demanding good design and beautiful surroundings, can be a powerful ally for having a well-designed building—and a livable community"

Nancy Hanks, Recipient of Partners' first Founders Award for Civic Leadership, 1982

WITH PARTNERS' ADMINISTRATIVE structure and communications strategy firmly established, the organization turned its energies to further development of the livability concept and the selection of program priorities. As Partners members and staff participated in and organized a wealth of topical conferences and seminars, a pattern of program interests began to emerge, all related to differing aspects of a central question: How can cities better integrate quality-of-life concerns—or amenities—into their strategies for economic development?

CULTURAL PLANNING

Partners' interests in cultural planning date back to January 1976, when the National Endowment for the Arts funded a seminar at Massachusetts Institute of Technology entitled "Town Square Revisited." Coordinated by arts consultant Ralph Burgard, the three-day meeting gathered together twenty-three representatives of commerce, culture, and government to discuss arts programming in urban, suburban, and rural public places, cultural-commercial mixed use in new and renovated buildings, and nonprofit involvement in urban development projects. The consensus of the meeting was that arts and cultural facilities are magnet resources for economic development opportunities.

In 1977 Robert McNulty and Harvey Perloff, dean of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles, began discussing Perloff's interest in examining contributions that the arts and cultural activities were making—and could potentially make—to the economic life of a large central city, in this case Los Angeles. UCLA's Urban Innovations Group, directed by Perloff, received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to initiate the first major study in this area. The result was a landmark book, *The Arts in the Economic Life of the City*, published in 1979 by the American Council for the Arts.

Partners members and staff were active in several important meetings on cultural planning in the late seventies. The first, "Business and the Arts," was a joint meeting in Atlanta of the American Council for the Arts and the National Assembly of Community Arts Agencies in June 1977. The second, titled "The Role of the Arts in Urban Economic Development," was organized in October 1978 by the Minneapolis Arts Commission with Partners as a cosponsor. In June 1979 Partners hosted a cultural planning policy workshop in Washington, D.C., providing an opportunity for leaders in the emerging field to meet each other, discuss what was happening in their respective parts of the country, examine issues in cultural planning, and consider how a model such as Perloff's in Los Angeles might be applied in other cities. In late 1979, another conference on "The Arts and City Planning," sponsored by the American Council for the Arts, was held in San Antonio.

A point repeatedly raised at these early meetings was the need for communication between the principal actors in the emerging field of cultural planning—public interest groups, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations. Following the San Antonio conference, six representatives of these interests—the American Council for the Arts, American Planning Association, National Endowment for the Arts, National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors, and Partners—banded together to form the Cultural Planning Group. As the group's secretariat, Partners was responsible for establishing cultural planning guidelines and identifying opportunities for collaborative activities. Early group discussions helped shape the Arts Edge Conference held in Pittsbugh in October 1981.

OPEN-SPACE MANAGEMENT

Partners' interest in open space began with an interest in pedestrianization, and especially in how pedestrians react to their environs. As early as 1974, the Institute for Environmental Action, later one of Partners' founding members, was at work on "More Streets for People," a public information project funded in large part by the National Endowment for the Arts, where Robert McNulty was the project officer. This program resulted in a traveling exhibition, slide show, 16mm film, and a series of four handbooks known as "Footnotes," which brought European ideas about pedestrianization to the United States.

Several of the founding Partners members discovered a common interest in the physical setting of streets and downtowns, from street furniture and signs to graphics. Among those involved were Harold Lewis Malt of the Center for Design Planning, Fred Kent of the Project for Public Spaces, and Roberto Brambilla and Gianni Longo of the Institute for Environmental Action. In 1978, Partners cosponsored a conference on downtown pedestrianization in Mi-

ami with the Center for Design Planning and the Project for Public Spaces. The meeting brought together a number of people interested in the relationship between walking environments and downtown development. In August 1979, Partners' consultant Lois Fishman met with officials in San Juan, Puerto Rico, about the economic benefits of establishing an auto-free zone in the city's historic Old Town. And the debate came back home again when the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (PADC), charged with upgrading the quality of the capital's most symbolic street, asked Partners to help develop a plan to animate and enliven the avenue. To give the corporation an understanding of the way that European planners handle streetscape planning, Partners assembled a study tour for PADC staff, who visited London, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Munich, and Rome.

In November 1979, Partners participated in a workshop in New York City, "Downtown Public Spaces: Business and Government Partnerships," which was organized by the New York State Urban Development Corporation with assistance from Educational Facilities Laboratories, both Partners members. The workshop marked the beginning of the Urban Development Corporation's statewide Public Spaces Program.

TOURISM AND CONSERVATION

One of the most compelling arguments for the development of local amenities, especially those that are unique to a specific place, is that such amenities attract tourists and tourist dollars. The problem with tourism-based strategies, however, is that unmanaged tourism too often ends up compromising or destroying special qualities that originally attracted visitors. At the same time, many communities possess unrecognized resources that can be developed to appeal to tourists and thereby help solve economic problems. Tourism, after all, is a major industry—the third largest in the country.

Partners first became active in the area of tourism in 1977, when Lois Fishman and Robert McNulty discussed the possibility of promoting the cultural tourism potential of some American cities with the U.S. Travel Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce. In early 1978, McNulty spoke on the same subject at the meeting of the Council of State Governments' Advisory Panel on Travel and Tourism. Later that year, Carole Rifkind, preservation and tourism planning consultant, agreed to collaborate with Partners on cultural tourism research and workshops. An initial workshop, "New Prospects for Cultural Tourism in America," was held in May 1979 in Washington, D.C.

NATURAL AND SCENIC RESOURCES

Partners' efforts on behalf of natural and scenic resources began in late 1977, when Robert McNulty discussed urban design and amenities in waterfront development at a workshop sponsored by the Honolulu city council. When Partners coordinated a study of European open spaces sponsored by the German Marshall Fund in 1978, the investigation looked at the relationships among "brown" areas, such as streets and malls; "green" areas, such as parks; and "blue" areas, or water-dependent spaces.

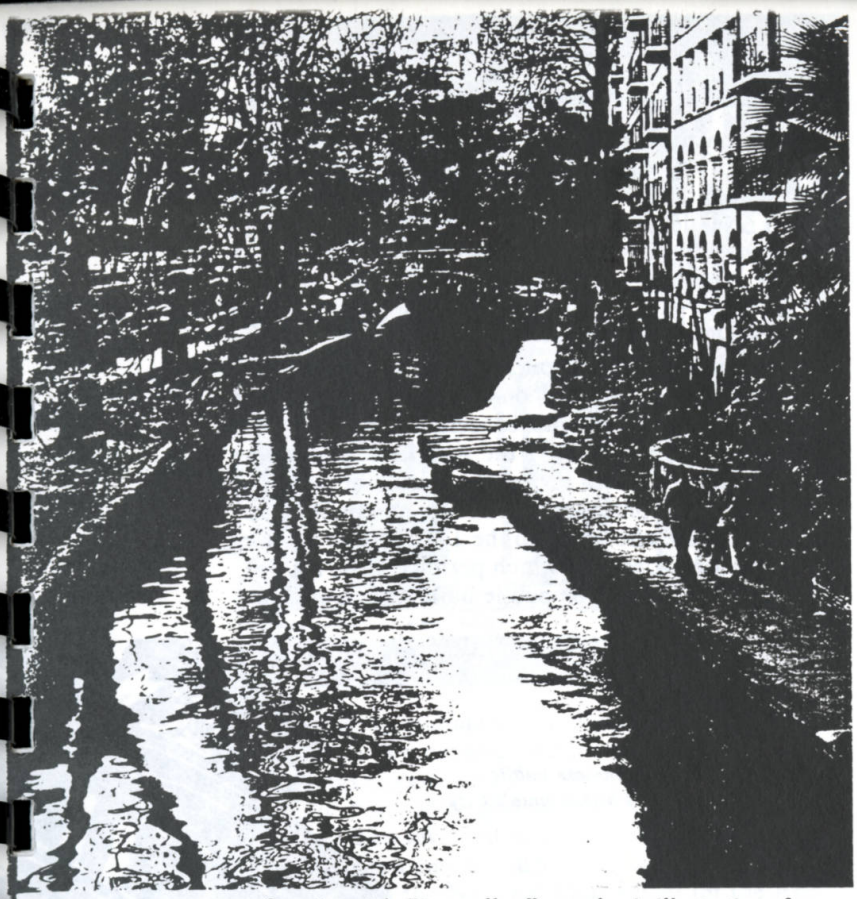
In 1979, Partners was asked to coordinate a tour of European waterfronts for a group of state and local officials, foundation leaders, and designers concerned with the development of Cleveland's waterfront. Cleveland was seeking European ideas to enhance plans to convert the city's waterfront parks into state beaches and to open up the twelve-mile-long Cleveland shoreline along Lake Erie for public benefit.

Second Annual Meeting: Livability in Times of Constraint, 1979

Partners' second annual meeting, in May 1979, marked the culmination of Partners' initial organizational development period. For many in the audience of public-interest groups, trade representatives, labor leaders, and government officials at the auditorium of the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., it was their first introduction to Partners for Livable Places and its members. The public meeting showcased members' experiences and professional skills, in a context that underlined the fact that those skills were more necessary than ever before. "Livability in Times of Constraint" sounded a note that has become familiar in the years since, as the economy has tightened and more organizations and governments have begun to look into cutback management practices.

The afternoon program looked at many dimensions of constraint beyond financial problems. Some subjects covered were restrictive local ordinances, short-sighted investment policies, and a wavering sense of community responsibility for the protection of the environment. Coupled with the litany of constraints, however, were new opportunities, strategies, and ideas to cope with them. The Trust for Public Land spoke about community land trusts, the Center for Environmental Intern Programs discussed participatory design, the America the Beautiful Fund presented neighborhood festivals, the Cincinnati Institute offered zoning controls that reflect unique environmental characteristics, and the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation discussed nonprofit organization development practices.

The keynote speaker was William C. Norris, chairman of Control Data Corporation, which had recently established City Venture, a for-profit consortium of business and church organizations that plans and manages urban revitalization programs. Norris voiced the hopes of many of the participants and members of the audience when he remarked that City Venture was created "to prove that the socially significant act of building and rebuilding American cities can indeed be a profitable and growth experience."

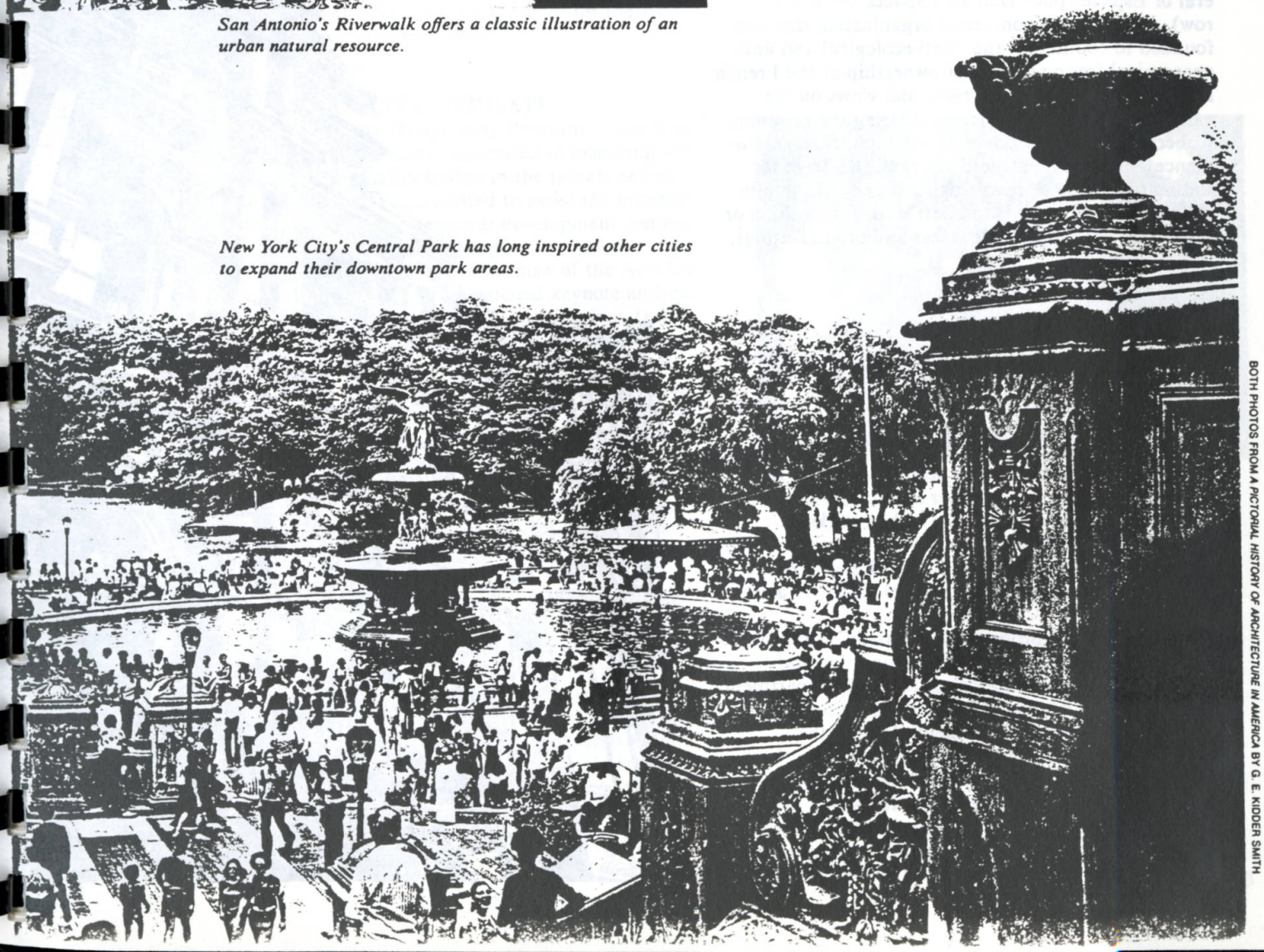


San Antonio's Riverwalk offers a classic illustration of an urban natural resource.

