Sustaining Urban Excellence

Learning from the ***Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence***

1987–1993

Bruner Foundation, Inc.

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130 Prospect Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
Tel: 617-492-8404
Fax: 617-876-4002

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1987–1993

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Jay Farbstein, PhD, FAIA, Jay Farbstein & Associates

Robert Shibley, AIA, AICP, School or Architecture and Planning, SUNY Buffalo

Polly Welch, Center for Housing Innovation, University of Oregon

Richard Wener, PhD, Dept. of Environmental Psychology, Polytechnic University

with Emily H. Axelrod, Director, Rudy Bruner Award

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Preface

Our idealism is put to the test in these days when our cities have become symbols of despair. But there are signs of hope. Since 1987, the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence has sought to identify and to recognize urban places which, often against insurmountable odds, have made major contributions to the quality of life in American cities. Time and again we at the Bruner Foundation have watched people do the impossible: transform their neighborhoods and cities—even regions—through innovative, cooperative, effort.

Those places that succeed draw their power from diverse perspectives: neighborhood groups attempting to improve the quality of life in their communities; developers and designers seeking to achieve economic and aesthetic objectives; and government leaders promoting sound planning and growth policies. For the past twelve years, the Rudy Bruner Award (RBA) has sought to honor those developments which demonstrate the complementary interaction of these perspectives, and successfully reconcile the often competing financial, visual and social values inherent in the development process. The projects celebrated by the Rudy Bruner Award are socially supportive, aesthetically pleasing, and economically viable urban places; the Award has brought recognition to these achievements. At the conclusion of each award cycle, a publication detailing the winners and finalists encourages others to understand and adapt the thinking that has contributed to their success.

Between 1987 and 1993, in the initial four award cycles, twenty one projects were celebrated by the Rudy Bruner Award either as finalists or as winners. In each cycle, finalists were selected from 70–90 entries and were the subject of extensive site visits by representatives of the Bruner Foundation. At the conclusion of the site visits, the Selection Committee, all prominent players on the urban scene, met to select the winners. The Selection Committee members come from varied backgrounds relating to urban policy and development. They are involved in public service, elected politics, community organizing, professional design, and the financial community, and bring a variety of perspectives to bear on the process.

While each of the finalists and winners clearly represented innovation and success at the time of their recognition by the Rudy Bruner Award, time is the ultimate test of success. As the Award cycle proceeded, therefore, it became important to ask:

- How have these urban places withstood the test of time?
- How have they evolved in the face of changing circumstances?
- What do these places have to teach us when viewed as a whole?

In order to answer these questions, the Bruner Foundation, in 1995, submitted a proposal to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for support in documenting long-term changes in the places represented by winners and finalists. The proposal to HUD stated that "change over time is always an important measure of success in the environment, but one only rarely documented systematically. "The Rudy Bruner Award process, and the existence of the group of projects represented by winners and finalists offered a unique opportunity to investigate projects' success over time and to answer questions about their long-term survival.

HUD did grant support to the Bruner Foundation for this effort. The HUD grant made it possible for inter-disciplinary teams consisting of Bruner Foundation representatives, representatives from 1995 finalists, HUD staff, former Selection Committee and Advisory Committee members, and in one case, a representatives from the U.S.... Public Health Service to re-visit each of 21 sites for one day to examine how they had fared in the years since their designation by the RBA. In addition, it made possible three regional meetings involving representatives from HUD, former finalists and winners, and Bruner Foundation staff in which these questions were discussed and examined.

This report documents the findings of the site visits and the resulting analysis. It should be noted that within the text of the case studies, authors have referenced and quoted from related Bruner Foundation publications, which are cited in this report in the section entitled "The Rudy Bruner Award." As part of the revisiting process, we have also learned more about the impact of the RBA on winners and finalists. In some cases, the award has provided credibility for projects which were initially seen as vulnerable; in other cases it has provided impetus for the funding of ongoing operations and/or new phases of project expansion. In addition, the RBA has been credited with re-focusing attention on the importance of quality design, with adding credence to the importance of creating new opportunities for in-city living, and with helping to elevate selected projects to serve as models for other projects throughout the country. The publication of the case studies at the conclusion of the RBA process has proved an effective way to disseminate information on the experience and creative thinking inherent in the winners and finalists.

The ultimate purpose of this investigation has been to distill the critical components of long-term success in creating urban excellence. It is hoped that this understanding, with special attention to those components that have withstood the test of time, will be useful for policy development.

The need to identify innovative urban places and to celebrate the invaluable contribution they make to cities has not diminished. The Rudy Bruner Award remains committed to this goal. We believe that looking closely at exemplary projects and trying to learn from them optimizes our opportunity to build upon the successes of the past and helps us avoid the pitfalls of previous failures. We are extremely grateful to the former Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, and to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and its staff members who worked with us on this effort. As we look closely at these projects, at the personal commitment and innovative approaches they represent, we are indeed optimistic.

–Simeon Bruner,
Bruner Foundation, Inc.

Executive Summary

This report describes the conclusions drawn from revisits to 21 urban places which were selected between 1987 and 1995, as winners and finalists in the first five award cycles of the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence (RBA). The revisits were supported jointly by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research, and by the Bruner Foundation. The purpose of the revisits was to explore how these urban places have withstood the test of time, how they have evolved in the face of changing circumstances, and what they have to teach us. Major conclusions are summarized below, and explained and supported in the body of the report. It is our hope that the findings and conclusions drawn from these visits will be useful for future policy development.

Transitions

From the self-conscious to the un-self-conscious:

- The organization of information, ideas, and constituencies to implement a project is often not the same organization that is necessary to sustain the place that emerges after the project is occupied. So, in order to effect a successful transition between project development and long term occupancy, consider clearly defining the stages of transition between the necessarily self-conscious dynamics of project implementation and the often more un-self-conscious dynamics of sustaining a place.

Growing the goals and Changing the Rules:

- Managing places often involves adjusting intentions and operation to meet new demands, clientele and surrounding circumstances. In some circumstances this adjustment may require redefining what constitutes error in the interests of service to a broader public good. Many of the RBA finalists and winners who were revisited in 1996 revealed a strong tendency to either adjust or completely redefine their goals as circumstances evolved. Framing project goals in a manner that enables them to shift to meet new circumstance is a critical element in sustaining good places.

Leadership Succession:

- As part of the transition from self-conscious projects to un-self-conscious places, and as part of the growth of goals and changing the rules, issues of leadership succession often emerge. Sometimes the leadership that creates a project is able to see the need for these transitions and sometimes they are not. In addition, the leadership that initiates a project is often highly focused and centralized, while the leadership required to sustain a good place tends to be more diffused and shared in a manner that promotes broad commitment to continued maintenance.

Participatory Democracy at Work

- When a group of people perceive a shared problem or goal and organize themselves to take action in relation to a situation or place, their recognition by public decision makers as a force to be reckoned with gives credibility to their network and mission. Inclusion of the group in the placemaking process further strengthens the potential power of its constituents by building their political knowledge and expertise. These empowered constituencies or individual members have become valuable civic resources in subsequent placemaking.
- The original members, sometimes founders, of constituencies play an important role in representing the goals and values of the original placemaking activities to newcomers. This proves to be especially valuable when places are faced with the prospect of change.

- Some constituencies, after initial visible action, became virtually invisible supporters of places. Place managers sometimes are not aware of the depth of affiliation the average citizen feels towards an urban place until something threatens the essential and predictable nature of that setting or the values that it represents to people.
- Virtually every RBA project has been and continues to be the beneficiary of constituency support. The places that were born from constituency efforts seem to place the greatest value on maintaining this broad connection to community.

The Public and Private Sectors and Their Role in Community Development

- The level of collaboration among people and organizations from public, not-for-profit, and private, profit-making sectors is striking among RBA finalists. Even in cases where people from one organization or sector played a dominant role, there are virtually no situations in which cooperation and support across sectors was not present and usually critical for success.
- Although governments would seem to be the most stable of organizations, those projects that are most heavily reliant on public policy and funding are also those that seem to be at the greatest risk in the near future (because of possible shifts in policy and funding priorities.) The only two projects that have not been significantly implemented as of this writing, (Beyond Homelessness and the Brooklyn Queens Greenway), are also almost totally dependent on direct government action.
- Those few projects that have succeeded on funds primarily from profit-making enterprises have been able to do so largely because they are in the unique position of having access to scarce and unique resources, in the form of valuable urban locations.
- Several not-for-profits have demonstrated a new and useful model of obtaining independence and greater freedom of operation by creating profit-making operations, (which in and of themselves are performing valuable services to the community), whose proceeds are used to support other activities within the organization.
- While total dependence on government policy and funding may be a liability, government remains a critical partner in most community development efforts. While there are some cases where regulations or bureaucratic red tape represent obstacles to be overcome, in most cases these agencies and staff are supportive and often essential elements of success. Critical support can come in the form of advocacy, advice, and regulatory oversight.

Qualities of the Successful Place

- The design process should be treated with attention equal to other decisions (such as funding or political approvals.). While not always the most important factor, design can be critical to the success of a place.
- Residents and citizens care a great deal about the qualities of urban places. These places have powerful meanings for them and those meanings are often conveyed, expressed, and even symbolized by the physical characteristics of the place. Preserving and adapting older buildings provides a sense of continuity of experience and memory which helps us to understand and relate to the city. It helps bring meaning to urban life.
- Sufficient construction funds must be provided to allow the setting to support the people and activities, and to last for a long time. The early decision to use quality materials represents a long term investment and commitment to the quality of the place. While costs must be controlled, cutting the wrong corners can be deleterious to achieving key project objectives.

Just as materials and systems must be of a high enough quality to last, sufficient provisions must be made for ongoing maintenance. If deterioration or graffiti are allowed to persist, a downward cycle is reinforced that can kill a project.

- Places evolve over time. The best places are flexible enough to support these changes or allow alterations to cope with them. These places also age gracefully, developing a lushness of plantings or patina of materials which their users appreciate.

In Conclusion

- Simple replication of these projects' designs or processes would be inappropriate, in that it would ignore or omit the contextual elements that make each place special. On the other hand, the lessons here can be used if they instruct about what it may be possible to achieve with creativity and commitment, the types of issues to take into account, strategies for inclusion or early action, a creative financing method that might fit, or even a design approach that has a promising application.

The Rudy Bruner Award

The Rudy Bruner Award, (RBA), was established in 1987 to explore what constitutes excellence in urban environments. Now in its sixth bi-annual award cycle, the RBA seeks to identify and reward excellent urban places while serving as a forum for debating urban issues and the nature of urban excellence. The Rudy Bruner Award is a non-traditional award. Some features that distinguish the RBA from other award programs are: its broadly representative selection committee, which is invited to serve for one award cycle, and is composed of community representatives, elected officials, public administrators, design professionals and developers; the application process, which requires statements from a range of affected parties; the in-depth 2-3 day site visits to each finalist; and the $50,000 award to each winner.

Consistent with the commitment of the Bruner Foundation to learning from the RBA, each cycle of the award has culminated in the publication of a book that describes that year's winner and finalists in depth, and documents the reasons for their selection. The first five books are:

- Urban Excellence, by Philip Langdon with Robert Shibley and Polly Welch, published by Van Nostrand Reinhold in 1990.
- Breakthroughs: Re-creating the American City, by Neil Peirce and Robert Guskind, published by the Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University in 1993.
- Connections: Creating Urban Excellence, by Jay Farbstein and Richard Wener, published by the Bruner Foundation in 1992.
- Rebuilding Communities: Re-Creating Urban Excellence, by Jay Farbstein and Richard Wener, published by the Bruner Foundation in 1993.
- Building Coalitions for Urban Excellence, by Jay Farbstein and Richard Wener, published by the Bruner Foundation in 1997.

At the culmination of the 1997 award cycle, a sixth book will be published, documenting the 1997 winners and finalists.

A copy of any past Rudy Bruner Award submission is available on microfiche from the Interlibrary Loan Department of the Lockwood Memorial Library at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Amherst, NY 14260, and efforts are now being made to make applications available on the Internet.[1]

Criteria For Submission

The Rudy Bruner Award creates a framework for the debate about urban excellence and the submissions furnish real examples to be discussed. The Foundation intentionally does not pre-define urban excellence or criteria for urban excellence. Rather, the debate is framed by the call for submissions, the nature of the projects, and the interactions of the selection committee members in the review process. Ideas of excellence emerge from the selection committee debate and discussion. In general submissions are considered on the following basis:

- **Product**: The project has to be a real place, not just a plan. Excellent planning is likely to contribute to creation of an excellent place—but a plan alone is not enough. The place must exist and must be able to demonstrate its excellence in action (not just in theory or in anticipation). It will also be considered in terms of how well the project meets its own goals. Is it a successful integration of competing development pressures?
- **Process**: Is the process one that takes full advantage of informed perspectives?
- **Values**: What is the value system that has governed decision-making, including the compromises and tradeoffs inherent in the development process?

Consistent with the RBA's commitment to learning, innovation, and discovery, specific criteria of excellence are derived from the places themselves. It is inherent in the nature of the award that there are no explicit criteria applied to each application or that must be met to qualify as a winner or finalist. In this way, each award cycle represents a re-commitment to discovery and to the celebration of the process of creating urban excellence.

Selection Committee

The Bruner Foundation is extremely proud of its history of participation in the RBA by a distinguished group of urban experts, community activists, design professionals, financiers, politicians, and philanthropists who have volunteered their services as selection committee members. Past and present selection committee members, (titles pertaining at time of service), have included:

The 1995 Selection Committee at work.

1997 Selection Committee

Robert Curvin, Vice President for Communications, Ford Foundation, New York

Roberta Feldman, Ph.D., Co-Director, City Design Center, University of Illinois, Chicago

Susan Rice, former Sr. Vice President of Fleet Bank, New York

Hon. Kurt Schmoke, Mayor of Baltimore

Robert Weinberg, President, Market Place Development, Boston

1995 Selection Committee

Bart Harvey, President of The Enterprise Foundation, Columbia, MD

Msgr. William Linder, Executive Director of the New Community Corporation in Newark, NJ, Co-winner of the 1993 Rudy Bruner Award

Norman Rice, Mayor of Seattle

Susan Saegert, Professor of Environmental Psychology at the Graduate School of the City University of New York

Sharon Sutton, FAIA, Professor of Architecture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Alexander Tzonis, Professor of Architecture at the Technical University of Delft in the Netherlands

1993 Selection Committee

Sara Bode, President, Honey Tree Learning Center, Chicago

Denise Fairchild, former director, Local Initiative Support Corporation New York

Harvey Gantt, former Mayor, Charlotte, NC

Ed McNamara, former director, Neighborhood Partnership Fund, Portland, OR

Frank Sanchis, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington DC

Robert Somer, Department of Environmental Design, University of California at Davis

1991 Selection Committee

Gwendolyn Clemons, Director of Planning & Development for Cook County, IL

Lawrence Halprin, Lawrence Halprin Studio, San Francisco
Tony Hiss, formerly with *The New Yorker,* New York
Joseph McNeely, President, The Development Training Institute, Baltimore
Adele Naude Santos, Adele Naude Santos Architects, Philadelphia
Vincent Schoemehl, former Mayor, St. Louis

1989 Selection Committee

Mary Decker, First National Bank of Chicago
George E. Hartman, Jr., Hartman-Cox Architects, Washington DC
David Lawrence, Sr. Vice President, Gerald Hines Interests
Neal Peirce, *The National Journal*, Washington DC
Pamela Plum, former Mayor, Portland, OR, former Chairman, National League of Cities
Joseph Riley, Mayor of Charleston, SC
Anna Whinston Spirn, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Pennsylvania
Aaron Zaretsky, Grove Arcade Public Market Foundation, Ashville, NC

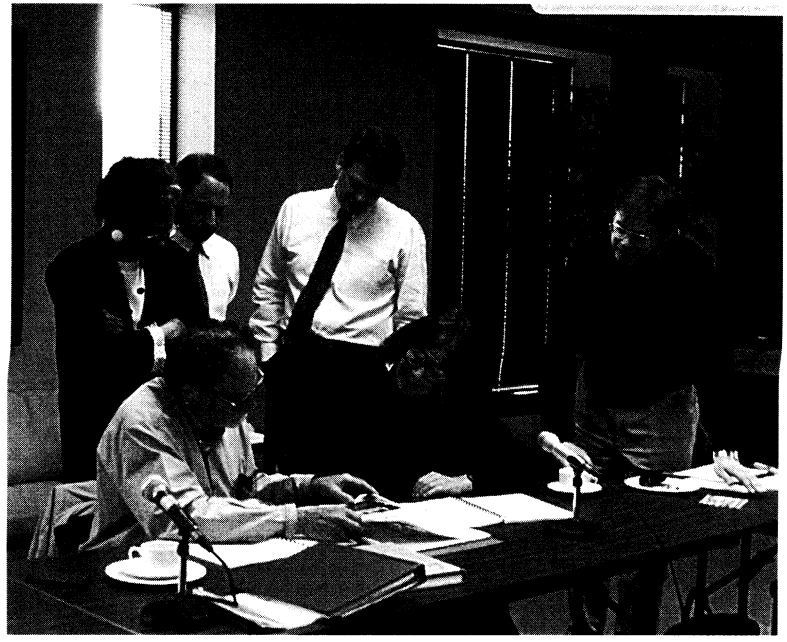
1987 Selection Committee

Claire Cooper Marcus, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of California at Berkeley
Vernon George, President, Hammer, Silver & George Assoc., Silver Spring, MD
Cressworth Lander, former Director, Department of Human and Community Development, Tucson, AZ
George Latimer, former Mayor, St. Paul, MN
Theodore Liebman, Liebman Melting Partnership, New York
William Whyte, American Conservation Association, New York

Members of the 1993 Selection Committee: Hon. Harvey Gantt, Sara Bode, Denise Fairchild.

The Selection Process

In the context of the broad mandate from the Bruner Foundation, each selection committee has two tasks. The first task, which takes place at the January meeting, is to review all applications submitted, usually between 70 and 90 in number, and to select five or six as RBA finalists. It is at this time that the broad eligibility criteria are considered in relation to the applications, and at this time that the selection committee has the opportunity to identify projects and places that may broaden the definition of urban excellence. These finalists are then visited by representatives of the Bruner Foundation who spend two to three days at each site, and conduct an in-depth analysis of each place, including investigation into any outstanding questions or concerns raised by the selection committee. At the second meeting, selection committee members review the five finalist places in light of the site team visits. The selection committee then selects a winner.



The 1991 Selection Committee at work.

Site Visits

To learn how the places really work, the Bruner Foundation visits each finalist between the two Selection Committee meetings. These visits are not quick walk-throughs, but last about three days, generally including part of a weekend. The site team serves as the selection committee's eyes and ears, touring all parts of the project, interviewing 15 to 25 participants, taking photographs, and observing patterns of use. In addition, it is the responsibility of the site team to address any questions or concerns raised by the selection committee in its initial review of the projects.

The Winner and Finalists

The site visit findings are presented at the second selection committee meeting in a working document entitled "Site Visit Report." At the culmination of a vigorous debate, the committee selects an outstanding project as winner. At each cycle the winner receives a $50,000 award and the five finalists receive $1,000. Past finalists and winners include:

1997 Sixth Cycle (Award Cycle In Progress)
Finalist: Cleveland Historic Warehouse District, Cleveland, OH
Finalist: Project Row Houses, Houston, TX
Finalist: Center in the Square, Roanoke, VA
Finalist: The Times Square, New York, NY
Finalist: Hismen Hin-nu (Sun Gate) Terrace, Oakland, CA

1995 Fifth Cycle
Winner: Maya Angelou Community Initiative, Portland, OR
Finalist: Campus Circle, Milwaukee, WI
Finalist: Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Boston, MA
Finalist: Greenpoint Manufacturing and Design Center, Brooklyn, NY
Finalist: Harlem Meer, New York, NY
Finalist: Lowertown, Saint Paul, MN

1993: Fourth Cycle
Co-Winner: Harbor Point, Boston, MA
Co-Winner: New Community Corporation, Newark, NJ
Finalist: Betts-Longworth Historic District, Cincinnati, OH
Finalist: Beyond Homelessness, San Francisco, CA
Finalist: The Park at Post Office Square, Boston, MA

1991: Third Cycle
Winner: Greenmarket, New York, NY
Finalist: Brooklyn-Queens Greenway, New York, NY
Finalist: Ocean Drive Improvement Project, Miami Beach, FL
Finalist: Roslindale Village Main Street, Boston, MA
Finalist: West Clinton Action Plan, Portland, OR

1989: Second Cycle
Winner: Tenant Interim Leasing Program, New York, NY
Finalist: Southwest Corridor Project, Boston, MA
Finalist: Stowe Recreation Path, Stowe, VT
Finalist: Radial Reuse Project, Lincoln, NE
Finalist: Downtown Plan, Portland, OR
Finalist: Cabrillo Village, Saticoy, CA

1987: First Cycle
Winner: Pike Place Market, Seattle, WA
Finalist: Casa Rita, South Bronx, NY
Finalist: Quality Hill, Kansas City, MO
Finalist: Fairmount Health Center, Philadelphia, PA
Finalist: Saint Francis Square, San Francisco, CA

In choosing the finalists, most selection committees have made a deliberate effort to find projects which address the range of critical urban issues. In some cases, the projects are selected because of their participatory process, in other cases because of the innovative methods used, and in still others because they represent solutions to problems common to many cities (such as how an urban university can deal appropriately with its surroundings, how jobs can be created or retained in the city, or how the older edges of downtown can be restored. In all cases projects are deemed to have created places which contribute to urban excellence.

1993 Rudy Bruner Award presentation at HUD, with Senator John Kerry, and HUD Secretary Cisneros.

The Award Presentation

The award presentations have been held at a variety of locations. Most recently, in August 1995, the presentation was held at a special breakfast meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Mayors in Seattle, Washington. The meeting, attended by about 40 mayors and the Secretary of HUD, Henry Cisneros, was lead by selection committee member Mayor Norman Rice, then Chair of the Conference. The format included a brief slide presentation on each project and remarks by representatives of the winning projects. Though the statements were brief, some very important messages were conveyed. They included the importance of the city role in fostering projects, and the need for continuity across political administrations.

The mayors expressed their appreciation of the presentation. Their comments indicated that the multiplicity and diversity of outstanding projects, particularly ones with rather modest budgets like most of the 1995 finalists, was very impressive. The mayors seemed to be inspired by what was possible, and encouraged to nurture projects in their cities.

Conclusion

The Bruner Foundation is proud of what the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence has achieved in its short history. As the award process continues, it also evolves. The understanding of urban excellence is broadened and deepened with each award cycle, and as the list of winners and finalists grows, our analysis of each project provides an ever-widening base of knowledge which becomes available to government, cities, professionals, development organizations, and universities across the country.[2] Our goal at the Bruner Foundation, through the Rudy Bruner Award, is to continue to learn and to develop a dynamic and creative vision of the nature of urban excellence.

Endnote

1 See Schneekloth, Lynda and Robert Shibley, *Placemaking: The Art and Science of building Communities*, NY: John Wiley & Sons (1995) for a chapter based on research in the Bruner Archive and on Shibley's experience as a site visitor. See also Shibley, Robert and Polly Welch, "Excellence in the Urban Environment: Building on Conflicts and Agreements...Preliminary Findings from a Review of the Rudy Bruner Award Program," in *Urban Land*, Washington, DC: The Urban Land Institute, September, 1990.

2 See Lefaivre, Liane, "The Value of Community," in *Design Book Review*, Berkeley, CA, Winter 1996/1997; and Lefaivre, Leane, "The Rudy Bruner Award: the community and the other America," in *Casabella*, Milan, Italy, October 1995

Report Methodology

The analysis presented in this report is based upon the re-visiting of twenty one places by representatives of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and of the Bruner Foundation. Each of the 21 places visited was previously selected as a Rudy Bruner Award (RBA) winner or finalist in one of the four award cycles which occurred between 1987 and 1993. The purpose of re-visiting each site was, in broad terms, to measure their success over time. Consistent with the philosophy of the RBA, site visit teams intended to examine how well the projects sustained themselves over time, and what they had done to remain successful. The teams did not rely upon a set of explicit measurements or criteria to be applied to the project. Site visitors attempted to determine which strategies have been most successful in meeting project goals, which have had to be changed or altered, and to identify the potential policy implications of these findings.

The sites selected as RBA winners between 1987 and 1993 are not easily categorized. Consistent with the inclusive approach of the Rudy Bruner Award, they are wide-ranging in character and size, diverse in specific origins and goals, and geographically distributed across the country. Their funding sources have been varied as have their relationships with government and the private sector. For purposes of analysis, however, the visiting teams identified three themes that were critical to all sites: impact of physical place, the nature of the process by which the place came into being and by which they are managed, and explicit values that underlie the physical character of the place and the social processes that sustain it. Findings pertaining to these three themes were the organizing elements of the site visits and of the Lessons Learned section of this report.

The site visits followed a consistent format. The site visit teams met ahead of time to establish the questions to be asked at each site, and to review the site's history. Once on site, interviews were held individually with those directly involved in the project and with groups of interested parties. Where possible, the site team held a closing interview at the site with the local contact person to answer any questions about procedure. The site and adjacent neighborhoods were also toured. The questions to be answered by the site visits were as follows:

- Is the project still excellent? Have things improved or deteriorated since the last assessment? How have demographic shifts contributed to any changes?
- Has the project demonstrated "sustainability"?
- What changes have taken place in the lead organization(s) and the leadership? Has succession occurred? If so, what has been the effect? Are the same people still there or have new players been incorporated and/or taken over? What effect have these changes had on the project? Are the same levels of energy, enthusiasm and commitment still there?
- Have strategies for identifying problems and making decisions changed? Are they still inclusive? How are conflicts resolved? Has power shifted?
- What issues, challenges, or crises have arisen in the intervening years and how has the project/organization dealt with them? What issues are being faced now and/or are anticipated in the (near) future?
- What changes have occurred in the physical environment? Has there been evolution, completion of planned elements, changes to physical plans, general improvement or deterioration? Is there a management plan/program that is effective in keeping physical conditions maintained? What plans are in place for the future?
- Are the positive social benefits of the project, or those that were foreseen, still or actually accruing? Who is benefiting?

Are people groups still empowered?

- What financial or economic changes have taken place? Is the project more or less viable than it was? Are funds available as needed for maintenance and operations? Have the social/economic benefits that were foreseen or promised actually materialized? Are debts being paid off or mounting? Are individual user participants or businesses surviving?

It is important to note that, consistent with the approach used to select RBA winners and finalists, no set of pre-established criteria or bottom line measures was applied to the revisits. Rather, as in the original selection process, the team remained determined to discover and explore different innovative methods by which the projects have sustained themselves over time, and which in and of themselves might provide further opportunities for learning about the nature of urban excellence.

Prior to each site visit, an archive of historical material on each project was reviewed. These included the 20–50 page application initially filed for each place; the extensive site visit reports developed by the Bruner Foundation after the initial 3–4 day site visit, the questions, comments and conclusions of the selection committee that reviewed each site, and the subsequent publications concerning each cycle of the Award. The 5–10 individuals who completed the original application submissions were mailed their statements, informed of the impending re-visits, and invited to comment.

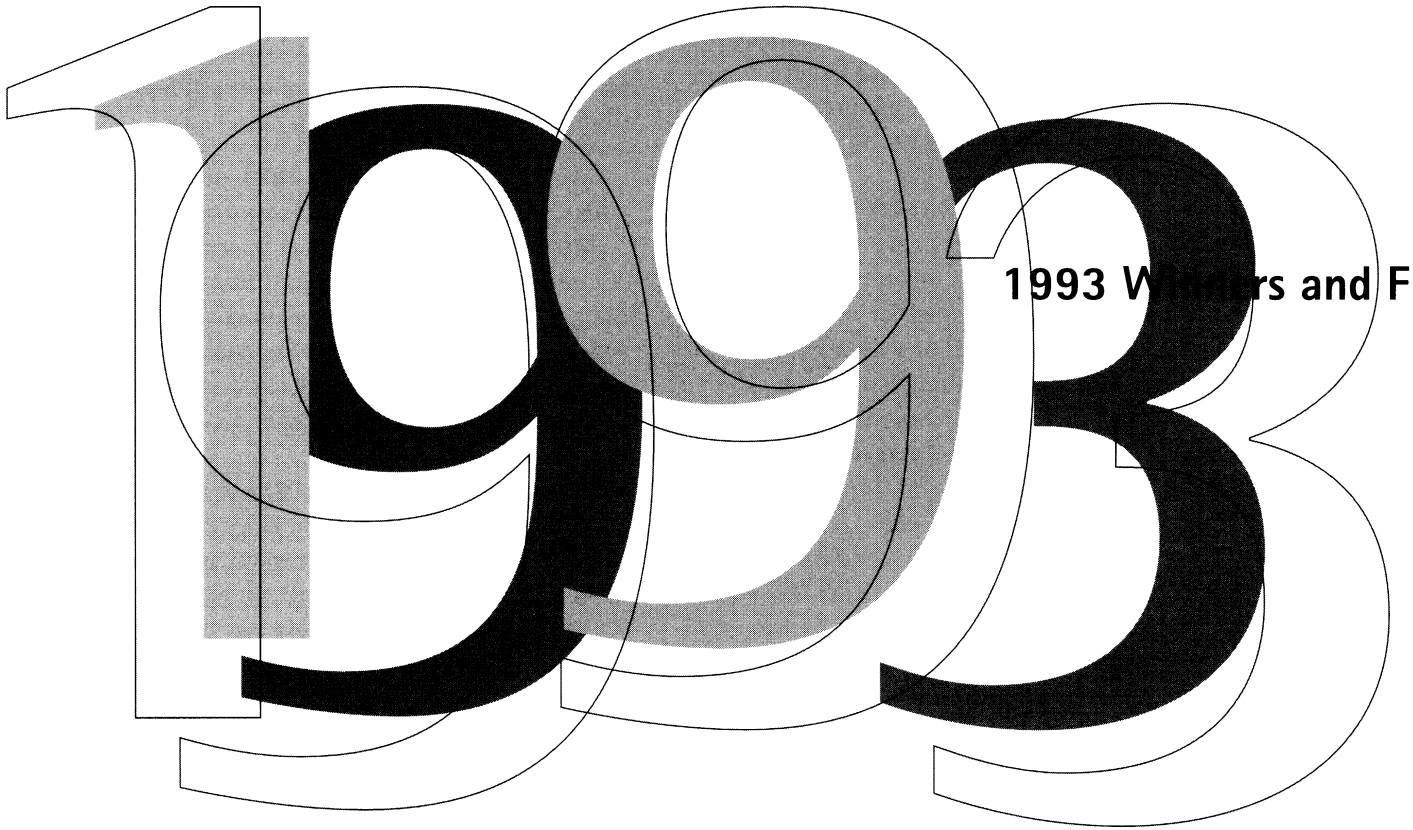
Each site was visited for one day by a team assembled by the Bruner Foundation. The teams included individuals from several groups: representatives from a HUD regional office, (and in one case a representative from the U.S. Public Health Service); former Rudy Bruner Award selection committee members; representatives of 1995 finalists who joined site visit teams in Boston, New York, and Portland, OR; and representatives of the Bruner Foundation. The Bruner Foundation team members included professional consultants, and in some cases Dr. Janet Carter, the former Executive Director of the Foundation, who also participated in the write-up of some cases. The Bruner Foundation is particularly appreciative of the contribution by HUD staff, who were enthusiastic in their assessment of the sites, and who provided fresh perspectives during the re-visiting process. Finally, it is important to recognize the contribution of site hosts; their ability to reflect upon the evolution of their respective projects and to comment on what has been successful over time and why, was a critical component to the evaluation effort.

At the conclusion of the site visits, three regional meetings were held in Boston, Portland and New York City. These were attended, to the extent possible, by the site visit teams, including the HUD representatives. The purpose of the meetings was to bring together site teams in a forum where the emerging themes and issues could be discussed in an interactive manner. Input from those meetings was distilled and is reflected in the Lessons Learned section of this report.

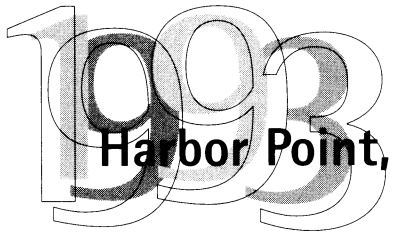
The methodology was designed to be inclusive, and to bring many, varied perspectives to the evaluation process. It was also designed to be participatory, to include the valuable perspectives not only of Bruner Foundation representatives, but of those working in individual settings on an everyday basis. Although the re-visits were one day visits, the review of the history of each site and the discussions that took place at regional meetings were all organized to produce an in-depth analysis.

Much was learned from this process, which is extensively documented in the report that follows. The experience, perspective, and longevity of each of these projects has taught us something important about urban excellence. It is our hope that the lessons learned from these places will be valuable to future policy development.

udy Bruner Award
Winners and Finalists: 1987–1993



1993 W[illegible]rs and Finalists



Harbor Point, Boston, Massachusetts

Date of Visit: March 14, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Dorothy Wong (HUD Secretary's Representative, Massachusetts State Office)
Che Madyun (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative)

Introduction: Harbor Point in 1993

Harbor Point is a story of transformation: Columbia Point, a 1,504-unit public housing project serving mainly low-income minorities was renovated into the 1,283 unit Harbor Point mixed-income community. The area formerly known as Columbia Point was a high crime area characterized by gang and criminal activity and dilapidated housing units managed by the Boston Metropolitan Housing Authority. It was, as the site visit team of 1993 reported, "a public housing project gone sour."

The same team reported to the 1993 Rudy Bruner Award Selection Committee that the project was now successful, and that Committee, in turn, named the project co-winner of the 1993 Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment. 70% of the new Harbor Point units are market rate and 30% are subsidized low-income units. The development now has facilities that offer a variety of health and social services including a health center, child care center, youth center, and more.

Both the site visit team and the Selection Committee measured success in terms of the transition of the neighborhood, 1) from very dangerous to very safe; 2) from dilapidated and 20% occupied public housing to over 90% occupied mixed-income and racially diverse living in renovated or new housing; 3) from the lack of pride of residents in their surrounds to the proud and successful implementation of volunteer patrols involved in a high level of maintenance and a task force devoted to self-government, and 4) from no private sector participation in the housing to the private sector development and management of community living. The Selection Committee supported the choice of Harbor Point as an award winner by citing the development of a very attractive waterfront park, a high level of architectural and landscape design throughout the project, and the establishment of a mixed income community with a successful balance between low income and higher income residents.

Harbor Point Revisited

In 1996, occupancy rates are strong at 98% with about 20% of the tenants on site as a result of resident referrals. The turnover is greatest in the market rate apartments at 50%, and very low in the low-income units at less than 5%. The primary tenant group in market rate units appears to be students, which explains the high turnover rates.

Demographics are well mixed. There are 811 market rate units (of which 407 are minority-occupied, including tenants of African-, Asian-, and Latin-American origins); 339 subsidized units have 333 minority occupants; there are 164 senior citizen occupants and 689 children of whom 586 are minority. Several people interviewed indicated disappointment that more of the market rate housing was not occupied by families with children.

Crime is low. One resident described Harbor Point as the safest place in Boston. There was some vandalism in the parking garage but corrective action was taken by the security force through installations of closed circuit TV cameras. The result was a drop in vandalism incidents from three a day to three a month—a 97% improvement.

The management relies on a tight system of unit inspections and resident oversight, involving a counseling system, careful documentation of problems as they emerge, and constant vigilance. Evictions for lease violations and criminal behavior are fairly rare. At the time of our visit about 10% of the eviction notices resulted in court

cases. The management views this as a modest number compared with their experience in other developments for which they have responsibility.

The health clinic is doing well, with patient visits up 13% over 1995 and a 50% increase in dental visits. About 30% of their clientele come from Harbor Point and the rest from the surrounding communities. Clinic personnel report there is insufficient child care in the area; they can only handle 22 children and are experiencing a demand for much more capacity. They have become a Healthy Start program site as part of the larger health program in Boston focused on nutrition and preventive medicine.

Success in housing has leveraged other development. The modest retail space available in Harbor Point is occupied and use of rapid transit has increased. Construction of the projected South Bay transit stop and additional shopping opportunities are expected in the near future. The exhibition center nearby attributes its success to the improved safety of the South Bay and specifically of Harbor Point.

The financial situation of Harbor Point is stable and good. The management reports that the new tenant mix works economically, although there is some vulnerability due to limited resources available for maintenance. For example, a heavy snow year in 1995 meant fewer funds were available for an emerging backlog of maintenance and repair.

Softball at Harbor Point.

Harbor Point sets a precedent in housing innovation. Boston's City Hall is using Harbor Point as an example demonstrating that market rate and subsidized housing can co-exist over the long term. The City of Boston's ongoing work on the development of mixed-income housing at other locations demonstrate the City desire to apply the concept. As part of these projects the city is exploring setting aside an even greater portion of subsidized units in the mix. City Hall staff refer to Harbor Point as "a symbol of possibility."

Place

The place called Harbor Point has several physical characteristics that should be described as part of understanding existing conditions on the site. Maintenance, recreation activity, and the ability for residents to both identify with their individual units and with the entire complex are important factors in Harbor Point's continued success.

The site appears to be well maintained and attractive and routine maintenance is good. But, there is a growing backlog of maintenance and repair. There were some signs of wear visible, especially in the wood structures, due in part to the hard winter Boston experienced in 1995. Much of the landscape and facility damage had not yet been repaired when we visited in March of 1996, and there was concern about the limited resources available for such repair.

The leadership of the maintenance staff describe the Point as difficult to maintain. They spoke of the development as the *Viet Nam* of housing sites they manage, making comparisons to other sites which do not have low-income tenants or a high proportion of higher income student residents. For example, the Point loses over 400 insect screens each year to simple vandalism. They also identified that trash was a constant problem, requiring daily vigilance to keep up the site. Many of the tenants, especially the children, will-not use the trash receptacles. We saw the visible evidence of the trash problem as reported by the maintenance supervisor. The war

metaphor appears to simply describe the feeling that the maintenance staff is in a constant struggle to maintain the development to a high standard. To the staff's credit, they continue to do so.

There was uniform agreement that there were not enough opportunities for youth recreation on site. The waterfront, recreation center, tennis courts and pool are popular attractions, but they are not year 'round and do not address the range of recreation opportunities needed to support the community. There is some indication that an actively engaged youth population would alleviate some of the maintenance problems in the development by increasing their pride in the place and reducing the vandalism related to simple boredom.

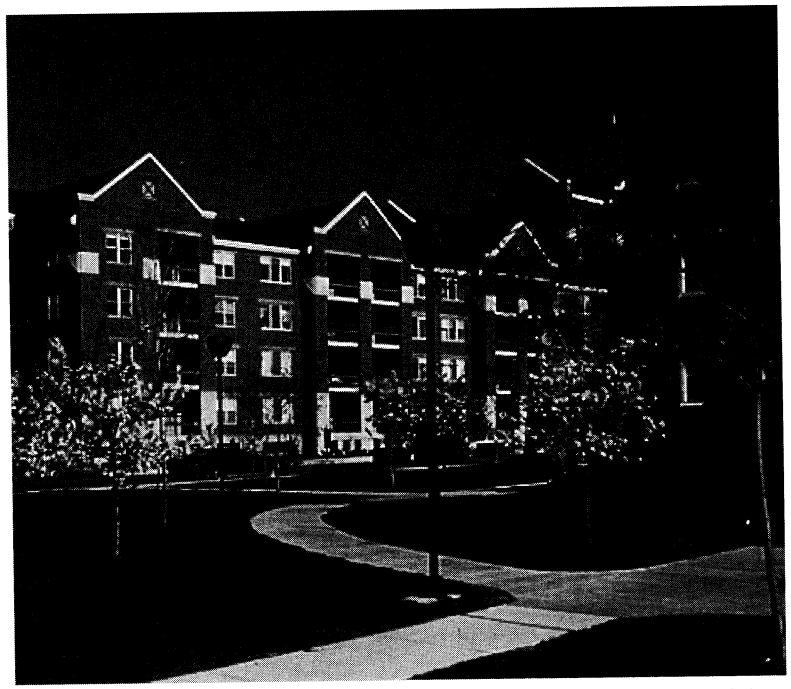
Separate entrances appear to improve the identification of each tenant with their specific unit. The idea of separate entrances to the units has been well received in Harbor Point and are a common feature in other more recent housing developments. The gate and reception person at the entrance to the site operates as a symbolic gesture of control and organization while improving the identification of all of the tenants with the Point. It is not seen by security as a deterrent to crime although it clearly adds an "eyes-on-the-street" dynamic to the complex.

Process

The Task Force, police, operations, and leasing agents all agree that Harbor Point is both successful and yet still fragile. Ongoing maintenance, social services, and continued high quality internal (private) policing are all vulnerable to cuts in resources that are outside the control of the complex or its managers. In general, however, the processes involved in tenant management through the Harbor Point Task Force, the delivery of support services, the maintenance of a specific mix of tenants, and the relative profitability of the management contract all contribute to the continuing success of the development as a good place to live.

"I hate questions about the mix of (low income and market rate) units." So began our discussion with the Harbor Point Task Force on how well the management system was working. The premise of the comment was that the Point was maturing and frankly becoming much less self-conscious about the way they mixed market rate and subsidized occupants in the regular routine of managing the place. With 50% turnover in the market rate and less than 5% in the low income units, it is not a surprise that the 80% of the tenant governance group continues to be from low-income tenants. However, members of the Task Force indicated that this number has floated from year to year from between 50 and 80%. Because of the 50% turnover in the market rate units, the Task Force believes they should allocate representation more in terms of short-term residents and long-term residents than in terms of tenants of market-rate and subsidized units.

There is agreement that the success of the Point is due, in part, to the support services available to low income tenants. If there is a dramatic change in what is made available to the tenants then one may find a real change in the quality of life for all of the tenants



Good maintenance and landscape are essential to sustaining the quality of Harbor Point.

(market rate and subsidy; long-term and short-term). Tenant control and cost control have converged with the Task Force decision to take over the operations of the youth center in lieu of contracting it out. This was seen as a cost-cutting measure and also a way to encourage parents and tenants to be more directly involved in the daily activity of the children in the complex. There is an ongoing discussion about how many of the tenant services should be contracted out and how many should be assumed internal to the tenant organization.

A wide variety of staff people and residents work with difficult tenants to address both their individual social problems and the problems they create for other tenants. The types of staff involved includes the internal police force, maintenance staff, lease managers, the Task Force, individual building captains, and, if necessary, the courts. Each one of these participants acts as counselor, advisor, regulator, and, on occasion, provides the needed element of discipline. However, the complex and multi-layered process of counseling and review is controversial. A large number of people play in the "can-this-tenant-be-saved" reviews prior to any formal eviction or court action. Some staff would like to simplify the processes while others staunchly defend it as appropriately complex and conservative.

Rental office staff indicated that they wish moderate income units were included in the mix of low income and market rate units. Failure to include the full mix makes upward mobility difficult. It is useful to note, however, that former low- income tenants do come back as market-rate tenants on occasion. In the year of our visit there were three such turnovers. The rental office staff believed the mix that included about 70% market rate apartments was very doable but speculated that a higher percentage of subsidized units might compromise the long term viability of the project.

The Point has been a profitable venture that continues to provide financial return to the management and operations contractors. We were told, however, that the massive subsidies it took to create the conversion would not be available today. "You couldn't do this somewhere else today," one said. "It is a different time and there is not enough money in the system to make it attractive even to developers like us who are willing to work on a relatively narrow margin."

Values

The question remains: *Does it have to be this hard?* The question refers to the enormous personal energy required to launch the transition from Columbia Point to Harbor Point, and the continuing levels of dedication and commitment required of Task Force members, leasing agents, operations personnel, and others. For example, many of the people now serving on the Task Force were members of the original group who launched the redevelopment effort. These are long-term residents with long-term goals and extensive personal investments in sustaining their neighborhood. The leasing agent we spoke with said leasing up Harbor Point was her "greatest life challenge." The chief of operations spoke of the maintenance operations as a constant struggle, much greater than the other projects for which their organization had responsibility.

Still, there is a strong democratic ideal at work in Harbor Point. From the mixing of race and income levels, to the range of people it

The community building and swimming pool are well used at Harbor Point.

takes to process a difficult tenant, to deciding about tight unit inspections and controls, it seems like everyone is involved. But, the democracy is a representative one, with a few people carrying much of the load. However, those who want to be involved seem to have ample opportunity. The result of much of this democratic ideal is somewhat controversial. For some, the complexity of the process and the number of meetings required is a tedious effort, while for others it is exactly what is required to empower tenants and give good care in service delivery.

The hard work and democratic ideals at work at the Point combine in the achievement of the original vision. If you believe in the possibility of a conversion from Columbia Point to Harbor Point, put the image out there, and work hard for it, it will occur. Maybe it does have to be this hard and real democratic action will always be a struggle.

Some Key Themes from Harbor Point

The Right Mix—There is a perception from the management and rental office, as well as from the social service providers, that the 30% low-income tenancy may be the upper limit feasible for this kind of development. Both the rental office and the social service providers have suggested that, if they could do it again, they would want to consider including some moderate-income tenants in the mix—tenants who place less of a burden on the social support systems.

Becoming Un-self-conscious—An interesting twist on asking about the "right mix" is that it draws attention to the possibility of a wrong mix and to relationships among residents defined according to income level rather than on living life well together. A less self-conscious approach would enable relationships to be defined according to governance and place-support chores with far less attention being paid to the income status of residents.

Maintenance—The time and attention paid to maintenance is seen by many we interviewed as central to retaining the full occupancy and to sustaining the pride and character of the place. The very disciplined maintenance staff, continued support by the tenant Task Force, and volunteer patrols are critical. One aspect of change that feels threatening is that as resources are squeezed, maintenance tends to be the first to go. Already there is a modest backlog of maintenance and repair items that will need attention in the near future.

