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THINKING SMALL:

TRANSPORTATION'S ROLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

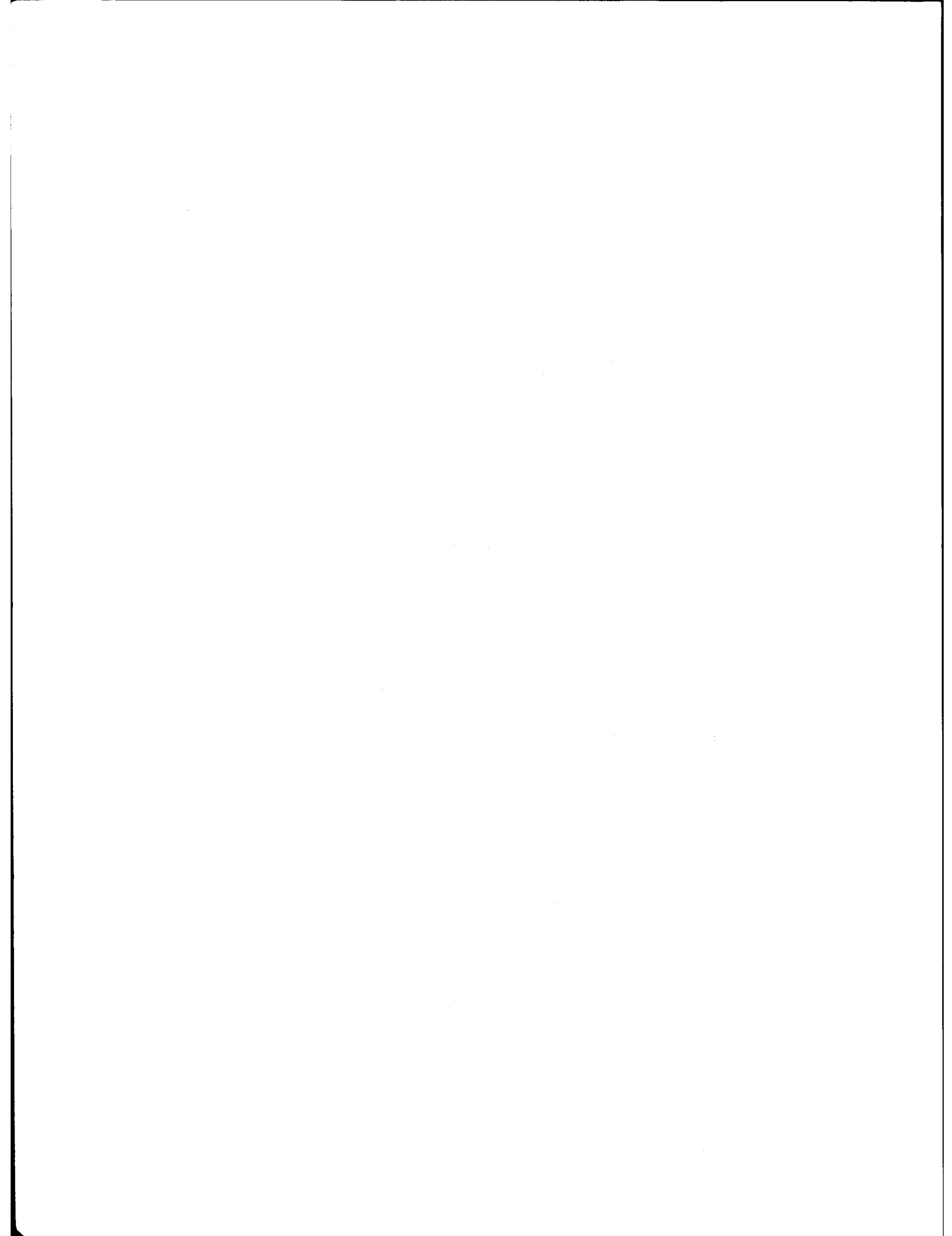
A Report
on a Conference Held
February 22-24, 1978
Baltimore, Maryland



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16. Abstract This report represents the proceedings of a conference held in Baltimore, Md. in February, 1978 to discuss small-scale transportation solutions as a means of revitalizing urban neighborhoods. The report is divided into two sections. The first part discusses the major issues involved in planning for these improvements, including citizen involvement, the role of local governments, and the many forms of pedestrian, paratransit, parking, and street-improvement street-improvement strategies available to the transportation planner. The second part consists of three case studies discussed at the Baltimore conference. Successful projects, involving a number of very different techniques, in Boston, St. Louis and Seattle are described in some detail.					
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**THINKING SMALL:
TRANSPORTATION'S ROLE IN
NEIGHBORHOOD
REVITALIZATION**

A Report
on a Conference Held
February 22-24, 1978
Baltimore, Maryland



The Conservation Foundation
Washington, D.C.

Phyllis Myers,
Project Director
Gordon Binder,
Assistant Project Director

FOR THE
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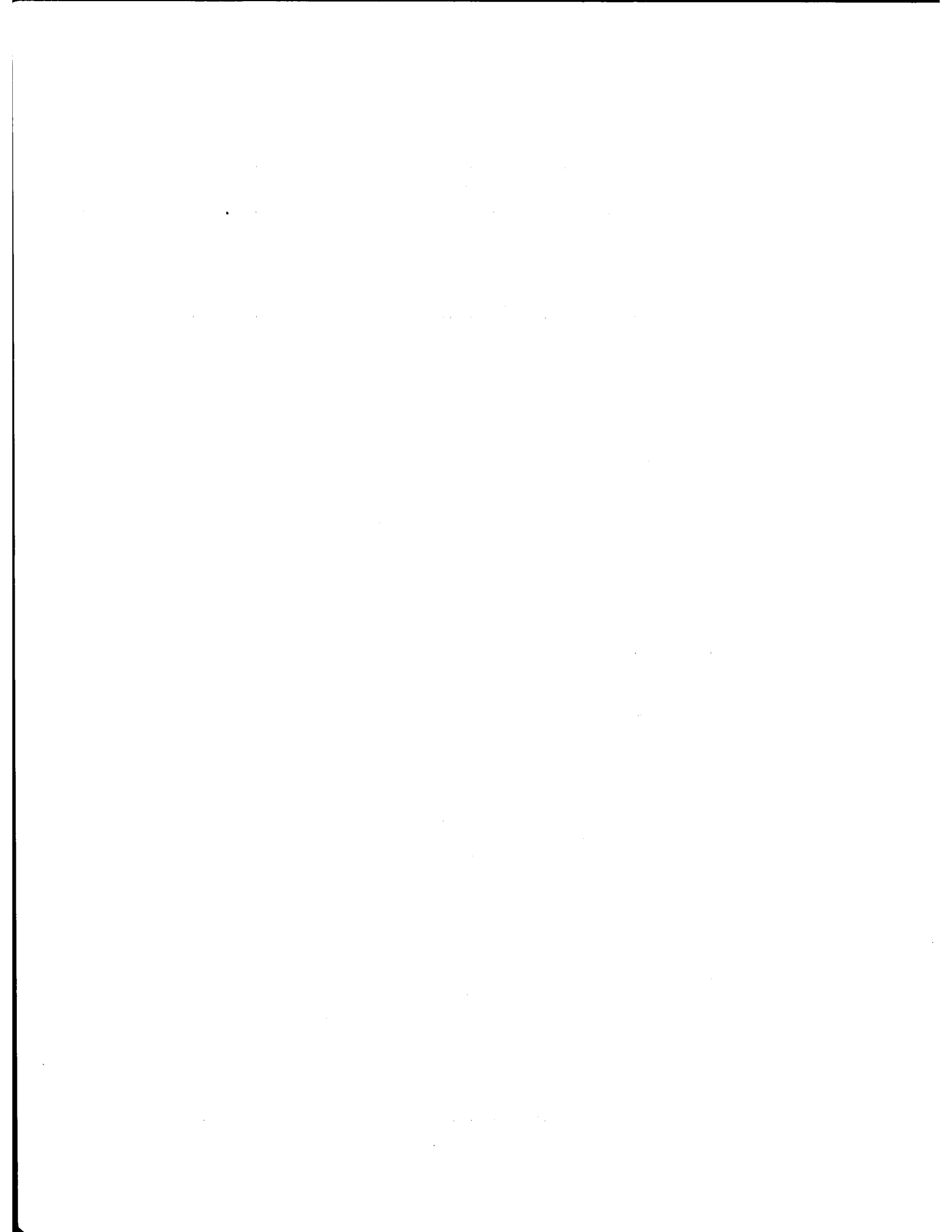
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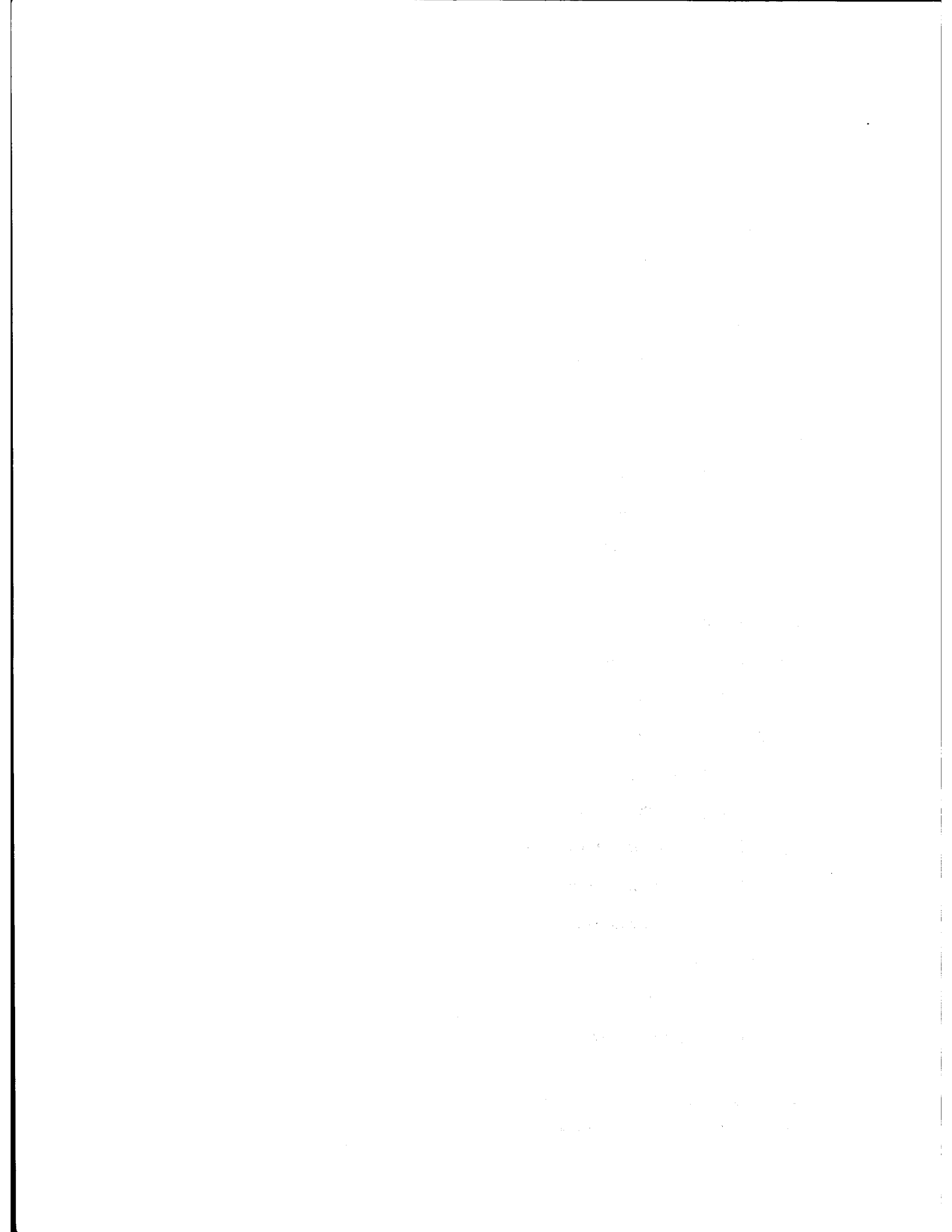
Kenneth Orski, former Associate Administrator of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, deserves special thanks for his heartening support of our interest in exploring the links between transportation policies and the emerging neighborhood conservation phenomenon. Also at UMTA, Richard Cohen was consistently helpful and cooperative as liaison for this project.