Partners, represented by Patricia Hunter, then senior associate for animation and open-space management, became an early participant in the Urban Waterfront Action Group (UWAG). The twenty-one other founding members of the group represented local government associations and federal agency offices; Partners was one of only four nonprofit organizations involved. For two years the group met regularly to discuss waterfront-related issues of common interest. Hunter also wrote, with coauthor Geraldine Bachman of the National Endowment for the Arts, a research paper on the role of design in waterfront development that was included in UWAG's 1980 annual report.

As interest in urban waterfronts continued to spread, Partners came to participate in many of the agenda-setting meetings that were taking place nationwide. At a national workshop on urban waterfronts in January 1978 organized by the Coastal Zone Lab, the Office of Coastal Zone Management of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Michigan Coastal Management Program, and the city of Detroit, Gordon Binder, a member of Partners' board of directors, made a presentation on Partners and its waterfront resources. Dorothy Jacobson participated in a seminar focusing on the revitalization of the

New York City's Central Park has long inspired other cities to expand their downtown park areas.



BOTH PHOTOS FROM *A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA* BY G. E. KIDDER SMITH

New York City waterfront at the Congress for Regional Recovery, which was sponsored by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey in June 1979. Robert McNulty was a featured speaker at two regional waterfront workshops held by the American Planning Association and the U.S. Department of the Interior in Alexandria, Va. (November 1979), and Jacksonville, Fla. (January 1980).

Climate is another natural resource that can be either an advantage or a problem for a city. In 1978, Partners joined with the World Affairs Center at the University of Minnesota to explore a concept, developed by William Rogers, called the "livable winter city." Following the meeting, Partners became the secretariat for winter city efforts in the United States. Such efforts focus on how design standards, indigenous building materials, trees and other plant materials, municipal codes and ordinances, and a variety of other tools can warm both the appearance and sometimes the real temperature of a winter city.

In 1979, Partners cohosted a lecture and panel discussion with the Maison Française of Columbia University and the Center for Advanced Research in Urban and Environmental Affairs. The lecture gave an update on the French environmental movement and featured General Jacques Degas, secretary general of Espaces pour Demain (Spaces for Tomorrow), a French environmental organization that was founded to counteract the "anti-ecological and anti-economical fragmentation of ownership of the French forest land and to change parochial views on the value of sea coasts and rivers." During the program, Robert McNulty introduced to the international audience a founding Partners member, the Trust for Public Land, whose revolving fund and community skills strategies allow it to assist in the acquisition or protection of lands in wilderness and urban settings.

RECREATION

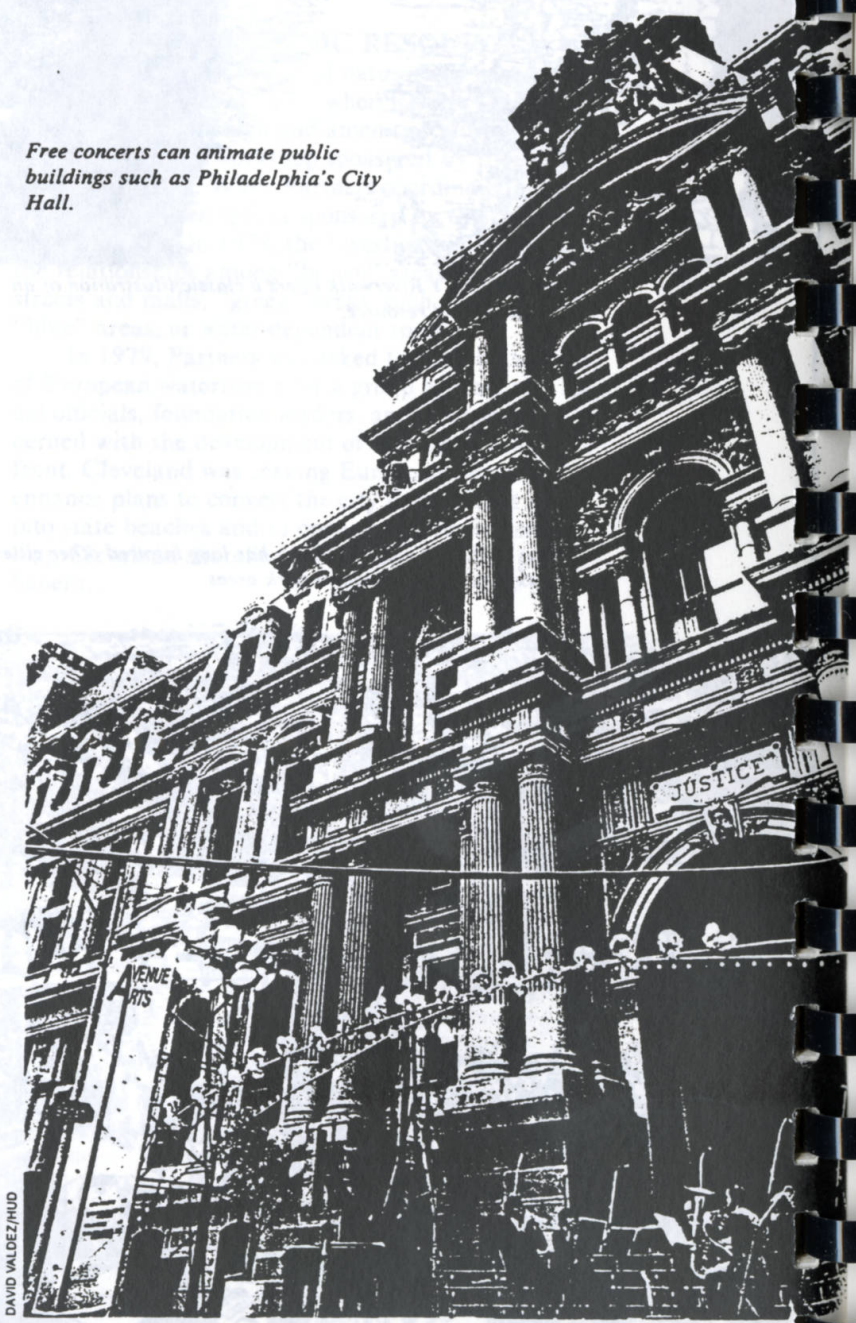
Partners' interest in the contribution recreation can make to the quality and economic vitality of urban life was sparked by a 1977 report prepared for the Arts Endowment by Ann Satterthwaite, a founding member of Partners, on the role of culture and the arts in recreation planning. Partly as a result of the dismal picture of recreation needs painted by the Satterthwaite report and other recent research, in 1978 Congress established the Urban Parks Recreation and Recovery (UPARR) program, which awards matching grants to help local governments establish and rehabilitate their park facilities and programs.

The UPARR program was initially administered by the now-defunct Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS) of the U.S. Department of the Interior, which called on Partners for assistance in the policy development phase of the UPARR program. Patricia Hunter served on the UPARR Innovative Grants Working Group, and in 1979 she organized an idea corps team that included several Partners members to offer suggestions to HCRS regional staff on developing working relationships with minority neighborhood groups and other local constituencies.

In 1979 and 1980 Partners also provided information on innovative park management strategies and revenue-generating mechanisms to the administrative staff of New York City's Central Park.

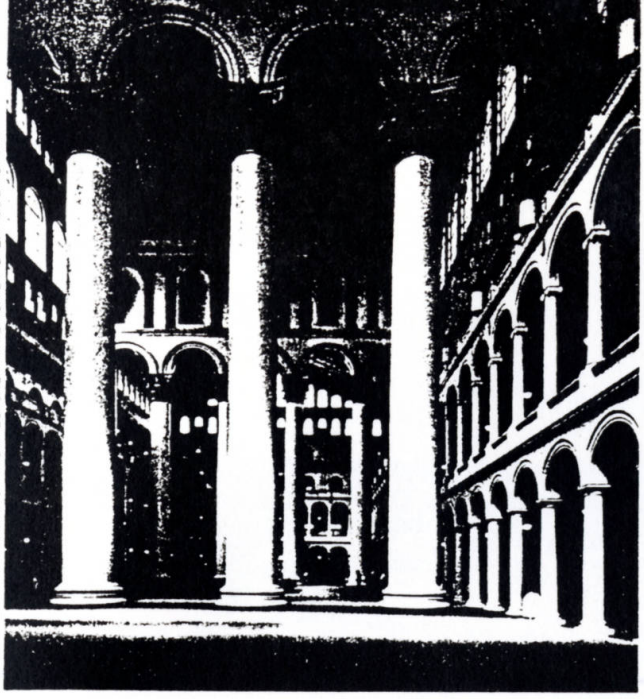
DESIGN QUALITY—PUBLIC

Partners' efforts to encourage quality design standards in public facilities on the local level grew out of the Arts Endowment's concern for federally owned buildings. In 1972 the Arts Endowment received a mandate to review the quality of federal design, from graphics to architecture and public art. Part of these efforts led to the 1976 Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act, which permitted the federal government to enliven public buildings through a



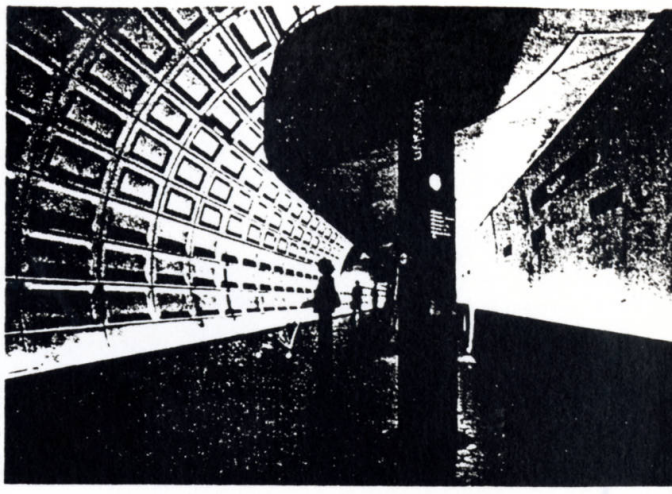
DAVID VALDEZ/HUD

Free concerts can animate public buildings such as Philadelphia's City Hall.



FROM A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA BY G. E. KIDDER SMITH

Washington's magnificent Pension Building will soon launch a new life as the National Building Museum.



PHIL PORTLOCK

Another Washington facility, its Metro system, has won admiration for its design.

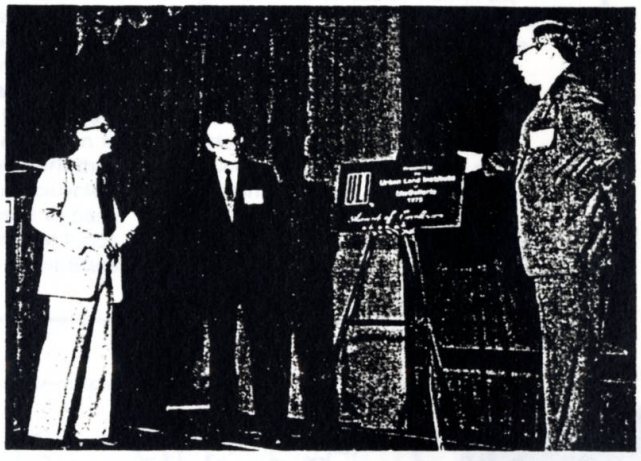
mixed use of commercial activity and government office space. A celebrated demonstration of the Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act is the renovation of the Old Post Office in downtown Washington, D.C. The effort to save and restore this magnificent structure has been entirely successful, and new tenants, among them the National Endowment for the Arts, began to move in in mid-1983.

DESIGN QUALITY—PRIVATE

In 1976, when the Design Arts Program of the Arts Endowment first became interested in exploring the profitability of quality design in the private sector, Ann Satterthwaite was invited to assist the program in talking to the private-sector development community on the value of good design.

Nancy Hanks, former chairman of the Arts Endowment, delivered an impassioned keynote address at the 1979 annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects on the subject of profit by design. She urged the architectural profession to "educate and convince clients" that there are immediate cash profits as well as long-term economic gains in good design. "An educated public, demanding good design and beautiful surroundings, can be a powerful ally for having a well-designed building—and a livable community," she said. Her remarks were reprinted in *Architectural Digest*, and she donated her honorarium to Partners so it could make a small beginning on its profit-by-design agenda.

In recognition of Partners' commitment to design quality, Robert McNulty was invited to serve on the Urban Land Institute's urban design jury in both 1979 and 1980. The first recipient of the award was Gerald Hines, the Texas-based developer of Houston's Galleria, a shopping center development that took advantage of the highest design standards and has demonstrated that such an investment is returned handsomely. Presenting the award to Hines, McNulty noted that the Galleria was "truly profit by design." ●



Robert McNulty praised developer Gerald Hines' commitment to quality design when Hines' Houston project, The Galleria, won an award for excellence from the Urban Land Institute in 1979. Michael F. Kelly (right), then president of the institute, delivered opening remarks.