Planning for Leadership Succession—The current composition of the Task Force is almost entirely made up of former residents of Columbia Point. A relatively high turnover (largely attributed to student rentals) in the market-rate apartments tends to mean much of the tenant management is left to the lower-income population. While the Task Force members we interviewed implied this was a variable condition, the fact remains that the vast majority of participation in the governance of the place does not involve market rate residents.

Vision Driven Development and Maintenance—While it is clear there would have been no project without a strong and determined group of Columbia Point residents, the private partners had a vision as well. It was not just to implement but rather to continuously add value to the place now known as Harbor Point. The philosophy of tenants and development company in partnership appears to be critical to avoiding a we/they dichotomy in the continued maintenance of the place.

Could Not Do It Again—This was an enormously expensive project ($140,000/unit for hard and soft costs). There were extenuating circumstances on some of the costs but overall this is seen as very expensive compared to other publicly assisted developments of this type. The financing was roughly $175 million in State and Federal Loans with one small grant and $75 million in private tax shelter syndications for a total of $250 million for the project. While the project currently is operating at a modest profit, if the subsidy were removed, it would create a significant annual operating deficit in the project.

1993 New Community Corporation, Newark, New Jersey

Date of Visit: May 24, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Robert Kaplan (HUD)
Erana Stennet (Central Park Conservancy)
Ingrid Reed (Eagelton Institute of Politics)
Laura Comppen, photos

Introduction: The New Community Corporation in 1993

In 1993 New Community Corporation (NCC) was already one of the oldest and largest community development corporations in the country with projects worth over $200 million and an annual operating budget of nearly $100 million. NCC was born out of the 1967 riots as the merger of community development efforts by Father William Linder and Mary Smith, who began the Babyland child care centers. NCC took on the daunting task of rebuilding the devastated central ward in Newark N.J. In 25+ years of operation NCC became, in effect, a shadow city government for central ward residents, providing services that had been ignored or done ineffectually by the city. The NCC began by building affordable housing and providing child care. It owned and managed over 6,000 units and ran eight centers, several of which deal with special needs children, such as children who are HIV positive or from homeless families.

NCC was characterized by a practical focus on problem solving and an ability to make quick decisions in response to community needs. It expanded from an ambitious beginning to become an agency that covered the broad spectrum of human needs, including: housing and care for the elderly; transitional housing for the homeless; health care; education; job training and placement; transportation; running a k-8 school; security; and much more. The Selection Committee was impressed by NCC's commitment to building self reliance. They developed and built a shopping center that included the first supermarket in the Central Ward in decades (of which NCC is 2/3 owner), whose profits helped support other NCC projects. In the words of the 1993 selection committee, the "NCC is not building housing, it is building a community."

NCC was considered unique and exciting because the Community Development Corporation:

- offered a range of comprehensive and innovative services to meet a variety of urban needs;
- demonstrated am ability to create jobs;
- based project choices on community needs;
- has shown patience and has survived and thrived for more than 25 years; and has demonstrated great political and organizational savvy.

Although the NCC had been creative and effective in dealing with the problems of the Central Ward at the time of the original site visit, there were two concerns about its approach and future. First, there were some concerns about how well the NCC was planning for succession of Msgr. Linder, who was clearly the central figure in the operation. Secondly, in developing housing and other community facilities, the NCC did not seem to place the same importance and attention to detail for issues of physical design and planning that they typically did to social services and programs. Neither the design process or the final architectural plans were as impressive as the programs they represented.

New Community Corporation Revisited

The NCC has expanded and maintained its efforts to create a viable community. Although Central Ward remains a poor area with great need for support and services, it is clearly much improved and might be barren today without NCC's efforts. For all its efforts, the NCC is a relatively small ladle trying to fill a rather large bucket.

NCC is no longer the sole organization rebuilding the Central Ward (in some ways it never was alone, as the huge New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry has long been a neighbor, but relations between the college and the community have historically been poor). More recently, the Central Ward has benefitted from activity by Habitat For Humanity and has seen the establishment of other developments, such as several hundred privately financed and market-rate, owner-occupied town homes, multiplex movie theaters and new drug stores.

NCC has remained entrepreneurial in spirit and action. It is a risk taking organization and prides itself on being quick on its feet in responding to a need or an opportunity. It has an excellent record in winning government funds for projects. The NCC continues to build profit-making enterprises to support its own non-profit activities. Its large resource base has allowed it to rapidly expand into a number of new areas. The organization is growing programmatically, refocusing on older activities and adding new foci, and geographically, entering other areas of Newark, and other New Jersey cities, (such as Jersey City), in addition to consulting around country and the world.

Place

The NCC continues to be impressive in the breadth and scope of its efforts. Even in the brief intervening period since the first RBA visit it has created a number of new enterprises and has enhanced and found added value in ongoing ones. The Pathmark supermarket, for example, now has a computer kiosk linked to the state employment office to aid customers in job searches, and offers new programs for eye and diabetes screening, among others.

In recent years, the NCC has emphasized providing services and programs rather than new buildings – a reflection both of changes in funding sources and of philosophy. Using the Pathmark Supermarket's employee needs as a model, NCC has created a retail clerk training program at its Center for Employment Training. Other new efforts include:

- work force development: creating opportunities for job training and placement, such as a program with New Jersey Institute of Technology to train and place environmental workers, and an automotive training program created with the help of a local auto dealer and Ford Motor Company;
- international connections: including technical assistance and cultural exchanges with organizations and governments in eastern Europe, South Africa and Haiti (the latter two reflecting the Central Ward population). NCC's school, St. Rosa Lima, is working with the World Health Organization on several environmental education projects;

NCC automotive job training center.

NCC is part owner of Pathmark Super market.

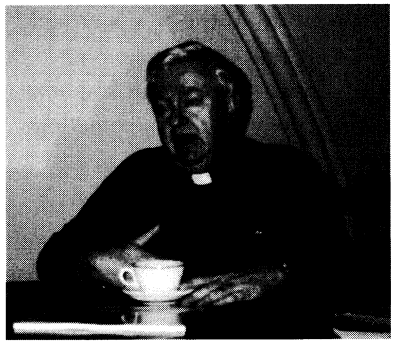
- arts initiative: a new staff position has been created in the NCC to focus on community arts. It addresses a broad range of activities from bringing in South African art exhibit, job training in art crating and display, providing jazz concerts and street festivals, to creating public art to beautify NCC spaces and buildings. These efforts also illustrate NCC's ability to leverage and find added value and jobs in all projects, such as training people to crate and ship artwork;
- modular housing: partnership with a private company, NCC is creating a factory that will turn out modular homes, to provide low cost housing for non-profit projects in the Central Ward and also to sell at a profit;
- community banking: NCC established the New Jersey Housing Opportunity Fund to assist non-profits statewide with development of affordable housing; using low income housing tax credits for equity and using pooled funds from several banks. The NCC developed the New Community Development Loan Corporation to provide business loans to support job creation in the Newark area.

The NCC has not had the opportunity to build many new facilities since 1993, but even so has demonstrated increased sensitivity to issues of design and aesthetics. This can be seen in the new arts initiatives, and in a design competition for the new modular housing factory among several prominent design firms.

Process

Leadership, organizational structure, and management succession are still concerns. NCC is still in the awkward position of being a CDC in a diverse, largely African-American and immigrant community whose most visible leader is white, although there is considerable African-American leadership within the organization. To address this concern the organization is working to emphasize the role of staff in important decision making and operational areas.

The NCC is trying to deal with some of the problems that have come from success. It has grown large and diverse, making it harder to maintain some of the easy working relationships that characterized its early years. Msgr. Linder complained that there were times when two divisions working together could have created a better proposal, but did not because they didn't have a personal connection or awareness of what the others were doing. In response, they have created Operation Understanding to increase contact and awareness of people and operations in all their various divisions. Operation Understanding has as its goals improving the ability of divisions to work and function independently of the central office, in part by investing more responsibility in department heads; and increasing contact and accessibility among NCC staff across all divisions.



Msgr. William Linder, NCC Founder.

Many people, inside of the organization and out, still wonder how well the NCC will survive when Msgr. Linder finally retires. While no specific answer has yet been provided, the organization is working to deal with this and other leadership issues through organizational restructuring, increased involvement of the Board of Directors, and internal leadership training.

Values

The NCC remains an organization devoted to working to improve the lives of its constituents – the residents of Newark's Central Ward. The organization has never shirked from confrontation with officials at any government level and at times they seem to relish it. Its approach is to deal with all aspects of the problem of poverty. NCC has progressed from an organization responsible for housing in its earliest times to on that deals with myriad facets, including (but not limited to) job training, placement and creation, health care, education, and art.

It would be a mistake to assume that much of the NCC's growth in new activities is in response to strategic and long range planning. Many decisions are still made on an ad hoc basis in response to crises. NCC values its ability to aggressively (and in a sometimes risky manner) respond to community needs with fast action, at times taking NCC in new and unplanned directions. Successful improvisation characterizes many NCC projects.

NCC also places heavy emphasis on the need to be as independent as possible of the vagaries and changes of government policy. To this end it continues to seek profit making enterprises that can provide funds to leverage financing for other projects. The Pathmark supermarket is the strongest and the modular housing factory the most recent example of this approach.

Questions had been raised in the past as to whether NCC does enough to empower the Central Ward community, by raising its political awareness and involvement. The NCC seems to be moving in the direction of increased political involvement, as evidenced by its support of Debra Gayle Channeyfield's City Council campaign (see below). An underlying value that has helped shape all NCC's operations is the belief that the poor and powerless deserve high quality services.

The Bottom Line

The NCC is a diverse and sophisticated organization that is aware of its goals and its problems, and is actively working to address them. The NCC continues to expand the quantity, scope, and geographic distribution of its services. It has made a visible impact on the landscape of the Central Ward and is working hard now to improve the area's economic infrastructure. Job training and job creation have become the highest priorities.

Some Key Themes from New Community Corporation

The NCC is working hard to create sources of revenue to support its ventures, but many of these still depend on government funding. Funds for its projects are highly leveraged, without comfortable margins of safety in finances potentially exposing it to risks if market

Bringing public art to Harmony House, a residence for homeless families.

or funding conditions change. NCC has always been a risk taking organization. For example, reduction or elimination of funding for government supported programs, such as Section 8 housing subsidies, could have a serious deleterious impact on its finances.

NCC relations with the City of Newark remain strained, cordial and cooperative at best, but at times openly confrontational. Although the NCC established a political action committee in 1988, it has always been studiously non-partisan. It has generally limited political activities to providing candidate forums and organizing citizen attendance at City Hall meetings when issues of interest were on the agenda. A new wrinkle in this relationship began with he candidacy for City Council of Debra Channeyfield. Channeyfield is a true child of the NCC. Her father was a founder and she was an early client of child care at Babyland, and later an administrator there. She has had a long term and personal involvement with many aspects of NCC operations. When she declared as an independent candidate for the city council, she pushed the NCC to get involved. Ultimately, she received support from the PAC and from individuals within the NCC network.

Channeyfield argues that such political efforts are critical to the mission of the NCC. She notes that the Central Ward, along with the rest of Newark, are ultimately dependent on having a well-functioning city government. She views the NCC, along with other city community organizations, as a "sleeping giant" of Newark politics and is pushing them to focus more on organizing as a way of creating a more empowered community. There is some risk here, however, in that the NCC has always benefitted from its non-partisan stance. Its efforts have been accepted and adopted by Republican and Democratic administrations alike.

Another new development is NCC's growing relations with other Newark non-profit organizations, a relationship that was fostered during work on the failed Empowerment Zone proposal. NCC, with city support, worked closely with a number of local non-profits to create a plan for development and services for the Newark Empowerment Zone proposal. All involved were disappointed at losing the bid for the Empowerment Zone and there have been recriminations as to who was to blame. Although the city has since largely ignored the group, the non-profit organizations have continued to meet on their own within the framework of a strengthened Newark Community Development Network, and have become a source for mutual support. NCC, as the oldest and largest of the organizations in this group, has played a special role, providing technical and occasional financial assistance for other non-profits, especially in developing proposals and financing plans. This network could become an important voice in the future of development for Newark.

1993 Betts-Longworth, Cincinnati, Ohio

Date of Visit: May 30-31, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
William J. Harris (Area Office Coordinator, HUD, Cincinnati Area Office)

Introduction: Betts-Longworth in 1993

Betts-Longworth is a near-central city historic neighborhood in Cincinnati characterized by slum and blight conditions. The neighborhood is typical of the continuous disinvestment in many such neighborhoods in the Northeast where the suburbs have become the middle class housing location of choice. As recently as 1987, the area was on the verge of complete demolition, according to Scott Johnson, the City Manager at that time. The revitalization of this area in Cincinnati was intended to reverse the slum and blight conditions, preserve important historic structures, provide affordable housing in a socially and economically integrated setting, and to encourage minority involvement in the development and construction.

The Bruner Foundation site-visit team of 1993 found the area to be a viable middle to lower-middle income neighborhood that could boast of 240 rehabilitated apartment units, 77 new and rehabilitated single family homes, 20,000 square feet of rehabilitated office space, 4,000 square feet of rehabilitated retail space, 370 parking spaces, and a neighborhood park co-designed, constructed and maintained by nearby middle school children. There was a perception that the neighborhood had become more economically and racially mixed–a model for the rest of the residential neighborhoods near downtown Cincinnati.

Betts-Longworth Revisited

All of the units have been sold at Longworth Square. The two blocks in the southern section of the project area are characterized by mostly new housing units built to stringent design standards to be compatible with the historic character of the neighborhood. The final closing on sixty units was to take place three days after the 1996 visit. Planning officials in City Hall saw this result as proof of the value of the designation of the area as an historic overlay district.

The new construction had followed the rehabilitation of apartment units and some single family houses in the area just north of Longworth Square. Officials further cited increasing interest in "Over the Rhine," an adjacent poor neighborhood, as additional evidence of the new interest raised in living downtown by redevelopment in Betts-Longworth. Still more evidence of the area's success was the development of a "home show" by local builders who were constructing thirteen new single family homes as models of urban housing they might also build elsewhere in the city. Eight of the thirteen houses in the show were pre-sold at the time of the visit.

All of this is seen as quite remarkable given that this area of town was virtually unknown to most of the participating builders until the recent interest in renovation and other new construction.

Design standards help assure quality in the historic overlay district.

It is also worth mention that the initiative for the home show and the leadership in design control and review was vested almost entirely in the home builders' association. They demonstrated a keen interest in the production of homes compatible with the emerging character of Betts-Longworth and saw that as a strong marketing point.

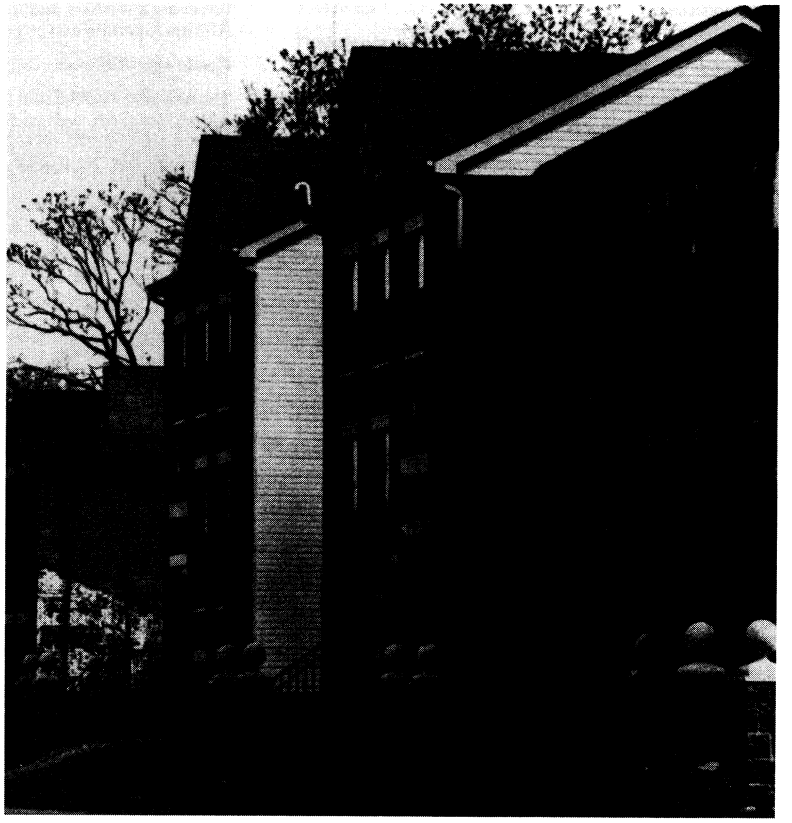
Place

The place is unfinished: it is an awkward mix of new and historic construction largely separated in distinct enclaves. Some of the historic buildings have been lost, some are still in blighted condition, and retail development has stalled despite repeated attempts to encourage at least neighborhood service retail. The latest construction, controlled by builders, is driven more by a desire to achieve suburban "curb appeal" than by an interest in fitting the historic character of the area. Even so, the standards go well beyond the suburban norm in recognizing urban density and building fabric. While the City strongly advocated, for example, to disallow vinyl siding in the Betts-Longworth historic area, vinyl is allowed and there is now discussion on reducing further the standards on window detailing. Even so, the work has helped to establish the potential for a middle class presence in the downtown.

In the City's recent plan entitled "A Vision for Downtown Cincinnati" there is some discussion of a future city heavily dependent on public transportation. This would be central to the life of this area. In reviews with many of the local community members, however, they spoke of past achievements, but were unclear about the long term vision. There is no organized effort to keep the Betts-Longworth communities in the loop regarding plans for public transportation, education, and the future of public housing in an adjoining area.

Process

The relationships between the City and neighborhood groups, as well as among neighborhood groups are cordial, but there appear to be some conflicts within the neighborhood groups over leadership. The pioneers are not willing to make the next steps in community development vulnerable to "newcomers," ostensibly because the later arrivals just do not know enough about the history of the area, or about the complexity of dealing with the City, or the rationale for certain landscape standards or contractor selections. The result is that the mantle of leadership is not being passed to new residents and, in turn, there appears to be some loss of confidence in the effectiveness of the original cadre of leaders. Comments reflecting this perception of a loss of confidence offer subtle but persuasive evidence that some residents do not feel empowered to act on their own behalf.



Betts-Longworth is the first of several possible Cincinnatti neighborhoods contributing to new interest in being downtown.

Values

The historic preservation values of early project participants were central in establishing the base for developing the area. Using what might be referred to as a triage approach, the project successfully saved the most important and "savable" buildings while setting an appropriate tone for further "non-historic" construction. The general guidelines continue to be helpful in sustaining a character for the area even though the standards appear to be eroding.

Diversity continues as a key value in the area. The current racial mix in home ownership is 60% white and 40% African-Americans with half of the residents coming from outside the area. There is a significant number of single mothers in residence and gay couples have been well-received. The focus of the new housing has been on first-time homeowners, who typically have few or no children, limiting the potential for inter-generational diversity.

There continues to be an effort to expand the consciousness of lenders about the potential of the area, using Betts-Longworth as an example of one of several "first ring" neighborhoods that are ripe for development and the return of middle income families to the city. The resurgence of Betts-Longworth has gone a long way toward persuading the financial and development community that such a concept is viable in Cincinnati.

Quality renovations of significant historical structures set the tone for new construction.

Some Key Themes From Betts-Longworth

Concentration–It is critical to the perception of success on a project like Betts-Longworth that the project have enough density of development in a given area to make a significant impact. While the slow, incremental, positive changes in the area are gradually accumulating, the remaining infill sites and blighted buildings still leave residents as well as potential buyers with the feeling that the work is incomplete or stalled.

Details Matter–The flexible design standards to which much of the rehabilitation was performed led to an uneven character for the entire area. The lesson here is to define a set of standards consistent with the history of the area and stick to them.

1993

Beyond Homelessness, San Francisco, California

Date of Visit: March 26, 1996

Site Visitors: Polly Welch, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Joan Hall (HUD Office of Secretary's Representative, San Francisco)

Introduction: Beyond Homelessness in 1993

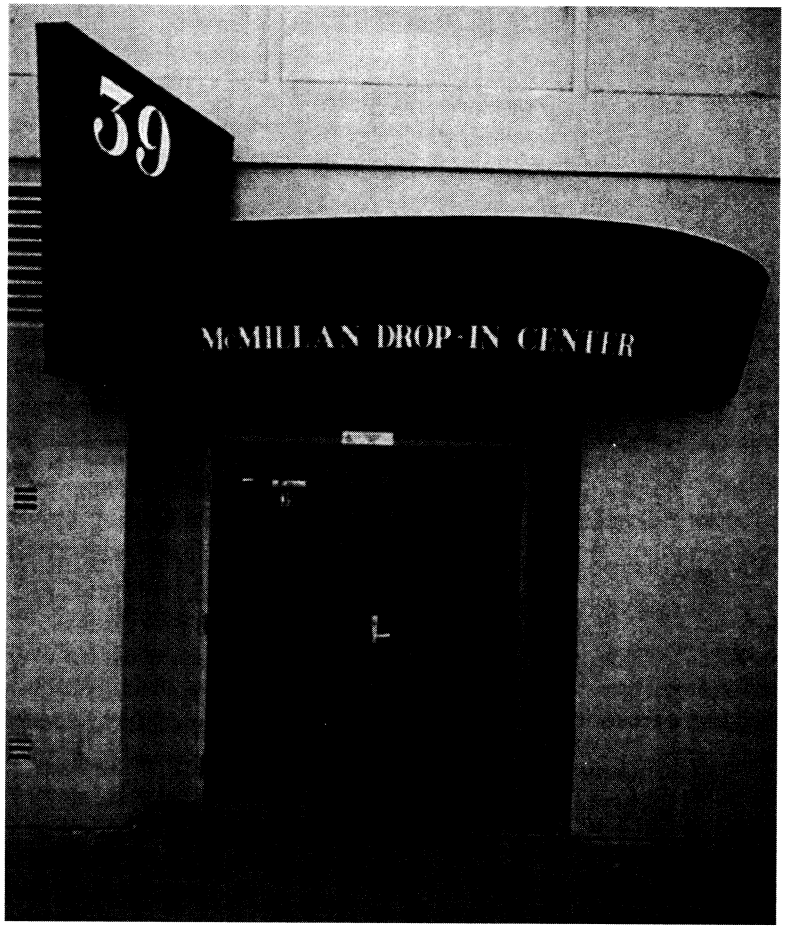
San Francisco's homelessness problem has been similar to what many other US cities have faced. In San Francisco the problem is complex perhaps more vast because of the benign climate, high level of General Assistance benefits, availability of single room occupancy (SRO) housing, and the existence of some excellent programs. Beyond Homelessness was a finalist in 1993 because it presented in its application a comprehensive approach to dealing with homelessness–outreach, drop-in shelters, transitional as well as permanent housing opportunities.

The RBA applicant, Asian Neighborhood Design (AND), organized the projects in which it has been involved into a package that illustrates the comprehensive approach it has taken to address homelessness in San Francisco. AND, a community design center and community development corporation, served as the architect for the projects cited in the Beyond Homelessness application. All of the projects were developed and are operated by other organizations. In this capacity AND is highly respected for its attention and responsiveness to client needs. The AND leadership and staff also have had the opportunity to participate in the planning that has led to providing integrated housing and services. Some of the buildings included in Beyond Homelessness included a 24 hour drop-in center; two multi-service centers which provide overnight shelter as well as meals, counseling and health services; the Cambridge Hotel, a transitional residence; and several permanent housing projects including the Madrid Hotel, the Parkview Hotel and the San Christina, all SRO housing.

The San Christina

Beyond Homelessness Revisited

A good deal of progress has been made in San Francisco and some of it is attributable to Asian Neighborhood Design and the other non-profits with which it works on providing facilities and services to homeless people and those at risk of homelessness. On this revisit it was difficult to focus on the work of a single organization without examining it in the context of the larger picture, which was difficult to accomplish in one day.



McMillan Drop-In Center.

In 1989 Mayor Art Agnos made homelessness a major initiative of his administration by initiating the Beyond Shelter Plan. The Plan was an integrated approach to preventing further homelessness, maintaining a temporary emergency program, providing health and support services, creating new permanent, affordable housing and stabilizing income through job training. The subsequent mayor, Frank Jordan, continued the program but without the level of prior support and commitment. In October of 1995, just before the mayoral election Jordan issued the Continuum of Care Plan: A Five Year Strategic Homeless Plan for 1995-2000.
A participatory process with nearly one thousand people involved at various stages, including surveys of 300 homeless people, identified the lack of treatment and housing as being far more of a problem than shelter and services. The effort culminated in a plan for an integrated service delivery system of health care, housing, employment and support services.

A long time city staffer indicated that Beyond Shelter was intentionally polemic. It attempted to challenge the liberal pathos by raising the question of how to serve those who needs would not be met by providing sufficient housing, employment, health care and nutrition. Continuum of Care became an opportunity for many of the same staff, advocates and providers to take stock of the situation five years later and set a more detailed agenda for what could be accomplished. The city of San Francisco has been lucky to have a continuity of agency staff who have been able to push forward, making progress on homeless issues in spite of serving mayors with different perspectives on homelessness. Mayor Willie Brown was just starting to put his agenda in place at the time of the RBA revisit. He had already distanced himself from former Mayors Agnos' and Jordan's stance which prohibited homeless people from camping out in City Hall Plaza.

Some of the AND projects have improved the lives of homeless people in regard to stability and employability. At the Cambridge Hotel, for example, the number of residents working over the last two years has risen from 15% to 65%. Community Housing Partnership which did the construction for the renova-

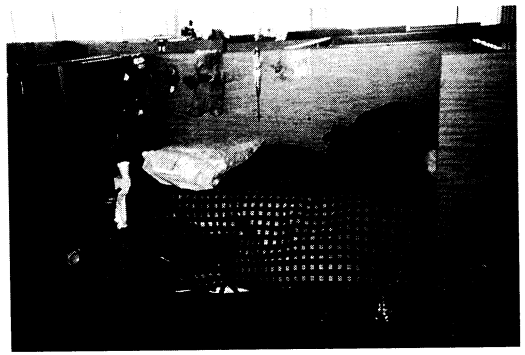
tion of the San Christina Hotel continues to employ homeless people in renovating buildings and in staffing buildings that serve homeless people.

One of the long range goals of AND and others involved in Beyond Shelter was to eventually convert drop-in centers to permanent housing. AND has come close to doing this with Richmond Hills, upgrading it from a shelter to transitional housing, but the drop-in centers are still so critical in meeting day-to-day needs that conversion is not yet a viable large scale solution.

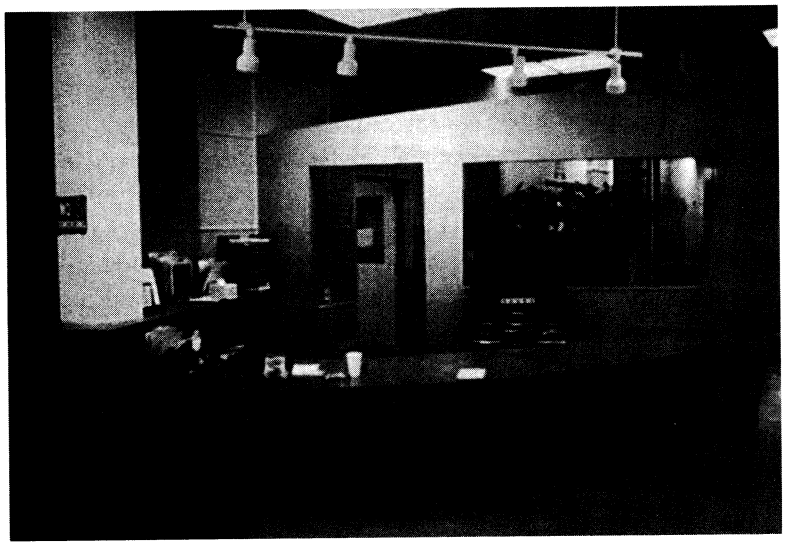
One of the goals in the Beyond Homelessness RBA application was that the subsequent five years would bring a decrease in incidence of street deaths. That number has dropped but the number of homeless people in San Francisco has actually risen. While some of this is due to the depressed economy and higher joblessness, there is a larger question that no one has been able to sufficiently answer: how does one measure accurately the magnitude of the homeless problem, especially if one tries to incorporate the large number of people at risk of homelessness? Full shelters may be a good measure of getting people off the streets but is it synonymous with winning the battle?

Place

The facilities that we visited were being maintained. They all had experienced a great deal of wear and tear, which is to be expected given the population and the intensity of use.



North of Market, client bed.



McMillan Drop-In Center.

McMillan Drop-in Center now has 59 chairs and 28 beds. It has changed from just a drop-in center providing respite from the street to a center with a focus on recovery. New programs and services include peer counseling, support groups, health and education groups including a new clinic space (in a closet), an art group, clothing bank, delousing, personal hygiene supplies, and community meeting. Foot doctors are coming next. The Project Director's wish list includes more facilities for women and she is putting together a women's support group. The only detox center available to women may be closing down because the building is inaccessible and cannot be brought into compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Several of the abstract architectural features at the McMillan Drop-in Center had been damaged or dismantled, perhaps because no one understood why they were there or what they were for. The "dog room" is used for other purposes because no one could figure out how to put multiple dogs in one room without their fighting.

AND is developing an increasing knowledge of design strategies that work. While the design staff feels that there is no "right"

physical model for transitional housing, they have found that smaller buildings work better and would confirm the findings of others (Progress Foundation) that less sharing of facilities such as kitchens and baths makes for less recidivism.

There is a citywide shortage of one bedroom units for single parent families so AND is developing the "Junior two bedroom unit" which is a bedroom with sleeping alcove but they are calling it a one bedroom. Preference can be given to single moms with children by considering that population a "class" under the Fair Housing Amendments Act.

Process

In spite of the intention of AND and others to develop more permanent housing it has become more difficult because sources of capital have been drastically reduced. The city had only enough money in 1996 to fund one small thirty unit development through the tax credit program. With reduced matching dollars for tax credits, cuts in Community Development Block Grant funds, and money not being transferred from high rise development, the only significant source of city funds is hotel tax revenue which is limited to elderly housing development needs. So in spite of the Continuum of Care plan calling for permanent housing as one of its primary goals, there are no additional resources being generated at the city level for development and construction.

In keeping with the Continuum of Care Plan, providers of services are actually getting together in formal and informal settings to coordinate efforts. A successful example of improved service to the homeless community, is the Community Substance Abuse Services group.

Values

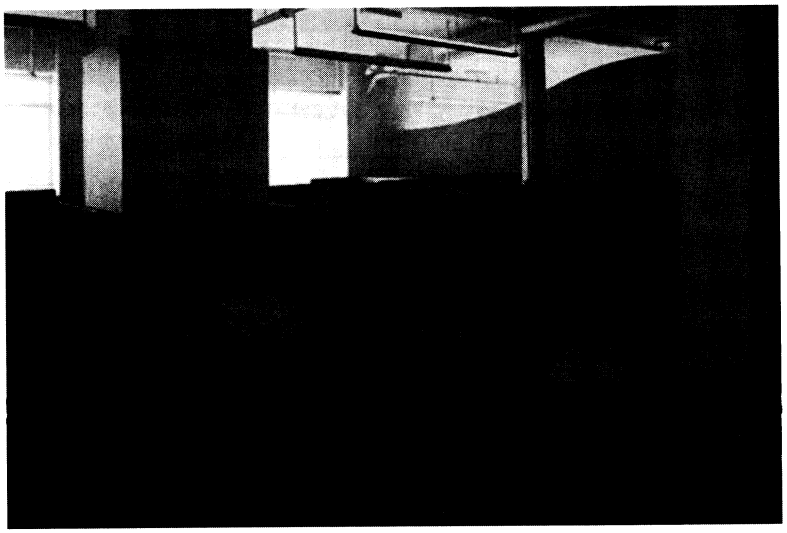
Accommodating diversity emerged as an important theme in the work of AND at the level of serving homeless people as well as developing building plans. Advocates for homeless people questioned the assumption that everyone must move through the system the same way. Should it be a requirement of receiving services that each individual meet with a case manager? AND stresses the importance of multiple entry points into the system of assistance as well as multiple paths through the system of getting assistance and support.

The senior staff at AND have just written a policy paper outlining a new approach to enhancing the self-sufficiency of homeless people. Called "Long-Term Self-Sufficiency: A Practice-based Anti-Poverty Analysis," the paper describes AND's twenty years of experience watching families successfully attack poverty in multiple ways. Critical of programs that target a single intervention hoping it will be the catalyst that leads to self-sufficiency, AND proposes an alternative approach that assesses an individual's strengths and weaknesses. The instrument can help a support person get to know

McMillan Drop-In Center.

the individual well enough to see the inter-related issues that must be addressed. This approach also illustrates how many people are deemed self-sufficient by virtue of income achievement when there are still critical variables that can quickly de-stabilize the individual's life.

The changes over the last few years at the Cambridge Hotel, designed by Asian Neighborhood Design and operated by the Chinese Community Housing Corporation (CCHC), is illustrative of this strategy for self-sufficiency. Under a national demonstration project, called "Health, Housing and Integrated Services" the residents of this single room occupancy hotel are provided an array of integrated support services such as counseling and job training that will substantially reduce their utilization of higher cost facilities such as jails, hospitals and halfway houses. This, in turn, will enhance the likelihood of residents maintaining their permanent housing status. Different from the service delivery system that was in place at the Cambridge three years ago, this uses a "resident centered" approach. CCHC encourages community building by asking residents to be actively involved in the Tenants Council as well as the direction, delivery and evaluation of this new supportive services program. Residents may express their needs in surveys and at community meetings where staff encourage them to offer feedback about service delivery. This program has clear measurable impacts that are being documented to evaluate its success.



Beds at McMillan Drop-In Center.

As mentioned above AND has learned from years of designing housing that there is not one single approach that always works. Designing a range of housing programs reflects the importance of acknowledging diversity of need through multiple options.

Some Key Themes from Beyond Homelessness

Issues that confront all groups trying to meet the needs of homeless people include such fundamental questions as:

- Can the shelter and services model really empower homeless people or only serve them?
- Should there be a shift in the paradigm for transitional housing to "transitional staff in permanent housing" rather than "transitional clients and permanent staff"?

More than any other issue at this moment is the pressing need for a much bigger source of gap financing for permanent housing than currently exists. Without affordable permanent housing in place, treatment and job training will not suffice in helping people to self-sufficiency.

1993

The Park at Post Office Square, Boston, Massachusetts

Date of Visit: March 27-28, 1996

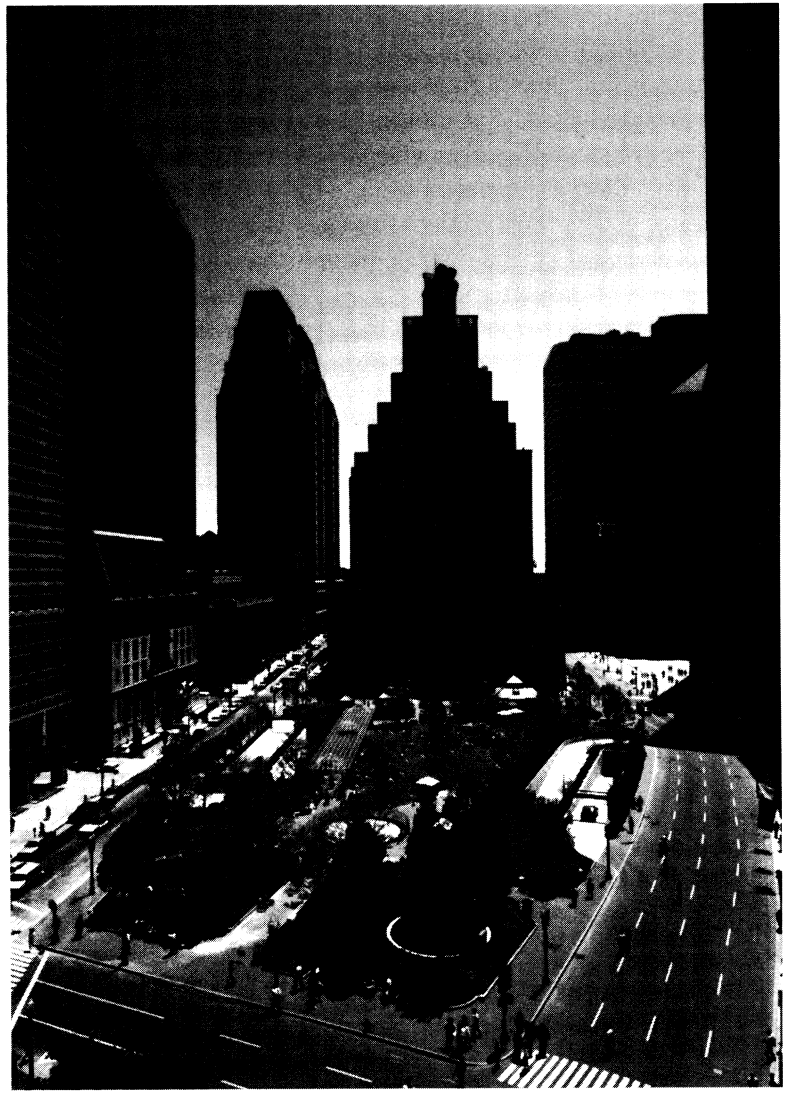
Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Dorothy Wong (Office of HUD Secretary's Representative, Massachusetts)
Che Madyun (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative)

Introduction: The Park at Post Office Square in 1993

The Bruner Foundation Site Visiting Team of 1993 found the Park at Post Office Square a complete success just two years after occupancy. The one and seven-tenths acre park and underground parking garage for fourteen hundred cars were a very attractive alternative to the blighted above ground garage that stood in its place prior to project development. The passive surface level park was by all accounts already a design success with multiple professional design awards and publications in evidence. The value of surrounding property was on the rise and their formal adjustments of outdoor space to address the new park were already well underway. All this was found to be accomplished with private money and relatively modest government intervention. While the project had not yet reached its financial break-even point as a private development and was running behind on its expectations, there was optimism that it would become a financial success. The site area used to be heavily congested and at the time of the initial visit was parking four hundred and fifty more cars than the original 950 car garage that was on the site, with significantly less congestion due to improved garage access and circulation. Unlike the stereotypical urban parking garages, the facility was seen as a safe, well lighted, and very well managed place.

The Park at Post Office Square Revisited

The park continues to be a model of management, maintenance, service, and influence. In terms of management, the park owes a



The Park at Post Office Square has won many awards for design, construction, and landscape architecture.

great deal to the stability, senior representation, and personal commitment of its Board. From 1983 to 1993, for example, there were a total of eleven directors on the board, nine of whom served for the entire time. The directors tended to be the senior executives in their respective organizations, and they came to the task not as stock holders but rather were nominated according to their expertise or "the perspective and commitment" they bring to the project. A great deal of thought has been given to the transition from the board as a project development team to the board as a team working in three categories: oversight for operations, fiduciary administration, and policy guidance for community activity related to the core business of the corporation.

The park continues to receive high praise in the form of formal recognition. In the application it listed eleven design awards and four "other" awards. It now lists fourteen design awards adding the 1994 Urban Design Honor Award from the National American Institute of Architects and the 1995 Honor Award for Architecture as well as the 1993 Urban Land Institute Award for Excellence. The list of other awards has grown to nine and includes awards from the Association of General Contractors, The Institutional and Municipal Parking Congress, and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. The awards speak to the breadth of accomplishment as well as the depth in each of several disciplines.

The management has continued to stress service as a cornerstone of its parking responsibilities, adding a new ATM machine and additional car service space to its inventory of service options since the last Bruner Foundation visit.

The fountain at Post Office Square is a popular lunch hour destination.

All of this recognition occurs during a time when the value and profitability of the project steadily increases, assuring future financial stability. One bottom line measure used by the garage operations is the revenue per parking space which grew from a low in 1991 of $4,345 per space to the 1996 value of $6,219 per space. Figures for 1995 were computed differently but indicate this trend in increased value and profitability continues.

The influence of the park is felt in abutting properties where the inventory of improvements facing the park includes streetscape and park improvements to banks, the NYNEX Building, and Angell Memorial Plaza. We also see a new flower shop, outdoor cafe next to the hotel, and plans for the adaptive reuse of the nearby John W. McCormack Post Office and Courthouse. On a regional scale, the Square is cited often as an example to be emulated in the discussions about Boston's Central Artery project, the revamping of City Hall Plaza, and Copley Square.

Place

Post Office Square is a very good place. It is clean, well maintained, highly used, and very attractive. All of this remains consistent with the findings of the initial site visit team. Landscape has matured, the park benches have been through a few maintenance cycles, the paving is holding up extremely well. The Park is literally better than it was when it was new. The Garage stands as proof positive that parking garages do not have to be ugly.

It is also a safe place. The service amenities such as phones, ATMs, and car service options are strategically placed to leave "eyes" and life everywhere. The security camera and check-in process reinforce the image that you are not alone in the facility. The design makes the relatively large parking floors seem smaller than they really are. There have been no significant instances of crime or vandalism.

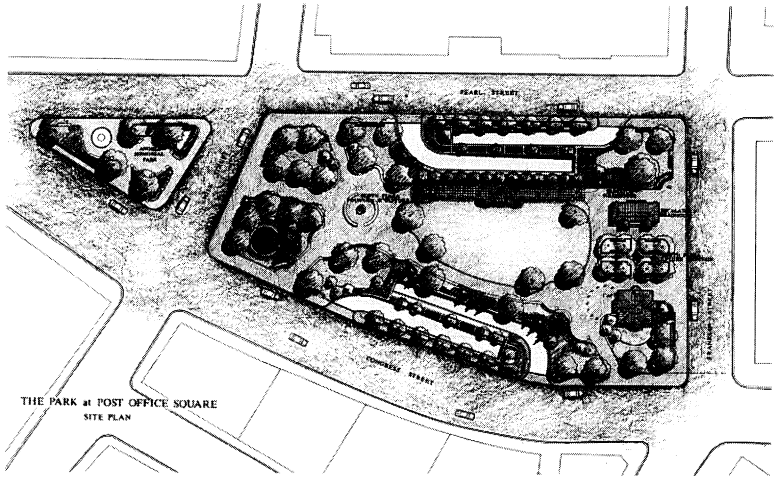
Process

As a service garage and park, we find the place to be "user friendly." It is the kind of place that continues to look good with as few as three or four people in it and with as many as five hundred. Pressure to permit private uses in the park is high, (from requests to do everything from dog shows to weddings) but the management resists this, preferring to maintain the open public character of the park. What happens here works so well that the management is not inclined to tamper with use policy.

The strategy of a "self maintaining" parking garage that also makes a profit is clearly working. Revenues from the garage maintain it and the park at a high level. Private companies bid on maintenance services, and contracts are awarded based on price and quality criteria.

The initial engagement of a regional constituency for open space and green space has paid off well for the Park and for the Boston metropolitan area. The same basic constituency that helped gain City Hall and Council approval to do the Park at Post Office Square, now builds on the strength of the success in the Park to advocate for other open space projects related to the Central Artery, City Hall, Copley Square, etc. The Park at Post Office Square has "earned a place at the bigger table" of regional discussions about green space.

Post Office Square in the late afternoon.



The design of the park and garage add value to facing properties.

Several board members and the management did bring up one aspect of the process that is disturbing. In some ways, while the Square's survival seems assured, the belief is that it was done at just the right time and in just the right location. It would not happen again today given the same opportunities because it would be almost impossible to finance the project without significant public or private subsidies. The "highest and best" use dynamics of urban development would show a higher rate of return for other uses than parking in spite of a clear understanding of the leverage effects created by an amenity like the park.

Values

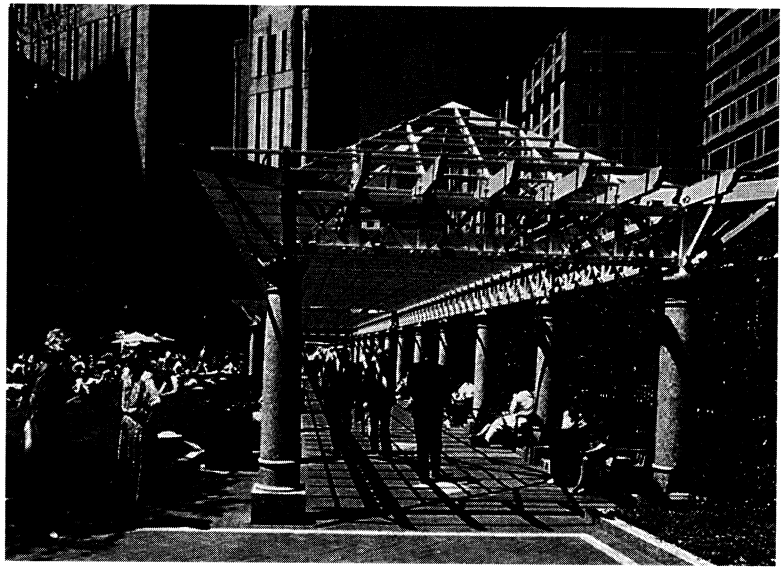
Robert Weinberg and the staff are given enormous credit for "giving credit away" at every stage of the project. Collaboration with all of the Park constituencies helped set a tone for project development that continues into the sustaining of the park today. Observing people in the park, we saw several people giving "tours," pointing out improvements to the surrounding area. There is a sense that the park, though legally private, is very much owned by the people who use it.

The park was described in interviews as "democratic." Secretaries and bank presidents share the public amenity on an equal footing. This is very much in the spirit of park philosophy espoused by Frederick Law Olmsted in the beginning of this century. The continuing success of the park adds further to the affirmation of high standards of design in the garage and park's initial development.

Some Key Themes from the Park at Post Office Square

Sharing the Credit, Building Constituency, Gaining Leverage on "Other" Related Work. While the leadership of Norman Leventhal and Robert Weinberg was central to the success of the project, their ability to share the credit and build constituency by fully engaging others in the process is one of the characteristics which contribute to the success of the Park. The experience in promoting open space in the City is now having additional impact as it adds to the focus on open space for the Central Artery, City Hall Plaza, and other public space planning efforts.