Our gratitude is extended to the many program and resource people who helped make the conference a constructive experience. Of particular note, Albert DeSalvo, Executive Director of the Citizens' Planning and Housing Association in Baltimore, conducted a flawlessly run tour of that city for conference participants.

Many at The Conservation Foundation contributed their time and thoughts to the project: Janet Fesler did a superb job as conference coordinator; Janice Shack worked tirelessly on various phases of the research and conference planning; Foundation president William K. Reilly and vice presidents J. Clarence Davies and John Noble provided substantive guidance in the development of the project and this report. Robert McCoy deserves special recognition for his assistance in editing and production. Bill Varney, Linda Walker, Margaret Lewis, and Tony Brown provided clerical support.

Phyllis Myers
Project Director

Gordon Binder
Assistant Project Director



PREFACE*

Richard S. Page

Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration

U.S. Department of Transportation

This report is based on a national conference on transportation's role in neighborhood revitalization sponsored by the Urban Mass Transportation Administration in order to seek advice from citizen leaders and state and local officials. Their advice is needed to shape the public transportation program and to adapt federal aid--now over \$3 billion a year--to meet local transportation needs and to encourage neighborhood revitalization.

The annual dollar impact of UMTA grants often exceeds community development block grants and general revenue sharing combined. Our first job is to provide transportation, but we want to do that in a way that will contribute to employment, neighborhood revitalization, and community development. Because of the scale of our grants and their impact on a city's economy, UMTA's program is clearly a major tool of urban revitalization.

Defining transportation's role is difficult because what works in one neighborhood, in one city, and for one group of people may not work in another neighborhood or another city. Some neighborhoods may need more bus service from the inner city to suburbs where the jobs are; other neighborhoods may need less bus service and less traffic congestion. In some neighborhoods the construction of a rapid-transit line might be the trigger for healthy economic and housing development; in others, it might be terribly expensive and disrupt neighborhood patterns. Neighborhood revitalization success stories seem to turn on specific capabilities and circumstances in

* Adapted from remarks made by Administrator Page at the conference on "Transportation's Role in Neighborhood Revitalization," February 27, 1978.

each city and in each neighborhood, more than on federal aid or a defined set of governmental actions.

We do know some things. We know that in many cities public transportation has been slow to adjust to changing housing and employment patterns. Houses and jobs may have moved to the suburbs, but most big-city bus systems continue to operate in radial patterns fitting the central business district. We know that growth in most of our metropolitan areas has occurred in the suburbs, but many cities still talk about a subway instead of the advantages of a responsive bus system. We know that there are many different types of public transportation. UMTA now strongly supports a family of services: taxis, jitneys, mini-buses, demand-responsive systems, large buses on fixed routes, vanpools, carpools, as well as people movers and rail transit. We encourage people to analyze the needs for public transportation on a case-by-case basis and to tailor transportation service to fit the specific needs of a particular community or urban neighborhood.

In addition to providing funds for The Conservation Foundation to sponsor research and convene a conference on transportation's role in neighborhood revitalization, UMTA has several ongoing efforts to better understand transportation's role and impact on neighborhoods. We have commissioned consultants to advise us about economic development projects in some two dozen cities to learn how UMTA grants can be used jointly with other governmental and private investments to stabilize, preserve, and revitalize urban neighborhoods.

Under an UMTA contract with the National Center for Urban and Ethnic Affairs, neighborhood organizations have received planning funds to help

design intra-neighborhood transit service to fit specific community needs. In Toledo and Providence, these circulation systems will encourage area residents to use stores and other facilities within the neighborhood, building the concept of "self-help."

Other neighborhood transit-service demonstrations are being conducted in New York, Chicago, Rochester, and Westport. The New York and Chicago projects are aimed at providing elderly and handicapped persons with transportation at fairly reasonable costs. The Rochester demonstration involves dial-a-ride, a concept in which riders receive door-to-door service at rates lower than those for individual taxis. A successful demonstration of a community circulation system is the minibus system in Westport, Connecticut. This project involves a large fleet of minibuses that blanket the suburban community to provide frequent and convenient service throughout the area. Using aggressive marketing techniques and an annual pass system, and attracting broad-based community support, the Westport system has been able to provide efficient public transportation to serve specific community needs.

While facilitation of neighborhood mobility is the usual goal of UMTA, reduced automobile traffic and increased pedestrian amenities are also useful elements of transportation policy. Innovations such as pedestrian malls and parking restrictions can greatly enhance neighborhood livability.

Regulation of automobile use got a substantial boost late in 1977 when the Supreme Court ruled that neighborhood commuter parking bans are legal. This clearly opens a new era in which the goals of environmental quality, safety, and neighborhood livability can take precedence over a blind accommodation of automobiles. During the last year too, many communities have adopted systems of auto restraints, using physical barriers, detours, and

parking restrictions. Following the Supreme Court's decision, limitation of automobile traffic in residential areas is likely to grow rapidly.

UMTA is actively promoting neighborhood efforts to minimize the adverse effects of traffic through its transit mall and auto-restricted zone programs. The transit mall program provides financial support to urban areas to close congested shopping streets to auto traffic, spruce them up for pedestrians, but retain an exclusive right-of-way for public transit vehicles. The auto-restricted zone demonstration projects support urban efforts to reduce automobile traffic in congested shopping districts on an area-wide basis. Both programs are based on the premise that a reduction in vehicular traffic and provision of pedestrian amenities can do a lot to increase the livability of the urban environment and preserve our cities as healthy and thriving centers of business, commerce, and entertainment.

Transportation Secretary Brock Adams has advanced the idea of a fare-free system. The first UMTA-sponsored free-transit system is in Trenton, New Jersey. We are negotiating with several other cities to conduct experiments with a variety of short-term systems to assess the impact on transit use of free off-peak and weekend service.

UMTA is administering a large and growing federal program. Concerned citizens and public officials should keep in mind not only the potential for transportation's role in neighborhood revitalization, but also the limits of transportation's role. Neighborhood revitalization depends in the first and last instance on the determination of the people who live in the neighborhoods, not on the specific form of federal aid program.

FOREWORD*

William K. Reilly

President, The Conservation Foundation

It may be years before we fully understand why, in the 1970s, city neighborhoods across the country began to show signs of revitalization. Often, this has happened spontaneously, without benefit of local government planning or significant involvement of federal programs or funds. The rekindling of interest in city living is most evident now among young professionals making their first housing choices. But long-term city residents, too, are part of the movement and, spurred by new pride in their communities, are launching a range of efforts to improve neighborhood livability.

While many theories are being advanced to explain these changes, we don't yet know now how valid the theories are, nor how extensive or durable the changes will be. We can say with confidence, however, that there has been a sizable upturn in housing renovation in cities throughout the United States and that the trend shows no signs of slackening.

This revitalization is welcome, for it appears to reflect an important shift in thinking about cities by many of those who live in them, work in them, and govern them. The focus of a decade ago on what is most alarming about urban life is beginning to give way to a more hopeful emphasis on strengths and assets. There is a new appreciation of the contribution of viable residential neighborhoods to the overall functioning of cities.

Implications for Transportation

Transportation intimately affects the quality of life in urban neighbor-

* Adapted from remarks made by Mr. Reilly at the conference on "Transportation's Role in Neighborhood Revitalization," February 27, 1978.

hoods--and thus the process of revitalization. Transportation resources can be used in community revitalization efforts in at least three ways:

1. Reducing the intrusion, noise, and pollution of automobile and truck traffic in residential neighborhoods, commercial centers, and places with distinctive natural or historic features;
2. Improving the mobility and access of residents by complementing fixed transit routes with small, flexibly scheduled vehicles responsive to demand and by planning for the needs of pedestrians and cyclists.
3. Making neighborhoods and urban areas more pleasant, attractive, and safe by the creation of well-designed street spaces that complement the area's residential character or economic use.

I have observed several characteristics common to small-scale improvements. The efforts, while innovative and imaginative, are often modest; yet they can make a surprisingly important difference to people. They tend to deal with the persistent problems of the automobile by managing it, rather than simply accommodating or banishing it. They are diverse and custom-designed, tailored to the fabric or character of a community and its particular needs. Further, small-scale transportation ideas have usually originated outside the traditional planning structure. Some local officials are developing initiatives in this direction, but up to now such officials tend to be to the exceptions.

Regardless of their origin, the improvements are often perceived by their advocates as ways to achieve multiple community goals--to create jobs,

revitalize neighborhoods and shopping areas, attract new residents, spur tourism, bolster confidence among private entrepreneurs, aid people like the aging who may find it difficult to get around. Even in poor neighborhoods, where access to jobs outside the community is probably the most urgent transportation priority, modest transportation improvements that create parks and play areas, control through-truck traffic, and provide intra-neighborhood transit can raise community pride, make the area safer for children, help the carless move about, and create new economic opportunities.

There is another important reason why transportation policy needs to adjust its focus to think small as well as big. In 1978, federal dollars for mass transportation in urban areas accounted for \$775 million in operating expenses and \$1.4 billion in capital expenditures; in the same year, highway construction funds for urban areas came to \$915 million.* The local impacts of large-scale transportation plans funded by these expenditures have not been adequately addressed in the past. Highway construction and major traffic interchanges are the best known examples, but subway construction and even the redesign of traffic routes can also be disruptive or supportive of neighborhood integrity. Sensitive small-scale planning can help to protect local areas from adverse impacts and introduce amenities as well.

"Thinking small" is a relatively new concept for transportation planning, for citizens and professionals alike. The conventional imagery of

* Spending for both mass transit and highways in urban areas was actually even higher: in 1978, \$439 million in unused highway allocations was transferred to mass transit, while urban highway dollars were augmented, in amounts difficult to track, with funds from programs not specifically set aside for urban areas. (Information supplied by the Congressional Budget Office, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C., January 4, 1979.)

transportation is of ribbons of highways, supersonic aircraft, high-speed trains. Transportation planners have tended to think big, devising comprehensive plans to meet regional needs. The new trends in cities, and our increased understanding of the importance of livability, call for neighborhood impacts to inform transportation planning at every level.

Barriers to Small-Scale Planning

Thinking small may enable us to discover a range of practical, low-cost, incremental means of helping cities and neighborhoods to nurture their livability. Yet, in the course of the research for this conference and report, we found, all too often, that small-scale ideas have a great deal of trouble "making it." Public programs, on the federal as well as the local level, have been geared to thinking big, not small.

For one thing, resources for small-scale efforts can be very difficult to obtain. It is true that DOT's transportation system management (TSM) planning policies encourage low-cost, incremental improvements to make better use of existing equipment and infrastructure, and there are various programs under which malls, pedestrian pathways, and automobile control strategies can be funded. However, transportation officials at the regional or state level often resist spending planning or program money on these projects. As a result, funding tends to be ad hoc and opportunistic, sometimes drawing on UMTA or Federal Highway Administration funds, but also on HUD's community development block grant money, resources from other federal agencies, or local funds.

Further, despite the modest nature of the improvements, implementation can be surprisingly complex and controversial. Residents of city neigh-

borhoods complain of a multitude of different departments with jurisdiction over neighborhood streets. Officials find the demands of one neighborhood for controlling traffic difficult to meet without adversely affecting an adjacent neighborhood. Citizens speak of the unresponsiveness of city officials to neighborhood ideas and the imposition of interstate standards of speed and maintenance on neighborhood streets. Officials trained in transportation efficiency find working with the community time-consuming and frustrating.

The constraints of federal programs and regulations can also frustrate the creative efforts of local officials, private entrepreneurs, and citizens. Federal money comes in discrete programmatic packages, for housing or economic development, as well as for transit, that can prove hard to mesh at the neighborhood level. And regulations, even when needed to achieve sound objectives, often pose rigidities that impede flexible responses to new trends.

Although modest, the new transportation initiatives are thus impeded by a number of barriers, some institutional, some legal, some economic--and some attitudinal. To lower these barriers involves addressing questions like: How can small-scale transportation impacts on neighborhoods be analyzed, predicted, and evaluated within a neighborhood, among neighborhoods, and within the city? How can new constituencies be involved constructively in transportation planning and implementation? What useful generalizations and common reference points are there in exemplary local models that are by nature custom-designed? How can these diverse small-scale efforts be integrated into comprehensive revitalization plans? How can the federal government help ideas flow from one neighborhood to other neighborhoods,

and other cities and regions? How do we balance diversity and efficiency? Would small-scale ideas be better advanced by block grant funding of all surface transportation programs, or by separate categorical allocation? Should there be a reallocation of planning funds to increase their accessibility to cities, or neighborhoods?