Oakland's Lake Merritt Channel Park

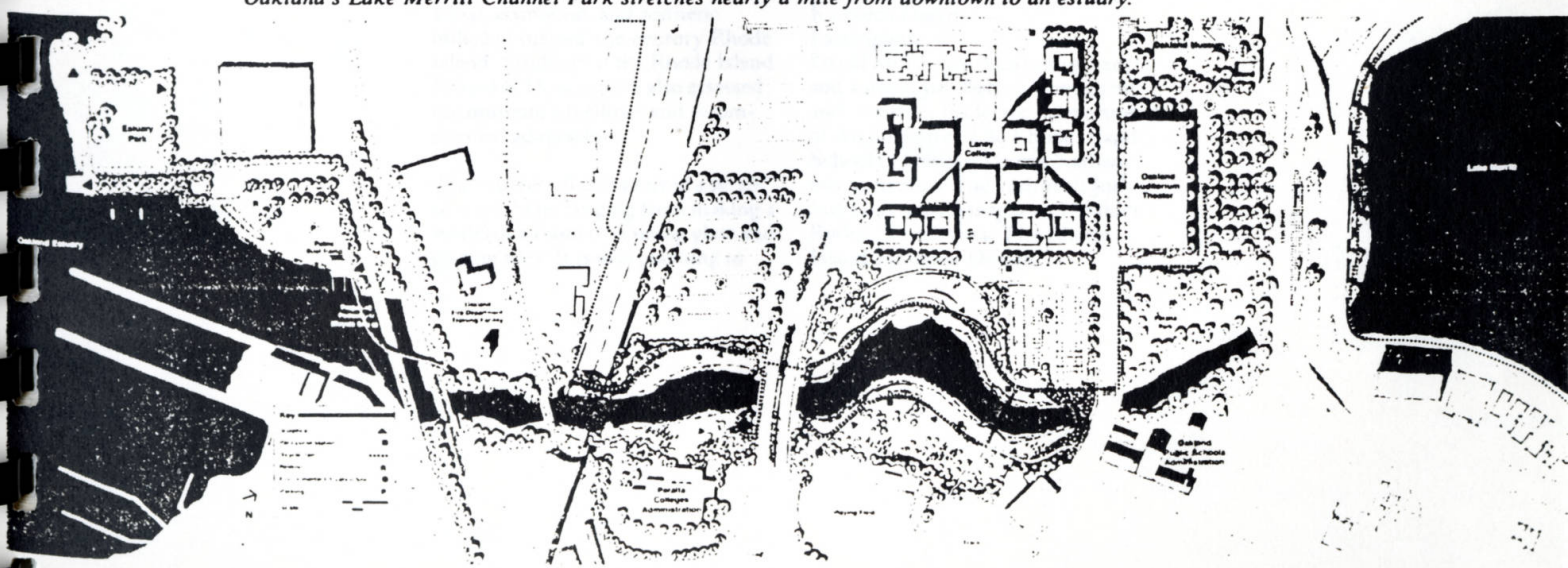
The Lake Merritt Channel is a .7-mile-long waterway that connects Lake Merritt, in the heart of Oakland, with the Oakland Estuary, which leads into San Francisco Bay. In the nineteenth century, traders floated cattle hides down the channel, but today it is unused commercially and cuts quietly through undeveloped land and a community college campus.

Oakland planners had been considering developing a park along the channel since the 1930s. The city had developed parks at either end of the channel, but nothing had been accomplished to turn the intervening section into a park. When Oakland was selected as the site of an international sculpture conference scheduled for August 1982, city officials began to consider using the land, which is within walking distance of the Oakland Museum, for a permanent sculpture garden. A series of steel, granite, and neon sculptures by California artists was therefore planned for the site in 1982.

Using the sculpture conference as the seed, the city was able to assemble a funding package drawing on federal, state, and local sources to begin design work and construction. Garrett Eckbo, a landscape architect from the firm of Eckbo-Kay and Associates, designed a plan for the Lake Merritt Channel Park that included a pedestrian and bicycle path. The design was used to back up applications for additional funds, principally from the California State Coastal Conservancy, which added some requirements to the plan that were difficult for the city to fulfill. The city then turned to Partners' Economics of Amenity program for help.

In response, Partners' senior associates Patricia Hunter and Steve Costa initiated a private fund-raising effort that aimed to permit the completion of the design plans and the addition of a pedestrian bridge needed to cross abutting tracks, and to provide for some of the park's maintenance. Partners also worked to coordinate community participation for groups with an interest in the park, including neighborhood residents, ecological groups, and the community college.

Oakland's Lake Merritt Channel Park stretches nearly a mile from downtown to an estuary.



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A Children's Museum

How does a pre-Victorian mansion manage to present a youthful facade? The Pitcher-Goff Mansion of Pawtucket, Rhode Island does it by housing the Children's Museum of Rhode Island, a hands-on learning center that offers its young visitors an opportunity to explore the world of art.

The museum is using a $6,500 Arts Endowment grant to plan for the conversion of its buildings, which include an 1890 carriage house, for arts-related activities. The museum has hired a designer to suggest ways to sensitively adapt the architecturally fine buildings and to encourage an awareness by the children of the social, economic, and aesthetic milieu of turn-of-the-century Rhode Island. Students at the Rhode Island School of Design have also assessed the museum's facilities and recommended adaptations.

The museum has organized a series of workshops ranging from making a model of a room to staining glass and glazing tiles. It is also planning to redesign ten exhibition spaces. One of the spaces contains a studio for an artist-in-residence. The exhibited studio offers children the opportunity to watch a professional artist at work, ask questions, and try out the tools and media used. The museum's first artist-in-residence is Rhode Island's Craftswoman-in-Residence, Diana Jackson. The position will rotate among artists representing different areas of the visual arts.

Grantee:
The Children's Museum of Rhode Island
Executive Director:
Jane Jerry
Project Director:
Kathleen Dwyer
Participants:
David McCauley, head consultant and author; Jim Barnes, consultant and Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture, The Rhode Island School of Design; Morris Nathanson, consultant and architect; Judy Sue Goodwyn-Sturges and Mahler Ryder, consultants, The Rhode Island School of Design

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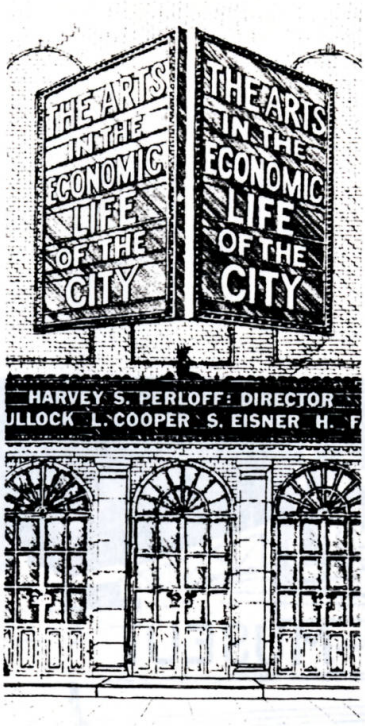
Proposed renovation of Pitcher-Goff mansion. Drawing by Jim Good.



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The Contribution of the Arts to the Economic Life of a City

Our society has dual objectives for the arts: the achievement of artistic excellence and *contribution to the community. Increasingly, the latter encompasses the actual and potential contribution of the arts to the strengthening of local economies.*

This statement expresses the philosophy underlying a study undertaken by the Urban Innovations Group to consider ways in which the economic contribution made by the arts might be increased to alleviate the economic stress on our larger central cities, which now house the greatest concentration of urban poor and minority families.

On the premise that central cities will become increasingly dependent on service activities for jobs and income, the study considers the potential for the arts to contribute employment opportunities as well as functions that increase the attractiveness of the city to all socioeconomic groups.

The Urban Innovations Group approached the subject from three points. First, they developed a framework to catalogue and analyze arts activities and institutions, and to evolve strategies for enhancing the contribution of the arts to local economies. Second, they surveyed arts activities in Los Angeles as a foundation for discussing strategies and tactics for change. Third, they assessed various ways to improve the financing mechanisms and organizational structures of arts groups as means for strengthening their economic contributions. The result is a book entitled *Arts in the Economic Life of the City*.

Grantee:
Urban Innovations Group
Executive Director:
Simon Eisner
Project Director:
Lee G. Cooper
Participants:
Harvey S. Perloff, Paul Bullock, Hyman R. Faine, Roger Gomez, Nan Halperin, Barry Katz, Kathryn Lim, Katerine Van Ness, Helen L. Horowitz, Jean King

Arts in the Economic Life of the City, published by the American Council for the Arts, 1979.

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Illustration from "Arts in the Economic Life of the City." Drawing by Vince Healey.

Boston's Urban Wilds

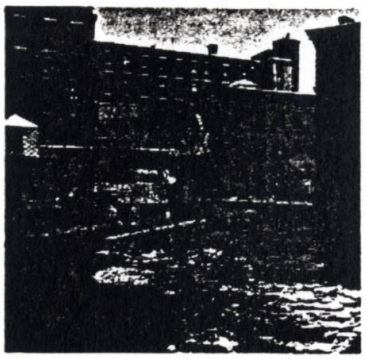
Urban wilds—the pockets of wilderness that provide relief to the paved monotony and congestion of crowded cities and towns. Every city has urban wilds—sites passed up for development years ago because they were too difficult to build upon: rock outcrops, wetlands, steep slopes. But as population growth reduces the amount of available urban land, even these "difficult" sites become attractive for building and threatened with extinction.

An Inventory of Urban Wilds

Realizing these pressures, the city of Boston set about to take stock of its dwindling supply of urban wilds. In 1974, the Boston Redevelopment Authority, with Endowment support, initiated an inventory of its unprotected natural areas. A project team began searching out, examining, and recording in detail the characteristics of Boston's remaining wilds. To establish a priority system for protection and preservation, each area was ranked by its environmental significance and the open space needs of the neighborhood where it was located. The likelihood of development was also considered.

In all, the study identified and catalogued 143 urban wild lands totaling more than two thousand acres. Sites were found in all of Boston's neighborhoods except the downtown district. The sites are areas of extraordinary beauty and diversity, varying in size from one-eighth to one hundred and fifty acres. They have distinctive features that often provide focal points or recreational opportunities for the surrounding communities, and in many instances reflect the history and development of Boston.

The study also recommended that the city find ways to protect these urban wilds. Suggestions included transferring local and state-owned land to an appropriate conservation or land management body; implementing conservation restrictions agreed to by private owners of natural areas with an accompanying tax incentive; enforcing various land-use regulations already in existence;



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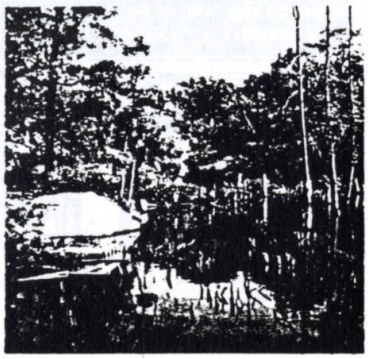

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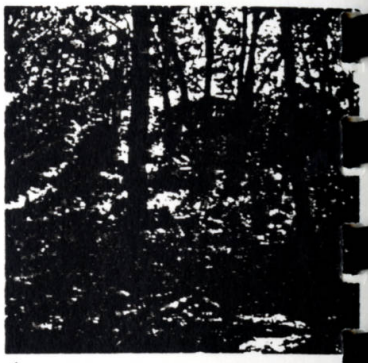

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soliciting gifts of land from private owners to the city or a conservation foundation; purchasing land; and using rights of eminent domain where appropriate.

Protecting Boston's Urban Wilds

The study results were so impressive and expertly communicated that a nonprofit organization, the Boston Natural Areas Fund, was created to secure permanent title to natural areas not yet part of the city park or playground system.

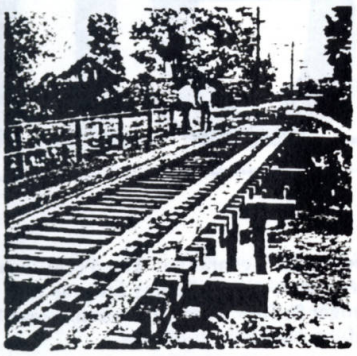
The Natural Areas Fund operates under the auspices of The Fund for Preservation of Wildlife and Natural Areas, established by the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company in 1962. In addition to its preservation tasks for Boston's urban wilds, the Natural Areas Fund seeks to demonstrate that the Boston procedure could be adapted to other cities.

Two grants from the Endowment plus approximately $200,000 collected from three major Boston foundations and from individuals have enabled Fund staff to check land titles, take photographs, and commission professional real estate appraisals of selected sites. The staff has made steady progress and since November 1977, the Fund has received almost $1 million in private gifts and state and federal commitments for the purchase of thirty-five acres of natural areas.

The Fund has targeted fifty natural areas for acquisition and/or management. Protecting these sites achieves two of the Fund's aims: to increase the pleasures of city living, especially for those of limited means and mobility, and to enhance property values. By the time the Fund achieves its ambitious goals, millions of dollars will have been leveraged. Perhaps by that time, too, other cities will have discovered local patrons who will underwrite similar inventories and management strategies.

Grantees:
Boston Natural Areas Fund, an account within The Fund for Preservation of Wildlife and Natural Areas; Boston Redevelopment Authority
Project Directors:
John Blackwell; Elliot Rhodeside
Participants:
(Boston Natural Areas Fund) Mayor Kevin White, Boston Conservation Commission; Public Facilities Commission; Real Property Commissioner; (Boston Redevelopment Authority) Jasenka Diminic, assistant project director; Clara Batchelor, project staff; Vicki Kayser, editor; Pamela Steel, graphic designer

1
The only remaining rapids in Boston, on the Neponset River in Dorchester.
2
A tidal salt marsh at the Neponset River reservation in Dorchester.
3
Brook Farm and Sawmill Brook, West Roxbury.
4
A large, undisturbed area of freshwater wetlands adjoining Roxbury Latin School in the Boston neighborhood of West Roxbury. Photographs courtesy of Elliot Rhodeside.



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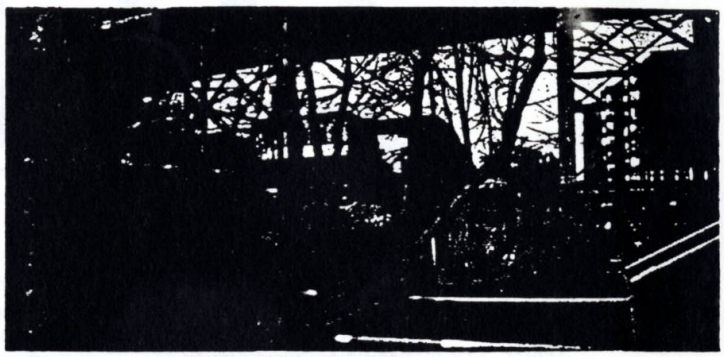
The Gallagator Linear Park

An abandoned railroad right-of-way and growing interest in "linear leisure activities" made the Gallagator Linear Park in Bozeman, Montana, a natural alternative to the traditional, contained urban park. Growing battalions of joggers, bicyclists, cross-country skiers, and other self-propelled outdoor enthusiasts create unique needs for recreation facilities.

A 15.3-mile bike path, pedestrian walkway, horseback trail, and nature way was designed with consideration for historic, scientific, and economic factors; a feasibility study, made possible by a small Arts Endowment grant, recommended procedures for acquiring land from the Milwaukee Railroad and for its most productive development.