It Is a Vision That One Crafts Well and Then "Sticks to It." The passive and non-exclusive use of the Park is challenged from time to time by requests for private events directed to the Park Board of

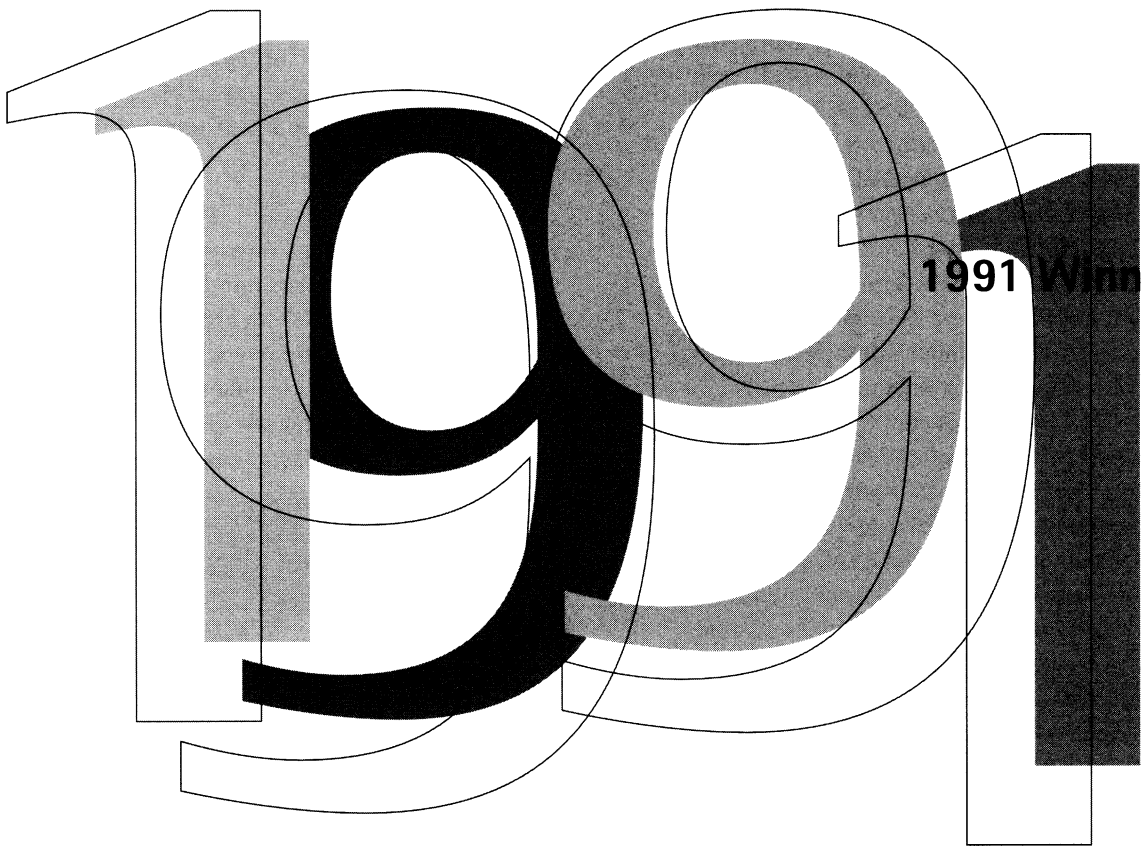


The truss provides shade and visual interest.

Directors. The vision of the place and its use however, precludes private events in favor of a much more public stance. In a way, it keeps good faith with the open space constituency it helped organize in support of the project and sustains the park as a truly public amenity which makes enough private return to sustain itself well.

A Good Project Can Change the Way People Look at Places. Having once experienced the service, interior finish quality, light, convenience, and amenities of the garage at Post Office Square it is hard to imagine how and why we build municipal lots to be so ugly, devoid of service and amenity, and frankly, unsafe. The experience of this garage sets a new standard for in-city parking.

Design Matters a Lot. The Park without the thoughtful parking circulation would have made congestion around the site worse not better due to the increase in the number of cars. A garage image or an unapproachable open space would not have invited the adjacent properties to face the park, and the mix of materials, planting, furniture, and lighting that were both relatively low maintenance and still inviting were essential in presenting a park that "cared enough to give the very best" to anyone who chose to use it. The scale of the Park that allowed for it to be one space and several smaller spaces at the same time makes it a landmark of urban landscape architecture.



1991 Winners and Finalists

1991 Greenmarket, New York City, New York

Date of Visit: May 8, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Herbert Geller (HUD Regional Office)
David Sweeney and Isabel Hill (Greenpoint Manufacturing and Design Center)
Erana Stennet (Central Park Conservancy)

Introduction: Greenmarket in 1991

Greenmarket, founded in 1975, operates as a program of the privately funded Council on the Environment (COE), to develop and manage several dozen farmer's markets in New York City. In 1991 it operated eighteen markets at sites in several boroughs of New York, and served approximately 40,000 people per week in peak season. The Union Square market was an early site and is currently the largest and most profitable one, having played a significant role in the revival of Union Square and its immediate neighborhood. Many of Greenmarket's 150 small, family farmers sold most of their yearly produce through these markets. Greenmarket's farmers earned a combined $182,000 per year in WIC Farmer's Market Coupons for over 10,000 low income consumers.

Greenmarket, near the site of a new restaurant in the adjacent park building.

Greenmarket was selected the winner of the 1991 RBA for several reasons including the improvement it provided to the visual quality of Union Square and other open spaces, the warm, sociable neighborhood these markets created, and its significant role in the revival of the Union Square neighborhood. What most impressed the Selection Committee, however, and made Greenmarket unique as a farmer's market, was the strong philosophical commitment to the survival of the small, family-owned farm.

The single minded goal of its founder, Barry Benepe, was to use Greenmarket's access to New York City consumers as a means to keep local small family farmers in business. His formative concept and primary focus was to help keep farmland in agricultural production by providing reliable access to a lucrative market, as an alternative to commercial development of the land. The 1991 Selection Committee was impressed by the ability of Greenmarket to provide a connective tissue that bound together the urban and rural residents of the region.

In winning the 1991 award, Greenmarket challenged the definitions and concepts of place and design. These markets are not designed spaces in any traditional sense, and they have a unique temporal dimension, visible only on certain days and/or growing seasons and – like Brigadoon – disappearing into the mist other days, leaving behind only the traces of their impact on the community.

Greenmarket Revisited

Greenmarket, under the continued leadership of Benepe, has maintained its focus and philosophy. The purpose of the organiza-

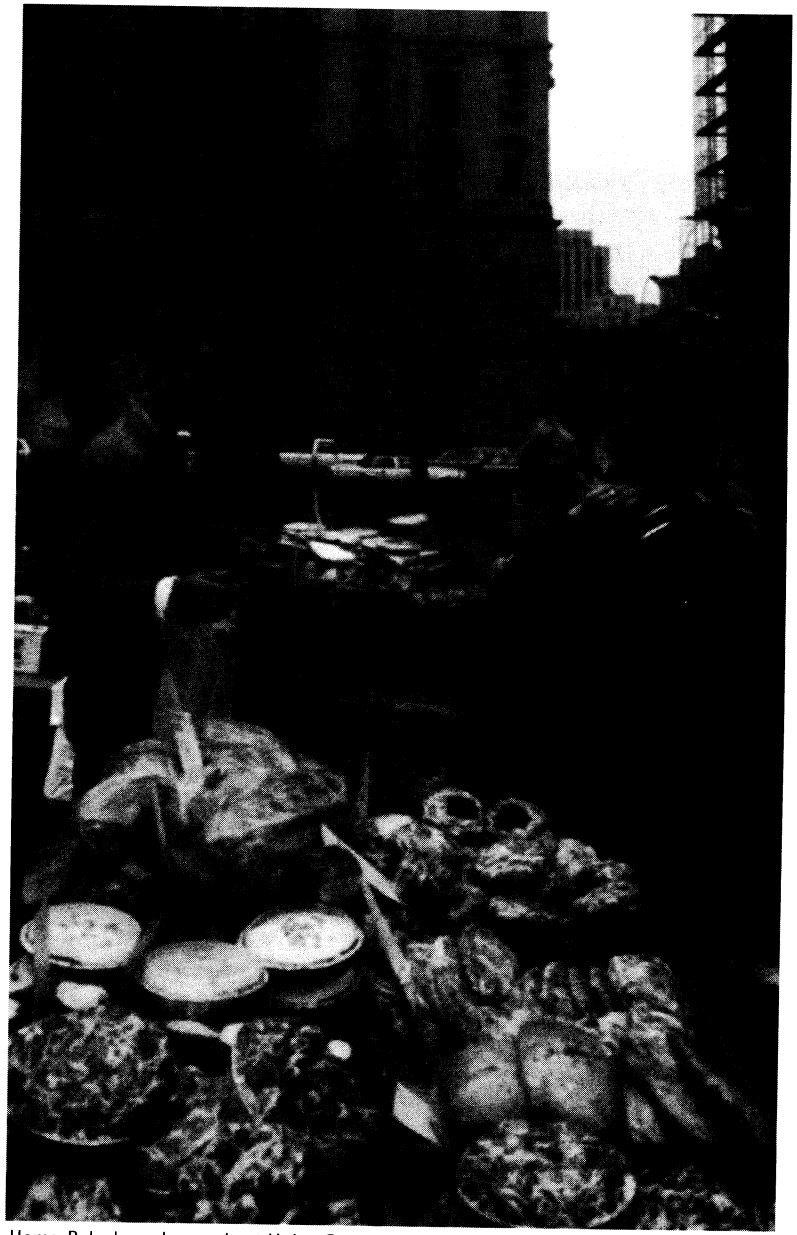
tion is still to keep local farms and farmers in business. Other benefits of the market are important but secondary.

The organization is stable and the number of markets in operation and amount of commerce within them have grown. The numbers of farmers involved in the program has also increased; there is a backlog of farmers applying for spaces, which cost $45 to $65 per day and can generate $150 to $1200/day in sales. Farmer/sellers have prospered and neighborhoods have benefitted – though none so obviously or impressively as Union Square which is moving toward becoming an upscale community. Ten locations have year 'round markets. On days when the markets are in full swing they transform otherwise barren, concrete spaces with the colors, sounds, smells and the bustle of farm commerce.

Greenmarket has become almost entirely self-supporting. Ninety-seven percent of all operating funds come from farmer's fees, up from 85% in 1991. There is virtually no financial support from the city (the Council on the Environment, while attached to the mayor's office, is privately funded). In fact, the Greenmarket pays the Department of Parks and Recreation $25,000 per year for use of seven parks as sites.

There have been several consequences of success, not all of them positive. The markets are, on the one hand, recognized as an important asset to the city, and are highly valued by many consumers. Their support in some areas, (Union Square most strongly), is so solid that politicians who have even mentioned possible changes in the status of Greenmarket have been burned by citizen outrage. City planners now take Greenmarket concerns into account when dealing with market areas, although not always to the satisfaction of Greenmarket staff. For example, when the city and MTA moved to redevelop the Union Square park and subway station, maintaining Greenmarket was a stated priority, but Benepe considered the size of the space allotted inadequate. Greenmarket has since been able to work with the city to modify these plans, redirecting traffic on Union Square West and expanding park area for use in the market.

Success has also bred "copy-cat" markets that have capitalized on the Greenmarket "brand name" and reputation, and have



Home-Baked goods on sale at Union Square.

occasionally "raided" its stable of farmers, even though the standard Greenmarket contract with farmers includes a provision that the farmer cannot return to a site closed by Greenmarket for one year. The creation of additional markets is not a problem in itself – New York City is big enough to support many markets. Benepe notes, however, that these "copy cats" do not have the same devotion to the "grow only what you sell" philosophy, and hence do not provide the same level of support for local farmers.

The success of Greenmarket and the growth of Union Square has encouraged city planners to think of Greenmarket as a potential catalyst for community redevelopment. They are often asked to place a market in a troubled neighborhood to serve as a cornerstone of an improvement plan. While flattering, these requests are not always welcomed. Greenmarket has, over the years, developed a more businesslike approach to identifying sites that can be successful, (since 1975 they have closed as many sites as they have opened). This approach rests on traditional indicators, such as location, population density, demographics, and transportation. While Greenmarket serves areas that are less than prime locations, they feel that some sites are too poorly located to support markets and attract farmers. A Greenmarket, commented Lys McLauglin of the COE, can't overcome all the negatives of some locations. Benepe adds that location is more critical than income level of the neighborhood, and that markets in some low income areas are doing quite well.

School class visitors as part of Greenmarket education program.

These markets often provide a natural setting for educational and other programs to support the neighborhoods they are in. There are several programs being developed to take advantage of these opportunities. For example, Greenmarket is working with the Cornell University Cooperative Extension and local public schools to use market sites for nutritional and food preparation education, for adults and children. One program involves providing nutrition and cooking information to consumers. A market recently set up outside a public school in a low income neighborhood was called by the principal an "open air classroom." Greenmarket staff are also developing other income sources to help support these additional programs, through foundation grants, for example, or by collecting fees when a market is used as a site for movie 'shoots.'

Place

Greenmarket maintains a special, rare, and valued status within New York City. Shoppers see value in the quality of what they buy as well as in the amiable shopping experience. At times they seem a community social setting as well as a commercial one. The farmers in Greenmarket provide a wider range of produce than what is available in most stores (such as 45 'heirloom' variety tomatoes grown by one farmer) and are often responsive to the special needs of their customers, changing what they grow to serve the demand. Benepe's internal surveys show that Greenmarket produce is generally 20% less expensive that similar items found in local produce and vegetable stands. While some shoppers do not perceive this always to be the case, consumer loyalty is strong, based on the quality of the goods and the shopping experience.

Greenmarket has had a demonstrated impact on Union Square, which is cleaner and safer because of the market's presence, and is seen as a valuable stimulus by the Local Development Corporation and city planners. The market brings a special ambience to the space that carries over beyond the actual shopping days.

Process

Greenmarket operation is still largely top-down management and is strongly but not solely dependent on the efforts of Barry Benepe. Benepe's staff is very competent, has been in place for ten years, and is strongly committed to Greenmarket and its philosophy, although they appear eager to expand collateral efforts (such as using Greenmarket as an educational tool).

There are several organizational hurdles in the near future. First it is not yet clear how succession will be accomplished after Benepe retires, and what effect that will have on the operation. There is also some potential for conflict between Greenmarket staff and the Farmer and Consumer Advisory Committee, which meets to discuss policy and enforcement. This committee has traditionally been appointed by Greenmarket, although some members were elected for the first time this year. The committee is growing in responsibility and authority and is very serious about its deliberations. Some council members are pushing for a stronger voice, although other farmers and Greenmarket staff seem dubious about the ability of the committee to eventually control Greenmarket operations. Staff (and some growers) believe that Greenmarket would not thrive if control of decisions and day-to-day management resided with the Committee, and worry that an all-elected Farmers and Consumer Advisory Committee would eliminate some important voices. It seems likely that some on the Committee will push for additional authority in the future.

Enforcement of the 'grow what you sell' philosophy remains the most critical and difficult part of the operation. It requires not only painstaking maintenance of a database of what farmers cultivate, but the willingness to police and discipline grower/sellers.

Greenmarket evokes tremendous neighborhood support and loyalty in Union Square among community groups and citizens. This is also true to some degree in other sites such as Grand Army Plaza.

Benepe is seeking more financial stability for his small staff, all of whom are now paid as consultants. He is attempting to place them as full time employees of the COE, leaving him the only consultant.

Values

The primary value system of Greenmarket remains strongly embedded in ecological philosophies of farmland and farm preservation, and in promoting awareness of the mutual dependency of urban and rural areas in the New York City region. Benepe and others speak with conviction of the environmental benefits of local food production (one farmer notes that, for example, there is one-half gallon of fuel in every tomato imported from the Netherlands).

While Greenmarket tries to operate on a businesslike and self-supporting basis, emphasis is given to providing service in diverse neighborhoods. Some farmers work in markets in lower income areas with the hope of moving up to Union Square when a spot opens, while others are pleased with the business and will remain where they are. Monday is a recently added market day at Union Square, and is reserved for farmers who are new to the market.

The Bottom Line

Since the first RBA visit, Greenmarket has grown in number of sites (18 to 25), number of market days per week (25 to 32), number of farmers involved in the program (150 to 220), and farm acreage in production largely or totally for supplying its consumers (8,000 to 16,000). Access to the New York City consumer has clearly helped keep farms in production, although there is no way of knowing how many would have been forced to sell to developers had Greenmarket not existed. Farmers can make a good income at many sites. Greenmarket operation has become almost completely self-supporting from farmers' fees. In many of its sites, market days have become important events for community gathering.

Union Square continues to grow and thrive, and is becoming increasingly gentrified. There is not hard evidence of similar impact in other areas, although city planners seem to think that there are positive impacts, and push for the inclusion of markets in areas they are trying to support.

Some Key Themes for Greenmarket

Several key concerns make the long-term future of Greenmarket anything but assured. While they are very popular and have a broad base of community support, they do not have long-term contracts for the spaces they use. They have learned from experience that they are still seen as an "expendable amenity" by some officials, and can be forced out of good spaces because of other projects that get a higher priority from planners. They are, for example, feeling squeezed by the Port Authority which has taken some of the World Trade Center market space to use for a revenue producing parking concession. Benepe pointed out that farmers in particular seek stability in their markets and find the year-to-year uncertainty off-putting. City officials, he observed, often seem to not understand the special mission or philosophy of the market (such as the official who asked if Greenmarket, that supplies only locally grown produce, could provide oranges or pineapples for a city sponsored affair). Benepe would like to see an ordinance giving the markets special open-space status, differentiating them from other uses, such as flea markets.

The biggest threat to the future of Greenmarket is the risk to farmers themselves. While the markets provide a steady and reliable income, farmland remains under continual financial pressure from development and taxes. Even the most successful Greenmarket vendors were not sanguine at prospects for maintaining regional farmland over the next decade.

Maintaining the "sell what you grow" policy is a cornerstone of Greenmarket operation, and it can be the most expensive and difficult aspect of managing the system. Greenmarket staff tour each participating farm, recording what they grow and when it is due, and compare that record against products on sale in the market. Enforcement this policy is referred to the Farmer-Consumer Advisory Committee which has always agreed to suspend growers from the market for violations. The goal of Greenmarket (strongly held by both management and farmers and endorsed at the last annual meeting) is to require all "value added products," such as apple cider, to be produced on the farm by the year 2000.

1991 Brooklyn-Queens Greenway, New York, NY

Date of Visit: May 21, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Erana Stennet (Central Park Conservancy)
Herbert Geller (HUD Regional Office)

Introduction: The Brooklyn-Queens Greenway in 1991

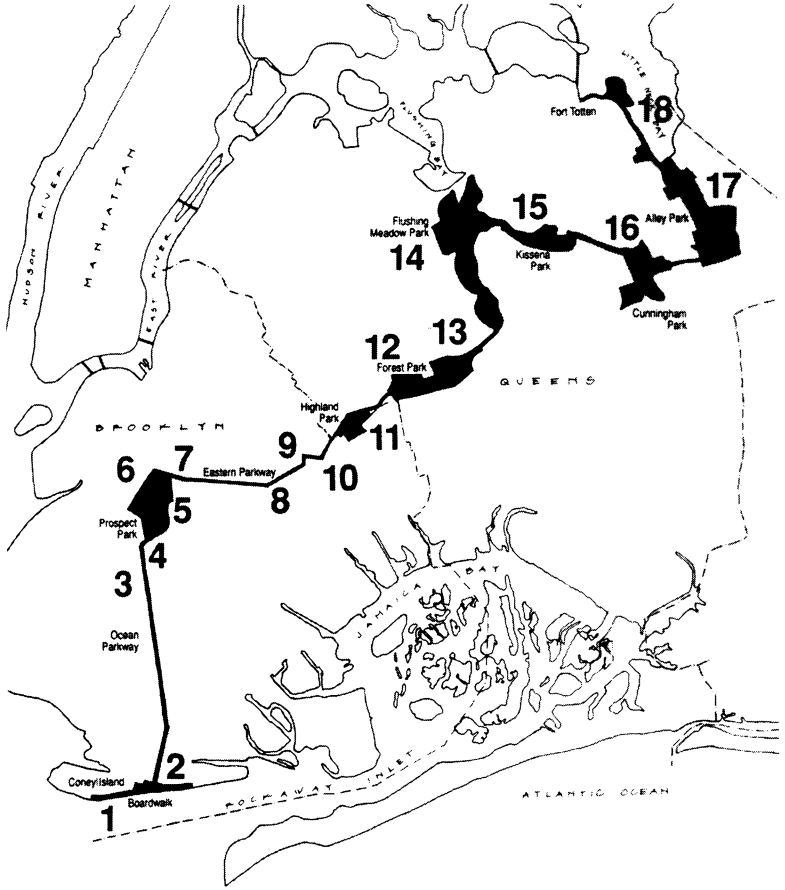
The Brooklyn Queens Greenway (BQG) is a bicycle and pedestrian trail connecting cultural, recreational, environmental, educational, and historical resources through forty miles of Brooklyn and Queens. The BQG as originally developed and proposed by Tom Fox, of the Neighborhood Open Space Coalition (NOSC) is "a great idea but not a new one." Its goal is to unify the Olmstead and the Moses park systems, providing links to create a continuous, automobile-free route. The elegance of the plan, Fox pointed out, was that 90% of the route already exists in paths and closed roads through these existing paths. The task of the BQG was to create the several miles of links that make this system safe and continuous, and to create an awareness and sense of place for this system in the minds of the public.

NOSC's stated goals for the Greenway were to provide an alternative to automobile use for travel between neighborhoods and cultural institutions in Brooklyn and Queens, to create a sense of closeness and connections to the people who are in and may use these neighborhoods and institutions, and to provide safe settings for walkers and bicycle riders in the area.

The RBA Selection Committee was particularly interested in the notions of promoting green space and alternative transportation within New York City. It also appreciated the attempt to make connections among otherwise disparate parts of the city. At the time of the RBA investigation, however, little progress had been made in terms of physical implementation of plans – for adding protected or unprotected bicycle lanes, new construction, such as the proposed veloway alongside the Interborough Parkway, or even in the use of publicity or signage to increase public awareness.

The Brooklyn-Queens Greenway Revisited

The physical reality of the BQG is virtually unchanged from the time of the last RBA visit in 1991, although a great deal has hap-



Plan for Brooklyn Queens Greenway.

pened in terms of funding and planning. As in 1991, the Greenway remains a great idea and a system of bikeway links that exist largely thanks to the efforts of Olmstead and Moses. The system, however, is still missing important pieces of physical connective links between parks, and conceptual connective links – a sense of "a Greenway" in the minds of current and potential users. Even though 90% of the system exists on the ground, it is still largely unknown to the affected public.

The potential for major improvement has greatly increased however, due largely to the availability of federal transportation funding (Inter-modal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) grants) which support alternative modes of transportation, and other funding sources (air quality mitigation, etc.). The BGQ has become an important part of planned use of these funds and NOSC staff serve on the board that makes ISTEA decisions.

While the BQG remains an amenity in the planning, the context into which it fits has changed and grown. As first submitted to the RBA, the BQG was seen as one piece of what would eventually become a system circumnavigating all of New York City. The vision is now of a metropolitan region Greenway system of 350 miles of interconnected trail. It is also conceptually linked to a network of existing or planned Greenways throughout the tristate area and, ultimately, the entire eastern seaboard.

Place

There are still very few signs anywhere on the system indicating the existence of the route – except for occasional and unofficial 'guerilla' signs spray painted by cycling groups on the pavement. Not surprisingly, without signs or major public relations efforts, there remains little awareness of the Greenway's existence, even among those who live near or actually ride along it.

There has been little construction on the system in the years since the RBA visit. Completion of the median strip path for Eastern Parkway, replete with historically appropriate hexagonal pavers, is one of the only significant physical improvements to the system.

While the reality on the ground is unchanged, major capital improvements, based on the ISTEA funds, including signage, seems imminent. The implementation plan for Queens is set to be completed in 1996 and 1997 with construction to follow in 1997 (a $50 million ribbon cutting is planned for spring 1997). In addition, inroads have been made in institutionalizing bike paths into city transportation planning.

At the time of its completion, NOSC expects the Greenway to consist largely of class 1 type bike lanes (that is, those with physical separations from automobile lanes). Approximately 65% will pass through existing parks. The rest will be class 2 (marked but not physically separated lanes in the street) or class 3 (identified street routes, without separate marked lanes.

One interesting side note is that for some citizens the original goal of using the BQG to provide links for greater contact between communities in Brooklyn and Queens is no longer clear, NOSC staff commented. Concerns over crime and social instability have lead some communities to feel that they don't want to be very accessible and connected to many others.

Eastern Parkway median renovated for Brooklyn Queens Greenway.

Process

NOSC has had serious organizational problems in the years since the first RBA visit, mostly dealing with leadership transition. Tom Fox left to work on other projects and was replaced by the Board with a Director who, we were told, did a poor job of managing the organization. During that period little progress was made in planning with city and state transportation agencies.

After 6 months the board fired the replacement Director and took temporary control of operations, finally appointing Ann McClellan, Fox's assistant, as Director. In addition, Dave Lutz, a longtime cycling advocate, was added to the NOSC staff. McClellan and Lutz have promoted NOSC's agenda and serve on the ISTEA planning board. NOSC remains a small organization using volunteer labor where possible.

Because of its small size, NOSC has chosen to focus its current Greenway efforts on the city and state planning process, as opposed to, for instance, working at the grassroots level in local communities. Lutz notes that community organizing would be a large and difficult task for his small operation, given that the trails weave through so many neighborhoods. He suggests that support will build quickly when construction begins. He says that such support is already growing as implementation nears, as evidenced in growing NOSC membership roles.

ISTEA funds represent a serious move forward for the BQG. The availability of future funding sources for development and ongoing maintenance after ISTEA is unclear, although, with two years of funding guaranteed, NOSC has more financial security than ever before.

Values

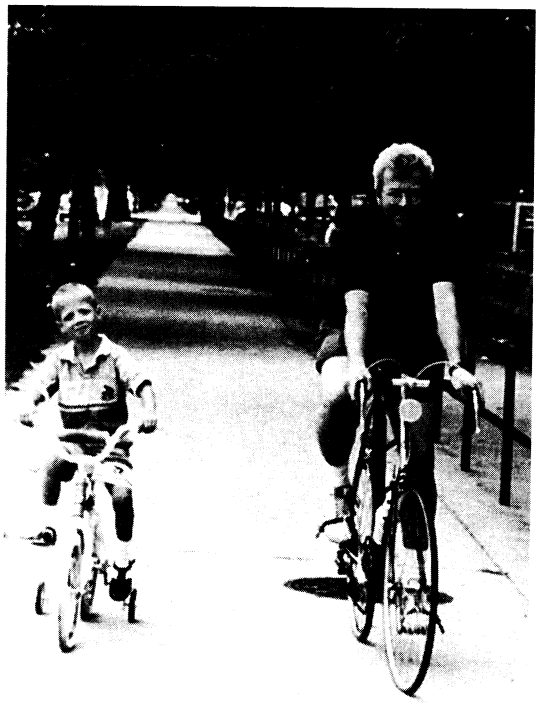
The overriding values in NOSC, and its support for the BQG, are ecological. The organization is made up of highly dedicated but underpaid and overworked staff, and unpaid volunteers, working for community open spaces that they think are ecologically important for the region. The Greenway effort may be, McClellan noted, the last major chance to significantly improve access to green space in the New York City region, and NOSC sees itself as an advocate trying to keep the city from wasting this vital opportunity.

The Bottom Line

There have not been significant improvements in the paths and connections that make the Greenway in the past five years. Although the momentum for impact has changed, due largely to the availability of ISTEA funds. Serious planning has gone forward and physical improvements should be apparent in 1997. There has also been a change in the concept of the Greenway, in that it is now seen within the context of a broad, regional Greenway system.

Some Key Themes for Brooklyn-Queens Greenway

NOSC, as its name implies, is a coalition of small local organizations with a shared interest in open spaces and parks. Any small



Riders on Ocean Parkway segment.

organization based largely on the vision of one person has a difficult transition when that founder leaves, and NOSC was no exception. It went through a very troublesome period when Tom Fox left. By the time the new Director left, the organization was drained of operating funds and paid staff were reduced from four to two. NOSC has recovered well – there are five paid staff and membership is growing as the implementation of construction for the greenway gets close.

Because of its small size, NOSC has had to make choices about where to focus its energies. The federal funds represent a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, and NOSC has chosen to put significant effort into the ISTEA planning process, possibly at the expense of doing the small things that could have increased awareness (putting up signs, etc.). Lutz notes that this strategy, (developing and presenting a plan to the city and state, and working to get it adopted by both levels of government), put New York City in a position to take advantage of ISTEA funds for alternative modes of transport when they became available. This may result in significant achievements in the very near future, although at present the awareness of the BQG at the community level remains low.

Unpaved Vanderbilt Parkway segment.

Delays in planning and construction are also linked to a limited commitment by New York City and New York State in staff and money. Alternative means of transportation is seen as a "soft" area that can be cut in difficult budgetary times. It also should be noted that the greenway plan has been developed during a period when the city has had fiscal problems and has cut funding to many basic services.

NOSC has used the intervening period to work on its master plan. This plan has been useful in helping to institutionalize pedestrian/greenway requirements for street and park construction planned by the city and state.

1991 Ocean Drive Improvement Program, Miami Beach, Florida

Date of Visit: April 16-17, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Richard Garredrant (City Planning and Development Program Manager, HUD, Florida State Office)

Introduction: Ocean Drive in 1991

Ocean Drive in North Miami is an active, revitalized area which was judged by the 1991 RBA Selection Committee to have saved its Art Deco stock of buildings to good effect. This stretch along the ocean had served the needs of vacationers for a long time. The small hotels were family resorts in the early 20th century, but after World War II they became less appealing as other areas became accessible and North Beach became the domain of elderly, lower middle income northerners, primarily of Jewish extraction. Vacationers became linked to community organizations and often retired to the by then unfashionable hotels. By the 1980s, decline had been hastened by the arrival of low-income people and large numbers of Cuban refugees.

Then, in a striking example of joint business-government community enhancement, led by the City of Miami Beach, (the RBA nominee), the ocean front was drastically changed. Fifty new cafes and businesses and crowds of exuberant visitors appeared on the ten blocks of the seafront street. By 1991, 28 historic buildings had been substantially rehabilitated and attention-getting enterprises like fashion photography were being skillfully serviced. The buildings, previously in a state of decline, had met the test of luring a different audience. Inventive zoning ordinances, the product of extensive compromise among business people, preservationists and government, had aided the successful mix of street-level cafe entertainment and hotels.

The Selection Committee for the Rudy Bruner Award and the site visit team in 1992 found the design of the waterfront park to be weak and were concerned about the lack of affordable housing for older and poorer residents. In general, the site visit team found the cooperation among the key actors was strong, although "the Miami Beach Development Corporation and the Preservation League appear to feel a bit left out."

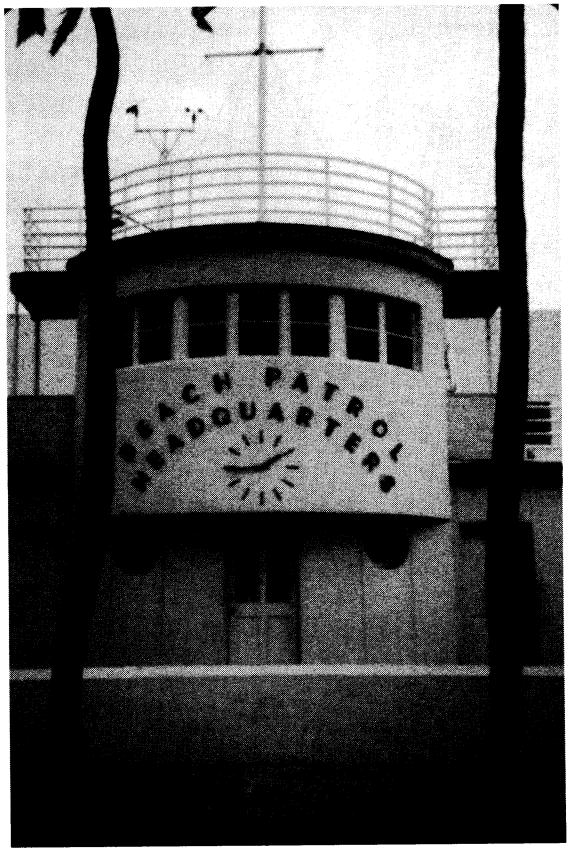
Ocean Drive Revisited

By April of 1996, Ocean Drive's loose coalition of preservationists, municipal officials, and business owners had expanded its reach and was savoring continued success. Pavarotti had sung from a

At the 1991 visit, Ocean Drive Improvement Project had renovated 21 historic beachfront hotels.

vessel near the shore to well behaved throngs; Banana Republic had opened a store two blocks off the Drive which quickly claimed sales leadership among outlets for that upscale chain. On the same street, new garages were in progress at three block intervals while redevelopment was visible many blocks inland.

Ocean Drive was the first 20th century Historic District designation to be made by the National Historic Trust and the first such project to be a finalist for the Rudy Bruner Award. It had extended its reach by means of an expanded historic district as well as through an upswing in development further inland from the ocean front.



The Beach Patrol Headquarters are being restored.

The Historic District has been officially extended to 2nd Street instead of the earlier boundary of 6th Street. Momentum has also been established west of Collins. Although some subsidized affordable housing has been developed, notably in an early 20th century hotel structure, most of the new condos and rental units are market rate. New targets for restoration include Lincoln Road, eight blocks to the northwest of Ocean Drive, and due to open in 1997. This famed 1950s. shopping area had previously suffered repeated unsuccessful efforts to rehabilitate it. Ironically, it was this area to which lower income persons moved as Ocean Drive became unaffordable to them. Now, it is expected that this part of the population will be forced out of Lincoln Road section.

Success in the hotel/cafe mix appears to be more assured than was the case during RBA earlier visit. This is true because:

- Leadership transfers have been smooth. A new preservation director with impressive credentials joined City government after the post had been empty for a time. His recruitment was possible because he viewed the development in the last five years to have been "phenomenal." The Business owners organization, the Ocean Drive Association, still receives the majority of its budget from the City but is more independent than it was in 1991.
- The District is economically successful and its problems derive largely from being highly sought after. Increasingly higher room rents in the hotels have introduced questions about parking, deference to paying guests as opposed to saunterers and concert-goers, and about what tone is to be set. ("No t-shirts on Ocean Drive" is frequently proclaimed and provides a succinct summary of what is seen as desirable merchandise.)

Place

The buildings continue to be intriguing and well used. Fifty-nine of them now have been renovated with only four remaining to be done. It is significant that as their value grows, an increasing proportion of

their owners—now 50 percent—are investors from abroad. The original plan has been largely adhered to with the major exception of two expansive structures which encroach (or soon will) on the beach side of the Drive. Loopholes in zoning and grandfathering coverage have allowed this use of near sacred beachfront real estate. Michael Graves, the famed architect, is featured on dominating billboards and there is vigorous marketing of model units.

The seafront park has not been improved and walkways and park furniture remain as they were when criticized by the Selection Committee in 1991. In addition to the large scale development of parking garages, the City seeks to improve circulation by delivering $3 million worth of mini-buses to the Drive in late 1996 and is working to gain a light rail system early in the new century.

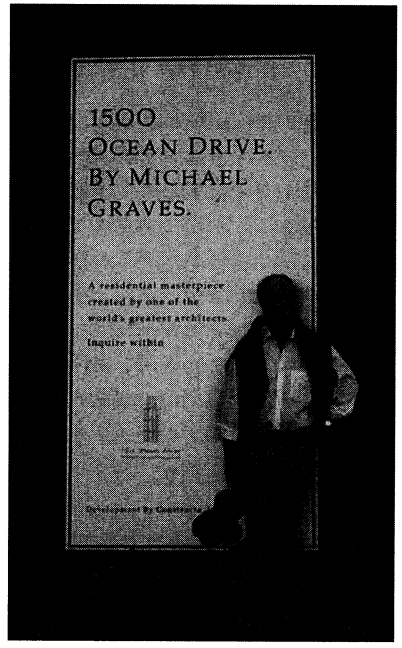
Process

The coalition of City and personnel from interest groups, most notably the business owners, appears to function well. Just as in 1991, the preservationists appear to feel hard-pressed. Services to the elderly have decreased in the areas and there are concerns about supporting affordable housing. Jewish Services Agency personnel note that they have taken on a Latino clientele and have aided older residents in moving elsewhere. No antagonism in this regard was encountered: the Drive is seen as economically desirable and a worthwhile amenity.

Values

Who says "enough" for this enterprise? What is a viable neighborhood for the Drive and surrounds? Small buildings sell for $5 million today. Although activists profess that they don't want to see the area become "like Coconut Grove," they don't appear to have a mechanism or even mutual permission to think of placing a cap on development. One longtime participant pointed to "the large expensive units coming in . . . there was a shared notion seven years ago that we don't want that overpowering us; I don't hear that (comment) today." This question was the most perplexing of the 1996 visit; it had been foretold by the 1991 review.

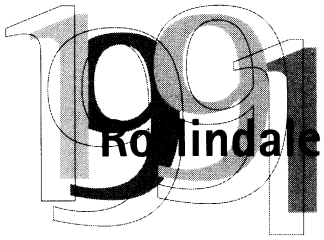
A preservationist in 1996 spoke eloquently about the authentic design of a hotel carpet while nearby a Business Improvement District ally expressed practiced annoyance at an advertising sign on a building whose owner had defied the ban on such intrusions. A third member of the coalition, a City employee, offered quiet specifics on how enforcement of codes were being altered to bring faster reprisals against violators. The three, it could be concluded, saw their interests coinciding. The sense of being engaged, the pleasure of being on the right side, have not faded.



Architect Michael Graves, in billboard cut-out form, promotes new condominium sales.

A Key Theme From Ocean Drive

Incremental Adjustments and Timing—The process by which the City continued to upgrade the preservation standards while the value of the project climbed is a study in timing and the realistic appraisal of what the market could stand. Each time the City traded up on standards it enhanced the value of Ocean Drive for its developers and for the City. Some of the facilities were actually upgraded twice during the time between RBA site visits, each time to a higher and better preservation standard.



Roslindale Village Main Street, Boston, Massachusetts

Date of Visit: March 16, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Dorothy Wong (Office of HUD Secretary's Representative, Massachusetts)

Introduction: Roslindale Village Main Street in 1991

In 1991 the Roslindale Village Main Street Program was the longest lasting group of the National Trust Main Street Urban Demonstration Program. It was the only surviving community of the original eight, with others either ceasing to exist or being absorbed into larger entities. Like most of the Main Street demonstration programs it had successfully rehabilitated storefronts and commercial signage through voluntary compliance with design guidelines. It has successfully attracted a few new businesses, done some streetscape improvements (sidewalks, lighting, benches, small parks, and landscape treatments), and it was actively involved in new promotional activities and program management providing a year-round calendar of events. Roslindale was apparently successful in forming a coalition of local community groups, generating about five million dollars in private improvements, and in becoming an effective lobby for the community with city agencies. In all, these actions together represented a modest but important confrontation of the disinvestment many Main Streets have experienced since the middle sixties, as they attempt to compete with suburban mall developments.

Roslindale Village Main Street Revisited

Roslindale Village Main Street Association has had several leaderless years, although the new Executive Director and a few Board members are clear that they believe the original initiative has acquired for them a kind of low key stability and continuing community support. They speak of the village as a place of pride with a good image. Arson, for example, was a threat at the beginning of their efforts and is no longer a concern.

Seventy-two businesses form the commercial core of Roslindale. There are ten first floor vacancies and ten second floor vacancies (two new business occupancies in April of 1996). This condition is viewed as a success in a time of general business downturn where many of their peer neighborhood associations are experiencing decline. Because of a close relationship with the Mayor of Boston and continuing interest in Main Street Programs, The Roslindale Village Main Street Association is leading the charge introducing six new Main Street programs in the city. They have been presented as the model.

Place

The Village is showing signs of wear. The new signage of several years ago is fading, some of the facade work needs fresh paint, and some of the new storefronts have largely ignored design review procedures. In effect, "the design review has not been working very well." The Village still waits for the supermarket and remains hopeful. So far, however, there has been no indication of a willingness to make the investment by any supermarket chain.

The Village is a bit "dowdy," but has many strengths to build on including the library, bank, transit stop, park, street pattern and a part-time public market. They are making good use of the 85% complete urban design plan by Chan, Krieger, Levi. The basic infrastructure decisions related to paving, street and sidewalk lighting, benches, flower gardens, etc. all still add value to the experience of the place.

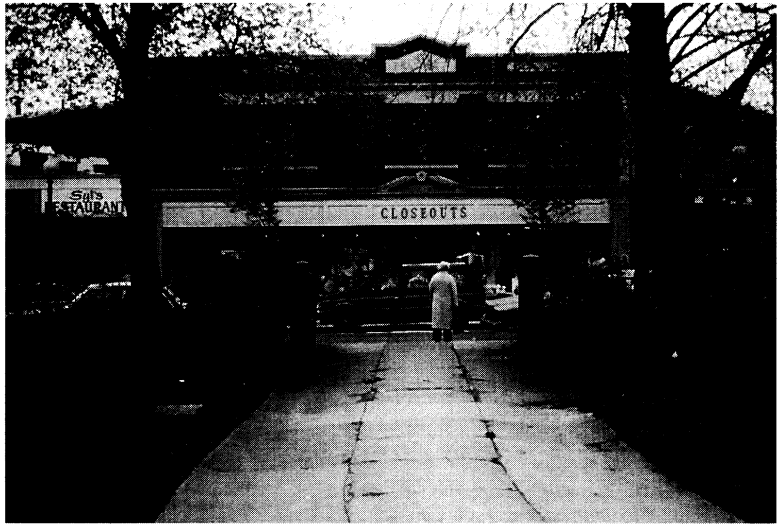
Parking is still described by merchants as a problem, although the lots we saw on a Saturday morning had ample space. When pushed, merchants describe parking as a problem when they cannot identify the spaces immediately next door.

Process

The Village Association had hoped to become self-supporting without grant money, but clearly is still living from grant to grant. During our visit there was no evidence of support for any business improvement district type assessments. There was a period, between 1991 and 1996, when the Association was without paid leadership. Even so, in this intermediate period the Association served as a neutral table to coordinate cross-promotion of the area, coordinate events designed to bring people into the area, facilitate design review, and conduct specific programmed events on a twelve month calendar. This activity is likely going to be increased with new paid staff and a new start throughout the Boston area for Main Street Demonstration Programs. Roslindale is clearly seen by Mayor Menino as the senior player for the new programs.

Values

The leadership of the Association make it clear that they do not believe the revitalization of the area is about attracting anchor stores or big box retailing. They hold on to the faith that the character of the area is and can be even a better attraction supporting neighborhood retailing and modest entertainment. It was interesting that the local independent drug store was facing some stiff competition from some chain stores in a kind of price war. The local population apparently understood the nature of the contest and came in force to support the local enterprise.



The Village is showing some signs of wear, but infrastructure improvements still contribute to community atmosphere.

Some Key Themes from Roslindale Village Main Street

Stability in the Face of Decline in the Region Is Success: In an environment of economic decline, success can sometimes be measured as holding your own or maintaining the status quo. Roslindale merchants are not better off than they were in 1991, but they are the same or a little worse (due to the wear and tear on the facades and signage fixed in the late 1980s) while other such areas in the region are significantly worse off. The economy has been in decline.

Details Matter: The voluntary compliance with design review seems to be flagging at Roslindale, perhaps due to the lack of recent leadership. One new set of signs is clearly not consistent with the efforts of the late 80s. Even so, the overall character of the area and the details of the streetscape impart a kind of timeless character that give it a distinct identity and demonstrate its continuing promise.

Maintenance: The lack of attention to maintenance in the years between Bruner Foundation team visits is clear and the dramatic before and after pictures of the community that were part of the initial reporting on the project are fading from memory. The shine is off and the dowdiness of the area is a contradiction to its aspirations to attract new business.

It's a Vision Thing: The initial vision that both set the "village" apart as a planned commercial area and as a place connected to and supported by the surrounding community remains strong, and frankly, clear. The process of planning for the area and its implementation required a broad understanding of what was realistically possible in this period of economic decline and the aggressive pursuit of the possible by the Association and its members.

West Clinton Action Plan, Portland, Oregon

Date of Visit: May 20, 1996

Site Visitors: Polly Welch, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Mark Pavolka (HUD State Office Coordinator, Portland, Oregon)
Ed McNamara (1993 RBA Selection Committee member)
Gretchen Dursch (Executive Director, Housing Our Families; Maya Angelou Community Initiative, 1995 RBA Winner)

Introduction: West Clinton Action Plan in 1991

The West Clinton area of the Hosford Abernathy neighborhood is an area of some 70 city blocks and 250 households in southeast Portland. In 1991, the neighborhood was in the middle of a two year revitalization program. West Clinton had been a "solid blue collar Italian" neighborhood until the 1950s. when the Oregon Department of Transportation, (ODOT), began to acquire and clear buildings for the proposed Mt. Hood Freeway, starting a pattern of economic and social disinvestment that lasted for years. The highway plan failed, and the cleared lots sat vacant, leaving large gaps in the neighborhood. Home owners moved away and soon the number of rental households exceeded those owner occupied. Housing stock deteriorated, nearby industry began to encroach, and truck traffic and drug traffic made the streets unsafe. West Clinton was described as the second poorest neighborhood in Portland, but many of its problems could be found in other parts of southeast Portland.

In 1989 REACH, an increasingly successful community non-profit organization, developed a strategy of combining community organizing and housing renovation in a focused area over a period of 2-3 years. REACH worked with the coalition of six neighborhood groups which comprise its service area, and with graduate students from Portland State University, to develop a process for selecting the first target area. Once West Clinton emerged from the data as the most needy with high potential for improvement, a door to door survey identified the priorities of its residents. Three planning workshops and research by REACH staff led to the West Clinton Action Plan, (WCAP), implemented between mid 1990 and mid 1992. REACH's city funding to assist West Clinton lasted two and a half years, for planning and implementation. In anticipation of leaving the community, and prompted by questions during the 1991 RBA site visit, REACH prepared a transition plan. The RBA Selection Committee also questioned whether the Action Plan was replicable and could serve as a model for others.