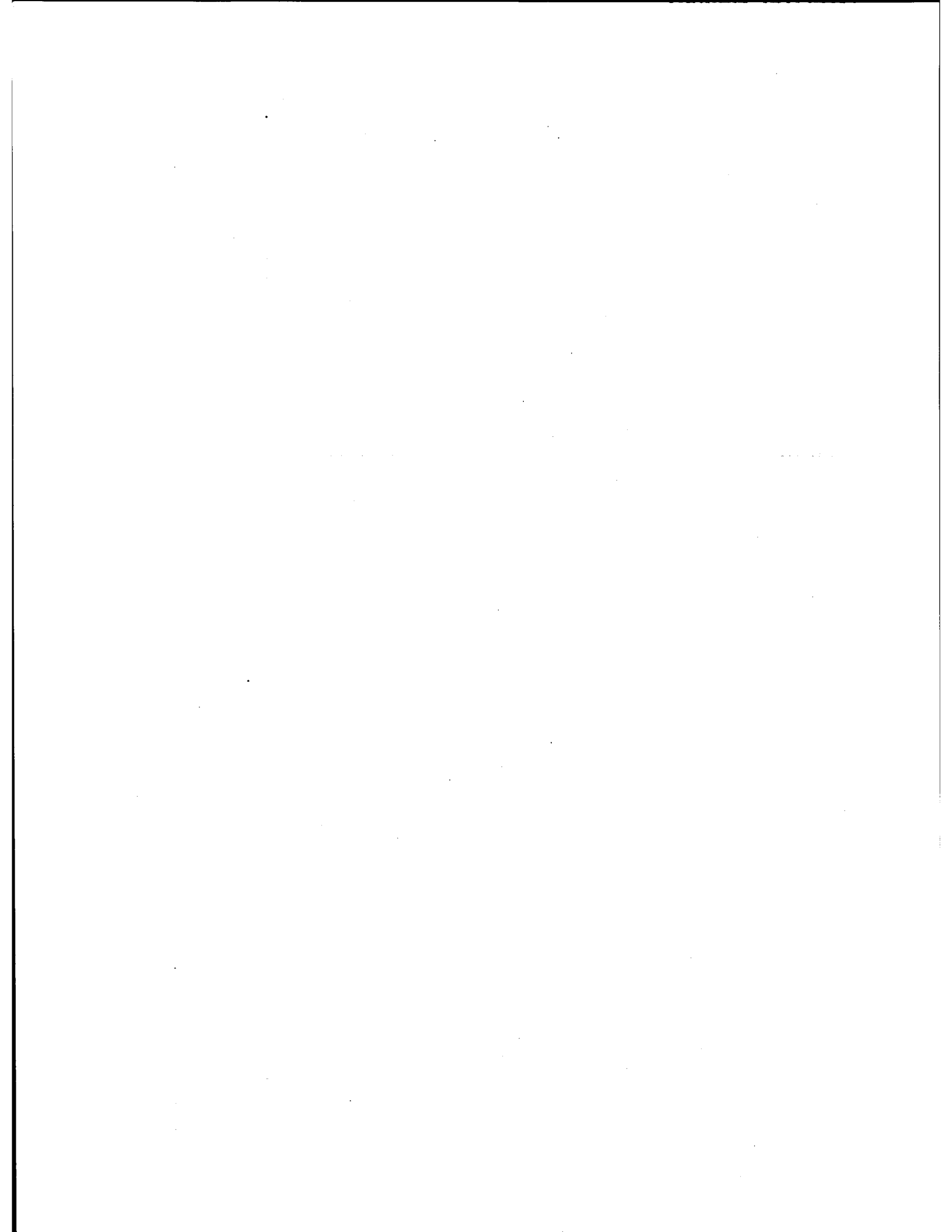
A New Dialogue

There is no one answer to the complex questions posed here, nor any pat institutional formula that is certain to implant sensitivity and responsiveness to small-scale needs in transportation planning. Ultimately, the success of small-scale efforts will depend on the involvement of the kinds of new constituencies that have coalesced around the neighborhood conservation movement. This involvement will assist public officials to broaden their transportation planning objectives--not only to move people rapidly and conveniently but also to create more humane, livable cities.

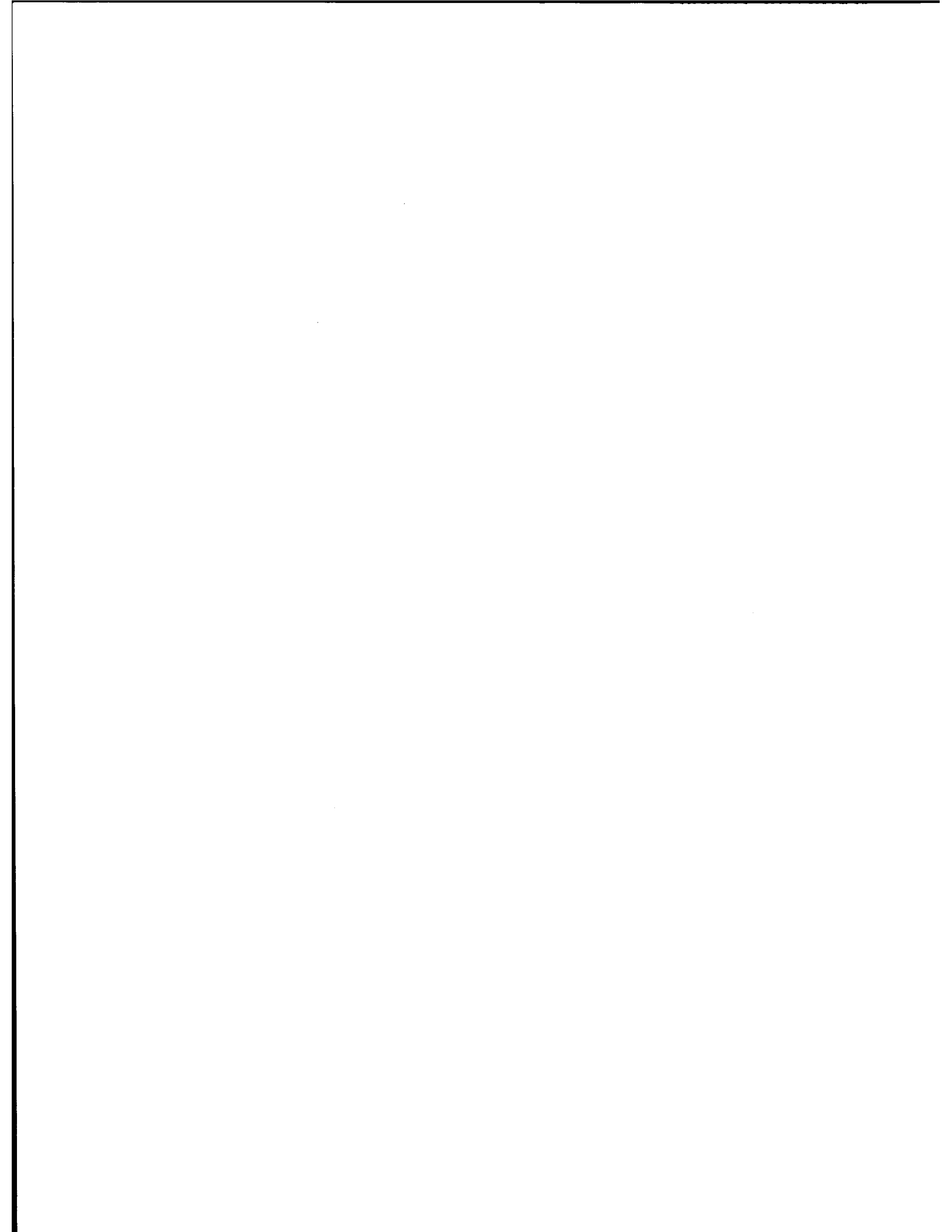
To begin the needed dialogue among public officials and neighborhood constituencies, The Conservation Foundation convened a national conference in February 1978, with the support of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration of the U.S. Department of Transportation. As part of the project, we sponsored a nationwide survey of innovative, small-scale transportation planning in urban neighborhoods, and commissioned a series of case studies. A report on the conference proceedings, Part I of this publication, draws heavily on the comments of participants as it analyzes the major issues addressed by the group. Three of the case studies, which were presented at the conference by informed local participants, are included in Part II.

This publication is but one of The Conservation Foundation's initia-

tives to address emerging urban environmental issues. In the past five years, the Foundation's program has recognized the bonds between those seeking to protect significant, natural areas and those working to revitalize existing urban areas. The conference and this report are intended to increase our understanding of how small-scale transportation initiatives contribute to the livability of American cities, and we are grateful for UMTA's support of this inquiry.



PART I



A DIALOGUE ON TRANSPORTATION ISSUES IN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

Phyllis Myers

Senior Associate, The Conservation Foundation

Transportation and urban revitalization were too often thought of in the past as adversaries. Either an expressway was built or it wasn't. I hope that we are getting beyond that kind of relationship, and that we can talk about transportation as a part of a neighborhood revitalization policy.

Jay Brodie
Commissioner of Housing
and Community Development
Baltimore, Maryland

The first national dialogue on transportation's role in neighborhood revitalization was held from February 26 to 28, 1978, in Baltimore, Maryland. About 180 people, brought together by The Conservation Foundation, with funding from the Urban Mass Transportation Administration of the U.S. Department of Transportation, considered the ways that low-cost, small-scale transportation improvements might be linked more effectively to the community revitalization phenomenon evident in many cities across the country. The themes discussed were consistent with the President's urban policy, which explicitly draws attention to the goals of conserving cities' strengths and assets and stimulating partnerships of government, the private sector, and residents in community rehabilitation and revitalization efforts.

The mix of persons at the conference reflected the kinds of new as well as old constituencies who need to be drawn into this dialogue. About half the participants represented voluntary groups--associations like the League of Women Voters, neighborhood organizations, historic preservation societies, and citizen coalitions that span several neighborhoods. Among the local and state officials were transportation planners and traffic en-

gineers, and representatives from mayors' offices, community development departments, economic development agencies, and planning commissions. Officials from a number of federal agencies--not only the U.S. Department of Transportation--participated. Private planning consultants and members of professional interest groups also attended.

The deliberations touched on the familiar litany of problems that accompanied large-scale, massive transportation investments in highways in the 1950s and 1960s, but focused to a greater extent on new opportunities to use transportation investments in tandem with other public and private investments to nurture neighborhoods.

Much of the increased concern with the smaller scale seems to be a reaction against earlier policies that were insufficiently sensitive to neighborhood impacts. For example, one participant, Leon Eplan, formerly planning and budgeting commissioner of Atlanta, Georgia, described what happened to that city between 1960 and 1970 as a result of extensive high-rise development and expressway construction. A totally new downtown skyline was created; in the process, said Eplan, "We lost a great deal of the social fabric of the community, and the relationships and social organizations through which people identify with each other and communicate with the city." This experience was shared by many cities. It led to a surer sense of the fragility of established neighborhoods and a skepticism about large-scale redevelopment, and blind accommodation of the automobile.

The conference participants considered the implications for transportation planning of the values of human scale, livability, and conservation which have become so important in community strategies for reinvestment and revitalization.

The constructive atmosphere at the conference was a hopeful sign that a useful dialogue had begun. In the following pages, the main themes that emerged are discussed.

TRANSPORTATION PLANNING IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

As we think small about transportation and try to see transit problems from the citizens' and the neighborhoods' point of view, I think we're part of a national and world-wide movement to restrain and humanize and make relevant for people many of the big life systems on which we all depend.

Neal Peirce

Conventional urban transportation planning has focused on the roles of the city as a marketplace and a workplace. In this perspective, city streets are thoroughfares through which traffic should move as quickly and efficiently as possible, either to serve commercial and industrial traffic or to speed the commuter to suburbia. City streets have not generally been viewed seriously by planners as part of an environment where people live, meet, walk, and go about a myriad of day-to-day activities. Nor has the transportation planner put high on the list of priorities the ways by which his or her task can make this environment pleasanter, or harsher.