Grantee:
The City of Bozeman, City-County Planning Office
Planning Director:
Paul J. Bolton
Project Director:
Dave Fackler
Participants:
Bob Holje, assistant planner; Jim Yeagley, research and history; Cortland Freeman, editing and rewriting; Yolonda McCready, secretary; Thomas P. Eggensperger and Roger P. Sandiland, resource inventory; John M. Bashor and Peters Kommers, design and presentation; Ira L. Swett

1
Old railroad bridge over Bozeman Creek. Photograph by Bozeman City-County Planning Staff.
2
Proposed conversion to a bikeway. Drawing by Kommers, McLaughlin & Leavengood.



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A Park Along the Bronx River

It takes a dedicated eye and no small power of vision to look at the Bronx River and imagine a towpath, bicyclists, a nature walk, fishing—even an arts center. But that's the kind of hope that the Bronx River restoration project conjures up for the communities along the river.

The historic twenty-mile waterway that winds from Westchester to the East River is the focus of a master plan to develop the area into a greenbelt recreation park. The plan coordinates diverse development opportunities along the river, seeking to upgrade water and land quality and utilize unemployed youths and adults from the communities in design, construction, and maintenance. The project's directors are planning economic, cultural, recreational, and educational activities that can serve as a vehicle for community organization.

Grantee:
Bronx River Restoration
Executive Directors:
Ruth Adenberg and Axel Horn
Project Director:
Axel Horn
Participants:
(Staff) Ruth Anderberg, community relations; Michael Diaz, coordinator, field projects; Howard Irwin, past president, New York Botanical Garden, horticultural consultant; Lisa Neil, administrative assistant; Stein Partnership, consulting architects; Norma Torres, coordinator, river festivals; Betty Wilde, coordinator, environmental arts center; New York State Office of Parks and Recreation; Westchester County Chief Executive's Office; Westchester County Parks and Recreation Department; Westchester County Department of Planning; Bronx Borough President's Office; New York City Parks and Recreation Department; New York City Planning Commission

1
A riverside being constructed on the Bronx River at West Farms. Workers are members of New York's Young Adult Conservation Corps. Photograph by Bronx River Restoration.

Shelt

New things don't always have names. Among those that don't are the cultural complex or arts complex or multicultural arts center or art park or community arts center. The managing editor of *Design Arts* speaks of "the encapsulation of culture in these boxes in the landscape." I like this phrase so much that I propose to refer to this new phenomenon in American life as the Culturebox.

The culturebox in its typical form is an old building, big or small, urban or rural, that has been recycled and stuffed with more than one and sometimes a dozen cultural uses. In the past fifteen years, something in the air of an incredible number of American communities has precipitated one or more cultureboxes.

It's a new phenomenon. Nothing quite like the culturebox really existed in the United States until recent years. There was art, there was culture, but that special mix of highbrow and lowbrow, of old and new, of ethnic and mainstream that characterizes the cultureboxes of today was absent.

In the past art and culture were sorted into categories that had a lot to do with geography and more to do with social class. For the commons there was Barnum, Harrigan and Hart, nickelodeons and vaudeville, and later movies before movies came to be thought of as The Cinema. For the Junior League set there were the Symphony and the Art Museum and The Dance.

Many forces joined to demolish these neat categories, preparing the way for the more inclusive culturebox. One such force was the rise of cultural anthropology and the celebrity of people like Margaret Mead. Mead wrote about wildly diverse cultures on the unsettling assumption that all cultures were equal, including headhunters. Mead made it harder to maintain the view that the symphony was art, but the New Orleans funeral band was Lowlife. In the Jazz Age, the Junior Leaguers flocked like mini-Meads to Harlem nightclubs. Three decades later, by the time of the socially unruly Sixties, just about everyone had become acquainted with the notions that different "cultures" and "lifestyles" (new coinages, both) could coexist on equal terms and that life might be richer for the resulting diversity. Jane Jacobs proposed that cities, especially, are the vital product of just such diversity.

The culturebox in its typical form is an old building, big or small, urban or rural, that has been recycled and stuffed with more than one and sometimes a dozen cultural uses.

This notion of diversity or cultural pluralism is one foundation of the culture-boxes that today spring up like flowers after the rain all over America. "There will be country and western entertainment, ballets, musicals, stage plays, symphonies, everything to please area residents," announces the coordinator of the Perot Theater in Texarkana. The Perot didn't start out so plural. It was built as the Saenger in 1924 when life was still sorted out, and it presented vaudeville.

Or take the Appalshop, located in "downtown Whitesburg, Kentucky (population 1,800)," as its chairperson engagingly puts it. Pluralism underlies the confidence that created this cultural mixing-box of filmmaking, recording, photography, theater, and a magazine in this remote location.

Other things besides anthropology were fermenting in the early decades of the century. Some also shaped the culturebox phenomenon. Hugh Kenner, in his study of the art and literature of the period, *The Pound Era*, suggests that the central task of art in that time was the recapturing of the past. The need was to make the past something different from "history." History as seen by the Victorians was a kind of distant pageantry and grandeur. Modern artists like Pound or Picasso wanted a past that would be more immediate, more vivid, more accessible—in short, more present. These artists broke history into isolated fragments and then juxtaposed the fragments, as in Eliot's *Wasteland*, making all periods of the past equal and present, letting all times and voices comment on one another at once, showing history not as narrative but as mosaic. It was another kind of pluralism. Now not only were contemporary cultures equal, as in Mead, but all past epochs were also equal and were, somehow, present.

ering

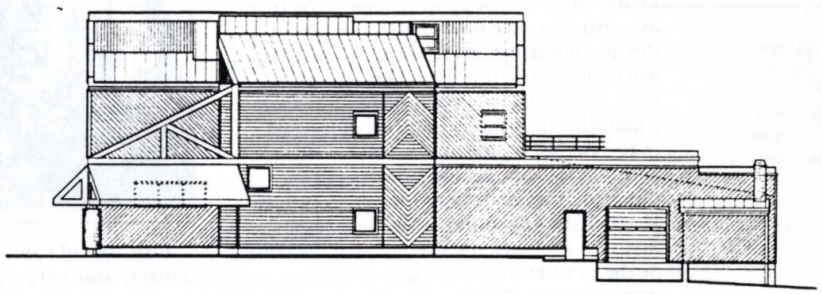
the Arts, or the Rise of the Culturebox

BY ROBERT CAMPBELL

This pluralism of history, this view of the past as a temporal collage (in Kevin Lynch's term) made its way into the culturebox through the medium of architecture. Architecture is always the last of the arts to latch onto a new trend, but it caught the trend to the present past just in time for the cultureboxes. The Preservation movement revived respect for the past and Post-Modernism followed with its delight in the clash of different styles and periods in one building. The result is that nearly all the cultureboxes derive a lot of their character from the fact that they are housed in containers originally meant for some entirely different purpose in another time. Present use and visible past jostle and, by contrast, vivify each other. Often a "high art" like theater or symphony occupies a container first planned for "low art." Thus in Boston, the old Music Hall, the city's greatest vaudeville-cum-movie palace, is now home to ballet and the Metropolitan Opera—but also, pluralistically, to Frank Sinatra and Lily Tomlin. Even when the culturebox is actually new, as is the design for the Provincetown Playhouse, it is often a deliberate collage of past motifs. The new Playhouse is in appearance a warehouse pier with a fishing shack at one end, but it will be used from the start as a theater.

All these pluralisms, all these ironies and juxtapositions, make the culturebox. And all have one feature in common. They are all ways of saying we don't want to lose something, don't want to let something go. We don't want to tear down the movie palace even though it can't make money showing movies anymore. Nor do we want to lose, say, the art of Haitian dancing, even though Haitian-American kids may want to disco. The culturebox typically tries to save everything: to preserve an old building while making it new (or build a new one while making it old), and at the same time to preserve traditional mainstream arts while adding minor and minority ones. The culturebox is a holding action. We're saying, through it, that we can't afford to lose difference. We can't homogenize either the cultural world or the built one.

This wish to preserve, to somehow fix forever a culture that is endangered, is often the motive behind great architecture. Oleg



The less central, more plural American culture of recent years is well represented by the Appalshop. This compact cultural CARE package in tiny Whitesburg, Kentucky, includes film and recording studios, a photography workshop, magazine offices, a theater, and an art gallery. The improbable exterior of random patches of diagonal siding over an old brick warehouse is meant to recall local coal mineheads. Photograph courtesy of Appalshop, Inc.

Grabar makes this case movingly in his book about the Alhambra. Some such motive is present in the culturebox phenomenon and in the whole historic preservation movement as well: a wish to preserve a public, social culture at a time when a private, media culture is in the ascendant. More of that later. But the culturebox is not an Alhambra, attempting hopelessly to freeze forever a doomed way of life. The culturebox, thanks to its very pluralism, tries to yoke together permanence and change and extract the best from each.

This wish to preserve, to somehow fix forever a culture that is endangered, is often the motive behind great architecture.

I recently had the experience of participating in a review panel assembled by the National Endowment for the Arts to consider a number of cultureboxes for inclusion in this issue of *Design Arts*. It was astonishing to see how many examples of this phenomenon there were, from everywhere in the United States. And of course these were only a selection from a selection: a sampling of projects that had happened to receive NEA funding at some point. Even so, the variations seemed endless. A conference center and other uses in an historic H. H. Richardson house. (Which came first, one wonders, the need to save the house or the need to house the uses?) An art museum in an Akron post office. Community art centers in storefronts. Hispanic ballet in old WASP carriage houses. A new children's museum made old by being designed to recall an African village. Five civic arts groups in a posh Manhattan townhouse cluster. An entire New Jersey town transformed into an arts park. A museum of building arts in a former Washington bureaucracy hive. Crafts centers in old mills.

And above all, theaters. Ours is a self-conscious age in which every activity verges on theater. Maybe that explains why there are so many real theaters among the cultureboxes (most of them, characteristically, are not just theaters but theaters-plus: plus crafts, plus a museum, plus ethnic arts, or whatever). There are theaters made from movie and vaudeville palaces, including quite spectacular ones like the Indiana Repertory or the Syracuse Area Landmark Theater. There are theaters in banks, churches, firehouses, and courthouses.

Looking through this array of cultural resources I kept trying to figure out what could possibly have caused, in the 1960s and 1970s, this explosion of the culturebox phenomenon. I could identify at least six separate causal situations:

Nearly every American town in the 1920s erected an entertainment palladium for vaudeville and movies. The designer of Loew's State, Syracuse, like many others, selected Maharajahn as the appropriate style, producing a blaze of details much like those you might see on the howdah atop a circus elephant. It was the desire to save the building that led to the creation of the Syracuse Area Landmark Theatre, which is restoring the old palace and bringing to it a host of lively attractions. Photograph courtesy of Jamie Williams.

First. An old building exists, it is in danger, and someone wants to save it but needs a use.

Second. An art group, performing group, or ethnic-identity group comes together, grows in success and self-awareness, and needs a place to display and nurture itself.

Third. A funder—public or private—exists and is looking for a fundee. The funding may be for historic preservation or for support of the arts. The proliferation of such funders, especially federal, in the 1960s was a great force behind cultureboxes.

Fourth. Someone has leisure time and spare income and wants to use them to pursue an interest acquired during his or her college education—leisure, income, and college all having been growth stocks in recent years. The lawyer who studied dance at Vassar needs a way to maintain this interest. She becomes a producer or consumer of the culturebox.

Fifth. Someone wants to stimulate a deteriorating downtown or other area. "In 1972, the Committee for the Revitalization of Downtown Montclair approached the New Jersey Theater Foundation in search of a development project that would help reverse the deterioration of the city's central business district. The committee believed that a cultural facility could serve as a catalyst for commercial development." Result: the Whole Theatre.

Sixth. Professional art administrators and professional preservationists, their careers spawned in the first place by the culture phenomenon, need continuing work and become a force behind further cultureboxes.

Any two or three of these proximate causes coming together can make a culture box. All are manifestations of the larger forces described above.

If the culturebox phenomenon has be so sudden, does that mean that its moment may be brief? Does the current antagonism of the federal government to public investment in culture—especially nonelitist culture—mean that the boom is over?

The answer to that isn't in yet. It depends on the future of a much bigger phenomenon.

If the culturebox phenomenon has been so sudden, does that mean that its moment may be brief? Does the current antagonism of the federal government to public investment in culture—especially nonelitist culture—mean that the boom is over?

This phenomenon is the Great Withdrawal into Privacy, or what you might call the shift from a real sensory world into a media world.

Dr. Roberta Balstad Miller has pointed out that Western man's withdrawal into privacy began as long ago as the Middle Ages. Like all the later stages of the withdrawal, this one was made possible by an advance in technology. The invention of the fireplace and the chimney allowed different subsets of society—nobles, families, monks—to retire into heated separate rooms, thus ending forever the previous lifestyle in which all classes gathered to eat and sleep, sing and tell stories around the one central fire in the nobleman's Great Hall.

Even after the fireplace there was lots of public life. You still couldn't do much in the way of recreation except gather with other people. Home was crowded and usually either too hot or too chilly, depending on the season. People therefore went out to the collective warmth of the tavern or theater in winter, or the cool park or seashore in summer.

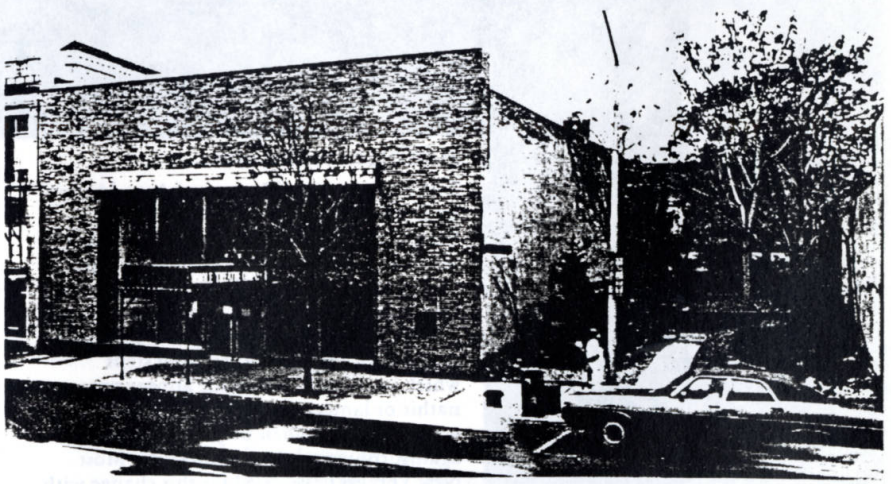
Then came more technology, more prosperity. There were fewer people at home and there was more space. There were central heating and maybe air conditioning. And there were private, media substitutes for the old collective entertainments. First came the book and the great age of recreational reading from Walter Scott to maybe John Galsworthy. Then came the radio, the phonograph, the television. Even the cinema, though outside the home, is an individual and private experience rather than a collective one like theater.