Because the West Clinton Action Plan was an RBA finalist while it was still being implemented, this re-visit documents achievements that would typically have been part of the initial RBA site visit.

West Clinton Action Plan Revisited

Five years later, the WCAP improvements have been completed. The houses that were rehabilitated are occupied, the new community

West Clinton houses after painting and street tree planting.

garden is well used, and the street trees are beginning to provide a hint of canopy. The neighborhood now has very few run down buildings, many clean yards, and no abandoned vehicles; the streets are safer; and property values are going up. REACH is growing into the most seasoned and respected Community Development Corporation in Oregon. It is serving other Portland neighborhoods with different needs and opportunities through its increasingly refined process and organizing skills. The City of Portland has adopted the concept of locally organized neighborhood planning and intervention, based on the West Clinton Action Plan, as its model for neighborhood assistance.

When asked whether the action plan had been a success, several people cited concrete indicators that resulted directly from actions taken by REACH and the neighborhood. Community-wide clean up days have continued as annual events and fewer dumpsters have been required in recent years. There are few, if any, complaints about trucks disrupting neighborhood ambiance; truck traffic has been reduced and the hours that they travel through the area have been limited, as negotiated through the Action Plan process. Drug dealing has been curtailed and the Safety Committee of the Hosford Abernathy Neighborhood Association, (HAND), dealt effectively with the recent emergence of a "gang house." Neighborhood stores have, or are in the process of, renovating and upgrading their facilities. The community garden is growing and being enjoyed in spite of unresolved issues between the city and HAND about its maintenance and use.


A West Clinton house prior to restoration.

Today the West Clinton Steering Committee no longer meets as a separate entity, as it was folded into the larger Hosford Abernathy Neighborhood Association, (HAND). Residents can take their issues and problems to HAND, the neighborhood association of which West Clinton is a part. One West Clinton resident who has been active with HAND for 9 years voiced that there was "probably not as much community as you might expect, but the networks are there." Another community leader, who became active on the West Clinton Committee as a result of the neighborhood activities, felt that its demise can be attributed to losing staff support when REACH's community organizing role came to an end. This individual, one of a small handful of West Clinton residents to run for election and serve on the HAND Board, helped make West Clinton a more important player in community politics. In his four years as chair of HAND, he tried to re-focus the organization away from its previous focus on the most affluent neighborhood, Ladd's Addition, to represent all quadrants of the neighborhood equally. "If the West Clinton Committee had survived it would have been easier to focus attention on West Clinton's needs." His job-related departure from the neighborhood this year, leaves West Clinton without an energetic and articulate advocate.

REACH has moved on to other projects. It is applying what it learned from West Clinton to its Action Plan process with the Sunnyside neighborhood through a Target Area Development Program grant. This neighborhood includes the five by eleven block Belmont Business District. With the added challenge of economic development and more contentious residents, this Action Plan is testing the transferability of what REACH learned in West Clinton. REACH has found that the same materials and process worked well.

In Sunnyside, REACH is learning the value of strong neighborhood institutions – a church and a school are playing a significant role in drawing the community into the process. Purchasing housing for revitalization has become less of a focus for REACH because residential real estate values have become too expensive in Sunnyside to make it economically viable. Instead, increasing the scope of the action plan process to include the commercial district revitalization, is emerging as a critical factor in serving low and moderate income neighborhoods. REACH's underlying goal continues to be to bring the neighborhood together to work out a mutually agreeable set of goals and achievable actions.

The quality of the process that REACH has developed was very evident in the revisit. The organization has created solid survey instruments, excellent techniques for sharing the results with the community, critical activities for ensuring community consensus, creative opportunities for involving volunteers from the community as well as other parts of the city, and solid communication devices for keeping the neighborhood informed of progress and ongoing opportunities to get involved. REACH has maximized its capacity to develop materials, processes and activities beyond that of many other non-profit because of its success in engaging the talents of volunteers and interns. The effectiveness of REACH's approach to community development makes the organization a leader in the industry. Its process and products are used by many other CDCs because REACH now also provides technical assistance to fledgling groups.


Neighborhood group at tree planting.

REACH has also developed creative ways of engaging volunteers citywide. The director of the Neighborhood Partnership Fund, citing Portland's poor history of philanthropy, applauded REACH's success in utilizing volunteers. Asking Portland residents to help plant trees and paint houses, as it did in West Clinton, educates individuals and helps raise money. Media coverage celebrates both the product and the process.

West Clinton Action Plan has also become a model in the larger sense. The city of Portland has created the Target Area Designation Program (TADP), administered through the Bureau of Housing and Community Development, that gives up to $100,000 over three years to community-based organizations to implement comprehensive revitalization strategies in small geographic areas. Eight Portland neighborhoods are currently funded as target areas. Learning from WCAP the city stresses the importance of outcomes and recognizes the need for the technical assistance provider to prepare the local neighborhood association to take over after three years. In the summer of 1996 the City sponsored an evaluation of the effectiveness of the TADP and found that it had had a positive effect on economic growth, had strengthened the community's capacity to address that growth, and provided assistance to long time residents threatened by gentrification.

Place

Since the initial visit in 1991, the houses that REACH was renovating have been completed and the community garden has matured. According to REACH, the 21 units it renovated in the neighborhood led to 50 additional private improvements of residential property, about 20% of the housing stock. Real estate prices have increased, although it is difficult to separate this factor from the dramatic

appreciation of residential property values across Portland in the last few years. More indicative of a change in neighborhood reputation is the trend for West Clinton to be explicitly mentioned in real estate ads as an attribute of the property. The streets reflect the qualities of a pleasant residential neighborhood – quiet, clean and safe. This is the outcome of removing disruptive and illegal activities as well as adding trees and street paving. Without benefit of before and after photographs the changes are difficult to fully appreciate. This suggests that a successful product may be useful as a symbol of a collective empowering experience more than as a publicly recognized physical transformation.

Process

At the neighborhood level, most of the impacts of the West Clinton Action Plan were concrete physical improvements. It is not yet clear whether the process that led to the improvements has any long term impact on the residents' ability to manage future change. Goal 4 of the Action Plan was to increase citizen involvement and community pride. During the three year process more than 115 residents were directly involved in the Action Plan; the West Clinton Steering Committee met regularly; community meetings were held monthly; and several West Clinton residents joined the HAND Board, the local neighborhood association. Four years later one of those residents has moved away and the other feels that there is not as much evidence of community as one might expect after an intervention such as WCAP but the network of people exists and could be mobilized if necessary.

At the time of the revisit, Fred Meyer, a local superstore chain, was negotiating with the city to locate a store on the site of a local neighborhood park in exchange for an abutting parcel. Although the site was outside the West Clinton area, this was an important issue for HAND. Twelve concerned residents who had never before participated in the neighborhood association got themselves elected to the HAND board because of this issue. One long time board member speculated that the newcomers were single issue people and, by claiming a majority of board positions, might distract HAND's focus from other important issues in the neighborhood. A light rail line may extend through the south side of the neighborhood. The prospect of a local transit stop concerns West Clinton residents because they fear becoming a parking lot for commuters, but the issue of how it might further inflate property values did not emerge.

Values

Local participation in planning is not a new value in community development but is often caught between endless process meetings and staff commitment to action. REACH's approach seeks a balance by focusing on resident involvement in problem setting and staff expertise in establishing achievable outcomes. This allows the neighborhood to accomplish critical interventions in a three year period. The downside may be that residents do not fully own the process; organizing around ongoing issues remains difficult.

The current status of the community garden, perhaps, illustrates this dilemma. Although built and identified as a city park, the city has not had the budget to actually maintain the area. HAND agreed to provide maintenance for a two year period through neighbor-

West Clinton neighbors planting trees.

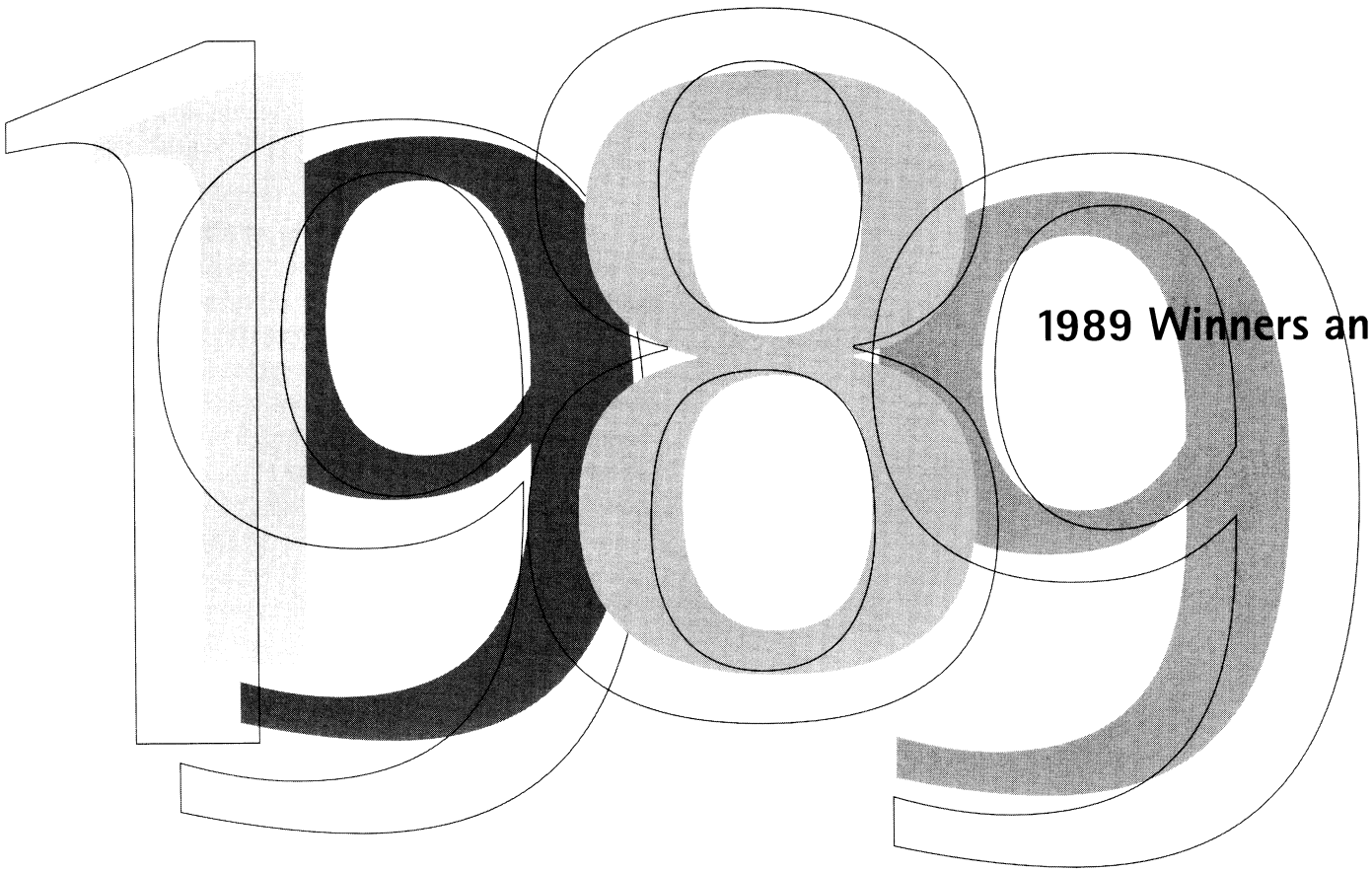
hood volunteers. This successful arrangement expired last spring without renegotiation. Occasional conflicts between the parks department and the volunteers, such as the removal of flowers planted by volunteers and a swing erected by residents, have created some distrust and ill-will with the city. This situation appears to be impeding resolution of park maintenance and raises the question: "whose neighborhood is this, anyway?"

REACH had a clearly established goal of short-term involvement. The shift from day to day involvement in neighborhood improvements to only being the manager of twenty units of rental housing was facilitated by a transition plan. It is still early to assess its effect. One small indicator of the neighborhood's ownership of the Action Plan was HAND's application to and award from Neighborhoods USA for the success of the West Clinton Action Plan. Nowhere did it mention REACH. Invisibility may, ironically, be the ultimate indicator of success!

Some Key Themes from West Clinton

The RBA Selection Committee in 1991 questioned whether the project was far enough along to demonstrate success. Although the physical goals of the plan have been achieved – the houses completed and occupied, the trees planted, the trucks gone – success is still difficult to measure. The neighborhood is definitely safer, cleaner, and more aware of what it can do for itself. The neighborhood's ability to meet new challenges remains to be tested.

Gentrification in southeast Portland has become an increasing pressure since 1991. Goal 7 of the WCAP was to increase the number of home owners and resident landlords. Now, as property values rise across the metropolitan area, sustaining housing affordability becomes increasingly important to the city. Indicators that West Clinton is experiencing upscale pressures can be seen in the replacement of 40 ounce beer bottles by microbrews at the grocery store and the introduction of Internet access at the corner coffee shop. REACH's ownership of twenty units of affordable rental housing, conceived as neighborhood revitalization, is now a critical factor in the neighborhood's stability as a mixed income community.



1989 Winners and Finalists

1989

Tenant Interim Lease Program, New York City, New York

Date of Visit: May 15, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
David Sweeney and Isabel Hill (Greenpoint Manufacturing and Design Center)
Susan Saegert (City University of New York)

Introduction: The Tenant Interim Lease Program in 1989

New York City's Tenant Interim Lease Program (TIL) was one of several programs that arose in the 1970s. as a response to the huge stock of apartment buildings (more than 10,000) that were abandoned by landlords and taken over by the city government for non-payment of taxes. TIL offered a way for tenant-residents to become cooperative owners of these abandoned buildings and was unique among city housing programs in relying "completely on the initiative and persistence of the tenants". Urban Homesteading Assistance Board (UHAB), a non-profit organization, has worked under contract to the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), to provide management training and technical assistance to TIL applicants, and has played a major role in making the TIL program effective.

Tenants with the TIL program had to work their way through a long and arduous process to complete the various steps required to own a building through TIL. Typically tenant associations with weak leadership or inability to work as a team didn't survive. Buildings weren't even considered for the program unless more than 60% of the units were occupied. At least half of the residents had to vote to create a tenant association and agree to pay a minimum rent. Residents had to attend UHAB classes on management, finances, maintenance and the like. Tenants were expected to create a repair plan and work, with HPD support, to complete the plan and upgrade the physical plant. At the start of TIL HPD allowed $2000 to $5000 per unit for repairs. By the time of the

TIL building on West 136th Street, Manhattan.

1989 RBA site visit the cost rose to $15,000 per unit.

After tenants met several performance requirements the long process of transferring title began. The tenant association managed the building and collected rents, again with the support of UHAB and under the eye of HPD, while repairs were underway and until the sale was completed – a process that often took several years. The Board of Estimate established the sale price for the building units, which was $250 per unit, with restrictions on resale to assure that apartments were not turned over for significant profit and removed from the stock of affordable housing.

HDP acted as the advocate for the building to help keep property taxes affordable after rehabilitation. UHAB also established programs for support of tenant owners after the sale. Long-term, low interest loans were made available for the many repairs that, typically, were still needed after the city sponsored work was completed. HPD also pre-qualified these buildings for an emergency loan program to help with sudden and unexpected repairs.

At the time of the original RBA review, there were 500 buildings (12,000 units) in TIL, with 236 buildings (6000 units) completed and sold to tenants. The Selection Committee was impressed by the size, scale, and success of this program. An important aspect of the program was the level of training provided to help tenants gain the competency to manage these buildings successfully. TIL helped create home ownership for low income tenants, maintained the stock of affordable housing, helped stabilize neighborhoods, and developed building management skills among many tenants.

Tenant Interim Lease Program Revisited

The TIL program has continued to grow both in size and impact. There are now over 1000 buildings and 25,000 residential living units that are using TIL in the process of rehabilitation towards eventual cooperative ownership or have completed the program. This is a program that in almost any other city would be seen as a phenomenal success because of its major impact on the creation and maintenance of quality housing. Only within the mammoth housing crisis of New York City could it become nearly invisible.

Creating affordable housing through TIL has never been easy, and though successful by most accounts, the TIL program remains a struggle.

- Most importantly, it is a struggle for tenants who must endure long waits and city bureaucracies to complete renovations, who must work their way through the program toward ownership, and who have reduced access to support and technical assistance because of reduced funding to UHAB;
- It is a struggle for UHAB which must continually fight for attention and funding from the city and does not receive resources sufficient to provide the level of support required by a program that is so vast and so dependent on human development and technical skills;
- It is a struggle for the program which continues to compete for scarce funding with several of the other city programs that deal with renovation of *in rem* buildings.

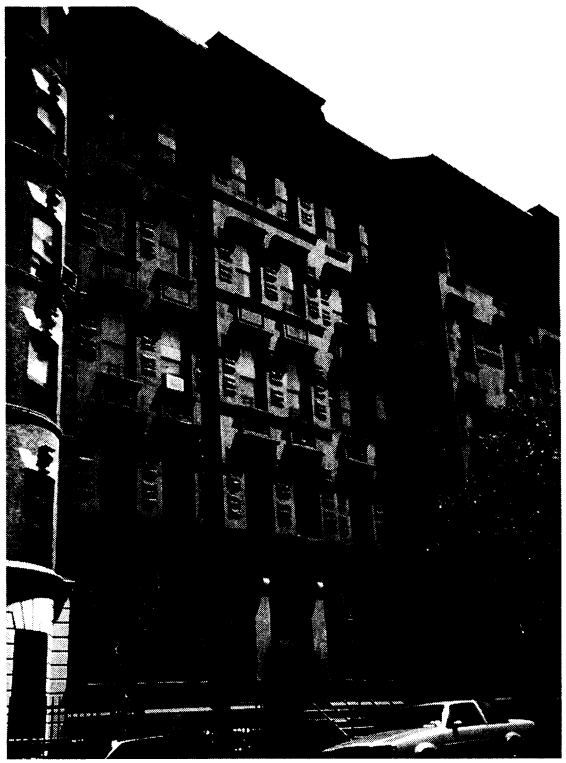
Restored entry facade on 136th Street, Manhattan.

The changing political, regulatory and policy environment make the future less than certain for a program like TIL that does not have a natural power base. Those who want to see TIL survive and are most likely to benefit from it – tenants in *in rem* buildings – are typically not politically strong, or well organized.

Still, TIL is not without its supporters. It has the support and allegiance of UHAB and residents, many of whom are now property owners, and it has the commitment of many staffers within HPD. It also has a strong positive record of creating successes (in both human and physical terms) in a cost effective way.

Place(s)

It is hard to characterize the face of a program that has dealt with so many buildings in such a variety of neighborhoods. Many buildings in the TIL program represent the solid pre-war housing stock that, by their scale and attractive facades, are an important part of the character of New York City neighborhoods. Restoration work on these buildings has brought hundreds of these structures back to life, with repair to exterior facades, entryways and stairs, as well as improved plumbing and heating systems, upgraded and restored interiors.



TIL building on W. 145th Street, Manhattan.

The level and quality of restorations vary widely. They depend in part on the level of funding the city is willing to provide. Funding has increased significantly in recent years from a cosmetic $3000 per unit to approximately $45,000 per unit, which provides for more substantial changes, but is still far short of allowing "gut rehabilitation." It also depends on the commitment and effort of the tenant board. Where the board struggles (often uphill) to gain input into the planning and construction process, and exercises oversight over the work, the restorations can be extensive and of high quality.

All buildings going into TIL still have restrictive covenants on resale, although those covenants vary somewhat among buildings completed at different times. Several TIL residents in Harlem said that there had been a few illegal high-rate rentals in parts of southern Harlem that are now "hot," but that for the most part the covenants have served their purpose of maintaining the affordable housing stock. There are by now enough TIL buildings completed that in some neighborhoods whole blocks have been transformed.

New York City is currently considering other uses of TIL. This might include sending tenants notice if the owner is in default of taxes, prior to city takeover, describing to tenants various available options, including TIL. Such a program could get buildings into the hands of tenant owner up to several years earlier than waiting for the process of foreclosure to be completed.

The city is also considering selling buildings with delinquent taxes to local not-for-profit organizations, who will then be expected to rehabilitate them and organize the tenants. The city is testing more flexible rules. In one instance, or example, they are moving tenants from three partially occupied buildings to create a fully occupied one, which will then be eligible for TIL.

Officials in HPD say they are working to shorten the time it takes to get a TIL building to its sale closing and trying to give tenants more control over the repair and contracting process, while involving them more in the scope of work.

Process

The qualifications for entry into the TIL program remain largely the same as at the start of the program, although the minimum rent has been raised to $55 per room.

Early in the program some believed that the difficulties involved in getting into and through TIL were important to its success –the difficulties winnowed out the less committed and self-selecting the most determined tenants. Experience over the years, however, has lead both UHAB staff and tenants to reject earlier assertions that TIL "has to be hard in order to be successful." It is not necessary, they say, that tenants be a small, self selected group – those who survive a difficult and extended process. They voiced the need to increase access to cooperative ownership by making TIL easier to enter and to use successfully. The program still requires significant energy and commitment, so much so that some have called those tenants who succeed in it the true "heroes" of this story.

TIL resident and co-op leader.

Funding cuts have forced UHAB to change its approach to providing support. It no longer has the ability to send staff regularly to each site to provide support and assistance. Instead, much interaction with tenants occurs via the telephone, and tenants must visit a UHAB office for personal contact. UHAB is working to help establish supportive networks. In Community Board 9, (Harlem), for example, it has organized a network of 40 buildings that are sharing experiences and information and helping each other through and after the TIL process.

Values

TIL is, at its base, a program that seeks to help keep a place in New York City for citizens of low and moderate incomes, by providing them with opportunities for home ownership. An essential value of TIL is a belief in the competence of low and moderate income tenants to manage their own housing and, in effect, their own lives. TIL succeeds to the degree that it provides tenants with the tools to learn basic management skills and the opportunity to control their own destiny.

TIL demonstrates a broad commitment to neighborhood welfare. One tenant-controlled building we visited had three valuable storefront retail units, and set rent for these units at 60% of usual market rates because of their own belief in the value of keeping quality businesses in the neighborhood ("rents around here are outrageous"). The merchants, in turn, offered to help in the creation of the TIL and donated $3500 each to the renovation fund. This is the same building board that rejected up to $250,000 of city funds to gain more control over quality of construction, and has forfeited the rent of one unit to create a community room

The Bottom Line

By any measure TIL is a very large program that has had a significant impact on saving the *in rem* housing stock and preserving affordable housing:

- over 1000 buildings (25,000 units) have been or are involved in TIL and 745 buildings have gone through TIL and are 'out' – cooperatively owned by residents;
- the amount spent per unit has soared from the original $1-2,000 to $45,000 because the buildings now in the program are in worse shape and need more repairs, and because the city is supporting more ambitious renovations.

UHAB estimates that about 25% of the need, available *in rem* housing stock that could make use of by TIL, is being filled by the current program. This number is limited largely by the city budgetary cap on renovation funds. New York City provides support for about 500 units/year. The program requires that buildings must have $1,000 per unit in reserve funds, a sum which is well out of the reach of most groups.

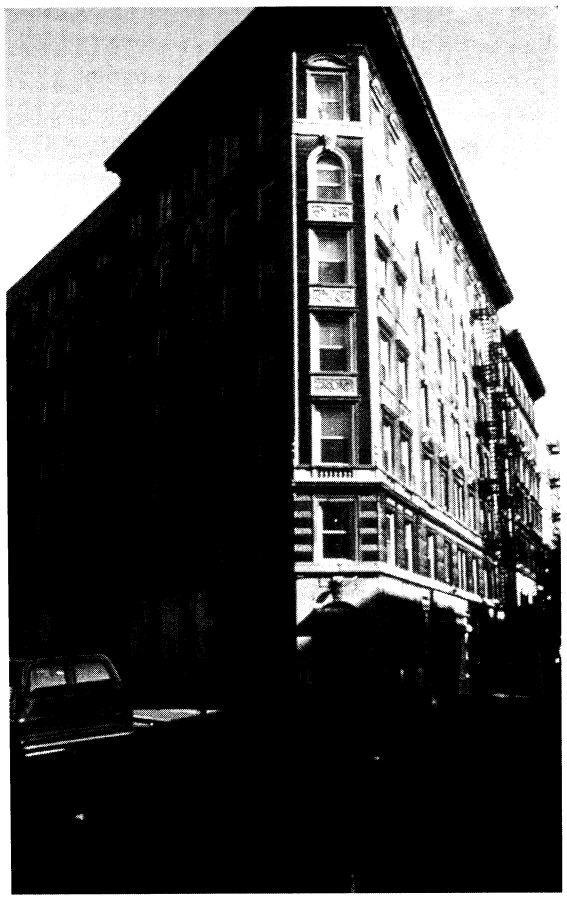
There have been strikingly few outright failures. Of the more than 1000 buildings currently involved in TIL, UHAB staff said that only four or five of them have been taken out of the program and returned to city ownership. The city, however, no longer considers re-taking ownership of a building in default of taxes as an option. For buildings that have gone through this program and where non-payment of taxes is a problem (about 6% owe more than $2500 in taxes per unit) the city now considers selling tax liens to investors. Many buildings struggle, but most seem to make their way through the system toward home ownership.

Susan Saegert and her colleagues[1] have extensively studied the impact of TIL. They have found that tenants in TIL buildings tend to rate management and services as better than tenants in buildings run by other HPD *in rem* programs. These TIL buildings are also rated as having better security and lower crime. Tenants in TIL buildings have better attendance of building management meetings, and are also more likely to get involved in other neighborhood social and political activities. They also lend stability to neighborhoods, staying in their apartments an average of better than six years in the Bronx and more than thirteen years in Brooklyn.

Some Key Themes from Tenant Interim Lease

A critical problem for TIL, which is dependent on city policy and funding for survival, is how to develop a political voice when the program has no geographic center (buildings are widely dispersed) and has a diverse and often impoverished user base. In response, support groups, made up of representatives of a number of buildings that have passed through TIL have developed, but are not yet a powerful lobby to city agencies.

Even after more than a decade of operation, the renovation process often seems to tenants as if it is designed to create confu-



TIL building in Manhattan.

sion and difficulty. For example, contractors are paid by and answer to the distant city hall, leaving the on-site residents little leverage to control the type and quality of work. (One building we visited actually rejected about $250,000 of city rehabilitation funds so that they could have total control over the quality of the contractor's work, even though it reduced them to rehabilitating only a few units per year).

Tenants must still typically survive a long period of improving the building and training, during which time they must manage on a very limited budget. Andy Reicher, director of UHAB, observed that, under these conditions, TIL training provides people with skills for managing and coping with a building in crisis, but does not yet do a good job of teaching skills for the "normal" and ongoing management of buildings.

Current city policy toward TIL is unclear. UHAB staffers and TIL residents believe that the city is actively working to limit access to TIL by not informing tenants of their options and by limiting the growth of TIL in favor of other options (capital funding is about 50% that of the new Neighborhood Entrepreneur Program). UHAB staffing has been cut even while the number of buildings it is supposed to serve has grown. This is in spite of evaluation data that point to TIL as the most successful and least costly of the *in rem* housing programs. City officials insist that TIL has an equivalent share of the housing budget and is seen as a good program, although as just one of several options. HPD itself has suffered staff and funding cuts, however, reducing its ability to give this as well as other programs sufficient attention. Constant changes at HPD, across and within administrations, adds to the frustration tenant-owners have in negotiating with the city to effect repairs and complete the ownership process.

Endnote

1 Saegert, S. and Winkel, G. (1996). Paths to Community Empowerment: Organizing at Home. American Journal of Community Psychology, 24, 4. 517-550.

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1989 The Southwest Corridor, Boston, Massachusetts

Date of Visit: March 15, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Dorothy Wong (HUD Secretary's Representative, Massachusetts State Office)
Che Madyun (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative)

Introduction: The Southwest Corridor in 1987

The Southwest Corridor story of 1987 was a story of the process by which an incredibly complex project costing over one billion dollars, involving several overlapping jurisdictions and several goals were all blended into one well-executed project. The result was a new multi-modal transportation component involving the replacement of the Metropolitan Boston Transportation Authority Orange Line, the establishment of four lines of commuter rail, Intercity Amtrack service, and eight transit stations, all supporting an increase in ridership of 54% in its first year in operation. In addition, the project included four and seven-tenths miles of linear park with fifty-two acres of deck over the transit system, twenty playgrounds, sixteen courts for street hockey, basketball, and tennis, and ninety community gardens. The massive new system required city infrastructure adjustments including local street alignments and improvements, twenty-six new bridges, and the relocation of the Stony Brook Valley Conduit storm drainage system supporting thirteen miles of watershed.

Community development activities attendant with the transit effort involved a new community college for five hundred students, two new high schools, an occupational resource center, and five hundred new units of housing. Many other community development efforts were in the planning stages. This largest of all construction projects in Massachusetts history employed massive community participation through twenty five neighborhood committees and task forces, twenty more existing community groups working with thirty consulting firms and forty-seven separate construction contracts. Estimates at the time of the Rudy Bruner Award site visit suggested that over one-third of the population of the Metropolitan Boston area was affected by the project at the neighborhood level.

The power of the Southwest Corridor story in 1987 was that a high quality of design standard combined with broad and empowering participation, resulted in a complete reconception of neighborhoods abutting the corridor. The disinvestment caused by a planned elevated highway had scarred the landscape and divided communities since 1948. The ultimate planned construction in the late 1960's led to a fight to stop the highway and the eventual reconception of the highway plan into the Inter-modal system finally constructed.

Southwest Corridor Revisited

The Southwest Corridor is still an emerging success story about transportation, economic development, and community development. The ridership on the transit is relatively high. The park itself is well maintained through the intelligent actions of both park maintenance personnel and local community groups and volunteers. It is seen as a safe park where people smile back. There is substantial evidence of new housing starts and rehabilitation work. And, there is a gradual widening of the corridor through discrete acts of construction at the stations. This widening takes the Corridor dynamics about transit and links them with individual neighborhoods and clusters of neighborhoods bringing the two sides of the Corridor together. The park has become a real link between neighborhoods.

Neighborhood and community groups called to action by the Corridor project and supported by project resources continue to be active, programming events in Corridor spaces, volunteering time in Corridor maintenance (gardening, lawn mowing, even trash removal), and working on economic and community development proposals for sites created or made more valuable as a result of the Corridor project.

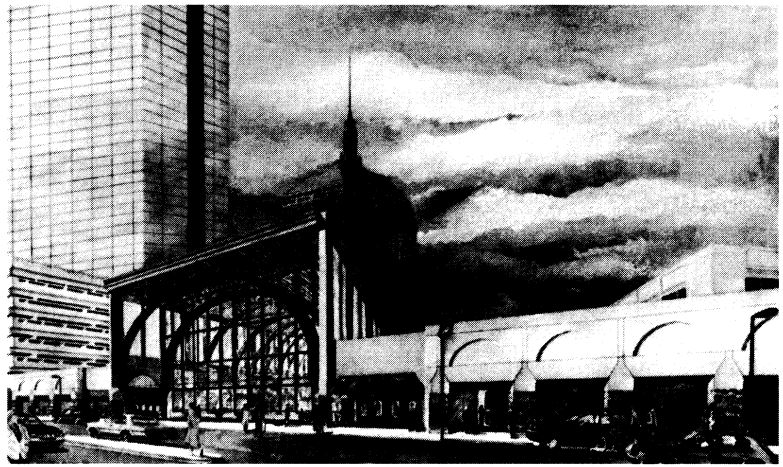
Property values in Jamaica Plains and in Roxbury are on the rise, showing better than average regional performance. Public sector investments have been serving as a catalyst for private sector work. Thus far, however, the amount of private sector investment seems modest compared to public spending.

Some community members still feel betrayed by the Corridor project, believing that it was supposed to stop the highway including the now six lanes of traffic near the Roxbury station or that it was supposed to make the Jamaica Plains and Roxbury area as prosperous as the South End. These kind of observations prompt quick and clear responses from the Corridor project managers, suggesting there remain some false expectations about the Corridor or the time frame the corridor project requires to fulfill its vision. The current economic and community development activity in Jamaica Plains and Roxbury is in an incubation stage, literally just starting. If one imagines the Corridor project to be a fifty year project, there is still a lot of time and development to occur improving the parity between neighborhoods along the Corridor. In addition, the stop the highway effort was successful. Roxbury would have had twelve lanes under the highway plan, not six, and it was not the highway that was originally targeted by the neighborhoods to stop.

Concurrent with the concern about betrayal is a concern that the Corridor neighborhoods may be a victim of the Corridor success. There is a parking invasion into the neighborhood's Roxbury Community College, for example. This problem is on the radar screen at the college which, to its credit, is working with community members to develop solutions.

Place

In general the park is well maintained, but the stations have been the victim of expedient repairs, thoughtless lighting add-ons, new electrical installations and conduit tacked onto wall surfaces, and other adjustments to their physical plant which do not do justice to the initial design ideals. In a few cases, pigeon control has failed or has been installed in an ugly manner, again defeating the potential quality of the station designs.



Back Bay Station.

There is evidence that some of the construction has resulted in a redefinition of the front door and back door of institutions. Northestern University, for example, now addresses the corridor with signage and path systems marking a major entrance to their campus. The same is true for portions of Roxbury Community College, the Reggie Lewis Athletic Facility, and other buildings emerging on what was once the corridor border.

Place identity is strong. As one rides the train, the different character of each station does come through. There is a strong sense of being able to recognize where you are all along the corridor system. Several stations, however, are still seen as islands rather than the integral part of the neighborhood envisioned. For example, both the Roxbury and Ruggles Street stations are still waiting for supporting development.

The station art and some of the art in the park is not wearing well and continues to be seen by some of the project leadership as a disappointing aspect of the effort. Specifically, there is no fund for maintaining the work, it is not seen as integral to the stations, and, in general, it is reported as a missed opportunity.

There are visible improvements to the quality of the neighborhoods abutting the Corridor. Housing starts, rehabilitation, new

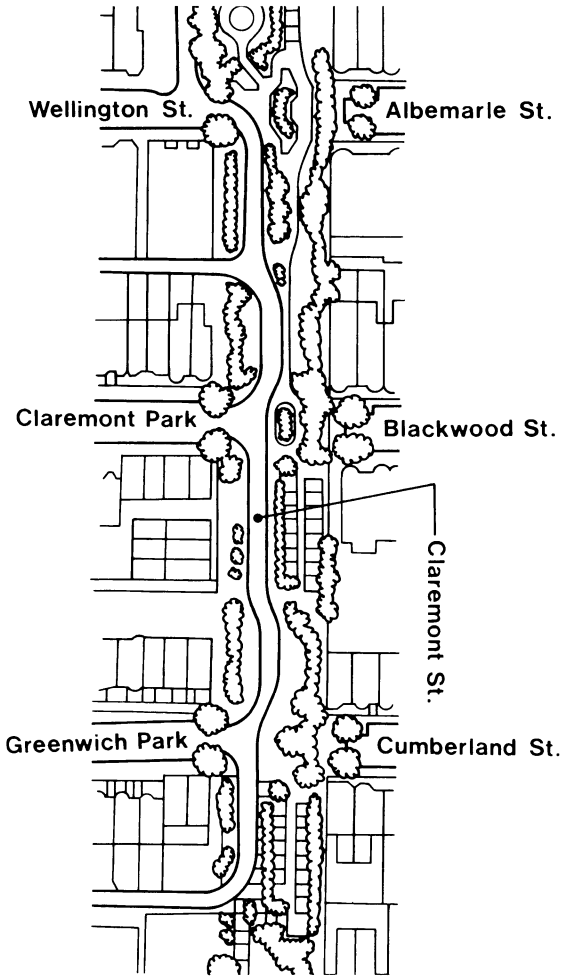
public buildings, some new private commercial starts all speak well to an overall qualitative difference. The improvements also stand to illustrate the assertion that the corridor is a fifty year project and is not yet complete.

Process

The Corridor is losing its identity as the organizing force behind action in the park and abutting neighborhoods. The basic unit of analysis is now the neighborhoods. The Corridor appears to be in a transition phase from one large vision (a transportation and economic development vision) to several more discrete visions driven by individual neighborhoods and neighborhood intersections. It is moving from one project to many projects, leaving its somewhat centralized and focused project start-up mode to a much more decentralized project continuation. There is a strong network of organizations and community groups working on this continuation, but not as part of a corridor project development. The decentralized work is more easily understood as local neighborhood and regional economic development. The metaphor developed by the revisit team is that of an adolescent, still dependent on its parents (The MBTA, the State, and the City of Boston) even while it is busy declaring its independence.

Some enlightened attitudes support the continuing good maintenance of the park system. The park maintenance staff that manages lawn mowers, for example, is allowing nearby residents to store park maintenance machines in their private homes and use them on the park as volunteers. The volunteers in turn maintain the machines in great shape, work the park lawns and gardens, and even buy the gasoline. The maintenance program takes on the character of Tom Sawyers fence, facilitating good park maintenance, good equipment maintenance, and good community identity with the park and the maintenance program.

The colleges are playing an increasingly important role in the nearby communities. In 1986 when we visited the sites, Northeastern was actively discouraging dormitory construction abutting the Corridor and now dorms are adding to the life on the street in the Northeastern neighborhood. The Roxbury Community College (RCC) is doing a lot of training in the area, giving some preference to Corridor vendors for services to the college and training them in good business practices. RCC is also working to mediate community development conflicts in their sphere of influence including a careful look at the parking invasion into the neighborhoods.



Southwest Corridor Park planting plan.

Values

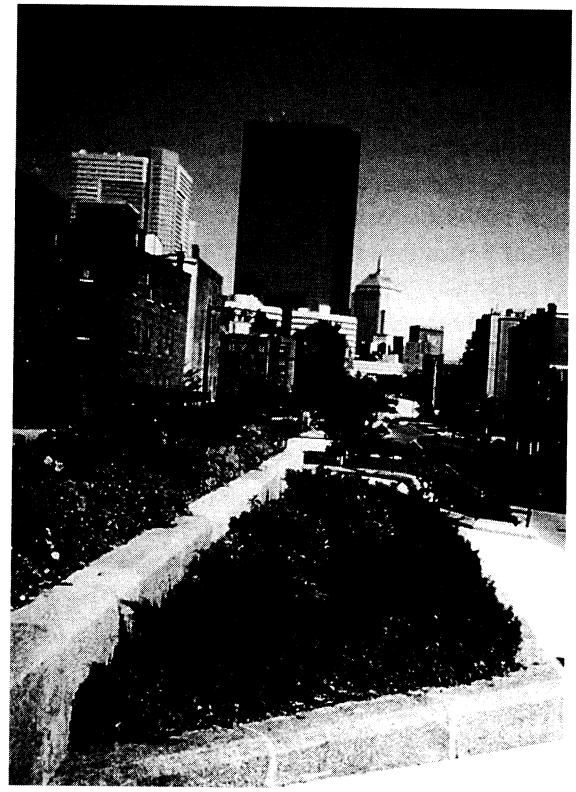
With the decentralization of the Corridor, the equity issues between abutting areas are less clearly in focus. With no one in charge there is no one to hold to account for some sections of the Corridor doing better than others. The market, the initiative and capacity of local community groups, and to a lessor extent the park maintenance organizations and MBTA converge along the Corridor but without a clear articulation of leadership and responsibility except according to their own organizational charters. The sum of these charters do not equate to the creation of a cohesive Corridor project, and, perhaps they do not have to.

There is, in the decentralization of activity in the Corridor and its abutting area, a continuing affection for democratic action with neighborhoods literally adopting portions of the park, programming activities and performing maintenance. There seems to be premise that neighbors that play in parks together get along better. Community and block club groups started and reinforced by the project are still very active.

Some Key Themes from the Southwest Corridor

A key theme in the Southwest Corridor is the concept of project maturity (moving from childhood to adolescence: centralization to decentralization). The project is not over when all the construction contractors leave the site. In the life cycle of the Southwest Corridor, the end of construction was in many ways its real beginning. The continuation of development and the often subtle acts of management related to routine maintenance practices, the design sensibilities of repair work or additions, is not the sensational stuff of political campaigns, award celebrations, and thoughtful newspaper articles on urban design. It is more often a kind of engagement of everyday life that simply enables projects to become more and more integrated into the daily life of people affected by it. We do not often celebrate good "house work" but it can be essential to living life well. The public processes that started the Corridor project have served it well in effecting a transition to hundreds of local community development projects dedicated to neighborhood improvement.

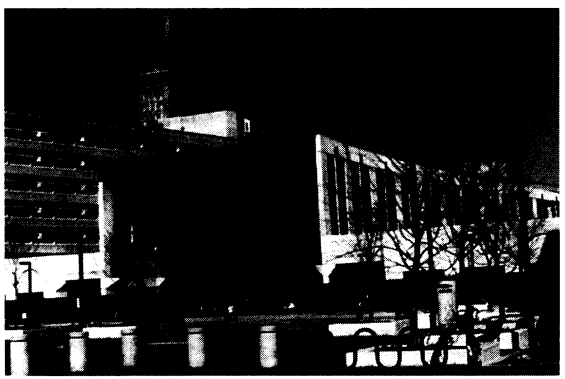
How much public effort is required to spawn financial and personal investment by the private sector and the community? The Southwest Corridor project was an enormously expensive project. If planning is to be understood, in part, as achieving private sector response to public investment, then it is too soon to tell if the level of private investment will justify the public investment. Except in major road, highway, and transit projects, urban America has little experience considering fifty year time frames as reasonable increments to employ in the measurement of success. Setting such time frames in place at the onset of projects with alternative development scenarios to meet fifty year goals may well address some of the false expectations that are now part of the in-process evaluation of Corridor success.



Southwest Corridor Park today.

Process goals like leadership training related to specific projects return many fold to project continuation. The metaphor used throughout the Boston area in reference to those who participated in the Southwest Corridor Project is that they attended "The University of the Southwest Corridor." It was essentially, a ten year start-up and project construction project that taught technical teams of planners, architects, and engineers to gain value from local community participation in their work and, concurrently, taught local community people how to participate in government at both a broad conceptual level, (stop the highway), and to convert the negative energy of protest into positive action for the benefit of their communities. Graduates of the University of the Southwest Corridor are successfully employing their skills in several other projects throughout the metropolitan Boston Area.

Again: does it have to be so hard? A common theme in the Rudy Bruner Award programs is that many of the greatest successes have a history of substantial and frankly self-sacrificing effort by a few individuals. The small task force organized out of Governor Frank Seargent's office to coordinate the project was led by Anthony Pangaro for a period of ten years. Pangaro and each member of his team spent about ten years of sixty or seventy hour weeks of dedicated time in countless community meetings, technical project team meetings, and conflict resolution sessions to make the project work. The project was a career, and required several people to give it career attention. It was not just one more job.



New institutional buildings turn backyards into frontages at park and transit stations.

1989 Stowe Recreation Path

Date of Visit: March 22-23, 1996

Site Visitors: Robert Shibley, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
William Peters (Acting State Office Coordinator, HUD, Vermont)

The Stowe Recreation Path in 1989

The Stowe Recreation path was five and three-tenths of a mile of community back yard defined by an eight foot wide strip of black-top and eleven bridges winding back and forth across the Village creek and wetlands. It was not fully accepted as a maintenance chore for the Village so it was maintained by volunteers and used widely by residents and tourists alike for biking, walking, jogging, and cross-country skiing in the winter. The Path was interesting to the 1989 Rudy Bruner Award Selection Committee because it was an almost totally grassroots effort characterized by multiple land owners donating a total of thirty-two parcels of riverfront land through easements creating a beautiful and very functional public amenity. It had not yet been fully integrated into the design of neighboring commercial enterprises facing the Mountain Road. These establishments seemed to have their back turned to the path, ignoring the amenity. It also was largely seen as Anne Lusk's path, and appropriately so given her leadership and tireless efforts to design and complete the path. The Selection Committee spoke a lot about the "urban" character of the Rudy Bruner Award and whether or not the Stowe Recreation Path qualified as an urban amenity. They were ultimately convinced that the process of land acquisition and grassroots activism involved in creating the Path was a very good model for creating such amenities in urban areas. The density of the Village and the strip development along Mountain Road are easy to recognize in a variety of Main Street USA settings.

Stowe Recreation Path Revisited

The recreation path is still five and three-tenths miles long and eight feet wide, with eleven bridges. Since our initial review, the path became one of George Bush's "thousand points of light." It is also credited with being a major factor in the 24% growth in summer tourism in Stowe compared to an overall 5% average for the state. While Vermont was beginning from a relatively low summer volume, the figure is still very significant to the viability of the largely tourist-oriented economy. After years of planning, the Riverwalk construction is now slated to begin, and will connect the Stowe Village path to the Lower Village as part of the larger greenway plan for the area.

The Path continues to be well-utilized, with more rollerblade users now than before and occasional congestion. The narrow width of the path is becoming more of a problem because of the different

The landscape at Stowe Recreation Path has matured, and continues as a well used addition to the community.

speeds of path users who bike, skate, jog, and walk. Passing is difficult and, in the case of roller blades in particular, very difficult, as they really require about ten feet of width.

Several of the business establishments along the path now address themselves specifically to path users. One apartment complex has developed its own extension from the path to its units. In general, the abuttors have successfully turned back doors into frontage on the path or at least developed better treatments of garbage and service areas.

Place

The path is generally well-maintained but some of the signage and picnic areas have a haphazard appearance. Signs about what not to do are posted left and right of the entrance from the church, tables are placed on uneven ground, and signage is in poor repair. The Town assigns one maintenance person in the summer to work the path full-time as part of the responsibility of the Parks Department. Some of the sponsored garden plots are very well maintained while others appear to be abandoned or, at least, untended for the moment. Much, but not all of the safety markings anticipated during the initial visit are now in place. Additional work which will create milestone markers on the pavement, improve stops at road crossings, provide more benches, and add three miles on the mountain road is anticipated. Physically, the five and three-tenths miles is a pleasant ride with beautiful vistas and an occasional rest area with benches near the stream.