The revitalization of city neighborhoods, often by middle class people expending considerable energy and dollars on renovating older, blighted homes, is creating a new set of demands for neighborhood, or small-scale, transportation planning. Residents' objections to traffic are not new, of course; what is new is the raising of such concerns higher on the list of goals the transportation planner must address, and the discovery of

opportunities to use low-cost transportation improvements to introduce amenities into a city area, reduce dependence on the automobile, and increase the equity of services.

Managing Through-traffic to Increase Livability

Despite--or perhaps because of--the neglect of neighborhood transportation planning, a number of studies have shown that people are very bothered by the intrusiveness of traffic in their community, sometimes even more than by crime.* According to the U.S. Census Bureau's 1973 Annual Household Survey, almost half the persons queried said that street noise was an undesirable neighborhood feature, and 20 percent complained of heavy traffic. (Crime was mentioned by 12 percent.) In center cities, the percentage bothered by heavy traffic and street noise increases. This is true abroad as well: a Tokyo study, for example, found traffic hazards to be the most common neighborhood transportation problem, and studies of other cities report similar findings.**

The current wave of neighborhood revitalization has sharpened the tension between city residents and through-traffic. The older, historically interesting neighborhoods, now the focus of considerable renovation activity, are often within a mile or two of downtown and in the path of industrial or commuter traffic through the city. It is true that some

* U.S. Department of Transportation, FHWA, Liveable Urban Streets: Managing Auto Traffic in Neighborhoods (Washington, D.C.: 1976), pp. 3-5.

** Ibid.

affluent neighborhoods, like Beacon Hill in Boston, have successfully retained their physical integrity over the years despite a close-in location. But most areas surrounding the U.S. downtowns have had a different fate. They have often been selected as the site of new highways. And even when highways or demolition were not contemplated, neighborhood streets were frequently widened for efficient traffic flow--to and from downtown. The fact that people lived nearby was usually ignored.

Today, as neighborhoods accessible to downtown become attractive to a new market of relatively affluent young professionals, transportation planners are hearing new demands for traffic control. Resident concern over traffic is not limited to middle-class newcomers. Conference participant Edith Woodberry, president of a revitalization project in the black, low-income Woodward East neighborhood in Detroit, pointed out: "We are at the heart of the city--the central business district. . . We are in a prime location. . . .Our hope is to devise a way that cars, which now have a tendency to come through our area, can be diverted."

Two grass-roots ideas receiving considerable attention, street-management schemes and preferential parking, illustrate how small-scale solutions can grapple effectively with the problem of achieving a balance between automobiles and neighborhood residents. While modest in cost and reach, the strategies have broad implications for lessening dependencies on automobiles, reducing pollution, increasing the market for transit, and helping to create more livable neighborhoods. (The case studies of St. Louis and Boston in Part II examine in detail the experiences of neighborhoods in those cities in dealing with traffic-management problems.)

Street-management schemes. Some communities are experimenting with ways of discouraging neighborhood through-traffic by closing off streets completely to cars. More often, however, the approach is to install street barriers or diverters, create culs-de-sac, construct grassy medians on wide streets, or "neck down" multilane roads to slow traffic or divert it to main arterials. In some St. Louis neighborhoods, the unwitting motorist leaving the main roadway enter a maze of right and left turns that eventually leads back to the entering point.

Schemes of this kind have been familiar for years in suburban developments, where streets are often designed to discourage vehicles from entering unless the trip is destined for that community. Now they are beginning to be implemented in urban settings, since neighborhood livability is an appropriate transportation planning objective in cities, too, and the creation of a "private street" atmosphere, by means of banning or slowing cars, can be an effective element in a community revitalization strategy.

As Professor Donald Appleyard of the University of California at Berkeley, who is engaged in a multiyear nationwide study of local schemes to control street traffic financed by the U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration, told the conference participants, "The goals of these schemes include accident reduction; elimination of noise, vibration, and air pollution; improved opportunities for walking, cycling, wheelchair use, and children's play space; enhanced appearance, and the reduction of street crime."

Most of the examples so far are in suburban communities. In cities, said Appleyard, diverting or slowing traffic is more complex. One needs

to ensure that the problem is not merely shifted from one street in the neighborhood to another that is no better able to handle the impact, and that commuter and industrial through-traffic are reasonably handled.

In some areas the focus is only on traffic; in others, the diverters are integrated into a range of transportation and community planning policies--parking, transit incentives, landscaping, or, as discussed in the St. Louis study, an overall neighborhood strategy. Bill Wilson, Streets Department Director in St. Louis, said, "We started out with some simple street closures and within a few months, the things that began to happen on that street were remarkable. People really began to take an interest in their property. There's something about creating privacy on the street that seems to cause people to do things."

Sometimes traffic diverters are permanent; sometimes they are simple ball-and-chain fixtures that can be replaced by permanent devices if they work. Diverters can be scattered here and there throughout a city, or they can be part of a comprehensive plan, as in Berkeley, California. The former approach, as might be expected, is vulnerable to complaints by adjacent neighborhoods receiving the impact of the diverted traffic. But the comprehensive scheme, too, may draw fire--sometimes unifying a great deal of opposition. This happened in Berkeley, though some people attribute the results not so much to the unworkability of comprehensive planning as to poor planning. In the words of Appleyard:

In Berkeley, every street demanded its different thing. The result was a totally chaotic system of diagonal diverters, traffic circles, chokers--everything. The whole thing went in on a weekend--45 diverters and 90 stop signs on arterial streets. A group called Citizens Against the

Barricades was formed, and quickly about 11,000 people put a petition on the ballot. Berkeleyans for Fair Traffic Management was formed a week after that, and they demanded the diverters. We had an election, and the diverters were supported 25,000 to 20,000. In a second election a year later the diverters won again, 17,000 to 16,000.

Successful diverter schemes depend on good community analysis, surveys, meetings, and outreach to people who have problems but are not complaining. Esthetic impact needs to be considered: some diverters look forbidding and threatening, suggesting that more care needs to be given to landscaping and design elements. The major issue, however, is traffic impact--on the affected street, on adjacent streets, and on main arterials. Even professionals really don't know very much about this kind of traffic management, since they have little experience with it. Sometimes the diverted traffic inexplicably disappears; at other times, the key to success is strong adherence to the heavy use of major collectors and arterials.

The standard usually applied to evaluate traffic changes--the traffic count--is not appropriate to assess the impact of a diverter. Appleyard stressed the need to develop new standards: "I think we should start talking about the neighborhood capacity of streets rather than the traffic capacity."

The legality of street diverters is uncertain, and evolving in case law as their use expands. The Berkeley diverters were ruled illegal because they were not in conformity with state standards. In St. Louis, several tests have upheld street closings, but a long-standing tradition of private streets in that city creates a special precedent. Elsewhere, obstructions to public rights-of-way have generally been viewed suspiciously by courts, although the laws of a particular state, the type of obstruc-

tion, its impact, the classification of the street, and judicial whim will affect the legal ruling. Nonetheless, persuasive arguments for extending residential control of the streets are currently influencing thinking and, as a result, more judicial weight may come down on the side of residents.

Preferential Parking. From the neighborhood perspective, preferential parking systems respond to the desire to control the intrusiveness and pollution of through-traffic as well as the desire to ensure residents first choice of parking spaces in places where competition is keen. From the city's perspective such restrictions are expected to discourage the one-passenger-per-car commuter and encourage transit use. Conference participant William Manning of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs suggested: "We need two sets of policies, one a general environmental policy to encourage people in particular areas of the city to use public transportation and walk, and the other to use the private automobile for particular purposes that it's best suited for."

Parking permit systems raise some of the same issues as the street closings and diverter programs discussed above. As with diverters, the state-of-the-art is primitive, and the standards for judging success are quite different from those traditionally employed by transportation experts. In a potentially far-reaching decision, however, a Virginia community's program restricting on-street commuter parking was upheld in 1977 by the U.S. Supreme Court. By an 8-1 decision, the Court ruled that a community "may reasonably restrict on-street parking available to commuters" to encourage reliance on car pools and mass transit, and reduce air pollution and other environmental effects of automobile commuting. It also

observed that restricting the flow of outside traffic into residential areas would enhance the quality of life there.*

Washington, D.C., which is experiencing a phenomenal rebirth of interest in city living, and is building a subway system to service the metropolitan area, also has instituted one of the most extensive parking permit systems in the country. Douglas C. Schneider, Jr., Director of the District of Columbia Department of Transportation, commented on the program at one of the conference workshops:

Many neighborhoods in the District of Columbia are near a bus line, office buildings, hospitals, or schools, or something that attracts people who come from the suburbs and park all day. Metro [subway] stations are opening up in residential neighborhoods.

There seems to be no limit to the imposition people driving their cars will place on other people for their own convenience. This poses a major safety problem for children in the neighborhood who can't see over the sea of cars. It's also a major noise and pollution problem.

Neighborhood residents say people start circling their blocks at 6:30 or 7:00 A.M. and know when people leave their houses. Once they have left, they can't get back.

We decided to restrict parking to residents on commuter days on a massive scale. In neighborhoods that want the program, nonresident parking is restricted to two hours between 7:30 A.M. and 6:30 P.M. The program is not in effect on weekends, holidays, or in the evening.

To enact the restrictions, a petition from every block is required. We don't have to do that by law, but as a matter of choice and policy, we require very detailed community involvement. We feel that people need to be involved, need to understand what they or their neighbors are asking for, and need to know that it's going to cost them \$5 a year.

* U.S. Supreme Court, County Board of Arlington County, Virginia, et al. v. Rudolph A. Richards, et al., October 11, 1977. No 76-1418.

Some people think it's over-regulation. Some don't want to pay the fee. Some don't understand the problem because they are not around in the daytime. We go out to make sure that people who have any questions get to understand the program.

People have said that this is the most significant thing that's ever happened to their neighborhood in terms of changing the environment. There is a noticeable reduction in traffic and noise pollutants. Suddenly, it's like another neighborhood.

There is a problem in mixed residential and commercial neighborhoods when somebody works in the neighborhood and he's used to parking free on the street and all of a sudden he has to pay \$50 or \$60 a month. He thinks his constitutional rights have been taken away when we tell him to take the bus. There is no constitutional right to park downtown.

Business did resist it in the beginning. We think businesses have benefited because now there are two-hour parking spaces available. Before, people could not park at all.

Providing Flexible Transportation Choices

The conventional orientation of transportation planners to large-scale solutions is reflected in the emphasis on efficient ways to move people quickly over long distances. These needs are obviously essential in a complex, highly mobile society. Yet an exclusive preoccupation with these needs can mean continued neglect of the travel needs of people who are either carless or destined for places ill-served or not served by fixed transit.

Thinking small about mobility reminds us of the opportunities to use linkages to revitalize communities, to bring residents and activities closer together, to help those whose travel needs are not in the mainstream, and to encourage low-energy modes like walking and cycling. Such

a sensitivity can enhance the distinctive economic and cultural opportunities in cities.

Paratransit. Small-scale transportation initiatives may take a variety of forms--jitneys, Dial-A-Rides, vanpools. They may involve special arrangements with conventional vehicles, like taxis, or else specially designed vehicles, like smaller buses or trams (see the St. Louis case study). Called "paratransit" by the experts, such special services are funded publicly by HEW and DOT--largely, at this time, to serve the elderly or handicapped--or, privately, by foundations, industry, or, as in St. Louis, local merchants. Neighborhood groups may be sponsors. Edith Woodberry of the Woodward East Project told the conference: "We have come up with an idea in our own area. We have about five young people in the neighborhood who make it a point of driving people from our community any place they want to go. All anyone has to do is call up and say, 'Hey, I need a ride.' It can be completely out to suburbia or wherever."

The most obvious use of paratransit is to provide point-to-point service for the elderly, young, or carless in areas mostly served by automobiles, or for trips to places where big buses would be inappropriate, intrusive, or too expensive to run. Paratransit seems to have considerable potential for reinforcing neighborhood business revitalization, enhancing the quality of neighborhood life, and reducing dependence on the private automobile for certain short trips. The barriers are considerable, however.

Proposals for paratransit systems have not generally emerged from local government or regional authorities. The view in these quarters may

not be sympathetic, either because management of a range of services is a nuisance or because paratransit seems to pose unneeded competition to a deficit-ridden transit system. Reverend Orville L. Brotherton of St. Louis encountered resistance from the transit authority as he tried to initiate a neighborhood tram service (see the St. Louis case study). He told the conference: "The transit authority [does not] understand how to move small groups of people small distances. They are accustomed to moving huge numbers of people numbers of miles."