The change from a public culture to a media culture helped make possible, after World War II, the move to the suburbs, away from the old centers of public culture.

One of the glories of the brief great age of movie palaces, the Indiana Theatre in Indianapolis was built in 1926 in a kind of Barnum Presents Spanish Baroque style. The heads in the medallions are King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The Indiana Repertory Company converted the mammoth interior into a mix of large and small theaters and work spaces, preserving the great facade and lobby for use in a more pluralistic age. Photograph courtesy of Indiana Repertory Theatre.

Now you could experience culture over the air, "in the privacy of your own living room." You didn't need theaters and museums. And your new home, in any case, wasn't convenient to them. The cycle was self-reinforcing.

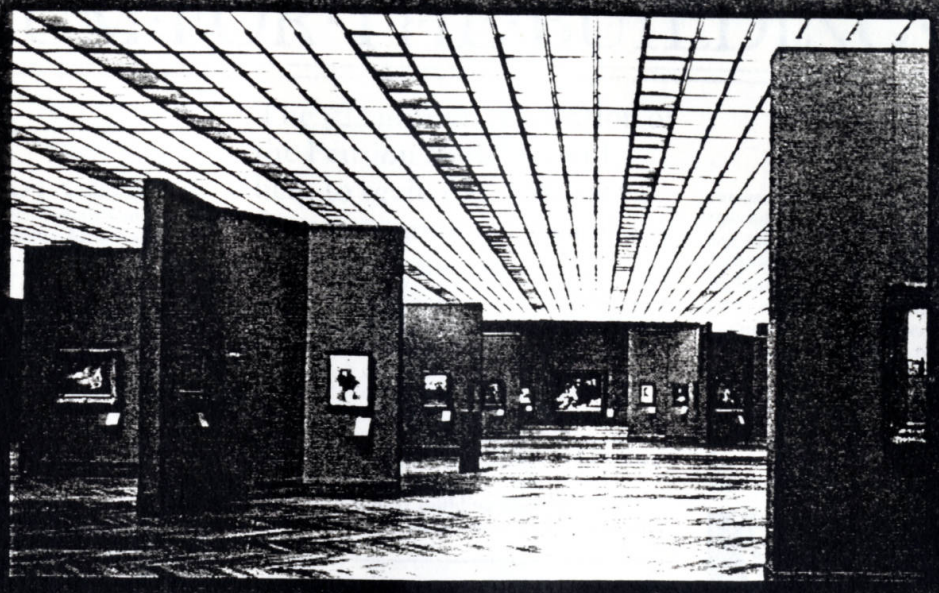
A local planning agency's search for some way to revitalize a downtown was the catalyst for this culturebox. The planners decided that what was needed was a cultural use and persuaded the Whole Theatre Company to occupy a former bank. The once featureless building has been transformed with elegant restraint. Photographs courtesy of Whole Theatre Company.

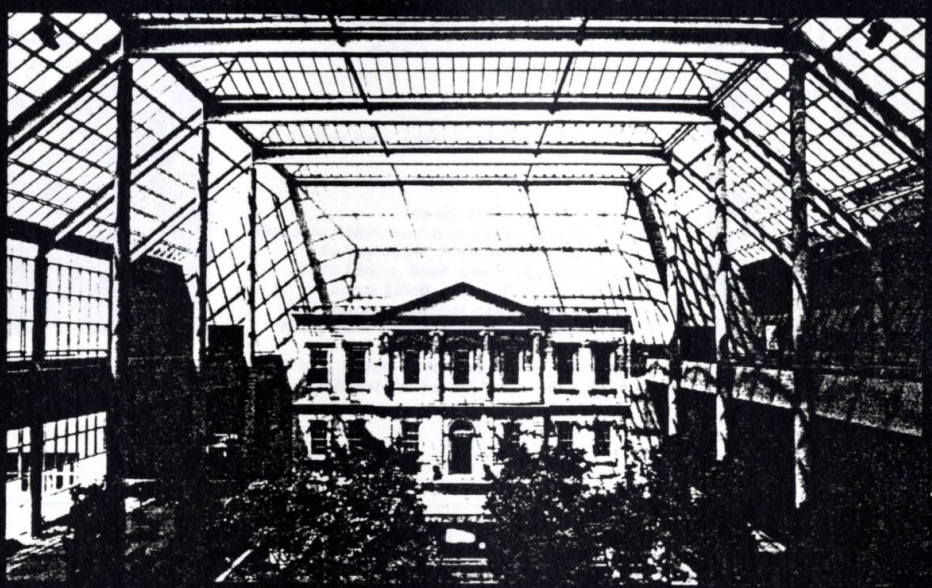


Additions to the Met

The Metropolitan Museum of Art additions by Kevin Roche/John Dinkeloo merit examination for their scope as city plan as much as for their organization as a single piece of architecture. The frenetic renovations have their fans and their vehement critics. "In 1970 a narrow flight of steps was replaced by grotesque sprawling steps which have made the facade appear prognathic or lantern-jawed," Henry Hope Reed wrote in *The Golden City*, his polemic against contemporary architecture. Most New Yorkers have voted for this change with their bottoms, however, and the spot is an urban favorite. The rear exterior, usurping Central Park, otherwise dismays many, while the countless interior alterations — from the vast space for the Andre Meyer Collection to the enclosure of the Renaissance exterior — gets the same mixed reviews as most vast urban efforts whose scope is measured in decades as well as details of design.

Fifth Avenue entrance. Photograph by John Barrington Bayley, courtesy of H. H. Reed.





above

The Andre Meyer galleries. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Roche/John Dinkeloo and Associates.

below

The American Wing. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Roche/John Dinkeloo and Associates.

MUSEUM·FOR·THE·BUILDING·ARTS

The $23 million renovation of the Pension Building will help to revitalize Judiciary Square, a rundown area of inner Washington.

A five-year fund drive to form a national museum of architecture culminated in September 1980 when the Committee for a National Museum of the Building Arts announced the founding of the National Building Museum. Two months later, Congress passed legislation authorizing the renovation of the Pension Building, a Renaissance-revival structure in downtown Washington, D.C., to house the Museum. Cooperative agreements between the National Building Museum, the Department of the Interior, and the General Services Administration facilitated implementation. Aided by support from the Arts Endowment, private foundations, and the building industry, the National Building Museum will provide an exhibit and study center encompassing all aspects of building the human habitat. The Museum is to serve as a clearinghouse for information on the built environment and to dramatize the beauty and livability of America's architectural heritage.

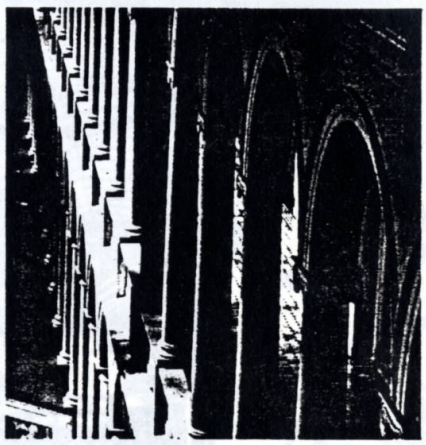
The National Building Museum will provide three major services: exhibitions, education programs, and a library and archives. Special projects are already under way. A building fair was held in the summer of 1980. Exhibits were sponsored in part by local unions including bricklayers, electrical workers, elevator constructors, iron workers, carpenters, engineers, painters, sheet-metal workers, and steamfitters. An added benefit: the $23 million renovation of the Pension Building will help to revitalize Judiciary Square, a rundown area of inner Washington. Already, two new buildings—the Metro headquarters and a fire station—have risen adjacent to the Building Museum.

Now a landmark on the National Register of Historic Places and the site of the National Museum for the Building Arts, the Pension Building was built in 1882 to serve the nation's veterans. Photograph by Robert Lautman (left).

Grantee:
National Building Museum (formerly Committee for a National Museum of the Building Arts), Bates Lowry, director

Project Director:
W. Boulton Kelly, special assistant to the director

Participants:
Elisabeth Rubin, executive assistant to the director
Audrey Scher, head, public affairs
Judith Lanius, head, interpretation center
***Joyce Elliott, editor,* Blueprints**
Mary Hewes, associate development officer
Nancy Mannes, coordinator, volunteers and national affiliates
Cynthia R. Fields, former president, Committee for a National Museum of the Building Arts



The building's most distinctive feature is an astonishing inner court, where nine inaugural balls have been held. Photograph by Robert Lautman (right).

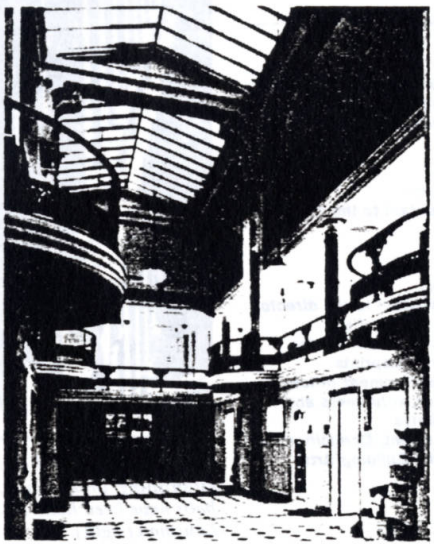
WHERE·A·MUSEUM·IS·MORE

Each of the buildings — which range from a warehouse in Boston to a jail in Billings, Montana — is now a vital museum space, and each has served as well to strengthen the museum's ties to the community.

Fifteen years ago, the idea of reusing old buildings for commercial or cultural purposes was a novel one in the United States, where a preoccupation with newness had long held sway over preservation. Today, however, in almost every city, facades denoting a church, warehouse, or railroad depot are likely to conceal surprises: apartments, businesses, even museums are occupying the exciting new spaces these "forgotten" structures offer.

The contribution of museums to the nationwide effort to revitalize old buildings is the focus of "Museums and Adaptive Use," a special edition of *Museum News*, the bimonthly magazine of the American Association of Museums. The concept for this issue evolved from the recognition that, although many museums had reaped the economic, social, and environmental benefits of recycling old buildings, scant information had been published on those projects or on the problems peculiar to museums attempting to adapt an existing building.

Ten case studies were selected from more than seventy-five museum-adapted buildings to be published in the issue. Each of the buildings—which range from a warehouse in Boston to a jail in Billings, Montana—is now a vital museum space, and each has served as well to strengthen the museum's ties to the community. In choosing to rehabilitate existing buildings, the museums have made a commitment to preserving the character of the communities they serve.



Copies of "Museums and Adaptive Use" may be obtained for $3.25 by writing to Publications, American Association of Museums, 1055 Thomas Jefferson Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Cover, "Museums and Adaptive Use," and views of the Lincoln and Renwick galleries at the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C., one of ten case studies reviewed in this special issue. Photographs courtesy of American Association of Museums.

Grantee:
American Association of Museums

Project Director:
Ellen C. Hicks

Participants:
Marcia Axtmann Smith, writer and consultant
Ann Hofstra Grogg, consultant
Gene Bunnell and Linda Coe, writers
Staff: Susan J. Thomas, Migs Grove, Alexandra Walsh
Gerard A. Valerio, Bookmark Studio, designer

ARTS · AND · CRAFT

New homes for arts facilities range from mills to chapels to fuse factories.

Guns and butter notwithstanding, what do a torpedo factory in Virginia and an Illinois dairy barn have in common? Both have been swept up in the growing trend toward non-traditional housing for the arts. Their stories, and others like them, constitute a series of handsome publications produced by Educational facilities are featured in *New Places for the Arts* with funding from the National Endowment for the Arts.

Nearly one hundred recently built museums, performing arts centers, and multi-use facilities are featured in *New Places for the Arts* and its sequel, *New Places for the Arts, Book Two*. Brief descriptions of each project, which include funding sources and consultants' names, are accompanied by architects' floor plans. *Technical Assistance for Arts Facilities: A Sourcebook* provides a listing of federal, state, and private sources where arts groups can seek help in planning for their facilities. Descriptions of cooperative planning and examples of the collaborative use of resources are available in *Planning and Cooperative Use of Resources for the Arts.*

The Arts in Found Places includes more than two hundred examples of arts facilities whose "new" homes range from mills to chapels to fuse factories. The interested reader can discover how and where the phenomenon of reuse has occurred, and the positive effects that renovation and reoccupation by arts have had on urban centers and neighborhoods.

The prices of these reports vary from $2.00 to $7.00. Copies may be obtained from EFL, a division of the Academy for Educational Development, 680 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019.

AESTHETICS

IN • TRANSPORTATION

Anyone who has contributed to a Cross-Bronx Expressway traffic jam or competed for standing room in a dingy, overheated subway car might despair of reconciling the terms *aesthetics* and *transportation*. To our detriment, aesthetics has been a slight, often nonexistent consideration in planning for our public transportation facilities.

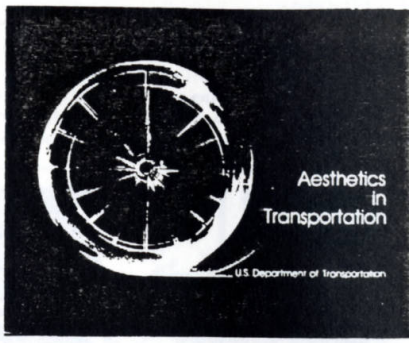
Mindful of the problem, the U.S. Department of Transportation engaged the services of Cambridge, Massachusetts, architects Moore-Héder, who took to the streets in search of solutions. *Aesthetics in Transportation* is a publication of their findings, a set of guidelines for incorporating design, art, and architecture into transportation facilities. A Design Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts enabled Lajos Héder to research street and surface transit design for an earlier project, portions of which are included in this publication.