The Stowe Recreation Path crosses wetlands and bridges over its 5 mile length.

In general, the path is not "remarkable." It is a simple and unpretentious path through the wetland areas of the creek and the backyard of the community. Ed McMahon, director of the American Greenways Program sums up the path by saying, "Physically, it is not unique." Even so, he also says it is the glue that ties the Stowe recreation attractions together while it serves the community. The uniqueness is not the place so much as the relationships that have been established between places and the community.

Process

Much of what has happened since the first visit has added value and understanding to a largely intuitive initial design process. The wisdom of charting out key attraction points and destinations and allowing the land owners to define the specific routing based on what they were willing to give up has proven to be very effective. The Stowe path may be unique in the way it was constructed entirely on easements donated by private landowners.

Another aspect of the process is Anne Lusk, the Path coordinator credited with making it happen, who has gone on to make a serious study of Greenways, has published a guide for how to achieve grassroots action in the construction of recreation paths, and has co-founded and chaired the Vermont Trails and Greenways Council. Nationally, in addition to the designation as one of the Thousand Points of Light, Ms. Lusk has become a trustee of the National Recreation and Park Association and a member of the National Recreation Trails Advisory Committee. She has used the status of the Stowe Path well, learning from the experience, publishing it, and gaining leverage on other trail plans across the country. She is a frequent consultant and speaks very knowledgeably about trail design. When asked, "Would you do it the same way again?," she


One of several picnic benches on the park.

responds, "It would be ten feet not eight feet wide, and I would work harder to mark the entrances and transitions in special ways."

The Director of Planning for the Village describes Stowe as a "model for the State," influencing subsequent work in South Burlington, Williston, Chittenden County, and Montpelier. He credits the path with tying together commercial enterprises in the Village with those on the Mountain Road. He describes it as among the most important tourism attractions for Stowe and credits it with effecting the shift in tourism from 40% to 60% of annual visitors coming in the summer season. Stowe is now a four-season resort.[1]

The path is a source of pride for the community. In the 1995 summer art season, a glass sculpture was placed one quarter mile into the system and was not damaged or vandalized. This is mentioned as an illustration of the "ownership" people feel toward the path. In our earlier visit there was some sense that the path was Anne Lusk's path. With the town's adoption of the path, acceptance of maintenance responsibility, and acknowledgment of its role in increasing summer tourism, the future of the path seems more assured. Anne Lusk is no longer central to the maintenance or even the continuation of the path, having been successful at the transfer of responsibility.

Values

The path remains a "democratic" expression of place shared in common by wealthy tourists, seasonal residents, and locals. The path is public on private land. The path is multi-generational. It is one of the few places where kids and elder people are seen together with middle-aged adults.

Some Key Themes from Stowe Recreation Path

Democracy and the Public Use of Private Land—The entire process of developing community consensus in the plan, promoting the donation of land by individual land holders, and demonstrating the positive return for the public good is a real model for communities that choose to take care of themselves.

Greenways as an Economic Development Strategy—The significant growth in "off-season" tourism was a very important strategy for the Village of Stowe and its region. Day trips by parents and children to the recreation path have become a significant part of the off-season involvement in the path and in the economy of the local area. In addition, a number of businesses and housing units have


Adjoining landowners have increased their attention to the path, defining its edges.

developed "front door" orientations to the path, taking advantage of path users as customers.

Greenways as a community development strategy—The path is a venue for a new community arts festival, races, and a wide variety of club picnics and parties. It has become everyone's back yard.

Endnote

1 Travel and Leisure Magazine identified the Stowe Recreation Path as one of nineteen of the "World's Best Walks," in an article by Rita Ariyoshis in their October, 1994 issue. The Path is also featured in Best Bike Paths of New England, by Wendy Williams.

1989 Radial Reuse Plan, Lincoln, Nebraska

Date of Visit: May 21, 1996.

Site Visitors: Jay Farbstein, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Terry Gratz (HUD State Office Coordinator, Omaha, Nebraska).

Introduction: the Lincoln Radial Reuse Plan in 1989

Up to a point, the story of the Radial Reuse Plan parallels those of many other cities. Traffic planners identify the need to move more cars from the periphery into the center of the city (from homes to jobs and back). They begin to buy up land for an arterial road and, as they leave these parcels vacant, the surrounding parcels and neighborhoods deteriorate. In Lincoln, the money to build the road did not follow quickly on the purchase of the parcels. As they languished, community sentiment against the road grew strong and people demanded that other options be explored. By the late 1970s, the city responded by assembling a task force to look at options. In 1980, the city voted in a referendum to quash the road and redevelop the scar the planners had created.

When the Bruner team visited in 1989, they found a three mile long linear park and bikeway system connecting three of Lincoln's older low and moderate income neighborhoods. Interspersed along the open space system were many new and remodeled homes and, on the other side of the bikeway, industrial uses. The Bruner team was even more impressed with the participatory process used in developing and implementing the Radial Reuse Plan which they viewed as a sterling example of the best of American democracy in action. Not only had the planning been done by a broadly representative task force, but the experience had contributed to revamping Lincoln's electoral process so that council members were elected by district (rather than at large which had resulted in disproportionate representation for the wealthier neighborhoods).

Lincoln Radial Reuse Plan Revisited: Following the Bikeway

The nature of the bikeway varies considerably along its length and, in fact, it does not even continue through all areas affected by the Radial Reuse Plan. In the Malone neighborhood, the radial reuse project includes a large park with a bike path. The park separates the university from the town but the bike path does not connect to the balance of the bikeway. Malone includes a community center, a few new houses and apartment blocks, and a large undeveloped open space which is still waiting for housing to be built.

A few blocks away, in the Clinton neighborhood, the bikeway starts at Lintel Park, a new park catering mostly to passive recreation with a shelter and a play structure. It was named for one of the activists who lives in the area (and whom we met). As the bikeway heads out toward the northeast, it passes grain elevators on one side and two new housing developments on the other. One was geared toward homeowners, the other toward renters (the Village Green). Both opened directly to the bikeway which provided a

The bicycle path connects a number of parks.

significant amenity of open space and recreation for them. A little farther along, one passes pre-existing homes along with some infill housing and comes to Penzer Park which offers more active recreation. The afternoon I was there, softball games were in progress.

From Penzer Park, the bikeway angles across a busy street, but soon becomes more tranquil as it passes between more new housing (including 10 to 30 unit projects) and the Fleming Flower Fields, the relatively wild remnant of a nursery. Along the path are a series of small neighborhood parks with child-oriented play equipment such as slides.

As one proceeds into the University Park neighborhood, the bikeway separates industrial uses on one side from housing on the other. An added industrial use is a large mini-storage, which does provide a relatively tranquil and clean buffer. Along some stretches, the bikeway occupies a wide swath of open space, while at others it is little more than a widened sidewalk. For part of this zone, the city retained a 50 foot right of way and sold the remaining 100 feet to the neighboring businesses. Many of them have left the land open, but some have encroached into it. In this area, more of housing was intact and what has been added is mostly single lot infill by private owners. At the extreme northeast, the bikeway finishes with a "whimper not a bang." A small, bent up sign next to a sidewalk and dirt parking lot identifies it at the "end."

Bottom Line Measures

Lincoln invested approximately $6.4 million in the Radial Reuse Plan area. As of 1990, the investment was a resounding success having leveraged $17 million of private investment in homes and businesses. By 1989, 446 new, relocated or rehabilitated units had been added. By 1990, 15 businesses had expanded adding 222 jobs and eight new businesses had started with 51 jobs.

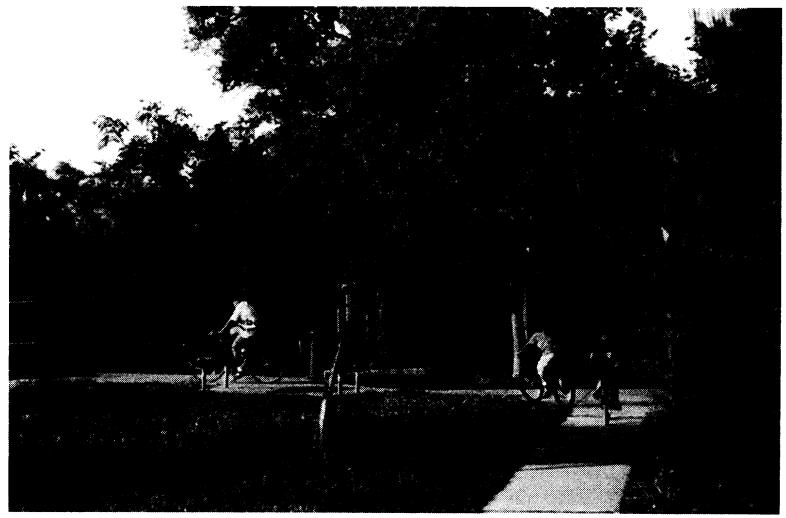
Property values have also risen considerably. Empty lots which the city gave to qualified owner-builders at the beginning of the project were worth about $3,000. Now they are worth from $10,000 to $12,000, due both to improvement of the area and to the general lifting of the real estate market. All this has had a positive impact on the city's tax revenues; in 1989, taxable value was up 28% in Clinton and University Place, and is undoubtedly significantly higher by now.

While data are not available on changes in crime rates, there was little evidence of graffiti or vandalism. Young females we encountered on the bikeway said that they feel pretty safe there.

The following paragraphs review of status of the Lincoln Radial Reuse Plan in more detail.

Place

- In the main, the Radial Reuse project is complete and the city staff and task forces are finished with their work. The exception is the Malone neighborhood—which was the area of greatest need—where only a rather small portion of the work is complete and the city, developers and the community are still working. The main projects in Malone are expected to be done within a couple of years (they are going quite slowly).
- Though I didn't see the project before, it is clear that much has changed over the years. The landscaping has grown in



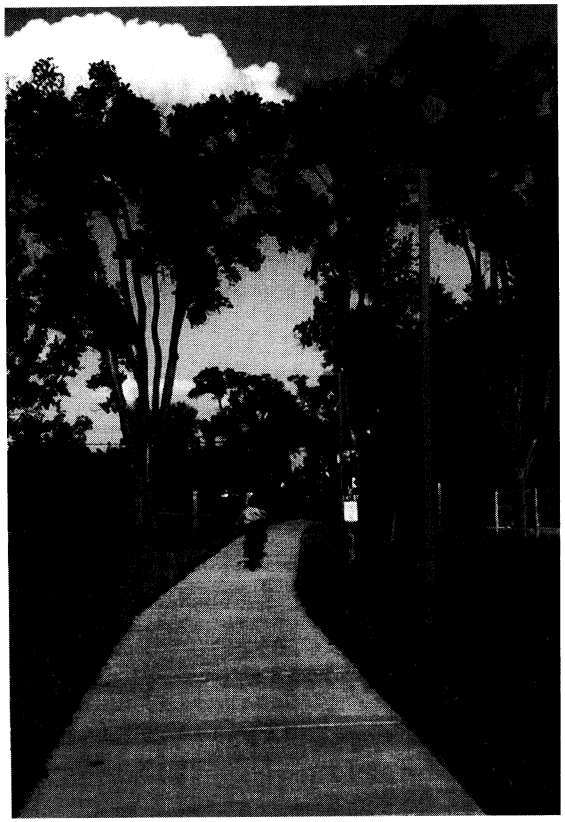
Cyclists are a common sight along the path.

and much housing has been built or rehabilitated in the area of the bikeway. Upkeep is generally good, though not excellent (we saw broken lights, weeds, etc.). The city parks department is responsible for maintenance and seems to be a bit stretched (they keep adding open space and try to maintain it with the same limited budget).

- We wondered whether the contrast between the edge of the project area and its surroundings was still sharp or was blurred and indistinct. We found that the contrast is no longer observable; that the sharp distinction is healed. Similarly, the project is no longer referred to by the term "Radial Reuse" except by the original players. Rather, people talk about the bikeway, the parks, and the neighborhoods. This is a sign of its successful integration of the project with the city and neighborhoods.
- There was also concern that the university might have encroached further into the neighborhood but we found that the buffer at Malone has held. The university has entered into a complex and long-negotiated "contract" with the city and the neighborhood which defines its eastern boundary (at the Malone neighborhood). The very public process and the fully documented nature of the agreement suggest a strong probability that it will endure, at least for a rather long time. Physically, the bikeway—which supposedly defines this edge—is not really completed in this area, though the open space of the Malone Park provides an effective buffer.

Process and Values

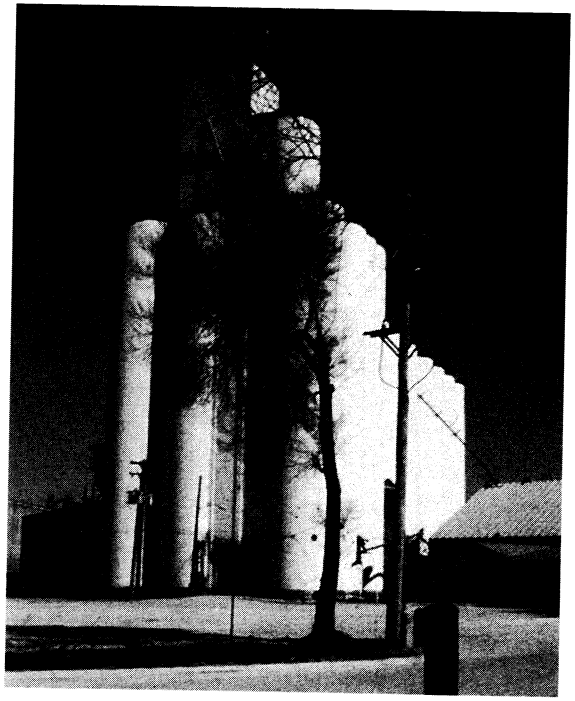
- The neighborhood organizations which came together to fight the highway and create the plan are a diverse lot and have experienced varying degrees of continuity and success over time. University Park is very active. The neighborhood had a long history of identification with a Methodist church that originally paid Colleen Seng to be a community organizer. It has remained very cohesive and active. The Clinton area still has a rather active community organization, but they admit that they are struggling to keep enough residents involved. Malone is more difficult to judge as some invited community members were unable to be at our meeting (this may or may not be symptomatic) and it seems to be a less cohesive area. In fact, the Malone area is still struggling, but appears on track and the university agreement was only hammered out recently (proving that the struggle can continue for many years, even after the physical place changes are complete).
- The process of developing and implementing the Radial Reuse plan was very participatory and political. The changes in



A couple cyclists enjoying the path.

political structure and style that happened around the time of the Radial Reuse project have been profound and enduring. Community members and groups have much more power because, since that time, a majority of city council members are elected by district. It also seems that city government has fully embraced a consultative, participatory style. We were told that acting autocratically now would not be acceptable. These changes can be attributed only in part to the Radial Reuse experience, but it clearly contributed.

- To illustrate the change in process, planners cited a current project which cuts across the southwestern portion of the Radial Reuse sector and lies mostly to the west of the Malone neighborhood. It is called the Antelope Valley project and was initiated by the Army Corps of Engineers to solve flood control problems. Originally, the Corps proposed a ditch, approximately 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. This time, the city initiated a process of working with the communities and neighborhoods to shape a project which could achieve their support—and assured them that there would only be a project if that support was achieved. At the time of our visit, 25 community meetings had been held and the groups were working toward a consensus.
- In reflecting on the experience they had with the process, many participants (especially in the more middle class University Park area) felt that it had a major and lasting impact on community building. They learned that democracy works; that people can empower themselves to have an impact on what happens.
- There has been some succession in leadership, though some of the original people are still there. Colleen Seng, originally a community organizer from University Park and later elected to the city council, still serves on it; and the original planners, including Dallas McGee, are still involved—but new people have also become part of the process. The current mayor is a strong supporter and seems to have a style that is consistent with participation. The community associations have continued to attract new members who are committed to maintaining or improving the quality of their neighborhoods.
- We met with several developers (both for profit and not for profit) who have worked in the area. They felt that if the city had not invested heavily in improvements and housing, this area would perhaps only now be starting to improve (along with market pressures in all of Lincoln). Rather than owner occupied and rental housing for families, there would have been market pressure to build apartments oriented toward students. For those developers who build and rent multi-family housing in the area, a great concern was the limited amount of social services available to their lower income residents.



The bike path winds its way past large grain elevators.

- While the history of the struggle is memorialized in plaques and the names of parks and bikeways, it is clear that those who were not involved are not aware of how the places came to be.

Some Key Themes from the Radial Reuse Plan

- The rising up of communities against a threat and turning the threat into an asset is a lesson from the original submission. Because of the positive nature of the process and their "permanent" incorporation into the political system, the autocratic attempt to impose an urban highway has given way to a lasting participatory structure of community organizations and city government that listens to them.
- Continuity is provided by community leaders who stay active around their cause and by city employees (who often have longer tenure than elected officials) who are committed to a project. Successive city administrations need to support these projects (which often span several mayors or city councils). This works best when the project is not politicized (in partisan terms).
- Well conceived public investments can leverage major private investment and result in economic improvements which repay the public coffers many times over.
- Partnerships were essential for this project (the neighborhoods with the city; HUD and state sources for financing; etc.). According to the mayor, these partnerships are getting harder to form—higher levels of government are reverting to mandates and lids, with less funding and less leadership. He cited CDBG funds as getting scarcer and TIF (tax increment financing) funds as becoming less available.

Note

- The HUD site visitor pointed out an interesting feature of Lincoln's urban and social structures. Because of the limited availability of water, Lincoln does not have suburbs ringing the city. Thus, it consists of a single school district and is very integrated racially. There has been no history of white flight, as has occurred in other cities in the region.

1989 Portland Downtown Plan, Portland, Oregon

Date of Visit: May 28, 1996

Site Visitors: Polly Welch, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Mark Pavolka (HUD State Office Coordinator, Portland, Oregon)
Ed McNamara (1993 RBA Selection Committee)

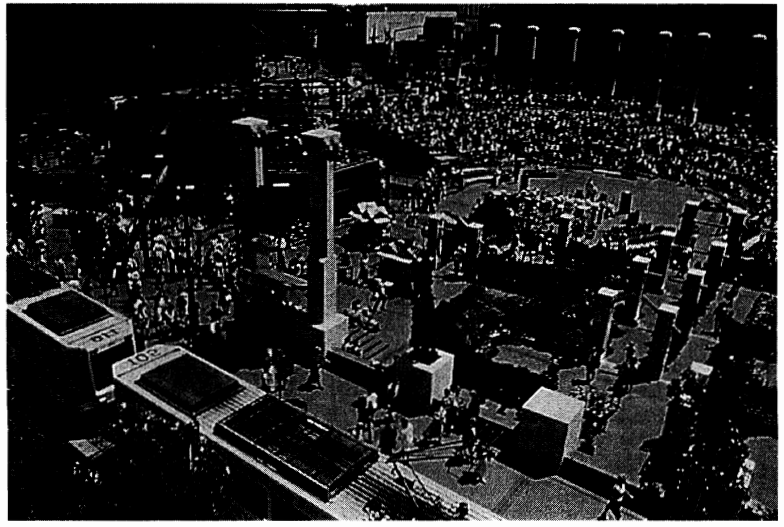
Introduction: Portland in 1989

The 1972 Portland Downtown Plan was the co-winner of the Rudy Bruner Award in 1989 because it represented a successful comprehensive planning process for downtown development that could serve as a model for other mid-size American cities. Portland like so many American cities had experienced suburban flight, loss of retail market to regional shopping centers, demolition of downtown housing stock through urban renewal, increased parking lots and multiple Clean Air Act violations. Housing was also lost to development of the PSU campus, and construction of the I-405 freeway loop. Portland also had the advantage of being a city with a history of citizen involvement, in a state that requires public participation in setting land use policy.

The planning process leading up to the Downtown Plan was exemplary in the magnitude of its grassroots participation, the plan's populist goals and objectives, the successful collaboration between citizens, business and political interests, and the degree to which citizens remained involved in design and implementation of the Plan. The key characteristics of the plan included:

- enhanced public transit as a framework to organize use, density, and form;
- a wide range of diverse uses to make the Downtown a twenty four hour place;
- preservation of public views and vistas including a requirement for the height of major buildings to step down to the waterfront;
- preservation of historic buildings and appropriately scaled buildings within historic districts;
- additional open space for respite and public gatherings;
- improved air quality; and
- enhanced pedestrian enjoyment.

Two immediate development controversies served as a catalyst and a testing ground for the Plan: public opposition regarding the design of a public plaza that ultimately led to the creation of Pioneer Courthouse Square, a renowned urban place in its own right; and the removal from the edge of downtown of a major north -south artery that made the riverfront an accessible amenity to the city.



Pioneer Courthouse Square, downtown Portland.

By the time of the 1989 RBA site visit the Downtown Plan had been largely implemented. A bus transit mall and a light rail transit system improved access to and around the downtown, many new large buildings had been built using the design guidelines, there had been an increase in the number of people living downtown, and public open spaces graced with civic art had been developed in the heart of downtown and at the river's edge. From an economic perspective Portland was on a trajectory: $500 million in public funds leveraged $1.7 billion in private investment downtown; downtown employment grew by 30,000; assessed property value increased 382%; and downtown retail had risen to 30% of regional sales volume. Downtown housing was beginning to be built, stimulated by a provision in the Downtown Plan for tax abatements for new construction of rental housing. Low cost housing was still in short supply and homelessness was only just being addressed through a Twelve Point Plan (1987), but new non-profit housing corporations were forming and the prospect of increased low cost housing development was in sight.

Downtown Portland Plan Revisited

When the Downtown plan was developed in 1971 using a comprehensive approach to involving citizens, a standard for participation was established. The city built on that grassroots involvement to develop the Central City Plan (1988), which covers a larger area of the city, beyond the central business district. The current planning process for the Metro 2040 Plan, a long range growth and transportation plan for the metropolitan region that includes possible expansion of the Urban Growth Boundary, draws upon the participation legacy of the Downtown Plan as the precedent for citizen input. The interviews conducted during this revisit ranged across this twenty five years of planning because many people view the transition from the Downtown Plan to Metro 2040 as an evolutionary process of ongoing growth management, addressing similar issues and values at different scales.

Almost everyone that the RBA team interviewed in 1989 was still working in Portland at the time of the revisit. More remarkable, however, is that many of the people interviewed had been the leaders of the planning process in 1971 and are still active in Portland decision making today.

Bottom Line Measures

The city is clearly viewed by citizens and professionals all over the country as a great urban place. International visitors "can't get enough of it," and can't believe that such a high quality environment was achieved through citizen participation, as opposed to autocratic government and insider business deals. The city is proud of its accomplishments and the message is clear: "not only did we do it, but we are keeping it going." Citizens are still involved and vocal about Downtown issues. The city has an extensive Web site that promotes its virtues as well as serving as a resource for citizens who need information, want to voice an opinion on an issue or are interested in becoming more involved in city decisions and neighborhood associations.

At the time of the revisit, a political battle was brewing over a parking garage, proposed by well known developers, to be located on the Park Blocks. Fifteen hundred signatures were collected by citizens who couldn't believe that inappropriately placed parking could be proposed just twenty five years after the rescue of Pioneer Courthouse Square from a similar fate. Even business friends of the developer had the courage to be critical at hearings challenging the city council's approval of this new parking garage. This crisis seemed to be providing Portland residents with an opportunity to relive the "origin story" of contemporary Portland, citizen rejection of the Meier and Frank parking garage proposal in favor of a civic plaza.

Place

Downtown Portland is clean, the public infrastructure is well maintained and the streets feel safe. The slogan on the city trucks is: "the city that works." More importantly, the streets are full of people, and there is even some sense of evening night life downtown. The downtown core feels lively, and with regular events in Pioneer Courthouse Square or on the Waterfront the city has a

festive feel. The public art sprinkled along the transit mall and adjacent streets shows no more wear and tear than the shiny noses of the oft-stroked bronze beavers.

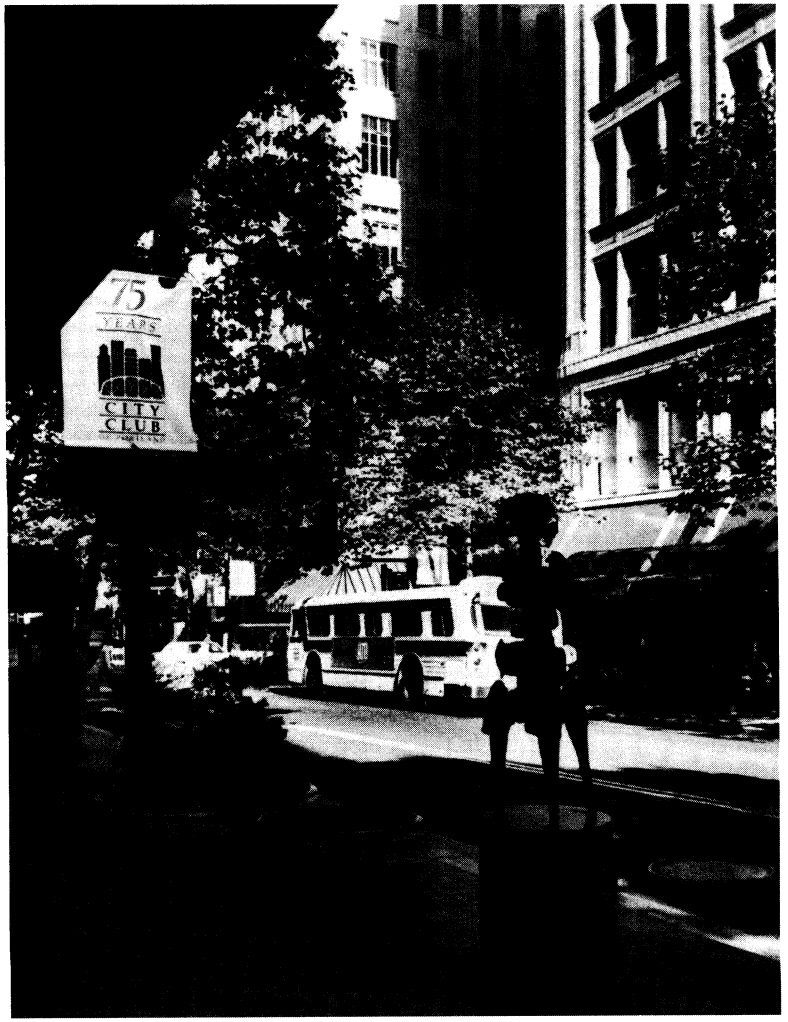
Portland is still developing new buildings but the changes generally do not have high visibility on the skyline. Of twenty four major downtown building projects planned or underway at this time, only three are new office towers. A number are hotels, renovated or adaptive reuse of other buildings. In fact, converting buildings to new uses is becoming far more prevalent than new construction. The former Portland Police Bureau headquarters which has been vacant for twelve years, the Telegram Building, an old newspaper office, and the Cornelius Hotel are all being converted to housing.

A number of Portland real estate developers have begun developing housing instead of office buildings. This is partially because changes in 1986 tax law have made speculative office building less attractive. But it is also because residential construction is not keeping pace with the influx of people who want to live downtown. The Downtown Plan was amended to reflect the importance of housing to the livability of Portland. The housing goal was increased from 5,000 units to 15,000. The City has created a Housing Investment Fund of $30 million to support the construction of affordable housing. Approximately 1600 units have been constructed with those funds and several thousand more are in the development pipeline.

Process

The 1972 planning process for the Downtown Plan has "mushroomed" into larger growth management projects of ever increasing scale and complexity. The most ambitious to date is the Metro 2040 Plan. In 1992 the region's voters directed Metro to manage more pro-actively the metropolitan area's long range growth planning process.

An inclusive planning process, which was novel in the late sixties and had its roots in the participatory democracy movement of Civil Rights, is now regarded as standard practice in the city. Planning processes open to all constituencies are part of every city program. The city pays the cost of facilitation/process consultants and figures grassroots involvement into its programs and schedules for urban revitalization and growth. On the city's Web site the principles of citizen involvement are laid out with instructive materials for the curious citizen who is looking for opportunities to



Improved street planting, paving and public art.

Portland community process.

become involved. Principle Number One is: "Value civic involvement as essential to the health of the city."

The Downtown housing market has attracted some speculative developers who have been very successful in the region's suburbs. Developing housing for the Central City Districts, however, is very different than in the suburbs. The suburban developer working on the River District described the professionals in the Portland Planning Department as "ankle biters" even though department staff pride themselves on working well with developers. Intown developers have had enough experience working with agency staff to know how to use their expertise to the benefit of new projects. Many city staffers have a "they are us" experience by serving on neighborhood associations in their private lives and pride themselves in being in touch with citizen sentiments.

Values

Portland residents take for granted and expect "squeaky clean" government. Citizens assume that decisions are made on the merits of the case. As one leader told Neal Peirce in 1979, "This is an honest place. Intelligence is sometimes at issue, but not integrity." The extent to which decisions are shared with so many people diminishes the possibility of back room deals.

Citizens have come to expect a process for every issue and assume a high degree of public decision making. There is some question about whether they see the subtle changes that have occurred over time. Several models have been tried with no real evaluation of outcomes. For the Downtown plan the citizens on the Citizens Advisory Committee crafted the plan with backup from paid consultants and city staff. The committee members actually culled through the thousand suggestions themselves. On the Central City Plan there was an equal opportunity for citizens to participate in process but it was run by city staff who prepared materials for review. The Metro 2040, a regional process of vast scope (27 jurisdictions), has used a more broad brush approach. A survey on basic livability questions sent to all households in the region produced more than 17,000 responses. Plan development is in the hands of agency staff and professional consultants.

Citizen interest has not diminished but the bottom up grassroots development of ideas has changed with the increased scope of the planning. Participation at the neighborhood level is still strong when there are issues to address. Citizens in the eight communities that have received funding through the Target Area Designation Program (see West Clinton Action Plan) are participating in forming comprehensive revitalization strategies that will help them benefit from some of Portland's success. This program has been especially important in addressing the concern of some neighborhoods that the Downtown Plan and Central City Plan shifted scarce city resources away from the neighborhoods.

Some Key Themes from Portland Downtown Plan

The over-arching question that crops up in conversation with Portland activists is: how will the inevitable changes impact the city's ability to sustain what it has created. Some of the changes that cause people concern are listed below.

- Portland has lost many corporate headquarters over the last 10–15 years. Corporate decision makers now have to check with executives elsewhere before taking action. This may diminish the immediacy and intensity of corporate involvement in downtown planning.
- The small group of business and civic leaders who pushed through the process of making the Downtown plan and took risks to achieve its goals are getting old, retiring and dying. (Bill Naito, who had the vision to redevelop much of the historic fabric of the city died the week before the revisit.) As one cogent observer and mayoral advisor noted, "Seven years ago you could name the power brokers; there are no little giants waiting." A few sons have moved into the businesses of their influential fathers, but only a few of these leaders seem to have addressed the need to nurture new, young leadership.
- Some of the people who have moved to Portland and are benefiting from its quality of life do not understand the civic responsibility that is the essence of Portland's success. Some people interviewed felt that it is harder to engage new blood on committees and that the story of the city's renaissance gets told without adequate attention being given to the role of common citizens.
- Portland has managed to achieve an unspoken balance of citizen process and power broker action. It is perceived that the old power brokers understood the critical nature of that "social contract." There is some concern that such a subtle but powerful belief in mutual well-being is not understood by corporate newcomers and the situation may change.

There is a shortage of workers for Downtown businesses because they must live out in the edges of the Metro area to afford housing and their wages are too low to commute. While groups like Central City Concerns have worked hard to achieve affordable housing downtown, this goal does not seem to be universally embraced by Portlanders as critical to the diversity that sustains cities. The brochure put together by the River District Steering Committee outlines the vision for a vast residential and mixed use community just north of the Downtown. Nowhere in its discussion of housing does it address the housing needs of low income people.

Portland has not organized itself as a visitor destination, but it is increasingly so as its reputation grows. For example, while there is bus service to the airport, there is as yet no light rail vehicle service. There is a hotel shortage (90% occupancy when 72% breaks even) but the pendulum effect of response time will probably result in over building. Current hotel construction is only geared to the high end market because of land costs. There has been little public discussion of this issue to date.

Perhaps the candor with which long time Portlanders share their concerns is the most telling indication that Portland can sustain its success. It indicates deep concern, commitment and the ongoing exercising of reflective action on the part of citizens.

1989 Cabrillo Village, Ventura, California

Date of Visit: July 25, 1996.

Site Visitors: Jay Farbstein, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Karen Mitchell (representing Jackeline Slayton, HUD Area Coordinator, Los Angeles Office)

Introduction: Cabrillo Village in 1989

Seven years ago, the Bruner team was impressed by many features of Cabrillo Village. This was a story of farm workers (led by Caesar Chavez) who, in the face of eviction from grower-owned, substandard housing, rose up and found a way to buy the project. With small amounts of cash, a few grants and lots of sweat equity, they improved the village, making it into a place where they were proud to live. As a limited equity cooperative, they were able not only to renovate the existing housing stock, but also to build two phases of new housing in 1981 and 1986, totaling 80 additional units–some of it based on an award winning design. Thus, the village grew to incorporate 160 units of housing, a community center, recreational facilities, a cabinet shop, tile factory, and store.

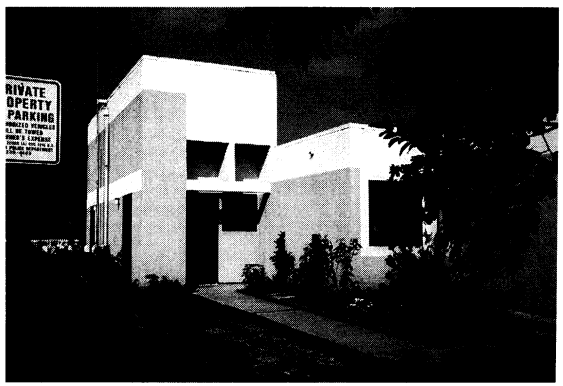
Cabrillo Village Revisited

The site visit team was very impressed with many aspects of Cabrillo Village today. While some maintenance has been deferred, it is a very attractive place–due in large measure to the mature, well cared for landscaping. In addition, many dwellings boast significant improvements installed by the residents (see The Place, below).

Perhaps even more impressive than the beauty of the place is the character–and successful outcome–of the struggle that developed in recent years to restore the original peace and tranquility to the Village. In recent years, Cabrillo–like many places–came to face very difficult problems of (mostly) youth and gang-based crime and intimidation. People spoke of youth hanging around in the streets, of seeing drug sales, of frequently hearing shots. There was intimidation; one person was chased into their home and beaten. Three gang-related killings took place in Cabrillo (in 1991 and 1994) including two children who were innocent bystanders.

While residents tried to respond, they were unable to get adequate police services from the county sheriff, whose resources were stretched thin. However, when Cabrillo was annexed to the city of Ventura, they gained access to better law enforcement (we met a police officer who had grown up there) and community policing as well as youth and recreation services. As an initial gesture, the police moved in a mobile office and provided intensive services for a period of several weeks, followed up by more frequent patrols.

Out of the need for self-protection, but with considerable anguish, Cabrillo has evicted seven families who could not control their (mostly youthful) criminal members. These took place from November 1994 until April 1996. The last and most difficult of these was in court when the Bruner team tried to arrange its site visit in the spring (leading to the visit's postponement). Evictions from Cabrillo can, perhaps be more effective than in other locations since it is a clearly defined area and, if someone is evicted, they cannot simply move across the street and continue to operate in the old neighborhood.



New housing also affords residents the opportunity to use, and care for their open space.

In addition, Cabrillo has put in place significant programs for youth. These try to attack the root of the problem (not just painting over graffiti, which they also do). Most of these are recreational and are mounted by city-funded part time staff and a resident volunteer (named J.J.). Programs include separate clubs for younger and older kids, a boxing program, and a van for outings. There is also tutoring after school. Cabrillo has plans and some funding to build a new recreation center.

The results of better policing, evicting the most disruptive and threatening residents, and increasing programs for youth have been dramatic. Fear, which had become a dominant theme, appears to have been replaced with security and calm. The Village Board refers to these struggles as the "second battle of Cabrillo." It took great courage and effort for Cabrillo to accomplish this and the site visit team could think of few places that have succeeded in addressing such serious problems to such positive effect.

The following paragraphs review of status of Cabrillo Village in more detail.

Place

- As mentioned above, Cabrillo is an exceptionally attractive community–due in part to the quality of design of the later phases, but thanks also to the mature, well cared for landscaping at almost every dwelling (these are agricultural workers, after all, and many of them love flowers and fruit trees). In addition to the landscaping, many dwellings boast significant improvements installed by the residents, even when their tenure is similar to that of a renter (see more about tenure below). People have built walls, gates, fountains, arbors, trellises, shade structures, planter beds, and many other improvements.
- Maintenance of public areas and improvements is a concern; one shared by the Cabrillo board and management. Choices have been made in recent years to defer some maintenance (other than repair of vandalism and eradication of graffiti) in order to concentrate on youth programs. As a result, paint is needed on stucco walls and picket fences and pavement at streets and sidewalks needs repair. The Board has allocated significant resources (part from reserves) to address these needs this year, so they appearance should be improving.

View from the porch of the community center toward new housing.

- The store, which in the past was operated by the Cooperative at a loss, has been "privatized." It is now leased to a resident who pays rent to the Village from his revenues. The store sells a variety of both standard and culturally appropriate items and appears to be well patronized.
- The boxing club is an important activity for the teenage boys. A resident volunteer has been promoting it and brought in a successful amateur trainer. Training is mostly outdoors, but materials are on hand to construct a shelter to house a ring and gym.

Process and Values

- Cabrillo still faces some interesting challenges. It is now surrounded by middle class housing tracts instead of lemon groves. This has given the Village diverse neighbors to relate to and raised property values. There are stories of original residents selling the rights to their homes for considerably more than they would be allowed to reclaim from the cooperative.
- A combination of three special ingredients seems to have lead to a uniquely high level of ownership in this community: a history of struggle to achieve it, the special forms of tenure

The community center supports meetings and recreational activities.

Active participation by residents in ongoing governance is a hallmark of Cabrillo Village.

which all residents have at least to some degree, and the fact that Cabrillo Village is a spatially distinct and defined area, separate from the surrounding land uses.

- On the other hand, the dichotomy between the tenure rules of the three phases still creates tensions. Phase 1 consists of the original 80 homes. The occupants of these homes have what amounts to life tenure and the ability to pass the home on to a relative and are free to leave agriculture if they wish. The later two phases were funded at least in part by the Farmers' Home Administration which sets rules for tenant eligibility. At least one family member must derive a minimum amount of income from agricultural employment. While tenure is not guaranteed and each family is requalified each year, it is relatively difficult to evict, turnover is very low (three to four vacancies per year from 80 units), and eligible families are likely to spend two years on a waiting list to get an apartment.

  Families who live in the later phases did not take part in the struggle that created Cabrillo. They benefit from the vision of the founders, who saw that the land they fought to gain could support more homes (it can support still more, if there was the will and the financing to build them). While they are unlikely to be forced to leave (and many have stayed

Some of the original houses.

for a very long time), they do not have the same effective "ownership" as the founders and that seems to make a difference in level of commitment. (For example, only one of the seven evicted families was from among the founders and only one resident from the newer phases is represented on the Board). It is doubtful that these dichotomies could have been foreseen, but they are now structurally part of Cabrillo Village.

- Another struggle has revolved around a group of Phase 2 and 3 residents who wanted to "take Cabrillo private"—that is, to convert from a limited equity cooperative to privately owned dwellings. According to the executive director, this is forbidden by bylaws and regulations of funding agencies, but some residents refuse to believe that it cannot be done and continue to press for it.

Other Stories

- At the end of our visit, we met with the Village board. The meeting was conducted in Spanish, with the executive director translating. It was moving and impressive to hear these middle aged and older farm workers describe their experiences over the years, having built something tremendously positive and then have it challenged to the roots by evolving social problems – yet eventually mustering the strength to deal with them.

- According to the Board, these problems have been solved through the participation of residents; the people have come together and worked as a community again. The Board itself now takes an active, if somewhat patriarchal, role—when a family has problems, the Board meets with them, communicates expectations, and tries to offer help. Even though the most extreme problems have been dealt with, there are still problem families who require monitoring and assistance.

- The HUD representative expressed the opinion that Cabrillo represents a unique level of citizen participation in management; one not often seen in Southern California.

- Board members are elected and serve (only) two years. They expressed a powerful sense of responsibility (perhaps even burden) for maintaining peace and stability at Cabrillo. It appears that, at times, some Board members used their position and influence for personal or family reasons (e.g., to protect a relative who was threatened with a sanction). There is a fear that, under the wrong circumstances, this misuse of Board power could reemerge.

- Hal Slade, the current executive director, who seems not to have been bothered by it, was referred to somewhat disparagingly in the Peirce and Guskind book on the Award ("Breakthroughs"). Peirce and Guskind said that management had taken a turn for the worse after Soccoro, when she was replaced by a "blond-haired, Spanish-speaking, Anglo Mormon with no experience in running a residential project." Peirce failed to mention that Slade also had an MBA and

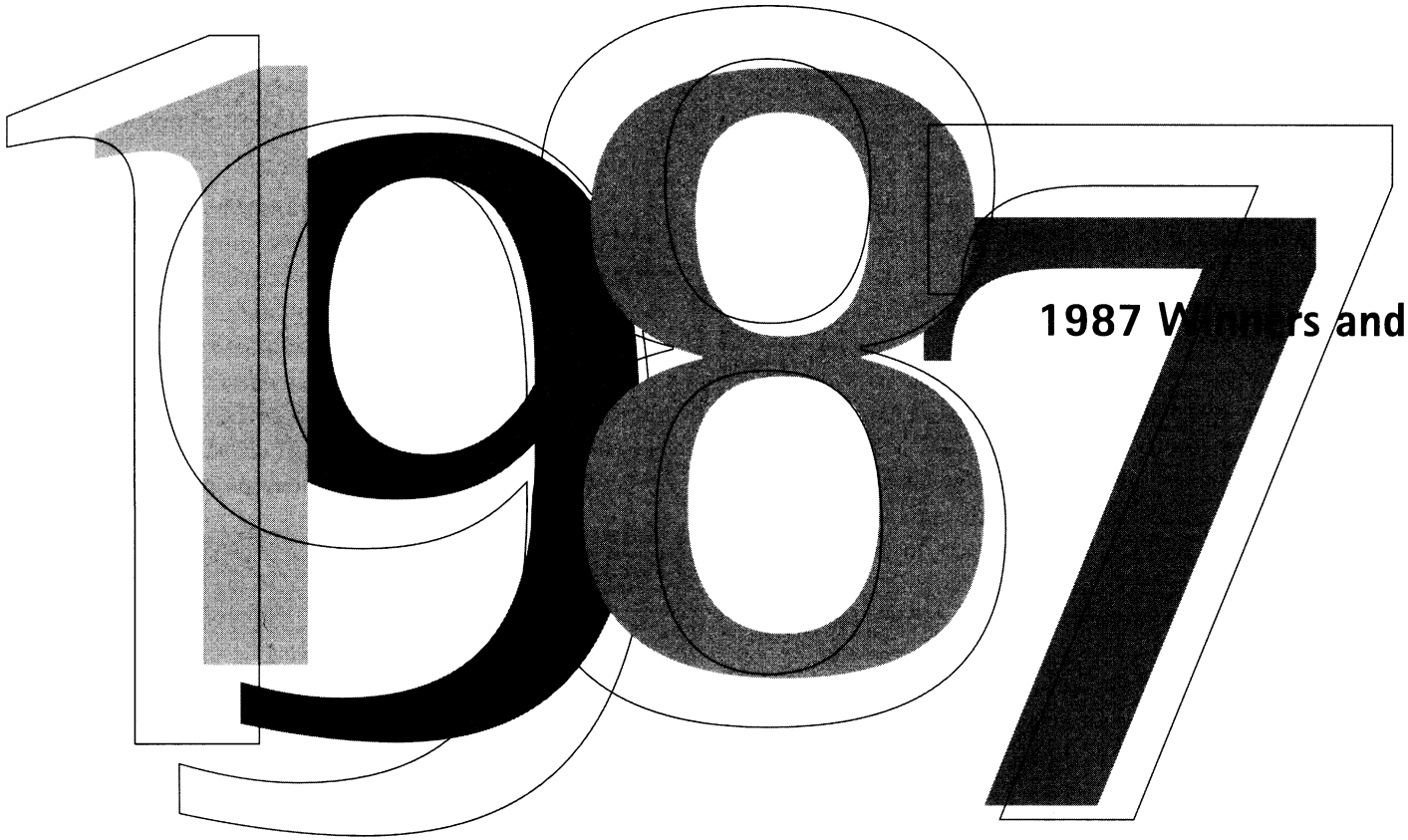
considerable management experience which he seems to be putting to good use. He appears to be a proactive and effective manager, who wields considerable autonomy in carrying out his Board of Directors' policies.

Some Key Themes from Cabrillo Village

- The original struggle was replaced by a new threat. In some ways it could be argued that the structure of the place contained the seeds of part of the conflict (with two types of tenure which make a difference between the original group with essentially life tenure and the "newcomers" who benefited from, but did not take part in, the original struggle and who have less firmly guaranteed tenure). Against this, one must recognize that not all the recent trouble makers came from the new phases (though most did).
- Being rooted in a place and staying there for a long time allows a long term commitment to be made and great caring to be exhibited (improvements, landscaping, sentimental attachment).

Residents expend tremendous energy in beautifying their yards.

- "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" or major problems can arise after the initial formative crisis which must be dealt with effectively or the place can be lost.