When government has sponsored paratransit under existing insurance and safety and labor rules, the result has often been a maze of procedural problems and virtually prohibitive costs. According to columnist Neal Peirce:

Labor is hostile because paratransit experiments are designed to be low cost; they involve part-time drivers such as fellow employees and housewives and so on. In many cases they involve the use of nonunion employees of private transit companies.

It seems to me that the way to increase options is for the public to be very kind to entrepreneurs, to lift restrictions and let them come up with any kind of ingenious plan they can to provide service with their own cars and vans and mini-buses, and apply their own labor with all sorts of arrangements that may be developed. Possibly the unions can be persuaded to make some reasonable compromise, because the mass transit systems where the majority of their employees are now employed would continue to remain.

Responding to the interest in paratransit, federal transportation policies are becoming increasingly receptive to the provision of a "family of transit services" in cities and regions; impediments are being reviewed and experimental demonstrations funded. In Montgomery County, Maryland, for example, a new feeder service from suburban homes to major bus

and subway lines has been initiated, with use exceeding expectations.

Bicycles. "There are a vast number of trips which people are having trouble with or which aren't being made which could be served very easily by bicycles. Sixty percent of the streets in most cities are almost not used at all," stated participant Robert P. Thomas of the Bicycles and Pedestrian Transportation Research Center in Philadelphia.

In recent years, 6,000 miles of bikeways have been constructed in the United States, encouraged by more flexible federal funding that makes these corridors an eligible road-improvement cost. States have been slow in responding to this option, however, and have spent only about \$15 million of the \$75 million authorized by the Federal Highway Administration urban systems funds.

Bicycle advocates attribute the states' less-than-enthusiastic response to the inherent difficulties of combining funds for small programs with those for costly programs like highway construction and maintenance. Moreover, there are some advocates who feel that bikeways have been overbuilt. Robert Thomas interviewed motorists coming into Philadelphia:

We found they didn't want bikeways at \$25,000 a mile. They wanted safe bike parking. They wanted to be able to bring their bikes into their own office buildings. People need to take their bikes on transit vehicles just as they need to take wheelchairs. When this is done --combining the speed and convenience of rapid transit with the point-to-point flexibility of the bicycle--we will provide a real alternative to the automobile.

The transportation legislation approved in 1978 provides a new categorical grant program authorizing \$20 million a year for four years for constructing bikeways. The Federal Highway Administration has been di-

rected to prepare federal standards and guidelines.

Pedestrian Improvements. "It's remarkable how little transportation planning takes into account the needs of the pedestrian," said Linda Billings of The Sierra Club. The idea that transportation planning includes the pedestrian is at once obvious, yet difficult to reassert in the automobile-dominated American city.

In recent years, Americans have learned a great deal from European cities, which are alive with people on foot. Architects and planners have begun to turn away from the sterile concrete towers and unused plazas that once represented the typical design approach to urban revitalization. There is renewed thinking about what makes people walk, talk, and shop rather than jump into their cars.

In part, encouraging people to walk requires constraints on the automobile and parking spaces. But at least equally important is an atmosphere that makes people want to be on the street. In neighborhoods, as well as downtown areas, there is a growing recognition of the value of places that people enjoy walking to. Walking can encourage a real sense of community and generate economic activity as well. The phenomenal volume of sales per-square-foot in the Faneuil Hall Market Place in Boston is a result of the large numbers of people who come because the place delights them, not necessarily because their intention is to buy something, developer James Rouse has observed.

The links between walking and urban revitalization, reduced dependence on the automobile for short trips, and increased use of public transit have led to the availability of federal transportation funds for pedestrian

improvements on urban streets, and to a number of imaginative projects, both public and private. The pull of the automobile in the United States has been strong, however, and change is slow. State and local transportation departments, whose approval is required for federal program expenditures for pedestrian improvements, may be skeptical of such use of scarce funds. They may also see pedestrians more as obstacles than as desirable clients.

Therefore, despite a growing awareness of the potential of pedestrian planning and the rhetoric of "streets for people," approval of federal dollars for pedestrian projects in many states is difficult to obtain. (For a discussion of the problems encountered by one attempt at innovative pedestrian improvements, see the Pike Place Market case study in Part II of this report.)

Special Problems In and Around Downtown

In the past, transportation planning for downtowns was done mostly with the idea of bringing people in and out as efficiently as possible. In most cities, the emphasis was on the automobile and freeway construction; in some, there was concern over rail transit. The jargon term was "balanced transportation." The assumption was that most of the people, of course, live somewhere else.

Such simplistic planning had a number of negative side effects. One was that transportation planning did not concern itself very much with the pedestrian downtown... second, such planning ignored frequently the effects of transportation planning on the communities that surround the downtown, either by placing a freeway through them, by constructing an insensitively planned transit line, or perhaps just by providing rapid traffic flow through the streets.

Frank Colcord, Jr.
Professor of Political Science
Tufts University

Tensions between transportation planning for downtown development and neighborhoods are not new. The issues need to be reexamined, however, in the light of the new economic development initiatives being fostered by the federal government. Controversies have already arisen between neighborhoods and proposed downtown projects. While many of these raise broader issues as well, the impacts of transportation, noise, and pollution are often a significant factor in the debate. Can intown neighborhoods retain their livability along with their accessible location? Are there ways by which transportation planning for downtowns and neighborhoods can be better meshed? How can the "think small" perspective affect downtown planning?

At the conference, participants discuss how "planning for people" could enhance downtown--"everybody's neighborhood"--as well as residential neighborhoods. Neal Peirce described one effort:

Project for Public Spaces, a New York organization, believes it is possible to plan for streets and plazas and parks in a people-sensitive way. Their first project involved 27 blocks of the most intense activity on Park and Fifth Avenues in New York. People think of Fifth Avenue as a great non-stop sea of people. But it isn't. In fact, the traffic lights are set for the convenience of the private cars and taxis, and people are forced to stop and wait at the light almost every block.

With minor shifts in traffic-light timing, the Project found that most of the people could walk up and down Fifth Avenue at a comfortable speed, ending the platooning at the corners and their often intense, painful contact with the traffic. Other ideas included broadening the narrow crosswalks, and planting shade trees along both sides of the street so that three-quarters of the people would not congregate on the shady side of the street on a summer afternoon.

Creative downtown planning of this sort involves rethinking the balance between automobiles, mass transit, and pedestrians. In the new equa-

tion, the most efficient flow of traffic may diminish in importance; scale, character of buildings, pedestrian activity may increase. Access is necessary, but need not dominate the environment, as in a suburban shopping mall. Transportation resources can be very useful in enhancing the downtown area--with minibuses and other innovative transit systems, medians and landscaping, street furniture and well-designed signs, street-management techniques that slow or divert traffic, and so on.

Such ideas are likely to appeal to the newer constituencies in cities who are involved in residential and neighborhood rehabilitation. Are there mechanisms by which a constructive relationship can be worked out between these groups and the downtown constituencies?

Conferees found few precedents for cooperative planning. Frank Colcord, who moderated a workshop on neighborhoods and downtown, reported: "We didn't really identify any classy examples of the business community and their political and bureaucratic partners sitting down with the neighborhoods in the immediate vicinity." The downtown constituency tends to be business oriented, and may view the reactions of nearby neighborhood residents as obstructionist and short-sighted about the need for jobs. Residents may not get wind of an impending project until plans have hardened. Or else, even if a plan was made public at an early time, they might not get seriously interested until they clearly see its impacts--and don't like them. Neighborhood advocates also may have different ideas than business groups about beneficial economic development, and may fear an emphasis on downtowns will erode their newfound effectiveness in city hall.

To create constructive partnerships, the attitudes and perspectives

of all parties need some modification. Citizens need to welcome private-sector investment, since public resources for needed economic development are limited. Officials and investors need to recognize that healthy residential neighborhoods, even in an age of advanced technology and extensive mobility, are essential to a healthy city.

Several suggestions were made at the conference to improve relationships. Residents of neighborhoods near downtown need planning capability and other assistance so they can defend and articulate their legitimate interests against powerful downtown constituency groups. Small-scale planning, which introduces street management techniques and design amenities in adjacent neighborhoods, could be very usefully discussed and planned at early stages in downtown revitalization projects.

C. Kenneth Orski, who at the time of the conference was UMTA's Associate Administrator for Policy and Program Development, observed:

This downtown-versus-neighborhoods conflict seems vaguely reminiscent of the city-versus-suburbs conflict, but it's much more avoidable because we are dealing with the same institutions. The resource allocation mechanisms in this case are the same--that is, the corporate city.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

In Boston if the citizens are aroused and irate, a project is not going to go, whether it's a zoning change, a housing project, or transportation. So citizens have effective means of stopping things. The question is, how do they start things?

Ellen Gordon
Central Transportation
Planning Staff
Boston, Massachusetts

Small-scale transportation planning calls for extensive citizen involvement of a quality not often achieved to date. The role for citizen participation defined in federal transportation regulations, while more clear cut than for many other federal programs, sustains the reactive relationship that has generally characterized citizen participation in transportation planning. The increasing effectiveness of obstruction, bringing projects to a halt, means that both citizens and policymakers need to find alternatives to eleventh hour protests. Achieving a constructive partnership will require both sides to modify their perceptions and behavior. As Ellen Gordon commented at the conference:

Most people who get into participating in housing or transportation, or whatever, think of themselves as active initiators of projects. Most believe that, because they're involved, because their neighborhood cares what happens, they have veto power over projects and. . .they spend a good deal of time fighting over the question of who's running the show.

The operating agency, on the other hand, assumes that such participators are consumers and that the agency's job is to initiate projects, to set the ground rules for how those projects will be studied. Once all that's been done, they try to get people "involved"--which means passing out leaflets, holding meetings, telling people what's going to be and offering them some options. "Would you like a highway, and would you like it underground or above ground? Please tell us what you want."

These two views of citizen participation have clashed with each other. Although there have been terrific reforms, most agency people still view citizens as passive recipients of the plans. They want to make sure that citizens have all kinds of technical assistance so that they can come back and comment on plans; they want to know what the citizens think about the plans; and they even tinker with the plans a little. But, basically, the citizen is a consumer who takes what the agency gives out.

The Need for a Constructive Partnership

Constructive partnership means that bureaucrats must view citizens' involvement as legitimate and citizens must view bureaucrats as something other than enemies. It calls for citizens to be involved early in the process, even at the point when population projections are determined, since these projections are the basis for the transportation "need" that will be discussed as various plans evolve. Many a plan has been discredited in a community when the certainty of an agency's projections has been successfully challenged.

While the need for early involvement is stressed over and over again by people seriously interested in effective citizen participation, it is very difficult to involve people in ongoing cooperative efforts--far more so than organizing them in opposition to a project. Without the call to battle, how do you get citizens involved, how do you keep them involved? Panke Bradley, city council member in Atlanta, asked: "What system of reward do you use? When you ask for people's time and commitment, they usually need to see what the yield is."

One reward, of course, is seeing improvement in one's neighborhood. For this reason, neighborhood transportation issues, discussed at the neighborhood level, are more likely to attract citizen interest than more remote issues, such as long-term transportation planning goals, at meetings convened at the city-wide or regional level.

Officials who want to communicate more effectively with citizen groups will think through the process carefully and go beyond prescribed guidelines to reach the constituency. They will recognize the importance to

a neighborhood of an issue that can be resolved quickly, or, as John Hilpert of the Raleigh, North Carolina, Planning Department suggested, "build in enough small issues to keep people involved and keep them active to maintain their interest between now and when the big payoff in improved transportation comes."

Presentation of issues is very important. Participants at the conference recommended that officials avoid planning jargon, provide clear cut information, be interesting, ensure an open atmosphere, and hold meetings at night. The advice of Steve D'Amico of CENO, Inc., in Providence, Rhode Island, was: "Try to make things as easy as possible for people and as interesting as possible because if people come to a couple of meetings and fall asleep, they're going to go home kind of discouraged."