Aesthetics presents some of the more successful meldings of art and architectural design with urban transportation facilities here and abroad. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, for example, a monumental steel sculpture by Alexander Calder entitled "La Grande Vitesse" forms the centerpiece of a large urban-renewal project. Its prominence attracts pedestrian movement across the central downtown plaza where strolling otherwise might be discouraged by a large barren space. In Stockholm, Sweden, a subway tunnel radiates prehistoric ambience, the result of a design scheme that retained the tunnel's natural cavelike walls. Métro stations in Montreal, Canada, characterized by warm colors, spaciousness, and natural light, reflect the designers' concern for human comfort.

Although good examples of artful design in transportation abound throughout the book, the authors note the valuable lessons to be learned from the bad examples as well. It would seem that the very nature of public transportation systems—so costly and, once completed, permanent and pervasive—demands from the start a close attention to the fine points of design: those kind to the environment, and us.

The very nature of public transportation systems — so costly and, once completed, so pervasive — demands from the start a close attention to the fine points of design.

Aesthetics in Transportation may be obtained by contacting the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.



Cover, Aesthetics in Transportation.

A transportation mall with flair in Portland, Oregon. Photograph by James Lemkin for Skidmore, Owings and Merrill.

Grantee and Project Director:
Lajos Héder

Contract Office:
U.S. Department of Transportation, office of the secretary, office of environment and safety, Robert P. Thurber, technical representative

Participants:
Ellen Shoshkes, project coordinator
Victor Karen and Anne Schmidt, staff
Consulting personnel: Jenniter Dowley; Marvin Golenberg, SG Associates; Mags Harries; Thomas Kirvan, Carol R. Johnson & Associates; Pamela Worden
Production: Preston Gralla, editor; Michael Sand, graphic design consultant; W. Booth Simpson, typographical consultant; Gail Burwen, layout

G. A. M. E. · FOR · CHILDREN

In a turn-of-the-century renovated county courthouse, art and science are intertwined and exhibits are set out to be touched and explored.

A museum where children can pet a snake, make a time capsule for the year 2080, track the "footprints" of evolution, or stand inside a giant six-foot "eye" and adjust strobe lights and lenses to change what they see is the Manhattan Laboratory Museum. In a turn-of-the-century renovated county courthouse, art and science are intertwined and exhibits are not locked inside glass cases, but set out to be touched and explored.

The Museum is operated by G.A.M.E., Inc. (Growth Through Art and Museum Experience), founded in 1973 as a one-woman operation by Bette Korman, an artist teaching in the New York public school system. Korman wanted to make art less remote from other subjects and to encourage children to discover their own talents directly. "Children's experiences in museums tend to be fragments unrelated to their classroom work. Objects are isolated from their natural and cultural contexts, making it difficult for students to fully understand their meaning."

The success of the participatory museum in its first five years—it now serves more than three thousand children from nine Manhattan schools with a number of arts programs and after-school workshops—led the organization to seek more space than its two renovated storefronts provided. With the aid of a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Museum commissioned a feasibility study and designer for the renovation of a Midtown courthouse built in 1890. A subsequent matching grant enabled G.A.M.E. to solicit funds for the rehabilitation of the structure and to open in the fall of 1979 as an expanded community arts and museum resource center, while retaining the distinction of being the only museum in New York conceived specifically for children.

A collection of historical, traditional, and theatrical masks lent to the Manhattan Laboratory Museum by various galleries and collectors as part of the theme "Transformations." Photograph by Helen Silverstein.

Grantee:
G.A.M.E. Inc./Manhattan Laboratory Museum

Project Director:
Bette Korman, executive director and codesigner

Participants:
Anthony Zunino, AIA, codesigner; Bill Studdiford; Fred Papert; Patricia Zedalis; Mike Baikin; 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation; Carol Tolan; Winnifred Bendiner; Ray Mendez; Matt Phair; Mark Daley; Gail Tipton; Helen Silverstein; John Howe; Enrico Giordono; Jay Brady; Julia Keydel; Erica Mapp

YOUR · HERITAGE · HOUSE

Unlike many children's museums, which have programs that may embrace several disciplines, Your Heritage House focuses solely on the arts.

Back in the early 1940s, a young woman in Detroit had an idea too good to keep to herself. She assembled some thirty like-minded adults and their children in her home to discuss the formation of a young people's cultural organization to encourage attendance at concerts, plays, and art exhibitions. In the years to come, Josephine Love's original idea grew to encompass participatory workshops in puppetry, theater, music, and visual arts conducted by leaders in the arts in Detroit. One such prominent artist, Gwendolyn Hogue, joined Mrs. Love in 1969 to establish Your Heritage House, a fine-arts museum for the youth of inner-city Detroit.

Unlike many children's museums, which have programs that may embrace several disciplines—history, science, social studies, and crafts—Your Heritage House focuses solely on the arts. Youngsters are teamed with professional artists in an environment that encourages creative potential and spontaneous participation in the visual and performing arts.

The capacity of Your Heritage House to serve its youth is threefold. As a museum, it boasts a permanent and growing collection of antique dolls, puppets, toys, and other artifacts and artwork from all over the world, many of which were acquired by Josephine Love during her tours as a concert pianist and music scholar. As a library, it contains more than fifty thousand publications and documents, constituting a clearinghouse for dance, the media, and art for youth, with an especially fine black American culture component. As an experimental center for creative endeavor, Your Heritage House offers studio classes in ceramics, visual arts, filmmaking, music, and

A·PLAN·FOR·EAST·CAMBRIDGE

ALONG·THE·RIVERFRONT

In the early 1800s, what is now East Cambridge, Massachusetts, was an island surrounded by marshland. It had served the British as the starting point for their march to Lexington and Concord, and in 1811 it became one of the first large-scale speculative real estate undertakings in the United States when the Lechmere Point Corporation began industrial development of the area. By the end of the nineteenth century, landfill projects had quadrupled the available land and East Cambridge was a bustling industrial and residential neighborhood with furniture-and soap-manufacturing concerns springing up on newly created landfill and with a railroad, a canal, and two large county court buildings. Successive waves of immigration brought Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, and Portuguese workers into the area; their cottages and houses remain today excellent examples of the vernacular architecture of the mid-nineteenth century.

Today, this historic section of Cambridge remains an island. No longer encircled by water, it is surrounded instead by blighted industrial land. Its original tie to the Charles River through a magnificent park planned by famed landscape architect Charles Eliot was severed when the city sold the land to developers in 1950, and its physical environment diminished. In the past twenty years, what was once a major industrial area has seen shifts in land use and the continual erosion of its industrial base.

Two of the area's most historically and architecturally significant public buildings have been vacant for several years: the Clerk of Courts Building, designed by Olin Cutter and Robert Wait in 1887, and, connected to it by an enclosed colonnade, the Old Superior Courthouse, built in 1814 from plans by Charles Bulfinch, the architect of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., and Boston's State House and Faneuil Hall, and redesigned in 1848 by Ammi Young.

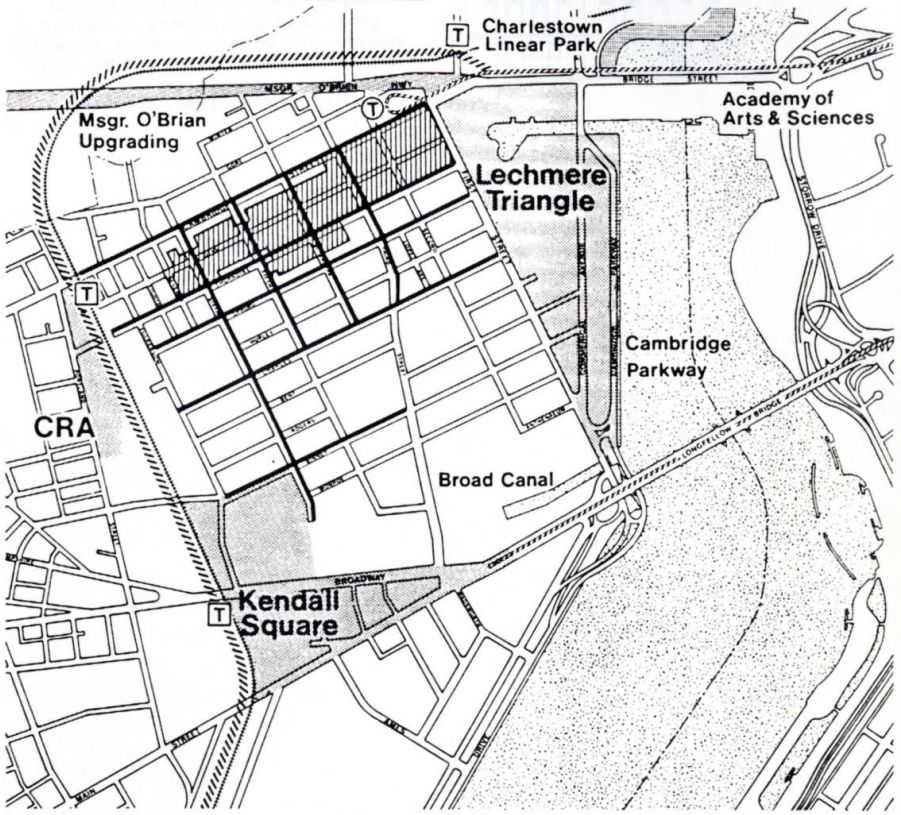
In 1977 the newly formed Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center met with the city's Community Development Department to conduct site surveys. The city selected the courthouses as potential arts facilities and included plans for their preservation and adaptation as the centerpiece in a far larger program to revitalize East Cambridge. That plan adds riverfront, parkland, housing, retail, and commercial development and improves roadways and public transportation. Then, with a needs-assessment survey and support from the Cambridge Arts Council, the newly incorporated nonprofit Center sought funding for professional feasibility studies.

In 1978, a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts enabled the Arts Center to take an important first step toward adapting a portion of the courthouse buildings for use as arts space by commissioning Jules Fisher Associates, a nationally prominent theater and exhibition design firm, to assist in developing a design scheme for the facility. The firm's research studies included specifications for lighting, sound, staging, and production equipment for cable television, theater presentations, exhibitions, and other public programs; design recommendations for support spaces; engineering reports; and a market study estimating operating costs and outlining sources of audience revenue.

Today, this historic section of Cambridge remains an island. No longer encircled by water, it is surrounded instead by blighted industrial land.

The reports were integrated into plans created by the Arts Center's architect and developer, Graham Gund, for restoring the buildings' original architectural integrity, their use as a cultural center, and the conversion of portions into offices, a restaurant, and retail shops. The city of Cambridge included the plans for the Arts Center in a successful proposal for a forty-acre East Cambridge Riverfront Revitalization project prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The Urban Development Action Grant, awarded by HUD to the city in 1978, included funds for the restoration of the courthouse buildings. The plan for Bulfinch Square, as the U-shaped complex is now called, includes commercial and retail space in the cultural complex.

Construction on Bulfinch Square is scheduled to begin in November of 1981 and to be completed in 1983. The arts complex will comprise a two-hundred-seat, flexible-use theater with adjacent classrooms, dressing rooms, technical production rooms, and storage areas. The complex will also house an exhibition gallery, a media and archive room, administrative offices, an outdoor performance area seating five hundred people, and common



Areas presently under study.

Proposed National Register Historic District

Roadways and/or sidewalks slated for improvement utilizing block grant funds

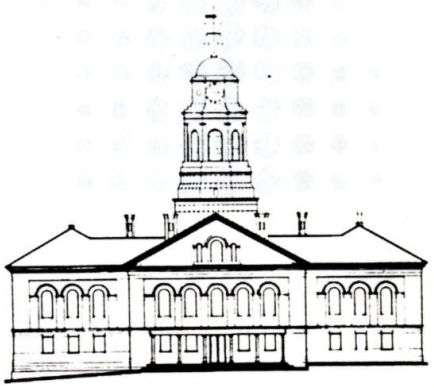
Extension of Mass Transit

Possible station locations

lobby areas for performances and exhibitions. The Multicultural Arts Center, which is already engaged in several programming activities, will present a season of performances, exhibitions, and workshops and assist other city groups in the presentation of their own programs.

Throughout 1980, the Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center negotiated an ingenious plan that will secure its long-term financial viability as a cultural facility. A development agreement with the architectural firm, Graham Gund Associates, will give the Arts Center a fully renovated and equipped facility and rental and operating endowments as a challenge for other contributions. A tax agreement with the city of Cambridge will enable the Arts Center to share in the prosperity of the commercial aspect of the project and cover its operating costs. The scope of this project and the innovative way in which the Arts Center has been integrated financially, as well as programmatically, into a large development project provides an exciting model for others.

West elevation of Bulfinch Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Drawing by Graham Gund Associates.



Grantee:
Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center

Project Director:
David Kronberg, executive director

Participants:
Graham Gund Associates, architect and developer
Cambridge Arts Council, fiscal agent
City of Cambridge, Community Development Department, planner
Jules Fisher Associates, theater and exhibition design consultants
Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities, technical assistance funding
Community Service Fund of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, volunteer consulting and funding
Middlesex County Commissioners

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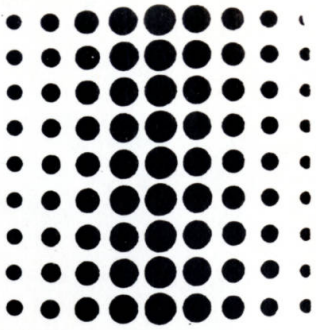


Arts Spaces and Economic Development

Experience in Six Cities

Submitted To

The Office of Business and Economic Development

District of Columbia

Prepared By

R. Leo Penne
Fred Jordan
Kevin Balfe

December, 1986

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

This report was prepared for the Office of Business and Economic Development of the Government of the District of Columbia. The purpose of the report is to assist public and private sector decisionmakers who are involved with Washington's Downtown Arts District and with other efforts to link the arts and economic development. The report reviews recent experience with arts districts and major mixed-use developments incorporating arts spaces in U.S. cities, focusing on the administration and management of the arts spaces. Six cities were visited. The report contains profiles describing arrangements in the cities among government, business, and nonprofit organizations to create and operate arts spaces. Each of the profiled cities is attempting to achieve both arts and economic development objectives.