1987 Winners and Finalists

1987 Pike Place Market, Seattle, Washington

Date of Visit: May 7, 1996

Site Visitors: Polly Welch, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Lynn Stowell (HUD Office of the Secretary's Representative)
Gretchen Dursch (1995 RBA Finalist)

Introduction: Pike Place Market in 1987

When the Market Foundation was the winner of the 1987 Rudy Bruner Award, Pike Place Market was already well celebrated for its historic preservation and urban design qualities as well as its success as a revitalized marketplace. It was also evident that the Market, saved from urban renewal by a citizens' ballot initiative fifteen years earlier, was viewed by Seattle residents as one of the unique and cherished places in their city. Physically, the Market is a warren of some seventeen anonymous buildings spanning six vertical stories between First Avenue and Seattle's commercial harbor below. Its humble architecture serves people well and provides a backdrop to the vibrant activities of merchants and customers. Some say that the spaces in- between are as important as the buildings because they offer discovery and adventure. The Market has eschewed the design flourishes of the festival markets that have become popular urban places over the last decade and provides Seattle citizens with a provocative alternative to the shopping center experience. Some 10 million people visit the Market each year.

The Market's location at the waters edge adds to its appeal.

In 1987 the less well known dimension of the Market was the five year old Market Foundation that played a critical role in promoting an awareness of and support for the needs of the broad diversity of people who resided and worked in the Pike Place District. Pike Place Market historically had been home to many poor and elderly people. The Foundation was created to support the services that would ensure the survival and continued participation of local residents, including a food bank, senior center, health center, day care center, and low cost housing. In its first five years private contributions, mostly in the $30-50 range amounted to $1 million.

The complexity of goods and services, the mixture of merchants and farmers, and the co-existence of boutiques and second-hand stores is managed and sustained by an elaborate network of organizations including the Pike Place Market Preservation and Development Authority (PDA), the Pike Place Market Historic Commission, the Market Foundation, and the Merchant Association. The 1987 site visit team observed that the extraordinary "social ecology" of the Market was sustained because of the checks and balances inherent in decision making shared by so many organizations. By distributing responsibility for the Market's health and well-being among so many, change is well-considered and self-conscious, if a bit slow. Outside pressures and trends have been purposefully

resisted when maintaining the *status quo* is in the best interests of the Market. In 1987 it was clear, however, that the pressures of tourism, parking, skyrocketing values of surrounding properties, and gentrification would continue to challenge the Market and its ability to creatively manage change.

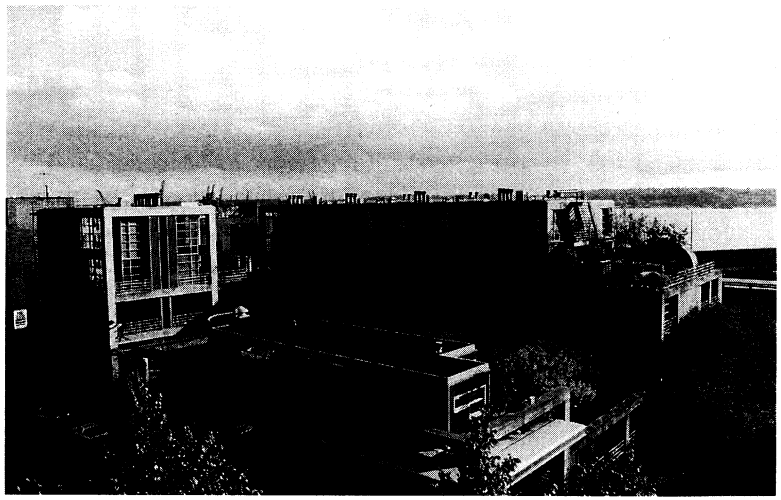
Pike Place Market Revisited

Nine years later, the Market looks remarkably the same but its surroundings are in the midst of change. The market is becoming an island of diversity as the surrounding area becomes increasingly affluent. There are more high priced condominium towers surrounding the Market. The strip tease joints across First Avenue could lose their leases because the deceased landlord's executors are examining better uses of the properties. The merchants and produce stalls haven't changed; most retailers are still grossing less than $100,000 per year. Some say the number of tourists has increased but interpreting the implications of that trend seems to be the favorite speculation of Market regulars.

The Market Foundation is now being ably directed by Marlys Erickson, who had been the associate director with Aaron Zaretsky, the Executive Director for the first ten years. All of the same human service organizations still exist in the Market and several others have been added. The Foundation now also supports or contributes to:

- a program for low income Market residents to redeem coupons for fresh produce at Market farm tables;
- a program to distribute unsold produce to Seattle food banks and meal programs (15,000 lbs. last year);
- a social worker to link low income Market residents to social and health services;
- start-up funds for low income housing; and
- an emergency rent loan fund for housing residents who are hospitalized.

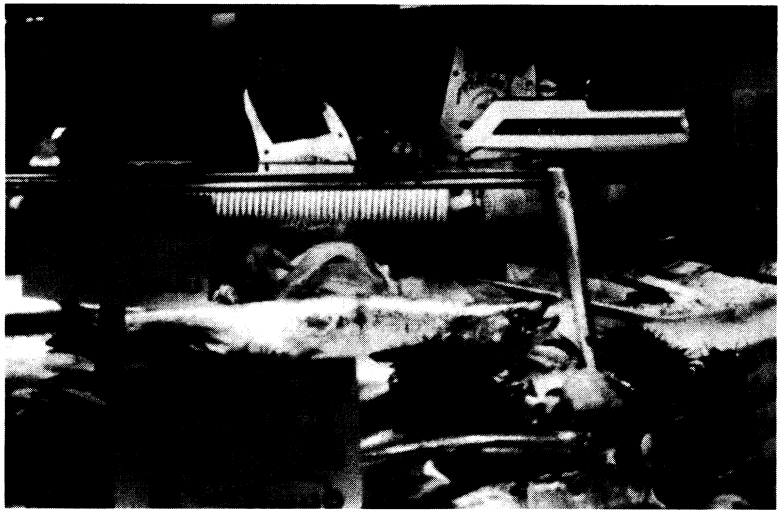
The Foundation is currently conducting a $3 million capital drive to fund its "Care for the Market" campaign. In response to a recent five year repair and replacement study, the Foundation has had to sell the idea that the market needs upkeep. These gifts will pay for improvements as well as expansion space to meet the growing demand for services. As a sign of the Foundation's growing fund raising sophistication, it has just received its first planned gift from the estate of a Boeing engineer.



A view from the Market over recent housing.

Bottom Line Measures

1996 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of saving the Market from urban renewal. Starbucks, the coffee store that has swept the nation, is also celebrating its twenty-fifth year in business, and credits some of its phenomenal success to its incubation in the Market. Ironically, the Starbucks shop that still anchors the north end of Pike Place could not come into the Market today because it would no longer meet the strict rules of the PDA charter regarding the owner/producer being present in the store. Nevertheless, the Foundation shares its anniversary limelight with the astronomical success of one of its first producers,


Fish vender at the Market.

knowing that it demonstrates the vital importance of incubation and brings national visibility to the Market.

The Market can also be proud that it is doing better than downtown Seattle retail businesses. The value of being located in the Market is reflected in the low turnover and low vacancy of commercial space, especially in comparison to the surrounding downtown area. The few merchants who leave are now selling their leases rather than relinquishing the space. In that kind of an economy it has become much harder to justify and secure space for incubating new businesses. But to what extent is this commercial success due to the tourist traffic? One old timer who deplores the impact of tourism lamented that if you took the tourists away the market would probably not survive.

Related to the changes in clientele and the pressure to grow what sells, farmers are starting to change what they produce. More items are value-added—dry flowers, jams and jellies, honey—satisfying both local shopper and tourist. A 1992 Farm Committee report indicated that there has been a consistent trend of increasing farmer sales days. The PDA, through supporting efforts like the Farmland Preservation program and the Wednesday Truck Sales has managed to increase the number of farmers bringing produce to the Market from 30 to 100 over the last decade.

The PDA currently owns and manages 500 units of housing for low income people. There are another 500 units of low income housing within two blocks of the Market. Several people noted that it is surprising that there is no residents' association given this amount of housing. This could be interpreted as meaning that the housing is meeting people's needs and residents do not perceive any threats to their well-being.

Place

Except for new windows and roofs and some turnover of retailers, few changes are visible at the Market. "That's important" says the director of the PDA. The Market has added two new buildings since 1987: an assisted living center for older people and a new parking garage, both on the western flank where their presence is hardly noticed. Their impact, however, is significant. The assisted living center provides shelter and care for frail older people who can no longer live alone in the other housing within the Market, another effort at preserving diversity. The parking garage supplies 535 spaces in a multistory structure on the site of an old surface parking lot. Market administrators have struggled for two decades with the perceived shortage of parking and whether it impacts use of the Market by local Seattlites. The PDA has also added a much needed information booth, staffed by volunteers who field tens of thousands of inquiries yearly.

Process

The process by which the Market manages change is well documented in the previous RBA case study. In the last nine years it has not only had to address its perennial ongoing issues but it has battled for its very survival as a public market.

One of the original directors of the PDA noted that Victor Steinbrueck had envisioned freezing the Market in time and would probably not have liked the changes that have taken place. Nonetheless, he added, if the Market had been left alone, completely

ignoring the pressures to change, it would not have survived until today. The original intention of the large infusion of federal monies in the 1970s. had been to use the Market improvements as a catalyst for upgrading the surrounding area. That neighborhood has slowly been transformed from a pretty seedy commercial and low income residential area into highly desirable retail and residential properties. The pressure being exerted from the success of the surrounding real estate can be seen in the inflated values on Market leases, the controversies about uses of undeveloped lots, and the fear that publicly discussing the expired Hildt Agreement, which restricts retail space to occupancy by producers only, might let the nose of the franchise camel under the tent.

In a much heralded two year legal battle started in 1990, the Market almost became a private shopping center. On the city's prompting, in the 1980s, the PDA was able to secure funds for its renovations in the Market by selling eleven buildings to The Urban Group in New York. The assumption was that the syndicators would reap the tax credit benefits of accelerated depreciation for these historic buildings and fifteen years later, when the enormous balloon payment was due, the investors would default and the properties would revert to the PDA. The investors, however, could not get enough out of the tax credits and started to explore income production. They insisted that they had planned to hold onto their ownership of the buildings because they fully expected to realize a profit after gradually increasing rents to bring the Market in line with the economic potential of the area. Their attempt to raise retailers' rents was in violation of the PDA charter. Combined with the belief that the investors were trying to take equity out of the buildings, Seattle citizens began to organize. Peter Steinbrueck, son of the architect who had saved the Market in 1971, revived the list of original supporters, hired lawyers, and filed suit against the investors charging that the entire deal was illegal. The courts soon ruled that the PDA had no authority to sell the buildings, but a final settlement took much longer because the investors filed for bankruptcy. In the end, the state put up $1.5 million and bond issue capacity for the PDA to refinance the buildings and settle the case.


Resident of Pike Place District.

It is generally agreed that two factors brought the investors to the table: the bad press that was generated by threatening a place so beloved by Seattlites and the use controls that had been built into the PDA charter by attorney Jerry Thonn many years before. Thonn said that he drafted a model with many checks and balances because he thought that ownership of the Market would be private. He might not have included such elaborate requirements had he known that ownership would be a public authority. That initial concern for balancing control paid off. The positive side of this upheaval was the power it had in rekindling people's memories of earlier chapters in saving the Market, in reinforcing the need for vigilance in sustaining public places, and in giving the Market a stronger sense of community. Joanne Cowan, who monitors for the city its eight public development authorities, stated that the Market PDA is "doing better than ever." She noted that the Market PDA sometimes alarms politicians because the debates are so loud, but if that keeps the constituencies from getting deadlocked it is worth it.

Almost every person interviewed identified several issues that the Market will be confronting in the next few years. The issues included the conflict between crafts people and farmers, the increasing influx of tourists, and the threat of HUD eliminating the Section 8 program that makes possible operation of housing for poor people in the Market. These were identified, not so much as threats to the Market, but as ongoing problems that any place of this magnitude and complexity has to deal with and, perhaps, the antidote to complacency.

Values

The Market is regularly cited for its success in sustaining a living marketplace and in withstanding the pressures from within and without to be something else. Syndication almost toppled the market and, yet, served as the new crisis around which to gather old and new supporters. Much less cataclysmic problems arise on a daily basis and are resolved through, what one administrator called "a seething, Byzantine system of fiefdoms."

The possible withdrawal of Section 8 project-based federal funding for low income housing provides an interesting insight into how interdependent the Market organizations understand themselves to be. Every constituency identified this potential loss as a critical issue not just because of the cash flow problems it would create but because it puts in jeopardy the diversity of the Market population. Ninety percent of the housing units have such funding. The potential loss of tenant characteristics would also impact the viability of the social services in the Market. Not to be caught unprepared, the PDA and Foundation are actively exploring how they could make up the difference, knowing that the ecology of the Market would be fundamentally altered by the loss of its oldest and most needy residents.

Diversity is also at risk as the Market becomes more economically successful. Sustaining diversity on the retail side of the market has become more difficult because of the inflation inherent in such valuable real estate. The "high stalls" are getting too high in cost. Incubation of new producers and new immigrant businesses is threatened. Less space is available for that purpose because most businesses are sold with leases rather than leaving the market or going out of business. Sale of leases precludes PDA control except at lease renewal.

Some Market members see the crafts people as a threat to diversity. Ironic, perhaps, that a group who sells handmade products that broaden the merchandise available to the consumer is viewed so negatively. The source of the conflict is historical as well as current in its unresolved inequities. Originally the crafts people were permitted to sell at day tables during the low produce months to supplement the Market's rental income. To encourage their participation and acknowledge the informal nature of their enterprise, they were charged a very low flat fee. Now that some are netting large incomes from their stalls, the farmers and other retailers feel that the crafts people should be on the same percentage rent basis as everyone else. The crafts people believe that they are making an important contribution to the market and resent the second class treatment they perceive themselves receiving.

Whether the perceived threat to being a produce market is crafts people or tourists, the PDA is pro-actively promoting the produce sector. It has developed a number of educational and marketing strategies including a welcome card to new homeowners; a Fresh Sheet in newspaper distribution boxes identifying seasonal produce; a curriculum, "How Does the Market Grow" for second through fourth graders; and a tour, Market Classroom 101, teaching people how to shop the market. Shelly Yapp, the Director, believes that the market must continually look for new ways to promote its fundamental purpose and values. Most important among these are

Preservation of Pike Place Market became a popular cause in Seattle.

diversity, the community and the direct contact between consumer and producer because these make the Market unique.

Issues Remaining

Several people mentioned that the Market will always have issues because of the inevitability of confronting change and the requirements for processing change through a system of checks and balances. More people seem to be concerned about the potential for complacency than the possibility of unresolved problems. The largest threat, by all accounts, is the societal pressure to become a place of entertainment rather than need. While some blame this on the increase in tourism, most also realize that it is more systemic in the economy and culture.

1987 Casa Rita, Bronx, New York

Date of Visit: May 10, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Erana Stennet (Central Park Conservancy)
Herbert Geller (HUD)
Michael Litvin (HUD)

Introduction: Casa Rita in 1987

Casa Rita was begun by Women in Need (WIN) as a place to provide a "dignified, safe and more compassionate" place to live for homeless women with children. WIN director Rita Zimmer planned Casa Rita to be a shelter that would look and feel "homey" rather than institutional, down to the residential-style, individual bathrooms and cut flowers. Most importantly, Casa Rita was designed to be a small scale facility. With heavy social and educational programming aimed at helping the families find housing and becoming independent, Ms. Zimmer felt that large facilities would inevitably feel institutional.

Casa Rita was also planned as a facility that would have a connection to its neighborhood in the South Bronx, by giving preference to people from the local Latina community, and by selecting staff and contractors from the neighborhood. The facility was in a space owned by a local church which it supported with its rent checks. It worked with community leaders to rehabilitate the former parochial school that had become a neighborhood eyesore. It also kept a low profile, and had no exterior signs of being housing for the homeless. Casa Rita avoided NIMBY responses typical of homeless shelters, and became a net gain for the block.

The development costs in 1985 were $550,000, with an annual operating budget of $2 million. Some of the equipment and materials for construction were donated by local businesses, which was a mixed blessing. The donations saved construction costs and helped tie local businesses to the shelter, but also limited it with choice of product quality available, sometimes leading to increased maintenance and replacement costs later on.

Much of the appeal of Casa Rita to the Selection Committee came from the involvement of the community in its planning, and from the values explicit in its design. By keeping the facility small, and designing to make the clients comfortable and to reduce the stigma of a homeless shelter, Casa Rita showed more concern with long term change than with the immediate bottom line. Among its commitments was an emphasis on personal support which was both friendly and effective through skilled social services. It was seen as an example of how a shelter could fit the needs of both its neighborhood and its residents.

Casa Rita Revisited

The mission and clientele have undergone significant changes since 1987 in ways that have affected the details of the program, although not its underlying approach and values. Its residents are

Bulletin board in the hallway at Casa Rita welcomes visitors.

now former substance abusing, homeless women and their children. Rather than a local Bronx population, residents are now drawn citywide through referrals from the Emergency Assistance Unit of the New York City Correctional System. This major shift was affected by government policy and funding but also reflected Executive Director Rita Zimmer's desire to serve the population of substance abusing women.

This change has greatly affected Casa Rita. The program now takes longer– the average stay is more than one year; there are tighter rules– early in the program women are restricted in their movement outside of the building; and there is less connection to the neighborhood as there is no neighborhood preference and residents now come from anywhere in the city. But the home-like feel remains and so does the emphasis on intensive intervention to support women toward finding housing and a job. The constant has been the personal attention clients receive and the overall quality of the program.

While there are many homeless shelters and transitional facilities, and many other substance abuse programs, there are only two

Two sisters sit in backyard garden at Casa Rita.

in New York State that permit homeless women in recovery to bring their children with them. Having children with them is seen as important for the success of the program." These women hang their self worth on being able to nurture their kids" said one staff member. Casa Rita has always been full and has a long waiting list.

Because program goals emphasize counseling and education, staffing and per client operating costs are high. Currently there is a staff of 26 for 16 women and 27 children (whose ages range from 2 months to 18 years). The annual operating budget is $9 million.

Casa Rita continues to be unique in its caring atmosphere but it does not provide an easy existence for kids. No boys older than 12 years can live at the shelter, so families may be split up. School attendance is required and monitored. Friendships between children-residents and their schoolmates are not easy to develop and maintain since staff, by state requirement, must be present for all visits.

Shelter professionals fill many needs formerly sought from outside agencies. The staff now includes a family therapist, vocational therapist, pediatric social worker, family doctor and several counselors. The program focuses on job and vocational training, such as developing interview skills. The staff considers the development of a woman's self-esteem as a major factor determining success after leaving Casa Rita.

Place

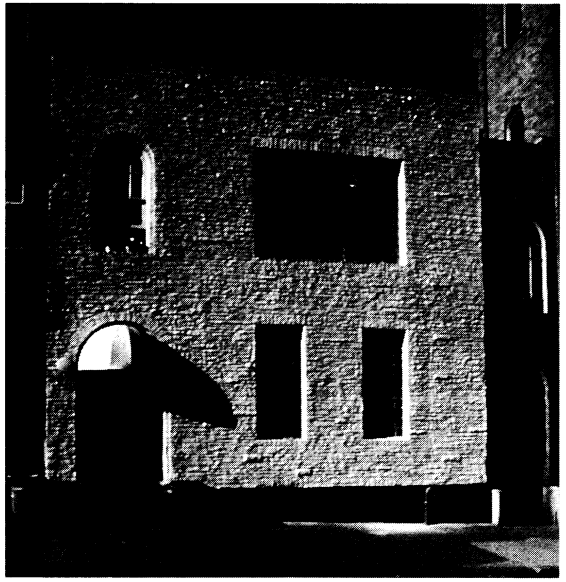
For the protection of its clients, Casa Rita still keeps a low profile on the block. (Some residents fear being stalked by ex-husbands or lovers.) From the outside there is nothing that would indicate the function of this building. In the interior, also, the building continues to be successful in presenting a homelike feel and tone. The common areas feel pleasant and homey in scale and furnishings, and the backyard is colorful.

A new administration building has been added next door. It is, like the original structure, rented from the church, thus contributing to the financial stability of that community organization. This new facility accommodates the increased professional and counseling staff.

Both Casa Rita staff and the original architect acknowledge that using the donated materials and furnishings led to problems. In several cases they ended up being quite expensive, in the costs of repair or replacement. The prime example, square toilet seats, were happily if surreptitiously replaced through a citywide program that suppled shelters with more environmentally efficient toilets and showers.

The interior of the facility has held up well thanks to a strong maintenance program. There have also been several major physical upgrades. The yard, an asphalt waste at the time of the original visit, has now been attractively landscaped. It has been seeded and equipped with a large deck, planters and a play area. The kitchen has been improved and other renovation is currently underway in the lounge areas. Painting is being done on several floors.

Casa Rita staff and the architect, Conrad Levinson, say that they would have liked to have been able to provide additional privacy and more overall space for the family residents. The rooms are small and, although personalization is encouraged, they can feel confining. Experience with Case Rita has contributed to the life work and later design decisions of Levinson, who has become an innovator in housing for the homeless and special populations.



Casa Rita retains an anonymous facade.

There have been some improvements to the block. The most striking of these is the conversion of the barren school lot across the street into an athletic field with artificial turf, a track and other equipment. There is, however, no reason to think that this or any other block improvements resulted directly or indirectly from Casa Rita. It is still very much a low income Bronx neighborhood in other respects.

Process and Values

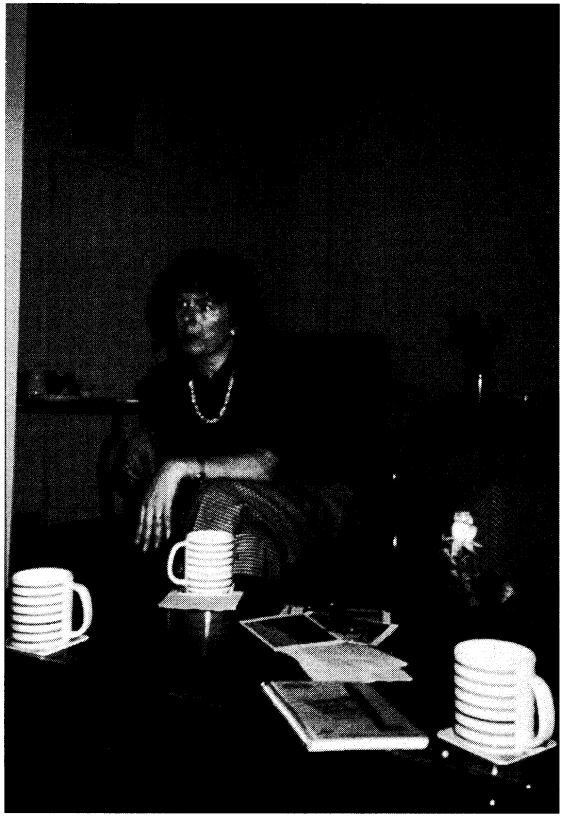
While there are many people who are responsible for running the programs at Casa Rita, Rita Zimmer remains the heart and soul of the project. She sets the tone for the program and her efforts remain critical to raising the funds necessary to maintain operations. An important example of her efforts has been the increasing involvement of Cosmetics Women Executives. They came, she says, to provide "makeovers" for the women, and stayed to help make over the building.

The WINS board remains active and involved with the operation and the personnel at Casa Rita. Several residents, in fact, sit on the board. They have been involved in planning and addressing problems in the building.

Many aspects of the Casa Rita program have changed greatly. Because of the change in population to substance abusing women with children, rules have tightened considerably. Residents, for instance, have little ability to travel outside the building walls during the first month, and have a curfew for the next ten months. All clients sign a contract that they will adhere to rules. Heavy peer support and counseling is an important part of the program – all clients have "big sisters" and "little sisters." At the six month anniversary of entry into the program residents have a 'sobriety celebration." Staff see this point as a landmark and a 'teachable moment.' There is a strong after-care network to support clients after they complete the program.

What is most striking is that, with all these changes, Casa Rita remains the same in the most crucial respects, the feel of the setting, the attitude of staff and the attempt to empower the residents. Casa Rita's approach remains holistic and comprehensive. The whole staff is responsible for treatment. Clients can talk about problems with a counselor, a maintenance person or a cook.

Treatment is based on the philosophy that women have different needs than men, especially in the a deep sense of remorse they suffer about their own poor parenting history. Maintaining families as units, and providing opportunities for good parenting is seen as critical to success. So is providing a homelike, non-institutional setting, and showing that each client is valued as a person, (demonstrated by the client seats on board). "This is my home," said one resident. "I never felt degraded here."



Rita Zimmer, Founder.

The values of Casa Rita may be best demonstrated by one of the smallest lines in the operating budget that provides for flowers given to residents on Mothers' Day. While other organizations might hide such an expense under "miscellany" here it is openly displayed as a statement that such symbols are basic to program and philosophy and not a frivolous amenity.

Casa Rita also has a unique approach to dealing with behavior problems and violations of the contract that each resident must sign. Rather than dismissing errant residents from the program, staff use these instances as evidence that there is more work to be done and as fodder for discussion in counseling sessions.

Bottom Line Measures

There are many anecdotes of women who have successfully made the transition from Casa Rita to the community, who are successfully housed and off of welfare. There have not been, however, thorough studies that show the success rate or that show better results for Casa Rita than other tier two facilities. Casa Rita has a low dropout rate. Only a handful of women dropped out in 1966, mostly during the first 30 days, which is the toughest period of the program.

Casa Rita importantly influenced state thinking about sheltering families. The tier two system that emerged was vastly better than the dreaded welfare hotels or dormitory structures, as research has shown. However, providing small settings, a crucial component for Casa Rita, was not built in as part of their two tier model. One former state official said "If only we could have cloned Rita, not regulations." The strength of Zimmer's leadership continues to be a an important component of Casa Rita's program. Leadership transition will be important for the long-term stability of the project.

Some Key Themes from Costa Rita

Maintaining adequate funding has always been a concern. Major support now comes from a five year grant from National Institute of Alcoholism. Casa Rita has also gained significant support from the Cosmetic Women Executives, a professional association of business women. Competition for funds is stiff, however, and Casa Rita relies heavily on the persuasive abilities of Rita Zimmer for fund raising.

Casa Rita faces new problems from the recent state and federal welfare changes. "Workfare" places time limits on receiving public assistance that may make it hard for women to stay there as long as the program demands, and still have time to be placed in a school or job training program when they leave. Also, group sessions that are currently run during the day may have to take place at night if the women are required to work.

Casa Rita's model is based in large part on its small size. Other tier two facilities have similar aims but typically are much bigger, ranging from 70 to as many as 200 residents. All agree that "small is better" but initial costs have limited government funding of such sites, even in earlier times when resources were somewhat more available. Zimmer suggests that this is not a rational perspective. Like advocates of other preventive services, she argues, that if Casa Rita is highly successful in keeping women out of the welfare system, its high costs per woman would be more than worthwhile and would repay operating expenses many times over. Unfortunately, there are no longitudinal research that have evaluated the status of the Casa Rita graduates. Nor do statewide data demonstrate differences in results accruing from the size of facility. There is no disagreement, however, that the need for this kind of program is high. Thirty percent of 5,000 homeless women currently in the system are substance abusers and have children.

Casa Rita is still heavily dependent on Rita Zimmer for leadership and fund raising. Since finances remain precarious (especially after the current major grant runs out), a future transition will be challenging.

1987 Quality Hill, Kansas City, Missouri

Date of Visit: May 23, 1996.

Site Visitors: Jay Farbstein, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Elmore Binford (HUD Secretary's Representative, Kansas City, Kansas)

Introduction: Quality Hill in 1987

In 1987, Quality Hill was a freshly renovated and redeveloped historic district adjacent to downtown Kansas City, Missouri. In an area that had been deteriorating for years, and where little investment had taken place, a private developer structured a partnership with the city and 20 local companies, including the Hallmark Family Foundation and several local banks, to bring the place back to life. This broad-based coalition invested $4 million in the first half of the project, establishing initial momentum for the improvement of the downtown.

Several blocks of new housing, mostly town houses, had been built along with parking, and several significant historic structures had been renovated, mostly as apartments, but a few as offices, shops, and indoor recreation facilities. In four and one-half square blocks, the project provided 363 apartments and condominiums, two parking garages with 623 off street spaces (plus surface parking), and over 52,000 square feet of commercial offices, retail, restaurants and other space.

This was some of the first new housing to be built in or near downtown in many years and some wondered if it would attract tenants, (especially market rate tenants when they would live side-by-side with those receiving rent subsidies).

While finding the overall design to have many good points, the original site visit team had criticized certain aspects of the design, including the relationship between parking structures and the housing, the lack of usable open space, and some details of the historic renovations.

Quality Hill Revisited

Ten years later, the landscaping has filled in, Phase 2 has been constructed, many new structures have been built around the edges of the project, and the place appears to be maturing successfully. Many of the project's original goals have been achieved.

Some specific achievements include the following:

- Quality Hill provides housing options that are needed in the downtown area. Tenants seem to be pretty much the same groups that were targeted originally (young office workers, couples with 2 incomes and no children ("dinks" or dual income, no kids), singles sharing apartments, and some older folks). There are now homeowners in the project, as some of the town house units were sold as condos in 1991. Part of becoming a viable, in-town neighborhood has entailed the inclusion of retail shops, bars and restaurants. One of the historic buildings has been leased to the YMCA which

Mature trees help new townhouses blend with historic structures.

provides for much used recreation for residents and downtown workers.

- Quality Hill has had a positive impact on the surrounding area. The zone around Quality Hill has experienced a real boom and a significant part of its success is probably attributable to the Quality Hill project—though some of the development might have occurred eventually even without Quality Hill. Two major things have happened in the immediate area. Part of the original Quality Hill property (including the historic Virgina Hotel) was sold to the United Way. This led to a concept for "non-profit campus" in this area which has attracted the YWCA, the American Cancer Society, and others. In addition, a major corporation (DST, which is in financial services) has been very active in the area on two sides of Quality Hill. They have built new and converted lofts to offices and have several large projects in construction and planning, some in association with McCormack Baron. So Quality Hill has expanded and is continuing to do so. The general result has been to increase the level of activity in the area, to add amenities, and to increase the demand for housing.

  Areas slightly farther from Quality Hill have also experienced development, including downtown (the blocks to the north) and the garment district (to the north and west). There has been new construction of offices, historic preservation of some notable buildings, and conversion of lofts to apartments and offices. Of course, not all of this is attributable to Quality Hill.

  To the east of Quality Hill, (up the hill), there are a few buildings with considerable historic merit which have not been rehabilitated and there are some vacant parcels which may be developable. It is unclear what will happen there.

- Quality Hill is attractive and well maintained. The condition of landscaping and buildings in Quality Hill is very good; the result of adequate budgets and attention to upkeep and maintenance are good (these are McCormack Baron's responsibility). Streets and sidewalks are in less good repair, and these are the responsibility of the city. Some streets have median strips with plantings; these have proven to be hard to keep up (trucks run over them) and one has been taken out. The remaining ones are well maintained and attractive.

- Quality Hill is viable economically and has proven to have been a worthwhile investment of public and philanthropic funds. Economic viability is partially the result of rents that are kept at the upper end of market levels. Tenants say that they rise moderately every year (about 3% per year recently). We were told that the project is 99% occupied and 100% leased (waiting for a few tenants to move in). Other measures of financial health include the facts that Quality Hill has started to repay loans made by the foundation (which the foundation did not necessarily expect) and has made distributions to limited partners. In addition, some of the project's tax abatements are about to run out. Thus, Quality Hill will start to generate real estate tax revenues for the city. It has already been generating income tax revenues (1% city income tax which tenants have been paying since inception).

Phase 2 housing is in large buildings.

The following paragraphs review of status of Quality Hill in more detail.

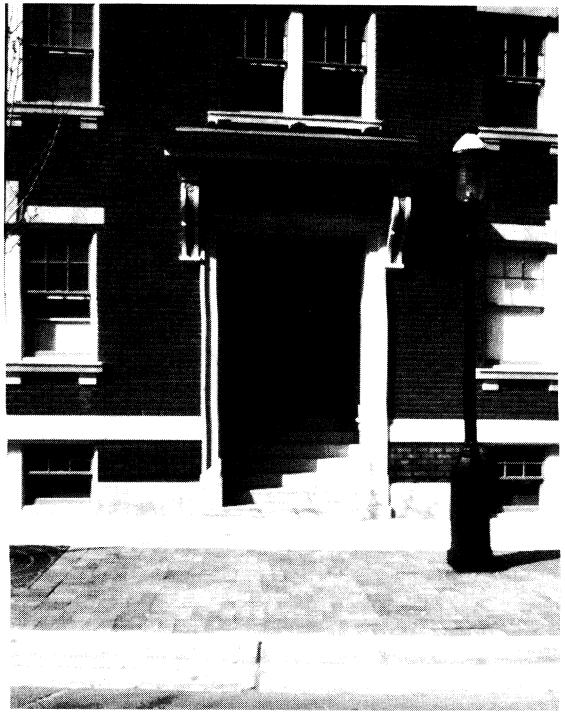
Place

- Phase 2. Another historical building, the Cordova, was renovated into 34 units. In addition, two sets of new apartment buildings were constructed on parcels to the west of the original project. The Shoto consists of 15 units in a single structure. Across the street, on a larger parcel, 84 units were constructed in individual buildings of 6 to 8 units. The apartments are nicely planned and finished. They are spacious, have nice light, and are well equipped with a security system, inside washer and dryer, walk-in closets, etc.). While reasonably attractive on the street side, with similar materials and details to Phase 1, the buildings are discontinuous at the street and have left a large gap along one street, have no private outdoor space at all (neither decks nor yards for the ground floor units), and back up to a very large and dull parking lot (which may be decked when old buildings on the Broadway side of the block are rehabilitated).

  The new units in Phase 2 were developed under post-1987 tax laws that included more stringent requirements about renters' income (no more than 60% of median income) compared to Phase 1. We interviewed one self-employed, entrepreneurial female minority tenant living in a Phase 1 unit who complained about the lowered quality of the other tenants in Phase 2.

- Condo Conversions. Thirty of the town house units have been converted to condos and sold at market rates of about $110,000 to $120,000. This has resulted in further "income diversification" (sometimes pejoratively called "gentrification").

- Design Issues. The current site visitor did not share the original team's and author's strong criticism of certain design features. The street fronts (which were not criticized) are very attractive, as are the historic renovations. The backs probably look better than ten years ago, with the landscaping significantly grown in. Back porches show many signs of use (BBQs, bikes, planters, etc.). While the space is fairly tight in some locations, it is not unattractive. The argument for providing much more usable open space is somewhat moot in that there are very few kids living here. In a sense, this is a self-fulfilling prophesy, since there is a clear lack of amenities for kids and families. We were told that when a couple decides to start a family, they typically move out. The design of Phase 2 is much less attractive at the backs than is Phase 1, which indicates that the developers did not learn from the critique in the book.



Attractive entrance to renovated apartment building.

Process

- Ongoing Management. McCormack Baron, which got a fee for their development work and has a very small equity position in the project, still plays a strong role in the area, managing the rental housing. They appear to be well organized and effective managers.
- The Public-Private Partnership. The city, the Hallmark Foundation, and the developers came together in a kind of partnership to do Quality Hill. The Hallmark Foundation is very satisfied with the results of their investment because it had the desired positive effects on downtown. The partnership between the city, the foundation, and the developer has endured and is now doing a project near Crown Center.
- Community Organization. One measure of the lack of cohesion of Quality Hill as a neighborhood is that there have not been any really effective resident organizations. One started, but it seems to be weak, ineffective, and lacking in focus (perhaps because there has not been a crisis to galvanize action or to organize around). Most of the tenants we talked to had either avoided the resident organization ("I'm not a joiner") or had been active and then given up because they were doing too much of the work.

Values

- Impact on McCormack Baron. Quality Hill was McCormack Baron's biggest and most complicated project when they did it. They had done several projects with a focus on historical preservation, but had not tackled a whole neighborhood. The success of Quality Hill certainly helped them to grow. They have gone on to do quite a few other large projects, many of them with a somewhat similar orientation (neighborhood scale, historical elements) and some of which have had strong community involvement (unlike Quality Hill where there apparently wasn't much of a community intact). They must be relatively (very?) unusual in the development world, since they are now a national firm but with a very community- and preservation-based approach.
- What happened with "displaced, non-permanent" residents. It is unclear what happened to the relatively small number of people living in the area before the original project was done. However, homeless people who camp near the river do walk across this project on their way to a meal program at a large church on the east edge of Quality Hill. We were told that they have the good sense to behave well, since they recognize that they could lose the program if they caused problems in the vicinity.

Other Stories

HUD Representative. By a remarkable coincidence, the HUD regional representative who took part in the site visit, Elmore Binford, and his wife live in one of the Quality Hill town house units which they rent from McCormack Baron. They are empty nesters. He enjoys urban life, walks and takes public transportation to work (does own a car but likes not having to use it much). He likes the project and his apartment a lot, appreciates the diversity of residents (by age and life stage), and thinks McCormack Baron does a good job of managing the project. He also likes the neighborhood amenities (theaters; restaurants and bars which are filled with locals). He feels Quality Hill fills a certain housing niche for young workers who want to walk to work. He sees it as a kind of temporary place for most residents, who will move on as life stage and housing needs change. He finds the rents to be right at the top of the market and would move if they increased much.

Young Professional Man. He has an interest in history and antiques and loves to live in Coates House (one of the renovated apartment buildings). He has recommended Quality Hill to many friends, some of whom have moved in to it. However, he plans to leave soon because he has been married for a while and wants to start a family. He will move into a suburban house with a yard, but you could tell that he will miss aspects of Quality Hill.

Young Professional Woman. She works for the Downtown Association and is a great promoter of Quality Hill. She lives in an historical building and loves her apartment; she was about to renew her lease for another year. She walks to work, which she really appreciates being able to do. She feels completely safe in all parts of the area at any time of day or night.

Some Key Themes from Quality Hill

- Public-private partnerships. Contributions by the city and the foundation; enlightened self interest of the developer. The partnership has endured.
- The importance of design to achieving financial success and overall excellence. Here, it is a mixed story – some is really good, including the historic preservation and the Phase 1 street facades, while other aspects are less good (see above).
- The value of preserving historic structures. Gives a real sense of continuity. The non-profit zone is a creative idea for reuse.
- The positive impact of a catalytic intervention. By recreating and preserving this area right on the edge of downtown, many further improvements and developments have been encouraged. Here, critical mass was important—enough had to be done to show the market that it made a difference.
- Strong management that provides continuity and high standards has been critical to keeping the process successful. City politicians have come and gone, but McCormack Baron is still there managing and advocating for the project.

1987 Fairmount Health Center, Philadelphia, PA

Date of Visit: May 29, 1996

Site Visitors: Richard Wener, *Author,* (Bruner Foundation)
Melvin Lerner (Public Health Service)
Richard Dovalovski (Public Health Service)

Introduction: The Fairmount Health Center in 1987

The Fairmount Health Center (FHC) was founded in 1986 by Philadelphia Health Services, a small non-profit organization in North Philadelphia, PA, run by Jose S. Galura. By the way it looked and by the services it provided, the FHC was intended to become a focus of community pride. By responding to the character of its community, it sought to be a catalyst for community change, serving the needs of poor residents in a "businesslike way." FHC was originally created to meet the needs of an Hispanic community. By the time the facility opened, however, the community had become more diverse, with an increasing African-American population.

This ex-warehouse building was renovated to serve as an important civic center. Its immaculate glass and brick facade stands out among its dilapidated and graffiti-covered neighbors. The front lobby was designed to be welcoming, and included a coffee area intended to serve as a "neighborhood living room" and meeting place. An auditorium was provided, both for FHC purposes and for neighborhood meetings. The materials, colors and spaces that were used run counter to stereotypical images of "clinics." Planners of the facility said that the administrative offices were designed to be large and luxurious to help the FHC be taken more seriously by local hospital administrators. They saw this as a way for them to meet with other executives on an equal basis. Work on this 16,000 square foot facility was planned, designed and constructed in nine months at a cost $1.5 million.

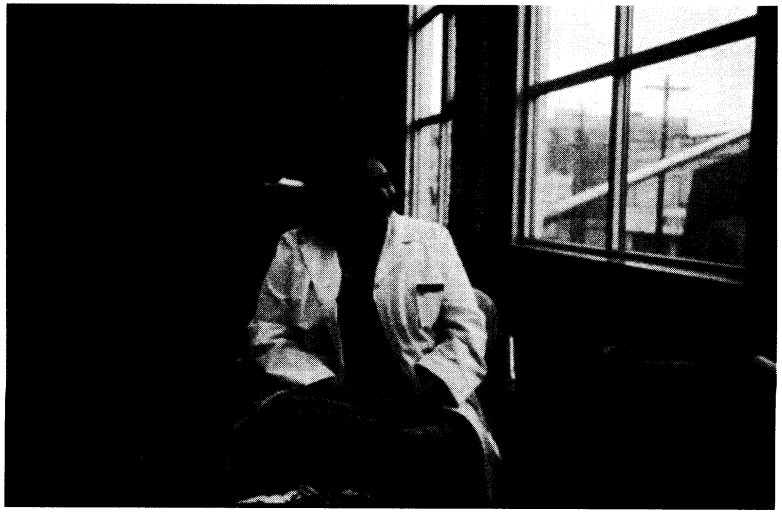
The financing for this effort was difficult and involved putting together funds from nine different sources, including federal sources, loans, and employee pledges. Funding was precarious and capital was highly leveraged (the original Bruner evaluation report talked of a "pyramid" of financing).

The importance of FHC, as recognized by the Selection Committee, lay in its concern for the overall welfare of the community, as well as for individual medical issues.

Fairmount Health Center Revisited

The last few years have been tumultuous and dangerous ones for FHC. The organization has gone through an unplanned transition as the leader and founder, Jose Galura, left under a cloud. For a time FHC's survival was seriously in doubt, since the loss of Public Health Service support and funding (which was at one point a real possibility) would have removed the center's financial viability. After a long period of investigations, suspicions and transition, the board hired a new director and there was considerable turnover of

Fairmount Health Center's facade remains free of vandalism.


Doctor in waiting area at Fairmount Health Center.

professional staff. It has taken time for trust and confidence in the new leadership to develop, and for the institution to move forward with new plans and development.

Currently, FHC appears to be on sound financial footing, (as much as any community health agency can be in these days of changing health care financing), and seems to be doing a good job of meeting many of its original goals. Its annual budget is $7.2 million, of which $2.6 million comes from a grant by the Public Health Service. The building still stands out in the community as an attractive and important structure. It has remained in excellent physical condition, as its founders hoped. The lack of vandalism and graffiti imply an institution valued by its neighbors and clients.

In the meantime, FHC still serves the populace. The care it provides to the citizens of North Philadelphia is of equal quality to private health care. FHD is attempting to eliminate obstacles to health care and to reach uninsured residents. In working toward this goal its focus is on primary health care, as opposed to emergency medicine. In the past year FHC served 9300 community residents in 18,000 medical and 1,600 dental visits.

FHC is seen as important landmark in the neighborhood, although it is not serving as a "urban park" as originally hoped. The lobby coffee shop was little used and has been replaced with three offices. There is some use of the auditorium by the community, but not at the levels anticipated. There has been significant growth in the use of dental services. This is the service most in demand and one that is being expanded.

Place

The building remains in very good shape. The glass front survives, in spite of some early predictions of its demise, and there is virtually no graffiti. The FHC facade does not "read" as a health center. This was clearly the intention of the original planners and designer, but not all agree that this is a virtue. Some staff feel, for example, that the facade impedes public awareness of the health center. They


Entry hall to clinic at Fairmount Health Center.

say some local residents think it looks like a health club or gymnasium, and walk on by without knowing the true use of building.

Current administrators and staff feel that the original design placed too much emphasis on office areas at the expense of clinical space. Offices and administrative conference rooms are spacious and luxuriously appointed, while clinical space is tight and spare. Staff feel that, in spite of the reasons given, the design shows a relative indifference to the critical needs of the client and service provider.

This difference is particularly bothersome because of the limited space available for treatment areas. Because of space needs, for example, the triage area has been turned into a consulting room. Radiology was converted to an AIDS counseling area, to meet the growing need of AIDS treatment. Medical staff see the design as unusual and cumbersome. Doctors' offices are located along narrow hallways, and there are no separate entries or distinct areas for different patient groups. For example, adults and children use the same waiting and treatment room areas. Many of the complaints from health care workers about the design of treatment space may be indicative of feeling "left out of the loop" when that area was planned. Staff also note that there is a need for a conference room and that the dental rooms are greatly undersized. The waiting area gets very crowded and lacks a space for the counselors to meet clients, a problem addressed by the newly added offices. Staff would like to see separate waiting areas for different groups of clients.

Process

Leadership and transition issues have been paramount in the recent history of the FHC. The creation and early organization of the FHC, however exemplary or problematic, was highly dependent on the energy and force of personality of one man. There was no clear order of succession, and even if there had been, the unusual circumstances of the change in administration would have made orderly change difficult. It has taken several years to ease the organizational trauma of this administrative change.

Crowded clinic reception area at Fairmount.

These problems thrust the Board of Directors into an especially crucial and difficult role. The Board was torn between its strong feelings about the previous administration (both support and blame) and its sense of responsibility for interim management and continuity, keeping FHC running until a new administration was brought in. The current board, at least as represented by its president, is heavily involved in policy and planning, and supportive of management. By rule, fifty-one percent of the board members must be clients of the center.

The most important recent development may have been FHC's efforts to actively court the community and gain greater access to and input from the community leaders. The new administrator hired a community relations liaison who has helped develop much stronger relations between FHC and community groups. He set up meetings between FHC administration and community leaders, and invited community people into the center for input to decisions and other activities such as the poets who were on site during black history month.

Values

Some early values and goals have changed. Galura, for example, had hoped to attract gentrified residents as patients to express the quality of service offered there. That is no longer a goal. FHC's mission is to provide quality health care service for all underserved clients in its catchment area, but without imparting a clinic mentality. It is working to imbue its staff with a customer-centered staff attitude.