Communities have found that citizen interest in transportation issues can be most effectively maintained by considering these in the context of other neighborhood issues. Such a multifunctional approach offers residents an opportunity to integrate and coordinate a myriad of programs that affect life at the neighborhood scale, but are too often administered by agencies out of communication with each other. "We have been moving on a charter in Pittsburgh to set up a community advisory board as an official legal arm of the City Government," commented Gabor Kish of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission. "They are going to be primarily advisory councils, dealing with all aspects of the problems in a particular neighborhood and considering how each piece fits in. In other words, each council will discuss transportation as it relates to the other problems in a particular neighborhood." This ap-

proach further provides a mechanism for involving people through the peaks and valleys of working out a transportation plan that may be years in the making.

Citizen involvement early in the process can, of course, mobilize opposition, a result officials may well try to avoid. Yet, especially in small-scale planning, officials may learn from examples where citizens have been involved early, and have assisted constructively in solutions. That is not to say the reactive part does not sometimes play a necessary role. According to Panke Bradley: "The history of citizens' groups that have blocked progress is that governments then structure the planning process differently."

Who Organizes Citizens?

Across the country, neighborhoods vary enormously in their readiness to work out partnership relationships in planning for their communities. Some are very sophisticated, with long track records of involvement; in others, consciousness and capacity to undertake sustained planning efforts are nascent.

The initiative for change, many participants at the conference stressed, must come from residents themselves. "The city can't come in and organize neighborhoods. The citizens have to organize themselves and go to the city," said Ellen Gordon. When the legitimacy and value of citizen involvement are recognized by city officials, however, neighborhood initiatives can be encouraged in a variety of ways. One city official at the conference stated: "I do not feel that government has a place organ-

izing neighborhoods. However, when neighborhoods show either a need or an interest to do this, I am a resource person. I am the first line of cheer-leading. I'm supportive. I meet with them, but I do not do it for them."

The need for aggressive outreach to officials by citizen groups was stressed by Steve D'Amico of CENO:

That means not just calling up a couple of agencies and saying why don't you come to the meeting? It means sitting down with them and developing a list of people that they may be serving that may be interested, sending mailings and calling three or four days before the meeting, and then calling the day of the meeting, offering rides.

Lack of technical expertise has often seemed to pose a barrier against citizen planning. In the words of Peter Ujvagi, a member of the Birmingham Neighborhood Coalition in Toledo, Ohio: "We found that the Traffic Department can come up with many solutions. But the businessmen and residents in the community have a great deal of difficulty in looking at plans and evaluating them technically and making some decisions about what they would like to see in the neighborhood." Ongoing involvement can help to break down some of these barriers, said John Hilpert:

I wasn't surprised about citizens pushing for transit. That's pretty traditional. But the extent of their getting involved in routes and schedules is, I think, very unusual. This is a pretty technical thing done by technicians. They got in there. Because they had already been so educated [in the planning process] they knew the jargon, the language, and they were able to do a good job.

Citizens can find valuable allies in planning offices, mayors' offices, and federal and regional agencies--and among professionals, including officials, who live in the neighborhood. There are local resources that can be effectively tapped for support: law firms for pro bono ser-

vices, local universities for interns and studies, corporate or financial institutions. What these resources are will vary with the city, the neighborhood, and the direction of the effort. Options could be expanded if residents knew more about what other neighborhoods were doing, perhaps in the same way that city officials and professionals contact each other at conferences or through newsletters and word-of-mouth. And editorials in newspapers, reports on television, and publicity for community self-help efforts may nurture a sense of the importance of the "neighborhood" and boost local involvement.

The funds that individuals or community organizations might need to plan effectively or to develop an idea are often modest; sometimes local foundations or wealthy individuals have provided assistance so that communities can hire their own consultants. Although public participation is required under most federal transportation programs, no funds are available to assist citizen groups to defray the costs of planning or other activities related to this participation.* While some groups have succeeded in obtaining funding for specific transportation-related activities, in general citizens have had difficulties in convincing officials at all levels of the need to establish a budget for their involvement.

* An exception is a pilot program under the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration of the U.S. Department of Transportation, which provides financial assistance to groups or individuals who demonstrate need and the ability to make a substantial contribution to NHTSA rulemaking proceedings.

Who Decides?

It seems to me that in the long pull, we've got to force the political discipline of elected officials and the planning and development process to the point where we can affix accountability. You don't elect HUD, you don't elect the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, you do elect the City Council. If they're messing up, you can at least vote them out of office.

Richard Fleming
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Community Planning
and Development
U.S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development

Most participants at the conference seemed to agree that, while citizens must be more meaningfully and constructively involved in transportation and community planning, elected officials should make the final decisions.

In the words of Ellen Gordon:

We elect officials and they do have to be accountable. Citizen groups don't have that element of accountability. In the end, the government has to decide, the mayor has to decide, the city council has to decide. Whoever is given statutory responsibility makes the final decision. Citizen groups would do well not to waste their time quarreling about that.

NEIGHBORHOODS AND GOVERNMENT

Attention to neighborhood-level issues calls for new responses by government, since neighborhoods do not fit comfortably into the existing government structure. Senator Joseph Timilty, chairman of the National Commission on Neighborhoods, told the group, "I don't know of a neighborhood that could survive as a single government entity. Neighborhoods should play a part in deciding their destinies, but should do this in positive ways which also reinforce the health of the overall city."

The City Response

Local governments--cities--are more directly involved in neighborhood-related projects than anyone else. We pave and resurface streets; we put up traffic lights; we create cul-de-sac streets; we build sidewalks; we build parks; we plant trees. We create the character of streets. There is no other level of government constantly marched upon by the outraged citizens. There is no one else who is dragged out every night to some citizens' group to face the music.

Leon Eplan,
Former Commissioner of
Budgeting and Planning
Atlanta, Georgia

Across the nation, city halls face the neighborhood movement with a certain ambivalence. On one hand, as mentioned above, many mayors see the movement with foreboding, in light of the volatile 1960s. On the other, there are some mayors and other elected officials, as well as bureaucrats, who were once involved in neighborhood organizations and continue to be sympathetic to neighborhood goals. Still other city officials have learned that community involvement can help planners do their job, or can offer a source of needed, untapped energy for problem solving. And some have found they have to respond because the old relationships no longer work. "I have seen bureaucrats become very flexible and innovative," stated Panke Bradley of Atlanta. "They can't proceed in the old way. That's the motivating factor in starting over or treating other projects that are coming down the pipeline in a different fashion."

A number of models are emerging to fit the neighborhood into city planning and decision making.

In Atlanta, neighborhood activists have achieved sufficient clout to

gain 6 out of 18 council seats. The council has made changes in the city charter, giving neighborhoods a place within the planning and budgeting structure of government. Neighborhoods adjacent to new subway stations have been actively involved in planning and zoning changes.

The city of Seattle has an office of planners that works with neighborhoods, many of which are interested in diverters and other street-management schemes (\$200,000 from community development funds has been allocated for this purpose). In a surprise vote in November 1977, a dark-horse candidate, Charles Royer, running on a strong pro-neighborhood plank, became Seattle's mayor.

John Hilpert of the Raleigh, North Carolina, Planning Department described that city's model as follows:

We divided the whole city into 18 communities, about 7,000 people apiece--upper income, middle income, lower income. They're all in the process. It's a two-tier system. There are 18 neighborhood task forcesWhoever comes in the door is automatically a member of the task force. An elected chairperson from each task force sits on a city-wide citizens' advisory council. That term sounds very conservative, a phony citizens' group. But what happens with this two-tier system is that neighborhood groups deal with purely neighborhood local issues. If there is anything which transcends neighborhood groups, they get together and hassle it out at the advisory council level. It works.

There are other ways local governments can respond to and assist neighborhoods. One method was described by Lawrence Reich, Director of Planning, Baltimore, Maryland:

We have a group in our department that works directly with the community. Two district planners are assigned to every district to work directly with the community organizations. This turns out in many instances to be a pretty effective device to ascertain how people feel and think in their communities and to bring their ideas into the municipal operations.

Bureaucrats can be helpful. "To complain about the inevitable nature of bureaucracy," Panke Bradley of Atlanta stated, "is not the solution."

Successful community activists often cultivate information sources within the government; bureaucrats may find a creative niche in working with local groups. Some officials, like Raleigh's John Hilpert, are both city planners and community workers: "During the day I wear my hat of transportation planner and help develop professional, official plans. At night, I help citizens develop their own plans. This is kind of fun, and, of course, helps me to understand what I'm trying to do." On the inevitable issue of "selling out," Hilpert commented:

It's true that government co-opts citizens and gets them into phony committees, but it's just as true that citizens, if they're determined, can co-opt bureaucrats. Bureaucrats love to be thanked. There is nothing that gets a person on your side better than if he comes and says one nice word. Write a letter to the mayor, say thank you, what a marvelous person you have working for you. The next time, you will find a new person. I went through that process. I found out I'm incredibly sensitive to strokes. It was beautiful.

There are persistent problems in establishing a working relationship between city and neighborhood: whose voice to listen to, whether to allocate limited human resources and funds equally or in relation to need, and how to deal with inevitable political conflicts. Even those cities sympathetic to the neighborhood movement may be handicapped by the lack of planning funds. Many argue that federal transportation programs should route planning dollars directly through the city. Such funds now come through the state or region, and cities may fare badly in competition with their suburban counterparts.

Leon Eplan suggested the federal government could strengthen the capacity of cities to address neighborhood transportation issues by:

1. granting planning funds directly to cities to analyze neighborhood proposals;
2. earmarking funds to cities for malls and bikeways, for example, because although these uses are eligible, cities may have difficulty getting funds;
3. providing funds with assurances of long-term commitments;
4. strengthening the joint funding potential which combines the resources of several agencies in supporting projects.

Because of their custom-designed nature, neighborhood transit solutions may require community help in implementation as well as planning, said Lawrence Reich:

Perhaps the direction that we ought to search for is one which involves a partnership with the community, both in the making of plans and their implementation. Perhaps we ought to look to the possibility of developing contractual relationships with community organizations to carry out and implement certain aspects of what we want to happen. Perhaps we can provide neighborhoods with funds to do certain maintenance jobs, to develop smaller transportation systems so people can get around the neighborhoods in a manner that is impossible today.

The new transportation ideas, although small in scale, often cut across the responsibilities of several city departments, leading to the kind of experience related by a Chicago resident:

We are a coalition of seven neighborhoods which has worked out a traffic plan. Six department heads are involved: one lights the street, one cleans the street, one polices the street, one moves traffic, another fixes the street, and so on. We are finally getting all six in one room to talk about the plan.

The proliferation of demands which must be addressed by a number of agencies can lead to bureaucratic reorganization which "puts it all together" in an "umbrella" or "super agency," like the one that Douglas Schneider

directs in Washington, D.C.:

We organized our Department to get everything together under one agency. This is manageable on the scale of a city the size of the District of Columbia. We talked about creating a super Transportation Policy Board to do all those things and tell the departments to go to do them. But nothing happens this way. Take the handicapped problem. This problem is one of design and of construction. You have to involve handicapped people to find out what their problems are. You have to speak to the traffic engineers. You have to have parking people because people park in the way of the ramps, and you have to have mass transit people. You have to sit these people down together and give them all assignments and deadlines. Otherwise, if they all go back to their offices and don't feel like doing it--and many times they don't--the only way you can make them move is to have the ability to fire them.

But for neighborhood groups, with small-scale concerns, there can be a danger in the layers of bureaucracy inherent in super agencies. "What we did in creating a super agency in Maryland [the Department of Transportation]," said Lawrence Reich, "was to make it almost impossible for certain decisions to be made because they had to go all the way through this hierarchy to get to the top man up there who did not have enough time to look at all the ramifications. I think the same thing can very easily happen in a city."

Closer coordination between planning, community development, land-use policies, and transportation cannot be ensured by consolidation alone, and various other arrangements are evolving. In Seattle, transportation planners are assigned to the Mayor's Office of Policy Planning, although they remain formally attached to the transportation department. In St. Louis, high-level meetings are regularly held between the Streets Department and the Community Development Department. Streets Department Director Wilson commented:

It is really difficult to create an entity in the city that will take care of all transportation issues within the city because there are so many others involved. What can be done at the minimum is to centralize decision-making about planning and policy with regard to transportation in the city in one place.

The Regional and State Response

Transportation is, of course, more than a community or city problem. Many issues must be addressed at the regional or federal level. For example, pointed out Carl Westmoreland, Director of Madisonville Housing Services in Cincinnati:

I am an inner-city person who watches his neighbors unable to move about in one of the major cities of America, finding ourselves victims of a system of apartheid, where we live in one part of the city, and the jobs for which we are qualified are in other parts of the metropolitan area, no longer within the city limits of Cincinnati.