The report was prepared by: R. Leo Penne, Senior Associate with Partners for Livable Places and President of R. Leo Penne Associates, Inc.; Fred Jordan, a Principal with Syntactics, a

Washington-based communications consulting company; and Kevin Balfe, a Washington-based consultant. Mr. Penne was the Principal Investigator, wrote the Cleveland profile and had primary responsibility for drafting the Introduction and Analysis parts of the report. Fred Jordan prepared the profiles on Dallas, San Diego, San Francisco and St. Paul/Minneapolis and contributed to the Analysis section. Kevin Balfe prepared the Winston-Salem profile and contributed to the Analysis section. Many people in the profile cities were generous with their time and knowledge. None of them should be held accountable for the contents of the report.

Work done on the Economics of Amenity Program by Partners for Livable Places served as a background resource for this report. Two books have been published as a result of that program: Economics of Amenity: Community Futures and the Quality of Life, and The Return of the Livable City. Of the other publications relating to the subject of this report, one deserves special mention because of its usefulness: Cultural Facilities Mixed-Use Developments by Harold Snedcoff, published by the Urban Land Institute.

Barbara Kaiser, Program Director for Partners for Livable Places, has provided overall project supervision and Luci Blackburn has served as the OBED project monitor.

INTRODUCTION

AMENITIES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Quality of life and local amenities, including the arts, have long been counted among the factors that contribute to an area's potential for economic development. In recent years, however, changes in the structure and composition of the economy have made them more significant relative to other investment influences. Often unrecognized and untapped, amenities are being given a central role in the development strategies of some cities that are stressing the characteristics that make them distinctively attractive as places to live, work, visit and invest. With imagination, determination and cooperation, most cities can link amenities and development in strategies that contribute to both economic strength and quality of life improvements.

In a 1984 report based on a survey of executives in about seventy of the country's largest corporations, the Real Estate Research Corporation noted the "surprising finding...that quality of life ranked third overall (among criteria for industrial

location), carrying the same weight as utility costs. This represents a major shift in corporate thinking over the last 15 years and reflects the change in employee mix in many of America's industrial giants."

The reasons for this shift are rooted in basic changes in the national economy. Growth in the service sector and the increased importance of information, communications and high technology for businesses in all sectors mean that a smaller proportion of the nation's businesses are tied to a specific location or dependent on location factors such as proximity to sources of materials or water or rail transportation. As a result, more businesses can afford to be where their owners, managers and workers want to be. For high technology industry especially, writes business location expert Roger Schmenner, "the most fearsome competitive advantage it can wield is a happy and productive staff of engineers, since proximity to markets or suppliers is not required in such companies they can be extraordinarily footloose, locating in areas that are attractive to their engineers."

A 1980 survey of 1,290 firms conducted by the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress produced a surprising finding concerning their investment location decisions:

> A city's quality of life is more important than business related factors....The results of this survey suggest that individual programs and

policies which respond to a particular business need will probably be of limited success in encouraging firms to expand or attract new firms if they are not part of a comprehensive effort to upgrade the quality of life in the city. One of the primary policy conclusions to be drawn is that improving the city quality of life where it is poor can have a significant impact on decisions firms make regarding location and work force changes.

THE ROLE OF THE ARTS

Amenities are attractive features of a place--physical, historical, cultural, and social--that make it appealing because of the excitement, pleasure, satisfaction and enrichment they provide to residents and visitors. The arts can be one of the most important amenities a city can provide.

Whenever people are asked to name what a city can contribute to their lives that cannot be found in suburban or rural locations, they are most likely to answer "culture." The visual arts, theater, music, dance, museums and libraries are amenity assets concentrated in cities which make direct contributions to the economy and which, by enriching the lives of residents and attracting visitors, can exert a powerful indirect influence on private investment. It may sound crass to ask what

the arts are worth to cities but it is a question with answers important for both the arts and city economies.

In analyses of the changing functions of cities and their downtowns and in speculations about the future role of cities, no opinions are more consistently expressed than: (1) that cities are uniquely and by their very nature equipped to generate and sustain artistic activity; and (2) that this role is closely related to the cities' continued economic vitality. By virtue of substantial capital investments in existing arts facilities, their providing the necessary concentrations of the arts themselves, their centrality in large-market areas, and their proximity to related entertainment and leisure opportunities, many cities have in the arts a substantial asset and a significant opportunity for employing this asset to generate additional economic activity.

No city can come close to matching the $5.6 billion generated by the arts industry in the New York Metropolitan area. Many, however, can look to the arts for contributions to local development. The arts and cultural institutions and events can contribute to the overall livability of a place, but increasingly they are figuring more directly into development projects.

CARE packages (Culture, Amusement, Recreation and Entertainment activities) are becoming <u>de rigueur</u> in major mixed-use developments. According to the Urban Land Institute, "The developers of mixed-use projects are making the natural connection with the arts, and the arts community, faced with

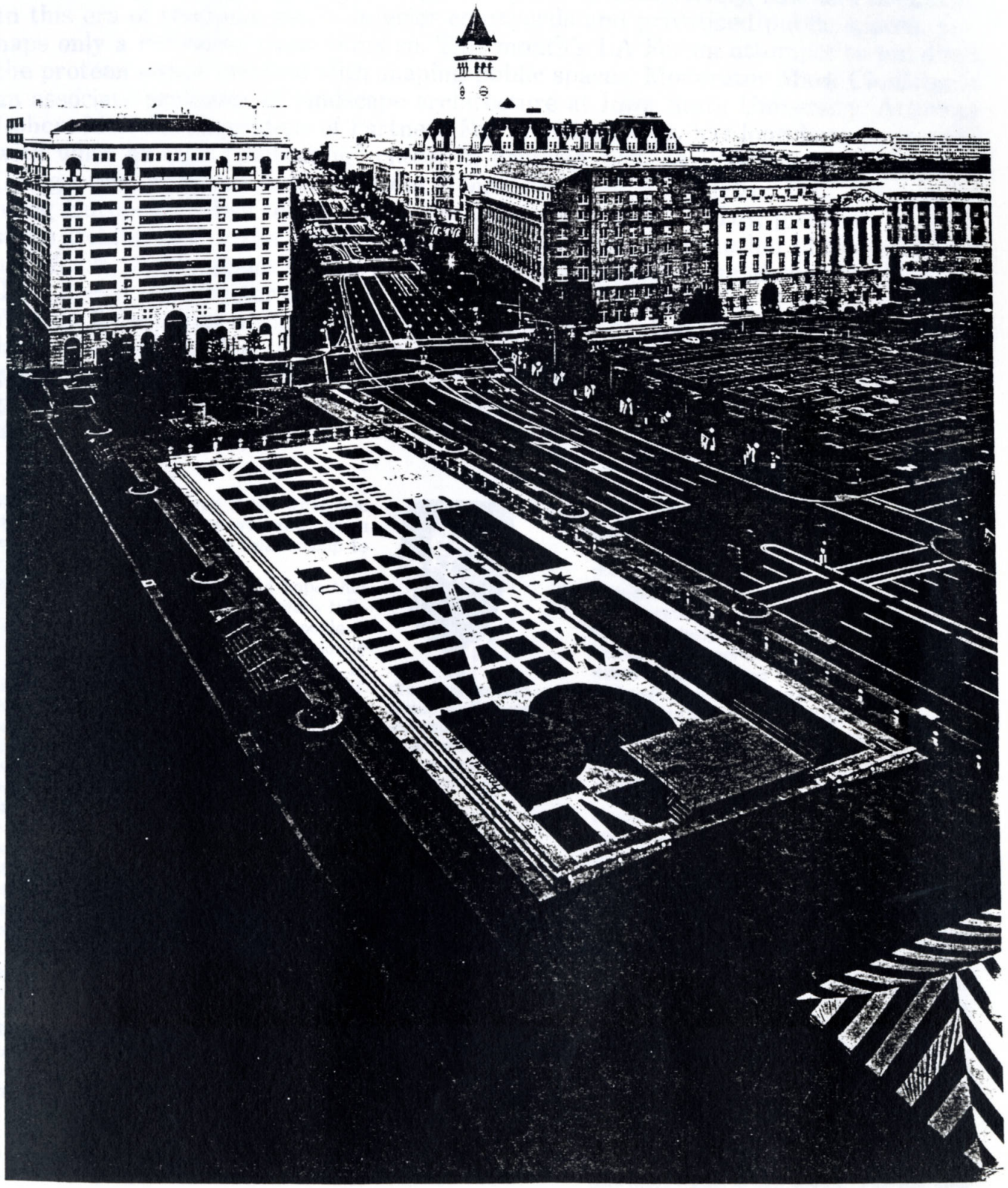
shrinking budgets, is looking for cooperative ventures. So, office buildings become art galleries. Retail marketplaces transform into performing arts stages, and plazas and museums host concerts. The arts not only decorate and enliven new projects, but also create environments that attract people willing to spend time and money." These amenity elements are not frills, but help "to establish the minimum critical mass necessary for a successful market image and to ensure that a cultural presence will provide quality programs in places where people live and work."

CITY PROGRAMS

In most cities today there are either major projects or entire programs aimed at producing economic development results through the use of the arts. In Portland, Maine, for example, the expansion of the Museum of Art with the new Charles Shipman Payson Building is not only a striking architectural achievement and a major cultural contribution to the city, but it also has exerted a strong, positive influence on the adjacent area and on the entire Portland downtown. In like manner, the Kentucky Center for the Performing Arts is now home for the major performing arts groups Louisville and is being looked to as a generator of increased tourist activity and a contributor to the revitalization of the city's northern, riverside edge.

Adapting to the new economic functions of city downtowns and capitalizing on the development potential of arts facilities and activities, Dallas, St. Louis, Cleveland and Pittsburgh are structuring large-area development programs with cultural districts. Underlying these cultural districts is the general propositon that there is a reciprocal relationship between cultural investments and investment in downtown retail and office development. In light of this relationship, making the major cultural investment and hoping that the other investment will follow is, in some situations, too chancy a proposition; or, viewed from the other side, where downtowns have been weak, few private developers want to undertake projects without the insurance of people-generating investments in cultural and entertainment projects.

The arts and cultural institutions and events can fit into development programs in other ways as well. San Antonio, for example, treats the arts as one of the central features of its program to attract high tech investment. And, Charleston's Spoleto Festival draws as many as 100,000 visitors, half of them from out-of-state, and injects about $40 million into the state and local economies.



PLAZA PUZZLE

Can landscape architects help make public spaces friendly, lively, safe and beautiful? In this era of shopping malls, interior courtyards and privatized public spaces, perhaps only a Pollyanna could think so. This month's LA Forum attempts to pin down the protean issues involved with shaping public spaces. Moderator **Mark Chidister** is an associate professor of landscape architecture at Iowa State University. Attorney **Robert McNulty**, president of Partners For Livable Places, has long been concerned with what he calls "animating" cities. In projects such as Washington Harbour in Georgetown, architect **Arthur Cotton Moore**, FAIA, of Washington, D.C., has vied to bring European polish to American plazas. **Mark Francis**, ASLA, professor of landscape architecture at the University of California, Davis, is co-author of the forthcoming *Making Public Space* (Cambridge University Press) and *The Meaning of Gardens* (MIT Press). As director of design for the Irvine, California, office of the firm EDAW, **William Rabben** has designed and studied many public places in southern California. **James A. van Sweden**, ASLA, is a leader of the movement to plant lush perennial gardens in urban areas. He and his partner Wolfgang Oehme, ASLA, have designed gardens for the Federal Reserve Annex and many other civic areas of the nation's capital.

Mark Chidister: What do you mean when you say the word plaza? What do you mean when you say the word public in relationship to open space in cities?

Arthur Cotton Moore: Well, I would hope that when we talk about a plaza we're really talking about a gathering place for people. I think the notion of a square connotes a lovely Italian square that is not literally square. In the United States, gathering places are often linear. The notion of public goes to the issue of a kind of availability. If it is totally open and available all the time, then I consider it a public place. It's a question of control and impediments to use.

Mark Francis: I take a broader view of plazas, seeing them as what Jan Gehl calls the "life between buildings"—the space between buildings. What form they take I think depends on the context of what's around them. I agree that it's really a definition of public access. I think largely the public uses of plazas have been seen primarily as circulation, as an entrance to a building, and then more recently in terms of gathering or the passive—or even active—enjoyment of places.

William Rabben: A plaza also is a question of scale. There are many beautiful little public open spaces, but a plaza has a larger connotation in terms of its scale and relationship to a group of buildings.

In terms of public, the question of control has a relationship to public, but I have a hard time trying to differentiate between control and how people use the space. Public means as much free access as possible, but a space still can be public if there are parameters addressing its use. There are many spaces funded by developers as a part of a congregation of buildings. I think some of those are designed to be used in specific ways, but don't hamper accessibility to people.

"The plaza has been broken into little pieces and dispersed over a variety of settings, some indoors, some outdoors, some public, some not so public."
—Chidister

"I think everybody would like to walk up and down a beautiful place, or go to a beautiful place, and I think that Americans will gravitate to it."
—Moore

Robert McNulty: When I think of plaza, I have an image of something that's open air. Therefore, certain grand facilities that one sees adjacent to development in major cities, that are enclosed in glass and that have uniformed policemen walking through to prevent antisocial behavior—those can't be plazas. Secondly, the word public means it's open space that's flexible for putting up things, from flea markets to small circuses to large demonstrations.

Certainly, to me as a lawyer, the word public is interesting because these quasi-public-private spaces basically don't have the protections of freedom of assembly and free speech. The shopping centers may be the new civic agoras of the future, but free speech cannot occur there since they are not truly public spaces.

James van Sweden: An interesting point there is that the Salvation Army was being thrown out of private malls last Christmas. It's a good example of what can happen in those spaces—quasi-public but not totally public.