The addition of the community relations liaison and recent partnerships with community organizations are reflective of a new approach and better way of integrating the FHC within its community. The design of the new dental space and other changes, such as creating offices in the former coffee shop space, reflect an attempt to be responsive to staff concerns.

The Bottom Line

FHC claims that fewer school children miss school for lack of immunization because of FHC's services. They have also received high quality reviews from health care insurers and have gained a strong reputation in the community.

There have been few significant or obvious changes on the block, such as signs of gentrification or other new buildings or businesses, since the last RBA visit. The neighborhood is largely made up of small service businesses, (such as garages), in older buildings that are, in many cases, covered with graffiti. The FHC's broader catchment area has gentrified somewhat, although it is still only a couple of blocks from a poorer and more crime-ridden section.

Issues Remaining

FHC seeks to provide service without a clinic mentality. For example, they have tried to alleviate the long waits to be seen by a doctor that are typical in community health centers. They are trying to encourage clients to call for an appointment instead of just walking in for non-emergency visits. This has not been wholly successful, however, as an estimated 25% of all visits remain "drop in." The new management feels that a such a mentality did begin to creep in among staff during the previous administration, but that it is having success in imparting a new "customer service" mentality to the staff.

The neighborhood has continued to change. The Hispanic community is now largely beyond the FHC's catchment area, and the center serves a more culturally diverse population. The lack of close rapid transit and bus stops also makes it difficult for much of its client base to reach the Center. At present, the adult medical and pediatric services are not growing. Only dental service is growing rapidly.

Outside funding remains critical to FHC's ability to provide its services. Key sources include:

- the Public Health Service – the largest and most important grantor;
- a grant supporting services for homeless clients;
- a Ryan White AIDS grant supporting AIDS services;
- a grant allowing community outreach via Americorp volunteers.

Young Fairmount patient in treatment room.

The new administration feels that the local community has not yet been properly courted. FHC's strength has been in delivery of medical services and, even though the previous leadership had close community contacts, FHC never had expertise in the process of gaining community involvement in planning and management. To remedy that problem, they have created a community liaison position and have worked with local organizations in order to gain greater community participation in its planning.

The FHC administrators are still dealing with the problems that arose from the untimely exit of the visionary founder. Many of those left behind had become polarized as strong supporters or bitter critics of Mr. Galura, and some hard feelings remain.
The local office of the Public Health Service has been and remains an important source of support to FHC. It was their audit that helped facilitate some of the changes made by FHC, and they remain active in their formal oversight and regulation roles as well as in informal advisory capacities.

1987 St. Francis Square, San Francisco, California

Date of Visit: March 26, 1996

Site Visitors: Polly Welch, *Author*, (Bruner Foundation)
Joan Hall (HUD Office of Secretary's Representative, San Francisco)

Introduction: St. Francis Square in 1987

When St. Francis Square was a finalist for the RBA in 1987, it was a mature project, having been built more than twenty years earlier. The initial visit was an opportunity to examine what success looks like over time. The revisit revealed little that was new; it did offer insights into how successful places are sustained and adapted.

St. Francis Square is a family housing development built in the early 1960s by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Pacific Maritime Association. It was heralded to be the first inter-racial housing cooperative on the West Coast. Located in the Western Addition, it was part of an urban renewal plan that included Japan Center and other major residential and commercial development in the area of San Francisco that had been heavily inhabited by Japanese-American families before their internment during World War II. St. Francis Square consists of 299 units in three story walk-up buildings, built in three large clusters surrounding shared outdoor space. Patios and decks face the courtyards, which have mature vegetation and play structures for children.

The development was established as a limited equity cooperative. It is owned and managed by a board of directors and resident shareholders, in agreement with HUD, which originally subsidized the mortgage under the 221 D-3 program. The cooperative is committed to racial diversity and has managed to maintain about an equal number of Asian, African-American and Caucasian families over thirty years.

Bottom Line Measures

St. Francis Square continues to be a highly sought after residential community with very long tenure among its residents. Today the waiting list for units stands at 50 families interested in 3 bedroom units and about 100 families interested in 2 bedroom units. Almost 100 units are occupied by original cooperators (33 years) and about 30 units are owned by second generation families. The wait is about 3-4 years for those who stay on the list, with only 10-12 units turning over per year. More than ever St. Francis Square is an affordable place to live because of its relative costs in a city that is very expensive. Residents can buy a two bedroom unit for an investment of $40,000 and total monthly carrying charges (including utilities) of $500 per month. For first-time home buyers, however, the cost of a share is out of reach. The cooperative has spent the last ten years developing a second mortgage program to keep the housing affordable.

Children on play structure.

Detail of housing at St. Francis Square.

The value of the property has appreciated enormously, based on the prices of nearby developments. The shares owned by the cooperators have increased in value, although this is kept artificially low because of the method used by the cooperative to set share values of property turning over. Some residents are looking forward eagerly to 2004. They hope that the community will sell the development at fair market value, believing that they will receive a windfall on their investment.

St. Francis Square is in good shape financially. The board, with the assistance of some very able managers has taken its stewardship role seriously over the years and has maintained plentiful reserves. It has been able to make the capital replacements required after thirty years of service: roofs and fencing, in particular. Careful maintenance has maximized the life of the low cost construction and materials.

St. Francis Square is no longer just an affordable housing development; it is a residential area that has begun to blend in with the fabric of the community. It fits in visually and is accepted socially and politically. The chief architect for the Redevelopment Authority remarked," to be able to say this about a low cost project is remarkable." This is partly due to ownership, partly due to its location, proximate to a vital commercial area, and partly due to the early owners being union people with strong connections to decision makers in city government.

Place

St. Francis Square has become almost invisible as a housing project. The mature vegetation gives it the visual lushness that one usually associates with upper middle income housing with large maintenance budgets. (The FHA mandated a portion of the budget must go to landscaping in the original 221 D-3 program.) The amount of common outdoor space is unusual for urban housing and even more so today when land costs preclude anything but planter strips at the front door. Unlike the townhouse developments going up elsewhere in the area, where residents can come and go with anonymity, St. Francis Square residents travel through shared common entries and common outdoor space. One person captured the value of these courtyards by calling them the cooperative's "community rooms." Children playing draws adults to the space and into conversation. Maintenance of the space such as tree trimming requires resident

Housing at St. Francis Square.

negotiation and compromise. These opportunities for casual interaction and shared decision making continue, at the very least, to bring residents into contact with each other and, hopefully, create mutually valued benefits.

At the initial RBA visit, St. Francis Square noted the trend towards perimeter fencing and gates at other housing developments in the area and strongly articulated its resistance to such a measure for fighting crime. The persistence of that conviction can be seen at St. Francis Square, today. Although fencing and gates have been added to the garages to protect the vehicles and decorative security grilles appear on some first floor windows, the residents maintain that fences and gates are not really protection. Keeping the rest of the community out of St. Francis Square is not the answer; instead the residents are reaching out to the larger community around issues that threaten everyone's well-being such as the loss of a playground because of the construction of the new 911 headquarters. They are also taking measures to promote personal safety at St. Francis Square. They have thinned the vegetation at critical places to improve visibility and trained volunteers, with the assistance of the Guardian Angels, to conduct unannounced "watches" around the development at least twice a week.

In spite of this concern for personal safety, a key opportunity for maintaining a safety feature in the original design was lost. The front and back entries to the stairwells used to be open to each other providing very important visibility from the outside, in and through the semi-public area. The fire marshall required that the fire separation be made complete by putting the doors on automatic closers, which are too heavy for children and older residents to open and eliminate the transparency that fostered residents sense of security. Hold open devices, which would have retained the openness, would have cost $150,000, beyond the means of the St. Francis Square budget.

Process

Involvement is critical to the long term health of St. Francis Square. Over 33 years many annual elections have been contentious as the community worked out its common concerns and differences. More recently there seems to have been a waning interest in governance. While residents cite the sense of community as being more important than the investment or location, the board continues to work hard at finding volunteers for directors and committees. Newsletters and annual reports document social events and community activities that indicate it is a thriving neighborhood with the same issues facing overworked, time-impaired adults in most American communities. This year, though, the seats on the board were actually contested.

Prospective residents are asked how they visualize themselves getting involved, the Welcome Committee makes sure that new residents learn the St. Francis Square story as recounted in the Residents' Handbook, and the Board circulates questionnaires to residents asking why they didn't come to the Annual Meeting. The Board struggles with the low representation of Asian families among its directors, especially because the number of Asian families is growing in the development. In response to more residents who are not fluent in English, more written materials are being translated. Many St. Francis Square residents value their life there even

Author Tillie Olson and husband, St. Francis Square residents.

after moving away. People fly in for the annual picnic and other anniversary events.

Values

Tillie Olsen, author and resident, calls St. Francis Square the "triumph of idealism over realism." This is reflected in the ability of St. Francis Square to maintain itself as an integrated community both racially and economically.

Some residents have to be reminded that belonging to a cooperative is more than ownership; it is also participation. People grow by participating: they self-educate and they see democracy at work. Residents with little apparent commitment to the cooperative structure of St. Francis Square seem to develop a fuller appreciation once they have served on committees. Members who have attended the National Association of Housing Coops learn how lucky they are at St. Francis Square, especially because they are self-managed. During several periods in St. Francis Square history, the manager was also a resident. Today there seems to be a firm commitment to the value of a professional manager but not a management company. "We want the manager to be talking to his 'bosses' when he picks up the phone." There is a delicate balancing act for the manager and board to both delegate appropriately to the manager while keeping involved enough with day-to-day details to ensure decisions represent the residents' sentiments and needs.

At the initial RBA visit the St. Francis Square Board of Directors was starting to confront the problem that the cost of a membership share was getting too expensive for people with HUD qualifying incomes to make the downpayment. In 1964 the cost of a share for a three bedroom unit was $18,500 with a $550 downpayment and monthly carrying costs of $131. Today the cost of a share for the same unit (called "maximum transfer value") ranges from $27,000 to $95,000, depending on how many times the share has turned over and the carrying cost would be around $500 per month. A Share Loan Committee has met for almost ten years and early in 1996 completed negotiations with the National Coop Bank to write second mortgages for share purchasers at St. Francis Square. Prospective shareholders still need to be able to put $11,000 down but can borrow up to 80% of the transfer value. Initially loans are being made only to new members but the committee hopes to include two other groups in need of cash for their equity: families sending children to college and older residents who cannot meet their income needs on social security payments alone.

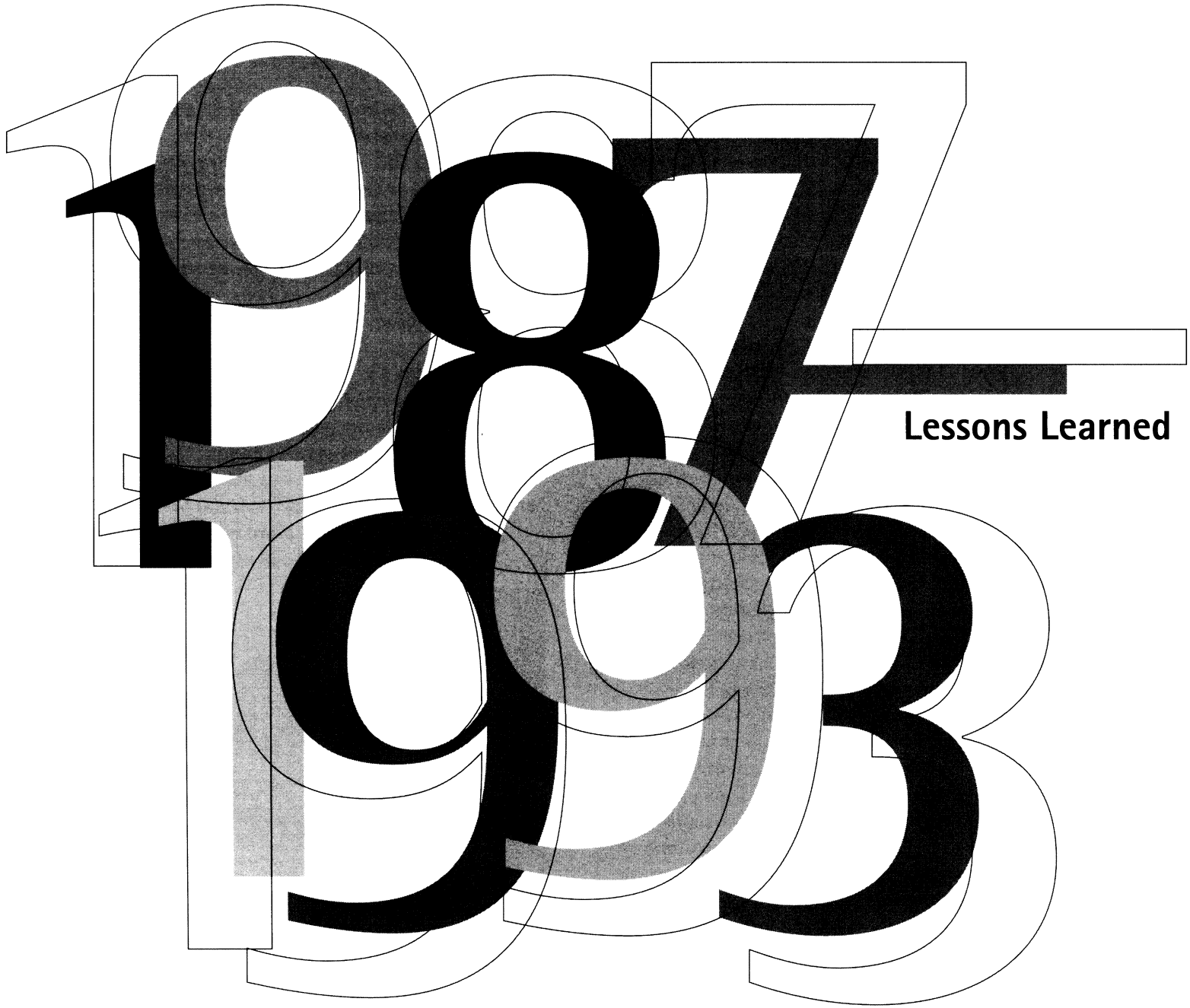
Some Key Themes from St. Francis Square

As St. Francis Square ages, so do its residents. With almost one third of the households in residence for more than thirty years, some older residents are finding that they cannot live in upper floor units. They can request a first floor unit and are put at the top of the waiting list. None of the units, however, are built to contemporary standards of accessibility and require significant modification for a resident who uses a wheelchair. Only one resident has substantially modified her unit when her husband became disabled and needed an accessible bathroom and more maneuvering space in the apartment.

In just seven years – 2004 – the HUD mortgage will be paid off. St. Francis Square will be free to rewrite its bylaws and seek full

Play structure and housing at St. Francis Square.

value on the open market for its land and improvements. A committee has been established to make plans for managing this transition. There are shareholders who believe that St. Francis Square shareholders should be able to cash in and get their full equity. At the present time the majority appear to support continuing the limited equity coop but that could change. The brochure for prospective shareholders makes the values of St. Francis Square clear from the beginning: "The Square wasn't designed for investment purposes, but rather to provide low and moderate income families a home ownership opportunity...nonetheless, shareholders earn limited equity on their shares." How this situation plays out is open to speculation. What will really complicate the issue is that residents living in similar units have very different values for their shares, as much as 300% different. Perhaps Tillie Olsen's reflection about idealism will hold true.



Lessons Learned

Transitions

How do the people who care for good places know whether or not to change them? If changes are required, how do these same people know when and how to effect the changes? Once changes are made, how are the day to day activities in the places used to inform decisions about future changes, maintenance requirements, and the best uses of the place? The changes implied in these questions are easiest to understand when they involve physical adjustments to the place through new construction, renovation, or even simple repairs. A more common and less well understood variety of change involves enabling subtle shifts in how the places are perceived by constituents, how the succession of leadership occurs, or how the rules of place modification and management evolve. Knowing how to change is knowing how to mediate relationships among people and between people and place, ensuring constructive transitions in perceptions, rules constraining use patterns, design standards, and leadership.

The Rudy Bruner Award (RBA) re-evaluation of sites suggest that our collective failure to attend to transitions contributes to the dynamics of disinvestment and decline in individual buildings, neighborhoods, downtowns, and whole regions. Attending to transitions might be understood as managing the process of change, but management sounds both bureaucratic and hierarchial, while the more subtle processes of adjusting perceptions, uses, design details, or volunteer engagements of service to place may be less about management than about living and working well together.

Entry to Harbor Point.

From the Self-conscious to the Un-self-conscious

Part of knowing how to change is knowing when to be self-conscious and when to allow an old definition of place or project to become un-self-conscious. During this process the very definition of a project boundary that separates place from surrounding, shifts in favor of more discrete relationships between the old project definition and its surrounding context.

The self-conscious place is in the foreground of consciousness, calling attention to itself and the boundary condition which distinguishes it from other places. It is precisely this definition specifying what clearly is within the project and what is to be excluded that is essential to project implementation. The un-self-conscious place, however, is one where people tend to blur distinctions between it and its surroundings. Often the Un-self-conscious place is purposely in the background, somewhat indistinguishable from a larger whole.

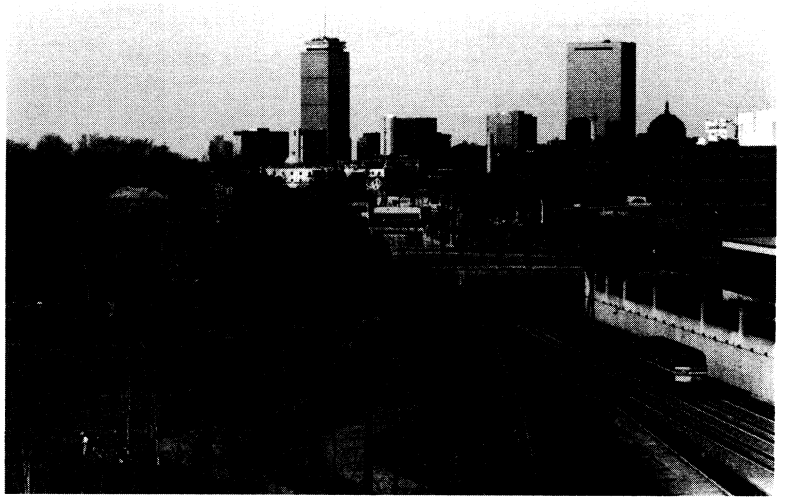
There would be no Southwest Corridor in Boston without the very self-conscious definition of an approximately one billion dollar project that emerged from "People Before Highway" protests. The resulting four and seven-tenths miles of linear park, multi-modal transportation system, and attendant infrastructure and community development celebrate the well-defined, awarded, and now well-used place named the Southwest Corridor since the early 1970s. In creating the Southwest Corridor, the right-of-way, transit stop locations, and park system parameters became clearly defined public investments. The economic and community development "spin-off" projects were dependent on the corridor work and, while parcels for private or public/private development were identified, the boundary conditions were very flexible.

In the nine years between the two Bruner Foundation site visits to the Southwest Corridor we observed that the once very self-conscious and focused transit and park project shifted to the background and was replaced by attention to neighborhood development around each station, and neighborhood use of the park land between stations. The "old" corridor project is now just a part of the multi-modal transit system serving the Boston region. Except for historical records of this development prominently displayed within its old boundary, the Southwest Corridor is frankly difficult to observe as one place or concept. It is more clearly and un-self-consciously perceived as a collection of neighborhood parks and transit stations which are being re-woven into the fabric of the rest of the region. The transition in the perception of the Southwest Corridor project is important as it moves from the abstract victory, "Placing People Before Highways," to the concrete reality of where my children play, how I get to work, where the new school is built, and where the club works its garden plots.

The consciously defined transit project created tremendous critical capacity by bringing forward and keeping the issue of equity in front of the public. For example, naming the project a corridor placed several different neighborhoods and their economic status in immediate relationship: the contrast between neighborhoods was made very visible. The corridor boundary and name implied a connection between several very different parts of the Boston metropolitan area and established a comparative base to evaluate actions taken in each community. Some Bostonians still consider the project a failure because it failed to achieve economic parity between the abutting neighborhoods. Comparing the economic viability of the neighborhoods along the project when it was a well-defined transit program was a favorite pastime of countless public meetings and still is the cause of angry outbursts.

Eight years later each neighborhood has new infrastructure to work with and is getting beyond the anger to action on specific sites in individual neighborhoods. The change in project definition from one that keeps race, class, and equity issues constantly "in your face" to one that focuses attention on hundreds of small acts of community building is a shift in naming the place(s) which helps ensure that each area along the old project boundary takes the maximum advantage of the infrastructure provided. The self-conscious abstraction of the "Corridor" created a concrete and critical basis of comparison between sites abutting the right-of-way and continues to be part of the story of each neighborhood, even while its prominence as a focus for organization dims in favor of smaller acts of daily life and development within each community.

A similar story of transition in project perception occurs in the story of the Radial Reuse Plan in Lincoln, Nebraska. In our first visit, we found serious disinvestment in several neighborhoods over a twenty year period caused by a planned but not constructed highway. Eventually, the populations in these neighborhoods organized themselves and pressed to establish a Radial Reuse Plan involving a new bike path and accompanying neighborhood and community development projects in the old right-of-way. The conditions that allowed this part of the City to be ignored for two decades were identified as part of the self-conscious process of project definition: a major university enjoying the benefits of "soft" land on its borders which allowed for inexpensive expansion, and a



The Southwest Corridor transformed under-utilized city edges in Boston.

city council constructed entirely of at-large members which enabled this area of the city to be under-represented in governance and infrastructure investment decisions. In the period between Bruner site visits the project went from a clearly defined radial reuse plan to a far less self-conscious component of a regional recreation path, and dozens of smaller scale neighborhood and community development projects. The abstraction of monolithic plan and fixed boundary has given way to discrete acts of neighborhood advocacy and development that no longer depend on the old project definition. In many respects the metaphor of the project might be that of reweaving torn fabric. Before the reweaving the fabric had a clearly defined hole. After the reweaving, one should no longer be able to identify the location of the damage.

Making the plan and implementing it left Lincoln with a legacy of advocacy and political restructuring from which it still benefits today, but the place itself (referred to in the planning process as "North of O Street") no longer has a distinct single identity to differentiate it from the rest of the city. It has become three more neighborhoods in a city of neighborhoods, with several new parks, and it has been integrated into the fabric of regional recreation and bike trails. The Lincoln City Council now has both at-large and district representatives, and the University has developed a cooperative agreement with the abutting neighborhoods regarding its future plans for development, reducing the disinvestment and speculation on its perimeter. The work of the plan has been like that of the more ambitious Southwest Corridor in Boston, one of reweaving this area of the city into the fabric of surrounding neighborhoods and the region. It had to be a self-conscious project before it could become part of the larger whole. It stayed a project until the community organizing, city hall restructuring, basic infrastructure pieces, and cooperative agreements were put into place.

Sometimes the transition from self-conscious to un-self-conscious is not about project boundary but rather about project constituency and goal orientation. For example, an initial and often stated goal of the conversion of the Columbia Point housing project to the Harbor Point mixed income development was to create an environment where the former residents of Columbia Point would be fully integrated into the main stream of Harbor Point life. Several years later, making inquiries about the goal raises questions of difference that may actually impede the blending desired. The residents are bored with reporting progress as, for some, it has either become a non-issue or a destructive way to raise the issue. They wish both the perception and reality of their lives were not about some condescending platitudes about mixed income living, but rather about the daily tasks of getting on with living life well with neighbors. The project definition focuses attention on mixed income living and that very attention now may actually get in the way of full realization of the goal. The goal is, perhaps, too self-conscious for the subtle relationships that need to be formed based on living together. The complexity of constructing such relationships is not necessarily improved by continuously calling attention to differences in income level.

Bruner Foundation site visits confirm that the origins of a project are necessarily self-conscious. They also suggest that after project construction a place may or may not be well-served by sustaining the same level of self-consciousness. Further, the organization to implement a project is often not the organization required to sustain the same project. So, in order to effect a successful transition between project development and sustaining a project, it is important to clearly define these transitions in the lives of projects. It is equally important to explore the long-term implications of project boundary definition and related organizational structures.

Alternatively, participants should consider that some projects may need to sustain their difference from surrounds and remain exceptional. Significant preservation efforts, for example, or projects devoted to specific ethnic identities or functions often benefit from consistently asserting their differences. Different times and different purposes require those involved in the lives of projects to literally locate the project on a continuum between the two states of self-conscious and un-self-conscious. On occasion, they will need to embrace the tension between the two, allowing projects to be self-conscious when it serves the place well and to become un-self-conscious when that is appropriate.

Growing the Goals and Changing the Rules

Managing places often involves adjusting intentions and operation to meet new demands, clientele, and surrounding circumstances. Evaluation of places which have been recognized as winners or finalists by the Rudy Bruner Award tends to occur in a manner that would celebrate the ability of a place to stay true to its original goals, placing a high value on consistency and goal achievement rather than on some form of relative adjustment to evolving circumstances. Yet, many of the Rudy Bruner Award candidates that were revisited in 1996 revealed a strong tendency to adjust their goals as the circumstances evolved.

For example, the Ocean Drive renovations to historic structures in Miami Beach have continued at a brisk clip since the first Bruner visit, moving from eighteen modest renovations to fifty-nine substantial ones. Many of the original eighteen were done again and to a higher standard. The standards, codified in progressively more stringent zoning ordinances, shifted twice in a five year period, each time calling for a higher level of preservation with an attendant increase in cost. All of this, of course, results in more exclusive properties. In the initial visit there was considerable talk of enabling a mix of moderate and higher end living on Ocean Drive. The current reality is that the project has succeeded economically well beyond the expectations of those who initiated it. While a great deal was put in place over the years to insure a high standard of historic preservation, nothing was put in place to insure mixed income diversity on the Drive. The gentrification is real and, now, frankly intentional. The economic return from the new Ocean Drive in taxes now represent a significant increment in City revenue even though avoiding gentrification was an initial goal. As we concluded the interviews with city officials, current business owners, and even social service and housing advocates, it is clear that no one expected the economic success of the area would be so dramatic.

Ocean Drive facades.

Given this increased economic potential is it justified to forego the diverse income goals? We begin to suspect there is no moral high ground here upon which to rely for response. On the one hand, the displacement was modest and frankly easy to accommodate with nearby housing stock (albeit not on the beach). The increased tax revenue increases the City's ability to meet service demands in the community and the logic that the rising tide floats all boats is compelling. On the other hand, no formal efforts were undertaken to facilitate existing occupant dislocation or to assure equity in the change. The initial Rudy Bruner Award Selection Committee was quite harsh on this point in their critical review of the project. The paradox is that the City is in a much better position to give service to all its citizens through the "cash cow" on Ocean Drive, even while it is criticized for its lack of a formal displacement program and for abandoning its goals for a mixed income occupancy on Ocean Drive. The change in goal from mixed income to cash cow based on a revised appraisal of potential seems appropriate; the concern here is not that the rules of engagement changed, it is only that there appears to be insufficient attention to those excluded by the changes.

Rule changes as well as goal changes seem to be the norm in many of the projects recognized by the Rudy Bruner Award. The shifting financial circumstances of Pike Place Market have opened up, again, the question of balance between tourist-oriented craft

Picnic area at Harbor Point.

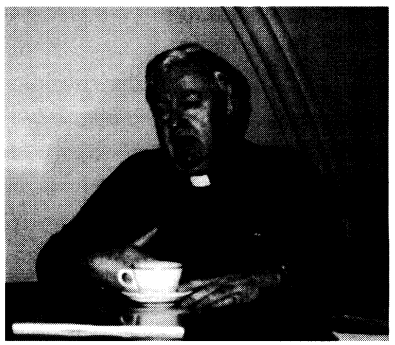
sales and the farmers' market. Success is allowing the Greenmarket in New York City to press for higher percentages of local goods in their sales. The economic pressure on Saint Francis Square and its surrounding neighborhood may eventually shift the cooperative's goal of sustaining the complex as a cooperative life style choice to selling it as an economic bonanza. By contrast, the Park at Post Office Square holds steadfast to original goals and operating principles because, "they are still the right ones." Returning to Ocean Drive we also observe that an original set of intentions related to the preservation of historic property are still intact. However, what was "preservation for preservation sake" has been transformed to be "preservation as a means to economic ends." It is a powerful transformation that provides a useful precedent for other cities with similar circumstances.

Shifting project goals to meet new circumstances sounds like a critical element of sustaining good places when the changes are managed to assure equitable treatment of those affected by the change. Project success is defined by all those affected by the act of construction. It is ultimately a political and situational determination related to the public use of private and public acts of building. The limits to tolerance need to be negotiated as circumstances change. In cases like Ocean Drive, stating the goal of mixed-income occupancy in absolute terms may well have reduced the level and quality of historic preservation activity and would certainly have reduced the tax revenues to the City. It is difficult and important to frame project goals in a manner that enables them to evolve based on new information. Sometimes this will mean redefining what constitutes error in the interests of service to a broader public good.

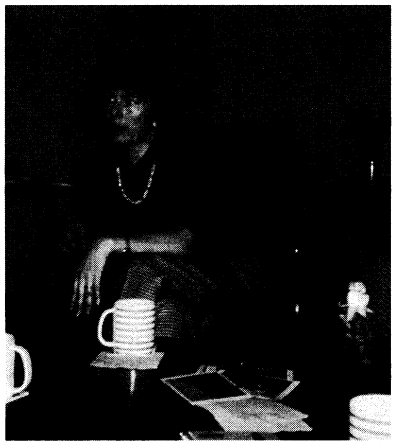
Leadership Succession

The question of leadership must be addressed in discussions of transitions from self-conscious to un-self-conscious, from one goal to another, from one form of rules to another, and other changes that influence places. Sometimes the leadership in project origination is able to see the need for change as it occurs and press on, but often the changes require a restructuring of leadership. These are often fragile transitions which, if handled poorly, can destroy the spirit of a project or place. The abrupt departure of Jose Galura at the Fairmount Health Center, while viewed with mixed emotions by some, was concurrent with the exposure of serious financial difficulties from which the organization is only now beginning to recover. Will New Communities be different without Father Linder? Will the block club leaders in Betts-Longworth be able to share power with new tenants to continue the development of the area?

The Rudy Bruner Award review of past projects offers some insight into what is required for the succession of leadership to be successful. Some transitions are facilitated or hampered by organizational structure. Saint Francis Square and Pike Place Market have robust systems of democratic checks and balances that do not vest too much power in any one source. The result is



Msgr. William Linder.


Rita Zimmer, Founder of Casa Rita.

that they are both conservative and stable entities. Other organizations where power is centralized like Casa Rita, New Community, and Harbor Point, and even in Betts-Longworth at the community based organization level, are more volatile and potentially difficult transitions in the future. New Community is clearly paying a lot of attention to this issue of transition, and Harbor Point is addressing it through a stiff hierarchy that favors the economic implications of decisions. Results of the 1996 interviews and site visits identify that time and time again the issue of leadership transition is raised and revealed to be a significant factor in the ability of a place to sustain excellence. So, again we find a contrast between those organizational structures vesting leadership in the origin of a project and those needed to sustain them. Often in the origins of a project a key person is central to a good start. Retaining the commitment to continuation, however, requires the leadership to be more diffused and shared in a manner that promotes commitment to continued maintenance.

In Summary

Transitions in the lives of projects might be the neglected step-child of policy action in government, in assessment criteria by award selection committees, and in the formation of project goals by private developers and public officials. We are often too quick to frame the absolute criteria for success, using a "bottom line" mentality that does not allow for changing circumstances and an ongoing stance of critical investigation into what makes a place successful. The challenge raised by much of the retrospective inquiry into the Rudy Bruner Award winners and finalists is how to balance this relativistic perspective with the perceived need to control development and force it to meet predetermined ends. Acknowledging that there is a tension between these two approaches and embracing the tension as part of the management process may be the best approach to sustaining good places.

Participatory Democracy At Work

Many of the RBA stories about urban placemaking are potent examples of people engaging the essential drama of democracy – making decisions that reflect the will and best interests of a pluralist nation. The urban places represented by the RBA finalists, by being shaped or reshaped within the last thirty years, have been opportunities to redress the social, political, and economic inequities of the urban renewal decades. They also illustrate significant alternative actions and values to the planning practices that created urban renewal. Subsequent events, like the Civil Rights Movement, have stimulated greater social and political awareness and challenged those engaged in placemaking to explore the value of more pluralistic and inclusive processes of decision making.

Over the last two decades there has been an enormous rise in participatory planning and a growth in the number of constituency groups that take public positions about the quality of urban places. In fact, few urban projects get developed today without some degree of citizen participation. At the very least, many projects hold legally required public hearings. Seasoned urban developers have learned that hearings by themselves can jeopardize public opinion about a project, especially if there is a preponderance of uninformed negative commentary. Focus groups, market surveys, neighborhood meetings, and involvement of local community organizations are some of the ways that urban developers and city agencies publicly involve citizens in planning. When these forums are used for informing, consulting and placating, they risk being token (Arnstein); when they are used to negotiate some degree of actual decision making by citizens, they result in shared power and control.

Planners and social theorists are starting to examine whether participation in public decision making by people with more diverse perspectives and values has led to greater social justice and to the creation of better places. There is a growing concern among proponents of participatory planning that it is getting harder to focus participation on community purpose and avoid special interest, Balkanized solutions (Hester). The RBA projects provide a wide range of examples for reflection on the benefits and pitfalls of participatory democracy. RBA selection committee members and site evaluators over the years have been particularly interested in how projects utilized citizen participation and its value in the creation and maintenance of good urban places.

About one-third of the RBA finalist projects had a strong citizen constituency from the start, usually a small group of aggrieved citizens organizing themselves to voice opposition or take public action on a problem. Some of these projects continue to be managed and operated by the original citizen organization. Most of the other RBA projects engaged one or more constituencies to inform the process in a more limited way or sought the advice of advocates for a particular constituency. The few projects that were conceived, designed and developed by single individuals are not without advisory boards and public review, but usually decision making power is clearly held by the leader. It is noteworthy that there are no RBA finalists where citizen participation failed or the recommendations of a participatory process were ignored in placemaking. This might be attributable to the self-selection inherent in asking RBA applicants to reflect on values and process that led to their projects' success.

Lunch time gathering at Post Office Square.

The Role of Constituencies in Sustaining Places

Alexis de Tocqueville is frequently cited for his observation that Americans like to approach public undertakings by forming associations. He suggested that this provides a middle ground between individual actions in the public interest and reliance on government to manage civic affairs. This proclivity for group organizing and action is well illustrated in a number of the RBA stories, especially those that originated in protest: highways in Boston and Lincoln, NE, urban renewal in Seattle, and parking garages in Portland, OR. The pivotal role that many of these groups played in establishing the role of citizen input in the development of RBA places is well documented in the case studies. In this follow-up study it is evident that many of these constituencies continue to exist and play an important role in sustaining the quality of the place over time.

When a group of people perceive a shared problem and organize themselves to take action in relation to a situation or place, their recognition by public decision makers as a force to be reckoned with gives credibility to their network and mission. Inclusion of the group in the placemaking process further strengthens the potential power of its constituents by building their political knowledge and expertise. These empowered constituencies or individual members have become valuable civic resources in subsequent placemaking. The regional constituencies for open space preservation who were included in the design of Boston's Post Office Square gained from the phenomenal success of the park further credibility and important allies for future

lobbying efforts. That engagement, in turn, increased the value of their advocacy for additional open space within the city. Across town, veterans of the Southwest Corridor project have been faced with nearly endless opportunities to utilize the skills in community advocacy developed during Corridor design meetings. A number of empty development parcels and the promised relocation of a transit line still engage the stalwarts in the Roxbury community. Almost all of the public housing adjacent to the Corridor has undergone major redevelopment over the last decade, involving in planning and design decisions some of the same residents who had represented their community's interests in the Corridor process. The City of Portland is engaged in its third, even more ambitious, growth planning effort in two decades. The process sustains a tradition of inclusive values and democratic process by virtue of continued participation of citizens devoted to sustained involvement. The success of the first round no doubt has contributed to sustaining the interest and energy of Portland residents.

The accumulation of human capital that develops within constituencies can have a long half-life. Several RBA places have benefited from the existence of old constituencies able to muster themselves for action in subsequent crises. Pike Place Market's life threatening syndication challenge was given national visibility by the rapid mobilization of Friends of the Market, a group formed twenty five years earlier to save the market from demolition. The group had been dormant for a number of years but continued to exist: it maintained a bank account and a phone list of supporters. Quick steps were taken to inform old supporters and generate a public outcry. The same potential for mustering strong reaction to community threats exists in West Clinton where the community group that planned and implemented the Action Plan perceives itself as quietly ready to galvanize community response if needed. Greenmarket devotees deluged a local politician with phone calls when he casually mentioned moving the Union Square market.

The original members, sometimes founders, of constituencies play an important role in representing the goals and values of the original placemaking activities to newcomers. This proves to be especially valuable when places are threatened with the prospect of change. At St. Francis Square, Cabrillo Village and Harbor Point, all housing developments, the original residents who participated in creating or saving the place have a perspective that more recent residents may be missing. The re-telling of the origin story helps newcomers understand the potentially fragile nature of what they have received. There is some risk, however, as pointed out earlier under Transitions, that the old-timers may use the origin story to resist important and needed shifts in the organization of place. Pike Place Market is constantly balancing this tension in its decisions, especially when it comes to mediating between the forces of tourism and the fundamental mission of supplying local produce.

At both Cabrillo Village and Harbor Point where a few disruptive households have had to be evicted because their activities threatened the very survival of the community, the longitudinal perspective of the veteran residents helped the community support a difficult decision that was made to ensure the common good. With the rapid in-migration to the thriving and livable city of Portland, some of the reliably civic-minded old-timers are wondering whether

Two children at St. Francis Square.

the newcomers make time in their lives to continue the tradition of citizen participation in civic decisions.

Some constituencies are virtually invisible supporters of places. Place managers sometimes are not aware of the depth of affiliation the average citizen feels towards an urban place until something threatens the essential and predictable nature of that setting or the values that it represents to people. In the 1980s. a front page headline in the Seattle Times indicated that the Pike Place Market clock which had graced the marketplace entrance sign for decades would be replaced with a digital version. Although it was only an April Fools prank, protest erupted from every corner of the city, affirming the importance of historical continuity in the Market and the sense of ownership felt by Seattle citizens. A few years later these same Market denizens were instrumental in showing the Market's syndicators the depth of public disapproval for a privatized marketplace. In Portland, recently, a well known developer proposed building a new parking garage next to the city's park blocks. It was reminiscent of a similar ill-fated proposal twenty years ago that sparked the city's participatory planning process. This time, again, there was an enormously negative reaction from citizens who cherish Portland's reputation for putting people before parking.

Some constituencies may not be apparent as participants or supporters until their involvement is perceived to be critical to the future of the place. Pike Place Market and the Greenmarket have both started to explore how to strengthen their future constituencies. Each has undertaken educational efforts in the school system to promote good nutrition and awareness of where fresh food comes from. Pike Place Market has developed a curriculum used by 6,000 elementary schools children called How Does the Market Grow? emphasizing the role of markets in communities. Efforts to enlarge the constituency that views the Market integral to its shopping habits includes a Welcome Wagon visit to new Seattle households, a What's Fresh newsletter and Market Classroom 101, a class on how to shop in the Market. This form of outreach may seem like basic marketing but its educational thrust suggests that its aim is also to build an informed, committed group of Market supporters.

Transformative Citizen Involvement

For many people, involvement in saving or making a special urban place is their first experience in having an impact on something seemingly immutable. The women on public assistance at Harbor Point perceived themselves as powerless because they were living in some of the most hopeless public housing in the country. When they organized to reject HUD's funding of a quick fix instead of the needed redevelopment, they realized that they could positively affect change. They sought out a private development/management team who recognized that the opinions, energy and tenacity of the residents would make a better project. Some participants in RBA projects volunteered to participate in solving an immediate problem, only to discover a role that brought new dimensions and skills to their lives. The Tenant Interim Lease Program, which has promoted residents cooperatively buying the *in rem* apartment buildings in which they live, has a constituency of residents who have voluntarily learned accounting, maintenance, and management skills to support their newly formed co-ops and now have greatly enhanced employment opportunities. Similarly, migrant farm workers who rescued their housing from demolition by the orange growers, learned construction and property management in the course of rehabilitating their houses. These skills translated into vocational opportunities beyond orange picking.

Preservation of Pike Place Market became a popular cause in Seattle.

Often constituencies provide opportunities for individual transformative experiences: a citizen finding a voice, becoming knowledgeable and confident, and emerging as a leader. A number of RBA places spawned new leaders: some officially elected or appointed, others recognized publicly as a spokesperson or figurehead for the place. In Lincoln, Nebraska,

two young activists who helped organize their neighborhoods to challenge the city's plan for a highway, were instrumental in getting the makeup of the city council revised from members-at-large to district representation. Youngberg and Seng were each elected to the Council during the decade that it took to get the highway right-of-way redesigned as a community park and bikeway. In Newark, Debra Channeyfield declared her candidacy for city council, urging New Communities Corporation to take more of a community organizing role and looking for their support. As daughter of one of NCC's founders and a product of its child care program, she had maintained an active in NCC operations.

More typically, the RBA projects have presented local citizens with opportunities to develop organizational skills and expertise that benefits both the project and the individual.

Anne Lusk, a woman with a vision, single-handedly promoted and developed support for the Stowe Bikepath. Between demonstrating its benefits to Stowe and researching everything published on bikeways, she has become a nationally recognized expert, sitting on national advisory councils and helping other bikepath efforts get off the ground around the country. The Tenant Interim Lease program is predicated on building the capacity of housing residents to own and manage their apartment buildings. In addition to its real estate rescues, it has encouraged people with little sense of power and self-worth to develop organizational leadership skills. Some of those residents have used this training to develop a new business or start other ventures beneficial to the neighborhood. Rita Zimmer who founded Casa Rita, a transitional house for homeless women and children, purposely filled her eighteen person board with individuals who could lend their professional skills to her mission and who would welcome the opportunity to learn how to be a productive board member as well as become more familiar with the issues of homelessness. Once the building was occupied she added women residents as well.

Some leaders have also provided value as figureheads in addition to their day-to-day contributions to placemaking. Victor Steinbrueck, the architect who first challenged the wisdom of demolishing Pike Place Market as part of Seattle's urban renewal plan, sketched market vignettes that today are highly valued as icons for the fight to save the market. His wife and son have perpetuated the clout of the Steinbrueck name by sustained involvement and support after his death. Father Linder symbolizes New Communities in many people's minds even though the successes of his organization are also attributable to many talented staff and volunteers.

The Role of Participation in Sustaining Places

Historically, in the United States, the planning and design of urban places was the domain of politicians, commissions of people with vested interests, private benefactors, large institutions, and professionals working for public agencies. The interests and needs of constituencies not represented in this traditional decision structure were considered largely unimportant to the creation of successful places. Now changes in social and political awareness make a place at the table for all interested parties and advocacy planners struggle with how to balance "the relationship between interest-group politics and the politics of community" (Peattie). Having a seat at the table is not sufficient. It needs to be supported by a process that allows all aspects of democracy to be enacted (including the right to dissent), where power is negotiated and shared, and the outcomes reflect (if not fully satisfy) all interests.

Proponents of citizen participation make a persuasive case for the importance of user involvement and how it can promote sustained excellence. Two specific benefits are illustrated by the RBA cases:

- The greater the stake people have in the design process and product the more likely it is that they will maintain the place over time;
- Once people have been involved in the placemaking process, they can apply that experience to solving other related problems as they arise.

A formal citizen participation process, however, is not always the most efficient way to accomplish placemaking. While it is very often required by law or moral reason when creating public places, private developers usually weigh its benefits against its cost in time and energy. Seeking input from constituencies from the inception of a project can minimize the possibility of contentious meetings and challenges later on, but not all projects seem to need representative public input. In some cases touching base with selected constituencies is adequate.

Most RBA projects illustrate some level of participation. The example of the three housing developments that are cooperatively owned and managed—Cabrillo Village, St. Francis Square and the Tenant Interim Lease coops in New York—suggest that shared ownership has many of the same benefits as participatory planning. In each case the residents show a high degree of commitment to maintaining the development and have started to address more difficult problems like evicting dangerous residents. Each of these developments have uncertainties in their futures by virtue of their funding, the populations which they serve, and the pending transition to second generation leadership. Years of group decision making will help them find the right answer for their communities but it may require additional skills and a renewed level of self-consciousness.

Four RBA projects could be textbook examples of citizen participation—Southwest Corridor, the Portland Downtown Plan, the West Clinton Action Plan and Lincoln's Radial Reuse Plan. Each developed a process that ensured open meetings, accommodated newcomers, made the decision making process visible and held planners and agency staff accountable for the outcomes. Each left a slightly different legacy for sustaining the places created. The Southwest Corridor participation process was so thorough, the impact on decision making so visible, and the outcomes so understandable that it convinced most people who came in touch with it that it was the best way to plan public places. Both the staff and the citizens took that belief and that expectation to many other public projects in Boston and elsewhere over the following years.

The Portland Downtown Plan spawned a participatory process that has been brought into play for each of the subsequent planning efforts, the Central City Plan and the 2020 Regional Plan. Citizens have come to expect an opportunity for involvement as well as responsive urban design decisions. The West Clinton Action Plan forms an interesting sidebar to Portland's participation experience. When REACH, the local community development corporation initiated a bottom-up process for revitalizing the neighborhood, the city's community development department funded the plan and adopted the action planning model for use across the city. A recent evaluation of the expanded program indicates that involved citizens would like to see greater participation by a more diverse cross-section of the community, a dilemma not unique to this project.