Environmental quality also poses transportation-related issues that must be tackled at a level above local government--for example, sprawl, energy use, pollution, industrial siting, housing equity, and so on. One conference participant recounted:

In the San Francisco Bay Area, we've considered air quality and a solid waste plan, and have produced an environmental management plan. In addition, a task force has undertaken a pilot project to come up with an industrial siting plan for the area. When it gets down to really attaining clean air standards, in the long term, it looks as though the only way is through land-use controls and development controls. That is being very hotly discussed now among the local governments. We probably will have to get into direct source control and, quite likely, will have to say how close a worker lives to his job and what his transportation mode will be.

Clearly, there are many reasons why federal policy has mandated regional coordination and comprehensive metropolitan planning of transportation policies. The same policies that stress the regional nature of transportation planning to achieve areawide efficiency can, however, operate to stifle innovation and creativity, and make more complicated, and therefore expensive, alternatives that might otherwise be simple.

Jitneys and other neighborhood services responsive to need, for example, were regulated out of business in the 1940s and 1950s. Exercising their relatively new monopoly over public carriers on public streets, regional authorities have discouraged entrepreneurs from trying out services that the former believe are too costly to operate or would attract persons using existing public transportation. A neighborhood that wants to slow through traffic, or put diverters on a local thoroughfare, may find the roadway is part of an urban system that is governed by state standards for traffic flow, maintenance, and so forth. There are procedures by which the public can influence these decisions, but they often seem time consuming, remote, and not very promising. Peter Ujvagi told the conference of some of the problems in the Toledo area:

Recently, the county, city residents, and suburban residents voted a tax to put together a regional transportation program. It's been doing a very efficient job, particularly in expanding services farther out to suburban areas. Less and less of the transportation has been focused in the city neighborhoods.

Meanwhile, our neighborhoods are into revitalization activities --housing, new social services, redevelopment of business strips. My neighborhood has an UMTA grant providing staff to help us get some of the technical facts and statistics we are going to need to negotiate with the regional transportation authority about some of these neighborhood transportation problems.

We have leveraged around \$10 million into an area of about 16,000 people. We find that transportation is becoming very important. How do we get people moved in the neighborhood? How do we get people to the mental health center that has just been opened, the community center in Toledo? If a senior citizen in my neighborhood wants to go to the hot lunch program at the East Toledo Family Center, it takes her an hour and a half. She has to transfer on the bus to get to East Toledo Center. So, we are now taking another step in this whole question of transportation. We're trying to come up with alternative routes around the neighborhood for heavy truck traffic. And, we're asking, whom should public transportation serve?

Our regional transportation authority is very threatened by all this. The director came to our last meeting and said, "You are taking over our job." We said, "Not at all." We do not want to set up a separate service. We would like to try to convince the regional transportation authority to do this kind of work.

In some ways, the states' role with respect to neighborhoods poses a similar dilemma. States have not generally been viewed as particularly inclined to policies that favor cities. With some significant exceptions, state departments of transportation are viewed as highway oriented, fighting off proposals to use transportation funds for mass transit or other purposes. In the view of Leon Eplan, neighborhoods and small-scale projects seem to pose a remote set of issues for states:

The states are not really interested in neighborhood-related projects. Most non-urban states, which are most states, simply want to build new roads. We can talk about the urban systems funds being eligible, but if you try to put those urban funds on most projects in Georgia, you're going to be laughed out of the board room. Transportation system management proposals are often unfunded. There are rules set up specifically to fight neighborhood-related projects.

There is, however, a range of land-use and tax powers that states could wield to promote urban and neighborhood revitalization. State involvement could be an important link in system-wide accountability; states could foster

innovations unlikely to be funded elsewhere. Minnesota, for example, has appropriated \$500 million for paratransit experiments. An important aspect of this action is that the experimental funds are not bound by the same restrictions as federal funds.

The Federal Response

At the White House Conference on Balanced Growth and Economic Development, I asked participants at a workshop to give their sense of the most serious and pressing problems the country faced in the field of growth and development. Overwhelmingly, they indicated the federal government--federal intrusiveness, suffocating federal policies, federal paper work--was the most serious problem facing the country.

A curious characteristic, however, was a very sympathetic and supportive attitude on the part of the same people toward the solutions of particular problems and the use of federal programs and federal instruments to solve particular problems when confronted with the details of various issues.

William K. Reilly
President
The Conservation Foundation

Several perceptions shape the current debate over the appropriate leadership role for the federal government vis-a-vis cities and neighborhoods. One is that the most positive changes for decades in American cities have occurred largely without federal assistance. Another is that many now have scaled down their expectations of what the federal government can achieve through intervention in a problem. As Geno Baroni, HUD Assistant Secretary told the group: "I think we make mistakes when we ask government to solve all our problems and I think the government makes mistakes when it pretends to have all the power to do so." A third is that persistent fiscal problems will severely constrain new dollar programs from Washington for some time.

These themes were evident in the conference's deliberations over how the federal government should respond to the neighborhood movement.

The dialogue did not--surprisingly, some participants said--focus on demands for massive infusions of dollars to neighborhood groups. Neither was there a feeling that the federal government should simply stand aside. Overall, the questions and answers indicated an awareness of the complex nature of urban policies, the limits of federal resources, the opportunities opened by a sensitivity to the small scale, and the need to explore new relationships among all levels of government. As C. Kenneth Orski stated:

While funding is obviously part of the equation, we must consider the totality of resources--financial, human, technical, organizational--that can be brought to bear on the issue of transportation and neighborhood preservation--the kind of measures that bring civility to urban areas.

Small-scale transportation planning is not supported by any earmarked federal program in the Department of Transportation or in any other agency. Resources for certain small projects are allowable under various DOT program titles, and there are several limited demonstration programs. But, in general, small-scale initiatives lack the direction, technical assistance, planning funds, and program visibility that come with an earmarked, federally funded effort. Resources from a range of federal and local programs besides transportation--community development, economic development, arts--can be tapped, sometimes in tandem with private sources. Packaging has, to a considerable extent, depended on variations in receptivity by local, regional, or federal officials to particular ideas, as well as on the imagination and resourcefulness of the advocates of any particular effort.

At the conference, federal officials representing several agencies discussed how their departments' programs and resources could relate to neighborhoods and transportation planning. UMTA Administrator Richard S. Page's remarks appear in the Preface to this report. Deputy Assistant Secretary Richard Fleming of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development explained his agency's efforts to ensure that, in all its actions, there is a sympathetic perspective toward cities and neighborhoods. "If we had the forethought to realize the implications of our actions in the past, for example, running expressways through the very neighborhoods we were trying to revitalize, we wouldn't be starting at the point we are today," he stated. The department is committed to providing adequate and flexible program resources, and to increasing the capacity of local officials to develop, package, and manage projects. By way of example, Fleming described the newest program in HUD, the Urban Development Action Grant, as "a highly flexible program, targeted to need, specifically designed to leverage the public investment and to respond to unique economic development opportunities in the cities."

"That program," said Fleming, "will be directly contingent on HUD's capacity to administer it, and on the city government's capacity to administer a program and to put packages together--whether they be neighborhood development projects, downtown projects, or complex, mass transit-related improvements."

The relevant programs of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) of the U.S. Department of Transportation were discussed by Ali Sevin of the Urban Planning Division. Sevin spoke mainly of the urban systems pro-

gram, which has approximately \$1.5 billion in unspent funds. This money can be spent, at the initiative of local areas, for any transportation purpose--including pedestrian improvements, auto-free zones, bikeways, and so on--on designated major routes in urbanized areas. The money is allocated from the federal government on a 70/30 matching basis. Other FHWA funds are available for transportation system management (TSM) projects; eligible activities include ride-sharing, bikeways, and auto-restricted zones.

John Hansel, Special Assistant for the Environment in the Economic Development Administration (EDA), U.S. Department of Commerce, told the group that, while his agency's interest in transportation was not "direct," EDA could support specific urban projects that include transportation improvements directed toward commercial and industrial revitalization--that is, creating more and better jobs. In most cases, a project has to be in an eligible area, based on high unemployment rates and low income levels. Because of recent economic conditions, he added, a majority of cities and counties would qualify.

The National Endowment for the Arts has given a number of small grants to transportation-related projects in cities. Robert McNulty, former Assistant Director of its Architecture, Planning, and Design division, explaining NEA's grant programs through which innovative projects have been supported, stated, "We all live in neighborhoods. Our environment shapes how we view ourselves and our cities and even our attitudes toward government and its leaders. Quality of life and environmental design are important to everyone--whether they live in an upper-income district or a low-income district." The "essence" of NEA's grant program, he added, is its "high risk, small funding, and flexibility."

The dialogue often indicated a gap in perceptions of federal officials, on one hand, and local officials and citizens, on the other, about the ease of access to some of the programs and the clarity of their rules and regulations. Citizens can appear ill-informed to officials familiar with the section numbers and complex language defining eligibility; from the grass-roots level, government regulations that pose barriers can seem senseless and frustrating. One problem is that citizens are getting their information about federal programs from many sources and levels of bureaucracy, which can lead to misinformation and misinterpretations. A participant posed the problem this way:

Do we need more direct communication [with the federal government] rather than going through regional, state and local offices, where we run into pre-set ideas about our cities and our regions? Such direct communication may be very necessary.

Another local problem is that the same project may need to be described one way if it is a request for, say, a mall to be funded by UMTA; or another way, if it is to be funded by FHWA; and yet another way if EDA gets involved. Each agency may want to take the lead. For small-scale projects, paperwork may seem too cumbersome for the city to bother, and beyond the capability of a neighborhood group to package.

Problems associated with the ease of using federal programs are especially important to address in view of the current government emphasis on meshing and targeting programs from different agencies. While federal officials with related responsibilities are communicating with each other more than used to be the case, local initiative is still very important in making needed connections among programs. It is important to lower the barriers,

whether perceived or real, to such local efforts.

ENCOURAGING INNOVATION AND PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

I'd like to see programs work through established levels of governments and established agencies so that you can have some public accountability of how the money is spent. On the other hand, some of the most ingenious planning is done by the offbeat groups that aren't in the official channels. How do you balance that? I don't know.

Neal Peirce

Small-scale ideas, such as those presented in the case studies in Part II and earlier in this conference report, have often been initially impeded by local bureaucracies. The ideas may not be among official priorities, or may conflict with them, or else may have not been adequately articulated or backed up with technical data. Participants discussed this dilemma throughout the conference.

One response that they considered involves direct funding of neighborhood groups to increase their capacity to plan, contract for technical advice, and elaborate ideas at least to the point where these can be adequately considered by decision makers. The image of the 1960s, which persists today, that neighborhood groups are hostile and obstructive, makes such funding of neighborhood groups a very sensitive subject. The limited funds authorized for self-help activities by local organizations under federal programs require the mayor's approval.