Chidister: I'd like to differentiate between urban plazas and urban parks. The defining

KENNETH M. WYNER

Market Square Park/Navy Memorial, a new public plaza on Pennsylvania Avenue a few blocks from the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

factor becomes a matter of centrality, in that plazas are more linked with their location in the city, that they have to be central in the community and also a focus for the life of the community. Public is not just a matter of access, but also has to do with gathering people together, much in the same way this table is a device that gathers us together. The plaza can be that same kind of vehicle, whereas urban parks are more a retreat from the city, more of a private environment within an urban setting.

Van Sweden: I like the notion that a plaza is a gathering place. Often we think of plazas as being hardscapes, but I'd like to suggest that a plaza can be soft, as well. There is far greater interest now in plants, for instance. So one designs the "bones," which are the hardscape underneath, and then overlays it with ravishing plants.

Moore: I like Jim's idea to soften some of the plazas. Jackson Square in New Orleans has quite a lot of greenery, and I think the whole notion of making these things a little softer really doesn't impede gathering. We've over-plaza'd in New York; everybody has these hard, really hard, unsympathetic windswept things. We are trying to put more greenery in, just so the thing doesn't bake you. . . .

One of the reasons why people come together is because they are irritated by something. For a long time I wanted to do a protest center in Washington. I think every city should have a Hyde Park. I wanted to put it right behind the Treasury so people could shake their fists both to the Capitol and to the White House and also be right where everybody's talking about money. We see this on the Mall all the time. The one time the Mall comes alive is when people are really steamed about something. If nothing else, the justification for plazas would be as protest places.

"In southern California many public places relate to shopping centers. Some of those places have a very successful kind of public atmosphere even though they're private developments."
—Rabben

"My best example of a public plaza in Washington, D.C., is the main spine of the National Zoo, where the roads cross. There's a clock there, there's food, you see three generations of people, you can eat and shop and you're in an attractive setting."
—McNulty

"Often we think of plazas as being hardscapes, but a plaza can be soft, as well; one designs the 'bones,' which are the hardscape underneath, and then overlays it with ravishing plants."
—Van Sweden

Chidister: But they would have to be in the public domain.

Moore: You can't see a protest going on in the IDS Building in Minneapolis. You cannot even see, actually, somebody behaving poorly in there.

McNulty: When you began with the word plaza, I was imagining a paved Italian setting. Now we're getting into the fact that, as Arthur said, the plaza in Washington, D.C., is the Mall. There are other places, too. Maybe the beach could be a plaza in a setting, if that was the center of this definition. I was in France last week, visiting a number of small provincial towns, where the plazas were always dirt. They're packed brick dust, never paved. I'm wondering why more American cities don't have plazas of this sort—not of gravel or dirt, but something that drains well, where you can put up the circus tents or pavilions.

Francis: One of the problems we have in making successful plazas or public spaces is that we tend to start from a physically based definition rather than first looking to public life and public culture. I think you could argue that the true American plaza today is the Burger King or the 7-Eleven in many communities. So another way to approach it is to discover why people go to public spaces or to plazas—what is it they seek out?

I was at Western Plaza in downtown Washington, D.C., yesterday. There were clear intentions to provide what the public would like, in terms of what was going to take place there, when they designed it. What I found was six skateboarders having a wonderful time. The only physical change that had been made, other than putting in a lot of little chairs to bring in more life, was signs that said, "No skateboarding—government property." So there's clearly a poor fit between the designer's and manager's intentions of what should happen in a public space and the actual use. This happens much too often in the design of public space.

Moore: It has been renamed, by the way. It's now Freedom Plaza, which of course solves all of its problems. Freedom Plaza or Western Plaza, it's a plaza everybody loves to hate, and I think that it is a case in which a

little greenery would have helped a lot. I think that one of the things that Mark touched on when he talked about Burger King and 7-Elevens, is that the plazas which we like so much in Europe often have a lot of commercialism. I was raised for a while in Florence. The Piazza della Republica was always more attractive than the Piazza della Signoria, but there were two cafes in the Piazza Signoria. You went to the one which got the right sun at the right time. But the commercial life is very important, too. Freedom Plaza is kind of divorced from that.

Van Sweden: The roads cut it off, too.

Rabben: In southern California many public places relate to shopping centers. Some of those places have a very successful kind of public atmosphere even though they're private developments. The more of these kinds of developments that you see, the more quality and care are being put into the public aspect of those places; commercialism definitely is a generator of that. But beyond that, there are other things occurring there that are becoming more successful in terms of use. There are string quartets, art shows, other kinds of more public-related activities.

Francis: The '60s and the environmental and civil rights movements marked a major shift in public life in this country. We started to come out and use public space. Americans were not always comfortable in using public space, but in the '60s the street became important—protest, food, music, various ingredients of public life started to take root. I think that's part of why people may have a greater appetite for public space now. But, as was pointed out, a lot of it is still recreational shopping.

Chidister: In the Midwest in the 1940s and earlier, the courthouse square was very much a public gathering place where people would do all their shopping, banking, business, take care of any legal matters at the courthouse. Those places were truly public, not only in the sense of socializing or seeing people that they didn't get to see every day, but also they were political places for arguing. They were also a commercial center, a spatial focus, a religious center. Often they did have that kind of centrality that we associate with the Italian piazza.

Moore: A large part of America is now places like Rockville Pike. Here, people are daily caught in traffic jams, talking on their cellular phones—that's the way many Americans spend their lives. But I still think that everybody would like to walk up and down a beautiful place, or go to a beautiful place, and I think that Americans will gravitate to it. A lot of it has to do with the incentive of going there, the attractions as well as how it is designed.

Francis: I think there's a real problem in

"I see plazas as what Jan Gehl calls the 'life between buildings'—the space between buildings. What form they take depends on the context of what's around them."
—Francis

"I wonder if it's the public's desire to be brought together."
—Chidister

"A lot of it has to do with the incentive to go to a plaza, the attractions as well as how it is designed."
—Moore

American life now in terms of how people spend time. If you look at the concept of leisure, and if you look at the kinds of activities that we're trying to promote—walking, sitting, spending time in a place, watching other people, talking to people—those are things not many of us have time to do. That worries me, in terms of how we can build in those kinds of activities as natural parts of daily life.

Moore: I have a theory about different times in life. A minister friend of mine talks about life as hatching, matching and dispatching. The hatchers are out in the suburbs, making children, and they have no interest in these gathering places. But the matchers, people trying to meet other people, they're interested in the Georgetowns, in places where there are a lot of people, because they go on dates. That's a young crowd. And then there's the post-hatchers, worrying about being dispatched, who have a great interest in coming back to the cities because they want some of that sex appeal that was a part of their early life when they were matching. So I think that there are people who will not come and there are those who will. They are the people who will enjoy it, who need to interact with other people. There is a clientele out there for these public plazas, but it's not everybody.

McNulty: My best example of a public plaza in Washington, D.C., is the main spine of the National Zoo, where the roads cross. There's a clock there, there's food, you see three generations of people, there's neutrality, there's no hostility, you can eat and shop, and again, you're in an attractive setting. Shopping has been replaced by attractions.

The one thing Arthur left out was children. Most urban plazas are magnets for families bringing children, because children like to look at other children and families like to look at children having fun with other children. And so a family gathering place that's safe is almost an essential urban plaza element, where your kids can run wild without too much worry about traffic or about them disappearing in the shrubbery.

Chidister: In one vein I agree with you totally about your hatchers, matchers and dispatchers. I would suggest that public life is very prevalent. It's just that it's in places that we don't normally associate with plazas in the broadest sense of the label, and in settings that maybe don't have any spatial connotation at all. The PTA meeting is probably the most public place that I go to right now.

Van Sweden: Then, this is a plaza, right here.

Moore: Yes, but a conference room is not really a plaza—although I think a playground certainly is a hatcher's plaza.

Chidister: As designers, we have this notion that public life only happens in public spaces

in the way we define them, in plazas and parks. Yet public life in this country doesn't happen that way any more. The plaza's been broken into little pieces and dispersed over a variety of settings, some of them indoors, some of them outdoors, some of them public, some of them not so public; there's a much more complex structure to public life.

Francis: It's interesting when you look at who's using the plazas. A lot of them are people excluded from other kinds of spaces. For example, here in Washington, the plaza is home for homeless people, or sometimes lower-income people. The kind of people that we're trying to attract to the plazas—the nesters or the hatchers or the matchers—they don't want to see that part. We have not addressed successfully the problem that different publics perceive space differently.

Chidister: The history of American cities for a hundred years has been to move away from that heterogeneous situation into homogeneous enclaves. For us as designers to say, "We're going to design spaces to run counter to history for the last hundred years," is a little bit presumptuous.

Rabben: We have been involved since 1986 as a member of the design team for Pershing Square, which hasn't been built yet. One of the central concepts of our design was bringing together the cultural, the topographical and the floral diversity of Los Angeles, putting that into a conceptual framework for Pershing Square where all those groups could come together. The design was specifically related to the place, the cultural diversity and the desire to bring those groups together.

Chidister: Whose desire?

Rabben: The desire of the design team, I think, the selection committee, the public officials involved in the process.

Chidister: I wonder if it's the public's desire, though, to be brought together.

McNulty: I don't see anything wrong with clever people using legitimate strategies to create mutual gathering places. You have to create those focal points. The best one I can recommend is the Baltimore Harbor, as a neutral gathering place where the diverse neighborhoods that disliked each other intensely could agree to put away their hostilities once a year and gather for a celebration....

Another aspect that we haven't mentioned is public liability law. Any time you want to design a really creative public space, you'd better not have any place where someone could drown, impale themselves or break a leg. I would say the real constraint on good design is the tendency of Americans to sue.

Moore: We face this issue all the time, particularly talking about water. I once actually had to put a railing around a reflecting pool that was two inches deep.

"There are many beautiful little public open spaces, but a plaza has a larger connotation in terms of its scale and relationship to a group of buildings."
—Rabben

"Any time you want to design a really creative public space, you'd better not have any place where someone could drown, impale themselves, or break a leg."
—McNulty

"A plaza has to be part of the fabric of the city."
—Van Sweden

Rabben: I was recently in Mexico City and the streets were just swarming with people, but there were no railings anywhere. People are responsible for their actions, and they're not necessarily going to sue you because they trip over a stair or fall into a pool.

Chidister: But how can we deal with the liability issue? How can a designer be innovative and forge ahead?

McNulty: I haven't the slightest idea. More and more of society is being designed to the lowest common denominator because of public liability and the propensity to sue. It really is grinding down a lot of creative opportunities.

Van Sweden: At private lily pools now we're putting a grid just under the water, if there are young children. You see it, but the lilies can come up and even the fish come up above, and then the kid can fall in just a couple inches of water. My best friend has a little girl, and the first thing she did was fall on the grid, so we figured it was worth it. When she grows up, they'll take it out, but it's actually very interesting, it's a nice pattern under the water.

Rabben: So there are some solutions.

Chidister: How can designers plan for the sense of safety for women, old people, kids? I think one of the things that William Whyte brings up in his study of plazas in New York is visibility. When plazas are sunken or raised or when they have some kind of a boundary around them, they become invisible. They become potentially dangerous places or perceived as threatening places. So that being able to be seen by as many people in the vicinity is really important.

McNulty: Some cities like Seattle set up kids' advisory committees to audit new developments in the city from the point of view of young people. That's now moved to Sacramento and about seven other cities that have kids as advisors who critique a new design, particularly things that would be open spaces or gathering places for kids.

Moore: A real public plaza has got to have an attraction, it's got to have a basic raison d'etre that is going to bring people. Once you bring people, I think you're halfway home to the protection thing.

Chidister: Can the plaza itself be the attraction?

Moore: I don't think so. We've seen too many examples of that. I have a collection of slides of really super-dead plazas. Some day the ASLA ought to do an issue on really bad plazas, really deadly things where clearly somebody said, "Why don't I put a plaza here."

Van Sweden: It has to be part of the fabric of the city.

Moore: You've got to have a real attraction. I go back to the commercial touch, unless you have a zoo. A panda is a slam-dunk great attraction, and a river is too.

Rabben: Arthur, I agree with you, but I also believe that a plaza can embody meaning and spirit for its own sake, and that can be a real attraction. I don't think there are very many in this country, but I do think there are many uncaptured possibilities.

Van Sweden: Can you name a couple?

Rabben: Paley Park is one, the "plaza" in my home town of Sonoma, California, is another.

Francis: I think this is a very exciting period. Because of all this ambivalence about plazas, we're redesigning them. Copley Square in Boston and the mall on K Street in Sacramento have been completely redone based on updated, more people-oriented designs. So what we're seeing is development of a more truly American form of plaza or public space. It's part European square, part park, and it's even part garden. I think the garden as a plaza is quite possible now because of the popularity of plants and gardening. I'd like to find a corporate client who would be interested in having us design a garden in a plaza, where office workers garden in the plaza and have a sense of involvement and ownership.

Van Sweden: You can do that in a housing area where people live and garden.

Francis: You could also do it in a work environment. There are already some corporate landscapes where people go out at lunchtime and on weekends to garden.

"One of the problems we have in making successful plazas or public spaces is that we tend to start from a physically based definition rather than first looking to public life and public culture. I think you could argue that the true American plaza today in many communities is the Burger King or the 7-Eleven."
—Francis

Van Sweden: At the Federal Reserve Board, the employees love the garden. I give lectures there once a year. We expected 40 people the first time and 400 showed up.

Francis: The designer is often in a difficult situation because the starting point we often begin with is a solution, not the problem. The client comes to us wanting an entrance to a building, an open space, and we're not always given the opportunity to say, "Really, what is the problem here?" or asked to look at the broader context. I think that the spaces that fail are the ones where designers rushed too quickly to fill up the space with benches and trees. The ones that are more successful are the ones where the designer starts to look more broadly, to educate the client and say, "Well, you know, there's no food in this neighborhood. If we put food here, even a hot dog pushcart, that will help bring people to the plaza. There are homeless people who live nearby, they're going to come in and use this space. We need to address that somehow." When we approach it that way, I think we can make a more meaningful and lasting contribution. ■