One of the problems inherent in participatory planning is finding the right balance between process and action. It clearly differs from one place to another. New Communities Corporation in Newark sometimes jumps into situations with only minimal planning and local involvement because the opportunity could vanish

Helping with block beautification at West Clinton.

with publicity and process. The Greenway project in New York worries that a process that has not yet led to many visible outcomes will not be able to sustain the level of participation it needs to ensure long-range success. At Harbor Point, some residents speak of the process that decisions go through as being "like watching sausage get made" while others embrace process as the key to "empowerment and care giving." The Portland Downtown Plan was so participation oriented that some people felt "meetinged to death." However much citizen participation has become a ritual in the city of Portland, the process has changed from the citizen members actually drafting and redrafting guidelines to staff doing the work from citizen input and review. The Southwest Corridor project addressed this issue of action by developing an intrinsic reward for reaching group consensus: when public meetings reached consensus the project director made decisions on the spot. When consensus did not emerge, the differing opinions were forwarded to the transit agency for their consideration.

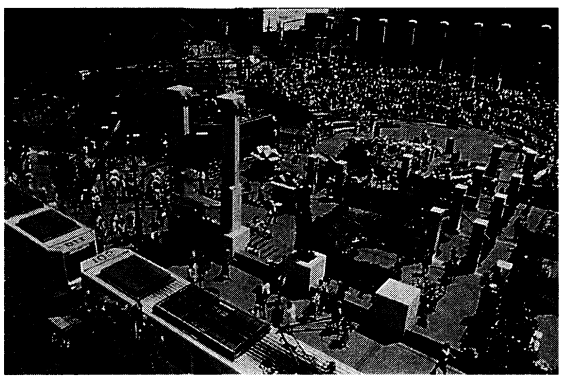
A perennial issue of citizen participation is the tension between citizen input and hired expertise. Planning and design professionals may not concur with the opinions of the participants in the planning process. Southwest Corridor is a case in point. As the project director pointed out, residents will not participate if they think people from the outside will come in and tell them what to do. The many consulting firms working on this gigantic project had to develop new appreciation for process since decision making was indeed shared with the citizenry. When the engineers were interviewed years later some indicated that this experience had profoundly changed the way they have worked with clients on other jobs.

Evidence that citizens value the control and accountability that participation provides can be seen in the consideration given to managing and maintaining the places that have been created. Responsibility and control go hand in hand. "We cannot do it all ourselves" but "no one can do it as well." Citizens, however, are often less well suited to stewardship activities than business or governmental agencies. Citizen's organizations, nevertheless, need opportunities for people to sustain or renew their connections to place by taking care of it. Neighborhood groups along the Southwest Corridor spent many months trying to persuade the Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) to allow them to maintain the park land above the transit system. The current arrangement lets local residents participate in park maintenance using MDC lawn mowers. The St. Francis Square co-operators hold steadfastly to their belief that they must manage their housing, through a qualified property manager, and not contract out the responsibility (and the control) to a property management firm. "He's always talking to his bosses when he picks up the phone," said one resident.

Some RBA projects engaged no formal participatory process, relying, in most cases, on their knowledge or the knowledge of a consultant to determine what would be appropriate for place users. Ocean Drive, Post Office Square, Quality Hill and Roslindale were clearly driven by the goal of making a successful place that would also generate economic return. Market analysis replaced grassroots input. None of these places appear to be missing essential elements that might have emerged through citizen participation. Nor have any of them faced angry challenges from disenfranchised residents. What they may not have captured, however, is the loyal constituency that will sustain them in hard times. Time will tell.

Places as Symbols of Democracy

The RBA finalists reflect democratic values not only in the process that led to their development but also in the design of the place. By



Pioneer Courthouse Square, downtown Portland.

giving physical representation to democratic values, people can re-experience their understanding when they use the place. Post Office Square and the Stowe Bikepath are symbols of democracy as "joint ownership." They are not literally owned jointly but they are tantamount to a private/public partnership because they were designed to invite the public onto or through private land. Post Office Square in Boston was cited in interviews with its owners and designers as " feeling democratic" because secretaries and bank presidents share the space on an equal footing. In Stowe a similar classlessness exists when summer tourists share the bikepath with local residents. Stowe property owners signed easements so that the path could cross their land. As Anne Lusk acquired each critical easement, everyone wondered whether every one of the other landowners would agree. A single holdout could ruin the concept of the undertaking. This, too, is symbolic of what participatory democracy is about: the fragile interplay and essential connection between private interests and common good.

Some places act as symbols of "the commons"—everyone shares in the responsibility to use a place without diminishing its common benefit by overuse or abuse. Residents at St. Francis Square noted that their development had both shared courtyards and private yards. They saw the courtyards as being symbolic of their community, representing the dynamic of the cooperative governance in a strong physical form as well as critical to residents gathering to play with the community children and chat with their neighbors. A housing administrator in San Francisco pointed out that most of the housing developments built more recently have no common space other than sidewalks and seem much less cohesive as communities.

Some RBA places symbolize people taking control of their cities and ensuring that they are livable places. Pike Place Market has enormous meaning to Seattle residents but probably few tourists who visit the Market are aware of its history of empowerment. Southwest Corridor, on the other hand, might convey to a reflective urban visitor a well-seized opportunity to capture urban parkland on top of a transit line. For the generations of people who lived in Boston during almost thirty years of land clearance and transportation controversies it represents the power of people to move resources towards the greatest common good. Many other projects are the result of democratic forces at work, equal opportunity and social justice. One of the few places that had a visible tribute to its hard won struggle was Cabrillo Village where a giant mural captured the story of saving the houses from the bulldozers brought in by the orange growers. Vandals obliterated the mural a few years ago. The story cannot be taken for granted; now it must be purposefully told around the village.

In Summary

In almost every one of the RBA stories people developed a stake in the places through some form of participation. Some chose not to follow their input through the sausage machine while others made sure they could track the tradeoffs and decisions at every juncture. It appears that people felt ongoing support for the place and its evolution either way.

Many of the RBA projects represent urban placemaking strategies at a time when citizen involvement was coming of age and city residents were eager to have a role in shaping their environment. Participation at the grass roots level seemed to promise a more inclusive process and has provided more responsive and equitable places for many urban dwellers. The RBA finalists reflect many levels of involvement and a range of values about the benefits of citizen input. Virtually every project, however, has been and continues to be the beneficiary of constituency support. The places that were born from constituency efforts seem to place the greatest value on maintaining this broad connection to community. And the place is sustained as well.

Citizens benefit in many ways from participating in making urban places, not the least of which is it offers an alternative to their sense of being powerless. Along the same vein, membership in a constituency for an urban place gives people access to community experience and consideration of the common good beyond individual needs. It remains to be seen whether people will make time in their lives to continue the tradition of citizen participation in civic decisions.

Notes

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The Public and Private Sectors and Their Role In Community Development

Introduction

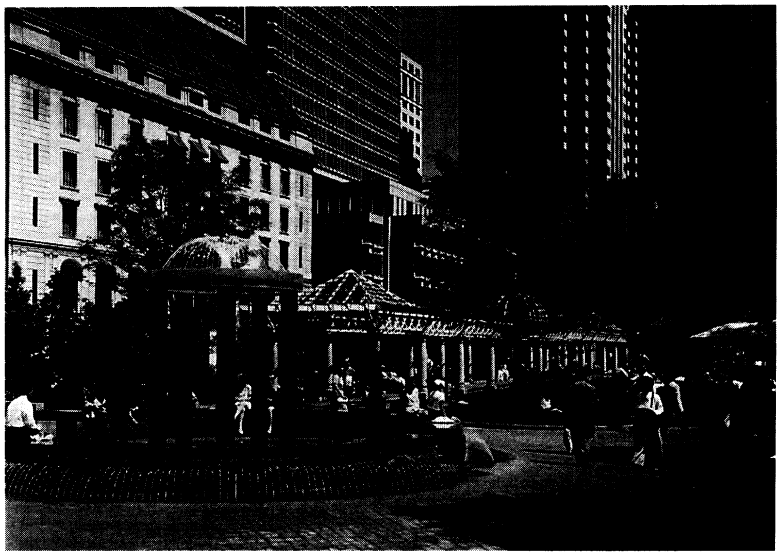
Considerable discussion and political debate has focused on the relative roles and responsibilities of government versus non-governmental actors (including both the not-for-profit and the private, profit-making sectors) in creating quality of life, in general, and in promoting the health and welfare of our urban areas, in particular. No longer is government generally seen to be the prime mover and sole funder of urban revitalization, as was often the case, for example, during the era of urban renewal in the 1960s.

In this context, it may be useful to review the roles these different actors can play in supporting urban environments and the creation of urban excellence, which is the focus of the RBA. The twenty-one finalists reviewed as a part of this study in no sense represent the universe of urban excellence. Nor are they a sample purposefully organized to be representative of important urban projects. They have, however, proven to be a group that is exciting in the richness of its variety (by place, scale, purpose, and approach) and as a source of important lessons on the creation of excellent urban places. They also have demonstrated a broad variety of possible interactions of people and organizations along the public-private continuum.

Present at the Creation — The Invention of Excellent Places

Given the complexity of the social problems that have been addressed and the overlapping concerns and jurisdictions that are involved, it is not surprising that few of these projects were conceived and created by one organization or one sector of society. The most clear and enduring story of the RBA finalists may be the highly collaborative nature of these efforts, often involving people from many different kinds or organizations. This collaborative aspect of urban development is reflected in the RBA application form which calls for responses and commentaries from a wide variety of sources (directors, bankers, designers, developers, citizens, public officials, etc.). But, even in such highly collaborative efforts, such as these, there is often one dominant partner, one individual or group that had the initial idea, or played the primary role in getting the effort off the ground.

In this group of projects, that lead role was often played by people who were part of (or who used as their vehicle) not-for-



The park at Post Office Square.

profit organizations. Casa Rita, for example, was clearly the result of the creativity and drive of Rita Zimmer, working through Women in Need, even though it is greatly affected by government regulation, and highly dependent on government funding and private gifts. The New Community Corporation was developed as a community development corporation by Msgr. William Linder and Mary Smith as a response to the tremendous physical and social damage from the 1967 Newark riots. It grew by filling niches left void by Newark city government, supplying housing, health care, education, job training and more, using government and foundation grants where possible, and creating its own income sources where not.

The traditional role of government as prime planner and funder is still apparent and evident in several of these projects, although even here it is often the level of collaboration and intersecting interests that are most fascinating. The Tenant Interim Lease program, for example, is the product of New York City regulations and funding, even though it runs to a significant degree on the labor and energy of the tenants, who work to make their formerly rental apartment buildings into cooperatively owned ones, and on the organizing efforts of the Urban Homestead Assistance Board. Betts-Longworth was created and promoted by planners working for the city of Cincinnati, but loans are made by a consortium of banks and housing is built by not-for-profit and for-profit developers. The Portland Downtown Plan was reviewed, passed, and put into place by the city, using federal and local dollars, but much of the planning efforts came from a process created by community activists and local businessmen.

Pike Place Market area.

Only a few of these projects the inception, creative planning, and funding came significantly from private, for-profit organizations, and/or where the creation of profit-making enterprises was an important goal. In Ocean Drive the efforts of the preservationists and city planners were aimed at creating a climate where the potential for using beachfront property to house hotel and restaurants would attract private development money. The Park at Post Office Square was the result of cooperation among major downtown Boston corporations to improve the landscape and the parking situation using private funding exclusively. At Harbor Point women who were long-term residents of the Columbia Point housing project were the prime movers, but the private development group of Corcoran Jennison, working with the support of local, state and federal agencies, and with huge public investment, was a significant player in the development of this mixed income rental housing complex.

Survival over the Long Term — Stability and Dependency

It is reasonable to ask whether the way in which a project was conceived and created, and the kind of organization most responsible for its development and ongoing operations, has an effect on its stability and survivability over time. In some ways government agencies would seem the most stable source of support and funding for a project. Governmental entities have been around for the long term. Newly formed and low budget non-profit organizations, or profit making businesses, on the other hand, come and go with regularity.

It is curious, therefore, that some efforts that are most clearly the product of government efforts, or most dependent on public funds for survival, seem to be at the greatest risk. When public funding or government regulations are driving forces in creating and maintaining a project, a change in policy or in administration (i.e., through an election) can place survival of a dependent effort in peril. Both Casa Rita and the Tenant Interim Lease program have survived over the years – even flourished – but there are concerns for their future well being. Casa Rita's funding and important aspects of its program are threatened by recent changes in federal and state welfare rules. The Tenant Interim Leasing Program, for all the independent research showing its cost-effectiveness, is at the mercy of local policy makers

The only two projects in this RBA group that are notable for their lack of implementation are both highly dependent on governmental action and funding. Beyond Homelessness represents a housing plan which had the misfortune of being closely associated with the goals of one mayoral administration in San Francisco. The next incoming mayor felt no mandate to push those particular solutions for homelessness. The implementation of the Brooklyn-Queens Greenway has languished for years, awaiting approval and funding for minor and major capital projects, which appears finally to be imminent thanks to ISTEA funding and provisions supporting development of alternate modes of transportation.

While no ongoing projects that have yet failed for lack of government support, several seem to have cause for concern. In many situations involving community development, some level of dependency on public funding may be unavoidable. Large scale and intractable problems like low-income housing, by their very nature, cannot be self-supporting. There are lessons that have emerged from a number of RBA winners and finalists, however, that suggest strategies for dealing with some fundamental urban problems while maintaining greater independence from government sources.

Three projects, Park at Post Office Square, Ocean Drive, and New York City's Greenmarket, created organizations with income streams largely or totally from private sources that are sufficient to support development and ongoing maintenance. These efforts were in uniquely advantageous positions because they had access to important resources (in the form of location, location and location) that could help generate income for services. Park at Post Office Square took advantage of the scarce availability of parking in Boston's financial district. The funds they received for the right to buy parking spaces, and loans based on parking revenues, supported creation of the large underground parking lot and the beautiful park on top. Now, after several years of operation, the parking operation turns a profit, which will eventually help support other (public) parks in the city.

Greenmarket's scarce resource is its use of prime New York City locations to provide city dwellers with a source of farm fresh produce. The fees that participant-farmers pay to gain direct access to urban consumers cover 97% of its operation. While Greenmarket needs city approval and permits, it retains a high degree of independence and flexibility because of its funding source.

Ocean Drive has a bounty of invaluable assets – a string of dozens of art deco buildings facing acres of prime beach front in sunny Florida. It does not detract from the genius of this effort to say that their problem was less one of finding funding for development but rather of creating an approach that tapped and directed private money towards the desired ends of preservation and development.

Most community development efforts, however, deal with situations in which such valuable, and saleable, resources are not available. Often they are in the least marketable neighborhoods of a city. An innovative strategy that may have more general applicability is the idea of mixing profit and not-for-profit activities – creating funds that provide an internal source of subsidies for other inherently less profitable or even money-draining activities. The prototype for this approach may be the New Community Corporation (NCC), which has actively sought to create profitable enterprises to support its many non-profit operations. Most successful to date has been Pathmark Shopping Center that it owns jointly with the Pathmark Corporation. The supermarket has

become the most profitable of the chain's New Jersey stores, and its profits help fund a variety of other programs. NCC also runs fast food and upscale restaurants and is in the process of developing a factory for modular housing.

A different kind of use of highly profitable activities was seen at Pike Place Market, which was a pioneer in establishing a rich mix of for profit and not-for-profit activities. In the market itself, the unique rent structure was created to provide and maintain a diversity of businesses and avoid domination (or even presence) of national chains. The higher rents of highly profitable businesses (such as restaurant) help, in effect, to subsidize the lower rents of smaller concerns that otherwise could not generate the cash flow to stay at such a prime location.

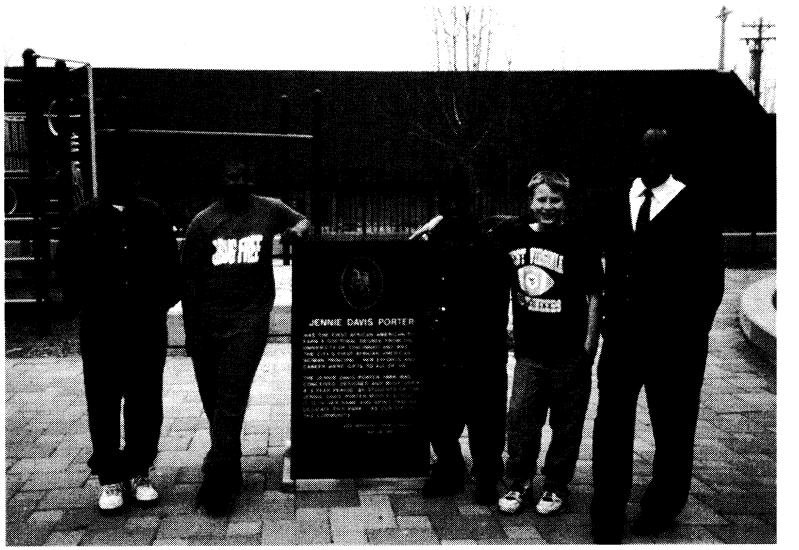
Government as an Ongoing Partner — Development does not Live on Bread Alone

While sources of public funding can be critical, there are other activities and kinds of support provided by the public sector that can also make or break community development efforts. It is sadly true that there are some cases in which government agencies are viewed less as helpful than as obstacles to success. The New Community Corporation, for example, is in constant conflict with the city of Newark over plans, policies and funding. TIL currently finds itself in competition with other housing plans for limited city funding. Casa Rita feels itself threatened by changes in welfare and housing rules. "The City" was often seen as difficult, frustrating, a waster of opportunities, one public employee confided, "I can't *believe* my Department."

In most cases among these RBA finalists, however, governmental agencies are supportive, even critical parts of long term project success. Often, this is less due to dramatic efforts, such as providing crucial financial backing than to paying careful attention to the normal governmental functions and the routine activities of advice, regulation and oversight. These re-visits permitted observation of the routine working relationships between these sites and their governmental partners. In large measure and small, many public employees play supportive roles enhancing the viability of the projects and, one imagines, their own job satisfaction. For those middle level bureaucrats who were friends and "companions in the good fight," as was the case in many of the projects, the role they played varied.

The Fairmount Health Center, for example, gained a special relationship to career staffers when the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS), intervened in a crisis period. Regulatory requirements of the PHS, and routine visits for oversight of those regulations, led to the discovery and eventual correction of severe management and fiscal problems. The PHS staffers played a clear and positive role in saving the Center from extinction. Since that time, the PHS personnel, who feel pride in the recovery, go out of their way to communicate both information and support for the agency's new leadership.

Sometimes, government staffers provide support by softening written regulations and humanizing governmental supervision. A nonprofit agency director commented of a city employee whose assignment it is to make unannounced inspections, "She'll call the day before to tell me she's coming," adding "I have a good relation-



Young people who assisted in design of park at Betts-Longworth.

ship with her." While this is a risk free gesture in the case of this ably run project, it is one which softens the stress of working in troubling circumstances.

Government employees also routinely work with their for-profit and not-for-profit partners to set strategies and then help advocate for these policies with other government agencies and at higher governmental levels. One clear example of this phenomenon is the on- going coalition orchestrating Ocean Drive's booming development. The business community and the preservationists have not co-opted the city's planning department, but rather they share interests with it. City professionals routinely advocate within city government for responsiveness to the Drive's needs. The joint creation and honing of governmental regulations permits the developmental agenda to bloom. Government policy will bow to wider community opinion, as in the city's reduction in the number of police detailed to the Drive when the size of their presence came to be seen as favoritism.

Another example is provided by the high regard state workers held for Women in Need's (Casa Rita's) personalized approach to housing the homeless. Policy makers were influenced by Casa Rita's design in formulating policy for their "tier two" transitional housing program, although they utilized it in a much diluted form.

Government agency staffers can also, by their public and private actions, help affirm and validate the values and ideological orientation of a project. Early on in the story of the Radial Reuse Project in Lincoln, city employees emerged as allies of the newly assertive neighborhood groups. The ambiance of support created at that time has endured to the time of our re-visit. There are many other illustrations of these kinds of shared values as represented by the executive of a San Francisco city department who has chosen to live at St. Francis Square, by the employees of the City of Portland who are visible as members of community development boards implementing Portland's Downtown Plan, by Cincinnati municipal workers who live in Betts-Longworth, and by New York City transportation department workers who regularly cycle along the Greenway to work.

In some cases, governmental bodies have even moved to formally shared statutory decision making with a non-profit. The allocation of the very significant interstate transportation grants (ISTEA) is currently the domain of a 14 person committee in New York State. Ten of the members represent government entities, while the other four are from non-profits, two of whom are Brooklyn Queens Greenway activists. This is a tangible manifestation of the close alliance of the Neighborhood Open Space Coalition and public servants. Greenway veterans speak with marked respect and gratitude for New York City governmental professionals who "knew everything" and shared their knowledge.

Conclusion

There are several lessons that come clearly through these stories. The most striking feature of these efforts is the level of partnership and real collaboration between multiple parties that is required to make urban places truly excellent. Those projects that are almost entirely the product of one kind of entity are rare. These successful efforts at creating urban excellence usually relied on intense and continuous cooperation among people and organizations in many sectors of society.

The involvement of government agencies and people, at many levels, was indispensable in both the creation and ongoing operation of these efforts. It would be inappropriate to use even the most privately financed of these projects as evidence that government should step aside and let either the marketplace or the not-for-profit sector shoulder the burden of community development. Government serves to support these efforts in many ways, including some that are not entirely obvious. In Boston, for example, the city supported Post Office Square overtly, using the threat of eminent domain to help obtain the site, and more subtly with similar basic services of traffic, policing and street maintenance. The discussion above presented a number examples where the everyday actions of government agencies, in regulation, oversight, and the like, make possible community development efforts that are ostensibly non-governmentally controlled.

Sometimes the public sector must provide funding as the first or last resort. Subsidies the scale of those used for Harbor Point may be unlikely given today's political reality, but there are many stories here that show highly beneficial and cost effective use of public moneys (such as in TIL, Casa Rita., Lincoln Radial Reuse and others). It is clear from these examples, however, that when possible, developing independent (non-public) sources of funding creates flexibility and some stability in the face of political and policy changes. It is striking that those efforts that are most directly dependent on public policy and financial support, such as TIL, Casa Rita, and the Brooklyn-Queens Greenway are in the greatest jeopardy. The New Community Corporation offers an important model for community development corporations wishing to become more independent by creating operations like its supermarket, that provide an important community service while also generating profits to support other efforts.

Qualities of the Successful Place

Introduction

To qualify for consideration for the Rudy Bruner Award (RBA), a project must be a tangible place. That is, it must have a physical, spatial dimension. To become a finalist or winner, the qualities of the place need to be in harmony and balance with the values, processes, and social outcomes which are supported by that physical environment. While the RBA is not an award for urban design, urban excellence cannot avoid incorporating appropriate design.

Achieving urban excellence requires that, at the very least, the physical environment not inhibit, constrain or detract from the social environment. At best, the winners and finalists are wonderful places, with spatial and physical qualities that express, symbolize and support the social processes they contain. While design—the conscious, deliberate shaping of the physical environment, generally at a single point in time and by professional experts—played a key role in some of these projects, others have evolved over time, the result of incremental decisions and actions of the residents or neighbors themselves. Some projects were designed by capable or even noted architects, landscape architects and planners. Others have benefited from the thoughtful, caring actions of citizens, such as planting flowers, building a fence or trellis, maintaining a front yard, and the like.

This chapter focuses on the physical attributes of the revisited projects. In particular it examines how decisions about design or construction have held up over time. Were decisions sound and "robust"; that is, have they proven to have worked out well in the medium to long term? Are the right kind of spaces there and in the right relationships? Are the spaces still supporting the people and activities they were intended to; or, if they have changed, the ones which are there now? Is the place holding up well and getting the maintenance it needs? What kind of feeling does the place convey? Does it express the nature of the social relationships taking place there? Is it a pleasant—or even beautiful—place to be? Has the landscaping grown in and provided the shade and visual relief it was intended to?

In the balance of this chapter, many of the projects are briefly reviewed and, at the end, the general lessons learned about design are summarized.

Case Studies

The Park at Post Office Square, Boston, MA. This project is an exceptional example of design process and outcome. Outstanding consultants and designers were selected in a competition, the process included appropriately representative input, and the design is both beautiful and practical. The park is attractive and well used and the underground garage is one of the most pleasant spaces of its type. Material selections and installations were geared toward long term quality and are holding up very well. Because the park is supported by revenue from the garage beneath it, maintenance is able to be kept at the highest level of quality. Plantings are well kept up and all benches have been refinished.

Cabrillo Village, Ventura, CA. Cabrillo consists of three phases—the original homes and two areas built on new designs. While the

original homes were extremely modest, the added homes deservedly won design awards. The Village looks not at all like a typical public or subsidized housing project. What makes the Village so exceptionally attractive is the care of the residents themselves, who have built fences, trellises, walls and fountains, planted fruit trees and flowers, and maintained them as they have grown in. The Village has sustained and improved itself over many years, though it needs to direct attention to items of deferred maintenance which have been neglected while a new generation of social problems were dealt with. The funds for this work are said to be in the current budget.

Harbor Point, Boston. Harbor Point was consciously planned and designed—and it also won design awards. Fundamental site planning and design decisions have proven to be sound in sustaining a safe and balanced community. While the project cost a considerable amount to build, there were budget-driven compromises on some elements, such as the wood siding on townhouses, which requires a lot of maintenance and was not looking very good at the time of the revisit.

Saint Francis Square, San Francisco, CA. A measure of the success of Saint Francis Square's design is that it is blending into the fabric of the city and becoming invisible as a project. The design and placement of common open space contributes to the collective spirit of the place and reflects its form of governance. This is of particular note, since the original planning process traded off a smaller unit size in order to pay for these important shared landscape amenities. The Square has proven to be flexible in responding to new users, demands and patterns of activity. It is also well cared for by its residents.

Quality Hill, Kansas City, MO. Enough time has passed since the original visit to Quality Hill to judge the effect of time. The trees had grown in to the extent that it was difficult to photograph the street facades—making an already attractive setting even more so. Since the project is economically viable, adequate funds have been available for maintenance and in general materials were aging well (though some items needed attention, such as paint on rusted iron work and cracks in some paving). A second phase of housing, built after the award and under different, more stringent constraints, is not as successful urbanistically as the first phase. It does not provide the same qualities of visual continuity of the street, attractive scale, or usable open space as does the first phase.

Fairmount Health Center, Philadelphia, PA. In revisiting Fairmount, we found that the building is successful in many ways, even though program has changed in response to public health needs and demographic changes in the community. The original thinking about providing a quality exterior to communicate a positive message to the community is not carried through to the inside, where too much emphasis is lavished on offices at the expense of clinic space. There are ways in which the interior space is intentionally inflexible in order to move patients through expedi-

The Park at Post Office Square provides a much-needed and appreci-ated amenity in downtown Boston.

At Cabrillo Village residents beautify and care for their yards.

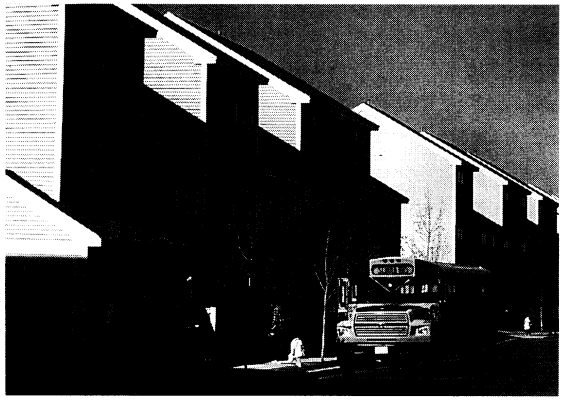
tiously; for example, no space is provided for staff to consult with each other. This type of social engineering does not appear to have worked out as planned and is currently under review for possible alteration. More recently, the coffee shop has been abandoned in favor of the needed offices.

Roslindale Village Main Street, Boston, MA. In general, Roslindale is not faring very well; it is surviving rather than thriving. While good decisions were made about street improvements and store fronts, not enough has been done to sustain the process or the products, given the weak economic environment. There are obvious signs of wear and tear which have not been dealt with. And there are now limits on the design review process; merchants can choose not to be part of it, making it ineffective. There are signs, however, that Roslindale may be coming back, since the organization has managed to remain stable and is bringing in new leadership.

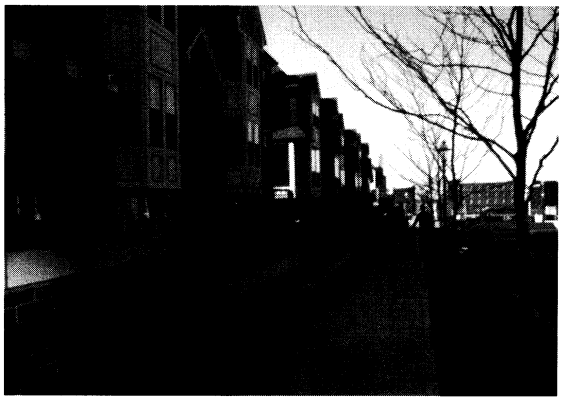
Pike Place Market, Seattle, WA. Immensely popular and well used, the Market is holding up well and aging gracefully, largely without conscious design. It is still an exceptionally interesting place, providing "an island of diversity in a sea of gentrification." Buildings for related functions (such as a clinic) do not intrude into or detract from the Market.

New Communities Corporation, Newark, NJ. With so many projects to its credit, the quality of design varies hugely. However, in much of it, design was not given high priority, or concerns were limited mainly to budget and security. It was the sense of the original site visit team that compromises in housing design sometimes worked to the continuing detriment of the projects (compared to say Harbor Point or Saint Francis Square, where design is more supportive of the users). Examples included the perhaps overly spartan housing for the homeless, as well as certain features of the low rise family housing (e.g., lack of covered entries). It appears that one impact of the Bruner Award has been to encourage NCC to examine the role of design and pay more attention to it, including encouraging good aesthetics and hiring quality architects. Public art has also been added in some areas.

Ocean Drive, Miami Beach, FL. At South Beach, preservation and improvement of the Art Deco building stock has been achieved through the lasting impact of such initial interventions as widening the sidewalk and building the beach front park. Almost all of the historic buildings have been restored. Evolving design guidelines, which are getting more restrictive, have proven to be effective in maintaining key features of the setting yet are flexible enough to respond to changing circumstances. The politics of the process, however, failed to keep a very large new project—designed by a nationally prominent architect—from being built on the ocean side of the street at the north end of the district.



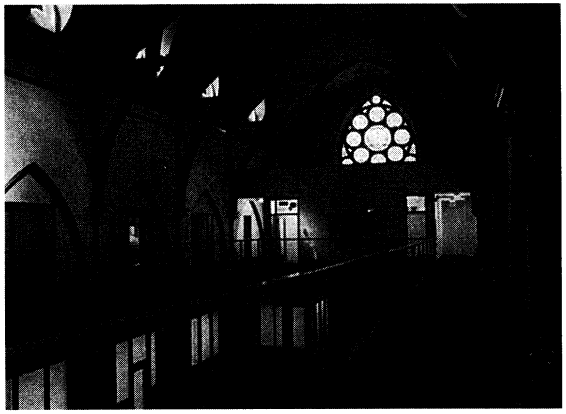
Harbor Point successfully combines townhouses with other housing types.



At Quality Hill, new buildings capture the flavor of the historic neighborhood.

Southwest Corridor, Boston, MA. The Southwest Corridor has, in many ways, been a major success. The area is safe, clean, and has a strong sense of place identity. Much of the intended development has taken place in an orderly and generally attractive way. While design was emphasized, not all of its features worked out as intended. In fact, in some ways, the projects are proving to be victims of their own success. Added institutional facilities have increased demand for parking because more commuters than expected are driving rather than using public transport. Their cars are invading neighborhood streets and making residents unhappy. Another unintended consequence is that the institutions are creating new fronts on the Corridor which before formed their backyard. Many interesting and anomalous conditions were found in the transit stations. Their design guidelines either did not adequately cover the details (such as how conduits are run), or the people enforcing them do not know them or follow them well enough.

Portland Downtown Plan, Portland, OR. Thanks in large measure to this plan, downtown Portland is a clean and wonderful place to be. The transit mall is attractive, works well, and has high ridership. Based on the successful, inclusive process, Portland expanded its planning areas. And, thought it did not achieve the desired level of downtown housing as part of the plan, the city is doing it now with increased goals. Interestingly, during our revisit, the latest crisis concerning the size and design of a proposed parking garage brought various sides into conflict again. This suggests that no matter how effective a process may be, it requires continual renewal and attention to succeed.



New Communities has converted a church to offices, a restaurant and a health center.

Stowe Recreation Path, Stowe, VT. The path has evolved over the years and become more integrated with the operational fabric of the city, which recognizes the path's importance to its economic viability. No longer just the creator's path, it has been taken over by village which now maintains it and is expanding the river walk portion. The easements arranged over private land have now created a very important public place. In terms of design, there is some question about whether an eight foot wide path can accommodate all the desired activities, especially conflicts that develop with the addition of roller blades to cyclists and walkers. The prime mover of the path has also evolved developing a guidebook for others. She now suggests a new approach, one that entails identifying the key points along a possible route and then working with the owners to figure out how it should best run.

Radial Reuse Plan, Lincoln, NE. The other bike path in Lincoln is also quite successful, especially in its primary goals of revitalizing the three neighborhoods through which it runs, though the neighborhood that needed the most help still have the farthest to go. The bikeway and its related open space are seen as a marvelous amenity by residents. Its greenery has grown lush, but maintenance of lights and the path have suffered in some areas due to an overstretched park budget—which has not increased despite the addition of much park land.

Beyond Homelessness, San Francisco, CA. The architects for most of this family of projects, Asian Neighborhood Design (AND), learned much from the experience of building them. AND now emphasizes more transitional housing and fewer shelters. It has also found that there was no appropriate design model for transitional housing. Residents want more amenities in their units and fewer shared facilities, and are even more reluctant to share kitchens than bathrooms. While some of the design features were not succeeding, the facilities were generally effective programmatically.

Greenmarket, New York, NY. The New York City farmers' markets are privately controlled events which happen on public space, generally transforming a street or plaza for a few hours on a few days each week. By and large, the markets have not required specialized physical features, but have adapted to conditions intended for other activities. Still a resounding success in terms of its impact on those who use and love the market, it is uncertain whether the market system has succeeded in any fundamental way in protecting the shrinking farmlands that once surrounded the metropolitan area.

The Brooklyn-Queens Greenway, Brooklyn, NY. Always more of a concept that a reality, the Greenway is still mostly not there, but now it is part of a larger nonexistent system. However, federal transit funds (ISTEA) will allow much of it to be built in 1996 and 1997. Not really a local or grassroots effort, the focus is on city, state and federal money. This may be because the Greenway provides a link between communities which they may not want.

West Clinton Action Plan, Portland, OR. The community developer, Reach, completed their planned projects in West Clinton shortly after the original Bruner Award site visit. Reach now owns a number of rental units which will keep the neighborhood from completely gentrifying. Perhaps the most interesting story is that Reach has replicated their excellent action planning process in two other neighborhoods, the city has used it in other areas, and Reach assisted the 1995 RBA winner Maya Angelou Neighborhood Initiative in using the action planning process to effectively include their surrounding community.

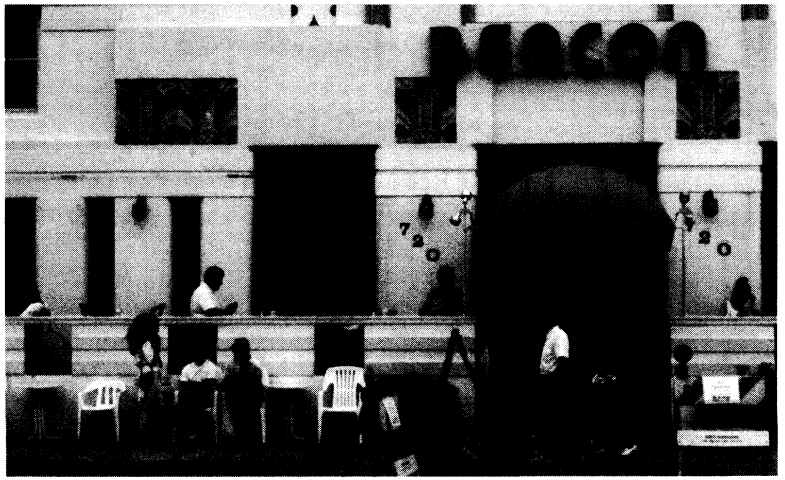
Betts Longworth Historic District, Cincinnatti, OH. Betts-Longworth has progressed considerably since the original Bruner visit. While some more buildings were lost and there are still "wounds" and rents in the urban fabric, more historical buildings have been renovated and the second phase infill project has been completed and sold out. Now, commercial developers are coming in at market rates that were not sustainable for earlier projects. Betts Longworth is now viewed as a success, even a triumph, and is seen as having positive effects on the nearby neighborhoods.

Casa Rita, New York, NY. Casa Rita's building has proven to be flexible enough to support a major change in programs—from serving the needs of mostly Latina Bronx residents to serving homeless substance abusers. While the core program and philosophy have remained the same, many physical changes were needed. These have included significant additions to the decks and yard, upgrading kitchen and dining areas, and replacement of bathroom fixtures.

Tenant Interim Leasing Program, New York, NY. Relying on sweat equity, TIL is well documented as having the lowest cost per unit for renovation. The program has succeeded and grown, having a major impact on many people and many buildings. Even in a city the size of New York, TIL has restored enough buildings in some areas, and at a high enough quality, to transform some entire blocks. Recently, emphasis has shifted toward more training and networking among projects.

Preservation as a Value

Preservation contributes something vitally important to the urban fabric and to urban life. Preserving and adapting older buildings provides a sense of continuity of experience and



Beacon Hotel Cafe, Ocean Drive.

memory which helps us to understand and relate to the city. It brings meaning to urban life.

Several of these projects have focused around preservation and revitalization of historic buildings and even neighborhoods or districts. Principal among these were Ocean Drive with its large number of intact Art Deco apartment buildings and hotels; Quality Hill which refurbished a number of historic buildings, some of great character, restoring housing and creating space for recreation and offices; and Betts Longworth which reversed policies that had nearly eliminated a historic district near downtown Cincinnati. New infill projects at each location succeeded in capturing the essential elements of street orientation, scale, material compatibility and details, without attempting to recreate a building from 70 or 120 years ago.

Four other projects had a more limited engagement with preservation and reuse. Pike Place restored the original market hall and adapted some other buildings in the area. Some of New Communities' projects entailed renovations (such as their conversion of a historic church into their headquarters). All of the Beyond Homelessness projects adapted existing buildings, such as the shelter they converted from an historic car dealership. TIL also converted and preserved many buildings, though the architectural and historical character of the buildings varies widely.

Process and Place

This section discusses the relationship of design and planning process to the physical place (see also the chapter on "Democracy" for a broader discussion of the relationship of planning process to political processes and leadership development).

For many of the projects, process has been the key to the eventual quality of the place. In general, the processes have been dynamic and have reflected the power and politics of the locale. Successful projects match the appropriate process to the needs of the participants and the place.

Decision making for some projects was directed by a single leader or small group, or relied more on input from expert consultant planners and designers. Under certain circumstances, these projects display qualities of excellence in design. The Park at Post Office Square, for example, had a thoroughly excellent process which was entirely appropriate to its needs. While decisions were made by a powerful board, the public and key constituencies were given ample opportunity for input. The project benefited from learning about the best national models and from outstanding design expertise.

But that process would not have worked for many of the other projects, especially those where the project has many residents. In those cases, response to resident needs has resulted from their inclusion in the process. Where they were less included, designs were less responsive. Larger scale planning projects had more variety in process, though several also undertook exceptional efforts to learn about and respond to the needs of very heterogeneous user groups. Excellent examples of inclusive processes are:

- Harbor Point, where the tenants took over and formed a partnership with a developer they selected. The partnership struggled through some difficult decisions during planning and design, but persists to this day managing the project together.
- Cabrillo Village which is self managed by a board elected by the tenants. Problems are aired and dealt with at community meetings, and resources are allocated in the common interest. If the board is not responsive, they are not reelected.
- West Clinton Action Plan was effective at balancing technical analysis of existing conditions with community decisions concerning what to do about them. The neighbors set priorities and helped make them happen. As a result, they "own" and feel positive about "their" park, trees and houses.
- The Downtown Portland Plan involved key players as well as citizens and evolved a sweeping vision for the downtown which has been realized and turned Portland into one of America's premier cities.

- The Southwest Corridor Plan, which managed to engage and satisfy the major concerns of a dizzying number and range of constituencies.
- The Lincoln Radial Reuse Plan evolved when community groups got fed up with the deterioration caused by the city's inaction on a road corridor. They were very actively involved in planning the shape of its renewal.
- Other projects have been much less inclusive, and for some this may have limited their effectiveness or may in the future limit their longevity if their strong leader cannot be replaced.
- Greenmarket is led by its founder, so far very effectively, though he gets some input from a farmer-consumer council.
- The Brooklyn-Queens Greenway was one person's vision, supported by a coalition of groups, but never achieving grassroots support. Will it ever be realized?

Whose Values are Reflected in the Place?

The Bruner Award is also concerned with the values represented in each place. Does it serve the few and powerful, or does it contribute to the democratic ideals and make urban resources more accessible to those who need them most? These critical resource decisions inform planning and design as well as fundamental economic issues such as tenure and targeted income levels. Values and vision have been the hallmark of several projects:

- In Portland what could have been a major highway separating the downtown from the river is now a riverfront park, a wonderful visual amenity and a much used and appreciated open space.
- Harbor Point's design incorporates many concepts for how to humanize and make safe a new neighborhood, including scale, views, and circulation. In order to participate effectively in the dialog with the architects and make sure their needs and values were reflected, the tenants hired their own consultant who could translate their concerns to the rest of the design team.
- At Betts Longworth, the City of Cincinnati took the lead, first in wrecking and then in fixing, the neighborhood. This diametrical change in values is to be commended, though it is unfortunate that the more supportive values did not prevail from the beginning.
- Pike Place Market evolved in the face of the threat of urban removal and then developed the broad based support to fix up the entire area without displacing those who were already there. In the face of tremendous pressures toward gentrification, the Market has held fast to its values that keep rents affordable for farmers.
- The farm workers at Cabrillo Village, after they succeeded in gaining control of their 80 modest homes, found a way to build another 80 units so more people in need could share in their good fortune. It is ironic that structural differences in tenure have led to some continuing conflicts between the original residents and the newcomers.
- In Newark, New Communities asked civic and business leaders to make a twenty year commitment to rebuilding the burned out city. They have brought housing, jobs, daycare, security, health care, and even a new supermarket to serve the inner city—in fact, they are almost a surrogate city in themselves.

Are These Projects Models Which Can Be Applied in Other Places?

There is a tremendous amount to be learned from these projects—and indeed, many interested parties visit these projects and come away excited or even inspired. The questions remain, however, are these models which can be emulated, how exportable are they, and what can be used—and not misused—from them? In considering these projects, it is essential to bear in mind that each evolved in

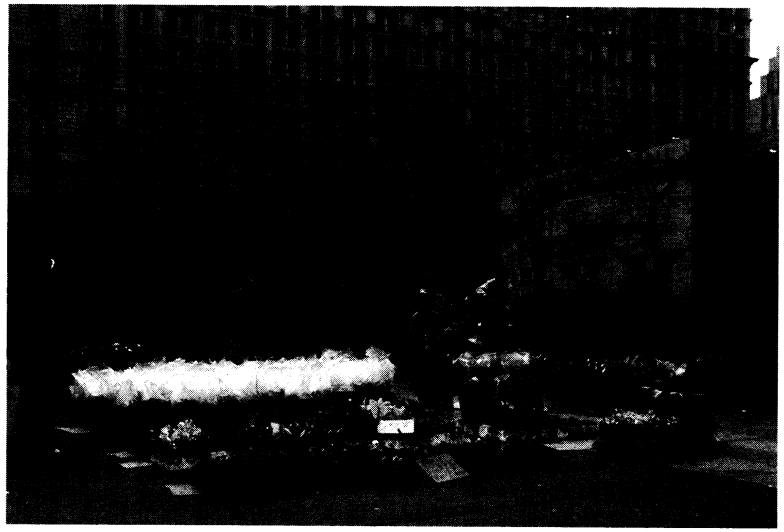
response to the particular problems, needs, and circumstances that generated them. Each is unique in some or many ways. As a group, they vary tremendously in region, scale, culture, use, building type, funding, and the like.

Generally, simple replication of these project's designs or processes would be inappropriate, in that it would ignore or omit the contextual elements that make each place special. Just as each of these evolved their approach in response to their intentions and circumstances, so the next project that is done will need to evolve the correct response to its situation. On the other hand, the lessons here can be used if they instruct about what it may be possible to achieve with creativity and commitment, the types of issues to take into account, strategies for inclusion or early action, a creative financing method that might fit, or even a design approach that has a promising application.

Lessons Learned About Design and Planning

Here are some of the key findings with regard to design and the qualities of place.

- Residents and citizens care a great deal about the qualities of urban places. These places have powerful meanings for them and those meanings are often conveyed, expressed, and even symbolized by the physical characteristics of the place.
- Design must play its appropriate role, depending on the nature of the project. While not always the most important factor, design can be critical to the success of a place.
- The design process must be treated with attention equal to other decisions (such as funding or political approvals).
- Participation is the hallmark of design decision making which takes into account the needs of occupants. Excellent, professional designers and planners can support these participatory processes by helping to find creative, responsive design solutions.
- Sufficient construction funds must be provided to allow the setting to support the people and activities, and to last for a long time. While costs must be controlled, cutting the wrong corners can be deleterious to achieving key project objectives.
- While materials and systems must be of a high enough quality to last, sufficient provisions must be made for ongoing maintenance. If deterioration or graffiti are allowed to persist, a downward cycle is reinforced that can kill a project.
- Places evolve over time, for many reasons which range from changes in the purpose or program of the institution, to aging of the resident population, to societal changes such as increasing crime or greater interest in recreation. The best places are flexible enough to support these changes or allow alterations to cope with them.
- The best places also age gracefully, developing a lushness of plantings or patina of materials which their users can appreciate. The early decision to use quality materials represents a long term investment and commitment to the quality of the place.



Greenmarket on market day.

Subject Index