Most participants at the conference seemed to agree with this requirement for mayoral consent, which fixes greater accountability at the city level. Despite the admitted inadequacies in how cities respond to

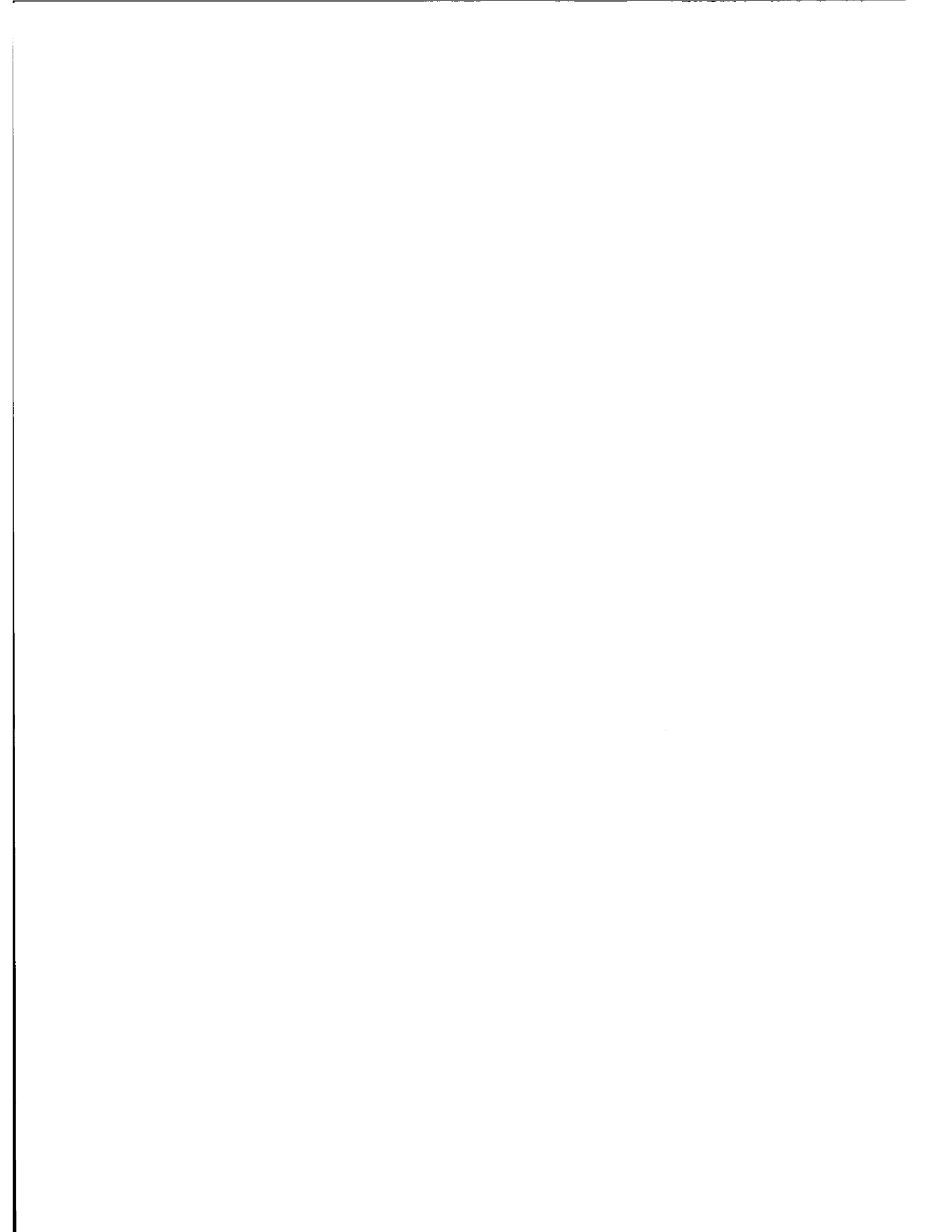
neighborhood ideas and issues, it was said, in the long run, such a requirement forces both city officials and residents into dialogue and accommodation. Specific cities where this had occurred, with positive results, were held out as models. Richard Fleming of HUD suggested:

If you give the system enough focus and you hold people's feet to the fire in the elective process, at some point in time, the good ideas and innovations from the grass roots are going to begin to converge with the political process, and some of the people that start in that process, at the non-elected level, gain credibility by taking that idea up to the point of becoming elected officials.

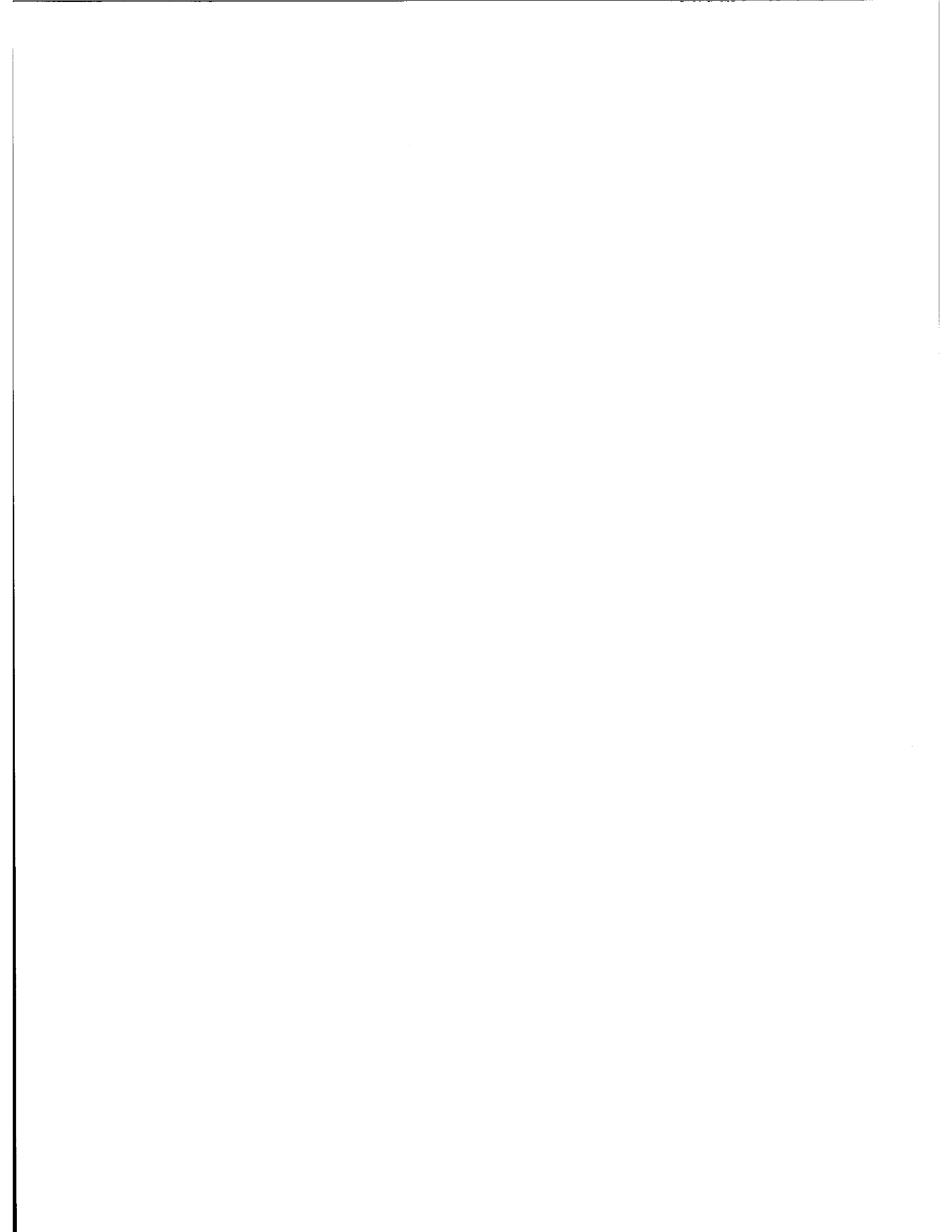
Neighborhood groups are not likely to be entirely happy with this approach, nor does it entirely respond to the question of how to energize and increase the flow upward of good ideas and innovation from the grass roots to the planning and political processes of the city. The issue is far more complex than whether to re-establish direct federal-to-local relationships in the mode of the 1960s--an unlikely event in any case. It has to do with building, into all levels of government policies and processes, the responsiveness to diversity, human scale, and people so often lacking in the past. This will require changes in attitudes, as well as policies and processes.

In the words of Jay Brodie, Commissioner of Housing and Community Development in Baltimore:

Probably in every city all the time, as a normal function of city government, people should be questioning things--whether expressways or mass transit, for example, are really going to be compatible with the scale and fabric and character of the city. These are tough questions to ask, but I think in the end we are going to come out much better for the aggravation and agony of asking them.



PART II



CASE STUDIES:
METHODOLOGY AND OVERVIEW

The three case studies in this section were selected following a nationwide survey of innovative, low-cost transportation strategies in more than 60 cities. Some of the efforts considered had been identified in earlier research by The Conservation Foundation and in a survey by the Urban Consortium of Public Technology, Inc.; others were suggested by public officials, planners, researchers, and community residents contacted during the initial survey phase of this project.

Staff members subsequently conducted telephone interviews with several representatives of citizen groups and local officials in 17 cities where transportation improvements, in addition to being low-cost and innovative, appeared to have one or more of the following characteristics: (1) the improvement was not an isolated effort, but integrated into an overall community revitalization strategy; (2) the strategy involved a partnership of the public and private sectors, including residents and commercial interests, in a participatory process; (3) the renewal plan, whether in a residential neighborhood or a commercial area, did not envision total redevelopment, but rather was designed to conserve, as much as possible, the existing buildings, scale, and integrity of the area while encouraging re-investment and an enhanced environment.

Examples of transportation projects in the following areas were selected for closer examination: the South End in Boston, the Central West End in St. Louis, and Pike Place Market Historic District in Seattle (each discussed in the case studies that follow); the Woodward East neighborhood in Detroit; and several areas in Baltimore, the conference site, which provided an oppor-

tunity for participants to examine first-hand the linkages between transportation planning strategies and the city's widely praised revitalization projects.*

The innovations examined involve an unusual neighborhood tram system, the brainchild of a clergyman who had participated in a long-range planning transportation study in St. Louis; control of automobile traffic through diverters, street narrowings and closings, and barriers, advocated in Boston by citizen groups and in St. Louis by a local transportation official; and new amenities for streets--landscaping, "furniture," more room for pedestrians, pleasant outdoor spaces, and other design features--inspired by a range of sources, including merchants in the Gay Street Market in Baltimore and Pike Place in Seattle. In the latter two examples of commercial revitalization, government involvement has been more direct than in the residential neighborhoods. They are "new generation" examples which deserve attention here because of the coordinated land use and transportation planning in a revitalization strategy as well as the integration of private and public sector resources. The case studies all represent "success stories" insofar as they carried forward innovative ideas to the implementation stage, overcoming formidable obstacles.

* At the conference, field trips were made to: Bolton Hill, a middle-class neighborhood of renovated town houses where revitalization was reinforced by traffic and street-management strategies; the Gay Street Mall, a neighborhood business center in a poor minority neighborhood, where a pedestrian mall was constructed as part of a multifaceted effort to "bring back" economic vitality; Lexington Center, the site of a local controversy over the character of adjacent downtown development accompanying construction of a subway transit station; and the headquarters of the South East Community Organization, a group that was formed in the wake of a successful fight against a highway and is now involved in general efforts to stabilize the community and retain its blue-collar character.

At the conference, three respondents--Dr. Frank Colcord, Professor of Political Science at Tufts University in Boston; Leon Eplan, former Commissioner of Budgeting and Planning in Atlanta; and William Manning, Transportation Project Director for the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C.--commented on central issues in the case studies.

Manning pointed out that each study described an unusual achievement. In Boston, neighborhood groups had moved beyond opposition to city transportation initiatives to become a positive planning force assisting the city. In St. Louis, privately operated intra-neighborhood electric trams, funded by merchant subscriptions, served special groups, without public subsidy. In Pike Place Market in Seattle, those spearheading revitalization and appropriate transportation planning intended from the start to encourage existing small businesses to remain in the market, rather than give way to chain stores. It is significant that all of these areas have at one time been slated for extensive raze-and-rebuild strategies and are now instead being renewed with an emphasis on rehabilitation.

Eplan emphasized three characteristics of the efforts: they tended to be inspired by citizens, rather than by a government agency; they tended to be innovative, and even custom-designed; and they tended to be small-scale and inexpensive, though most required some public funds.

"A lot of these ideas grew out of the neighborhood organizations or came from people who are not skilled. These people who appear at the [conference] table are not trained as technicians," said Eplan, "but they do begin to see some solutions in their own neighborhoods."

The effort to introduce transportation improvements is likely to be inhibited by a number of technical difficulties as well as bureaucratic ob-

structions. Often, citizens don't know whom to ask or where to go with their idea. As indicated in Part I of this report, for example, a representative of a community organization in one of the nation's largest cities complained of six different departments with jurisdiction over the streets in his neighborhood.

Eplan reported that Atlanta encouraged neighborhood groups to build their own planning capacities, while the city provided technical assistance. Atlanta's annual planning and budgeting process calls for neighborhood review and revision of existing plans, which are then incorporated into the citywide comprehensive plan and linked to budget expenditures.

All three commentators stressed that political and bureaucratic obstacles presented major barriers to innovation, perhaps more than funds. "In the United States," observed Colcord, "we have a highly complicated system of federal government, with fragmented bureaucracies at several different levels and even in the same level A single agency doesn't have the capability to suddenly shift over to another idea because the other idea is often encompassed by some other agency's responsibilities." Bureaucracies, noted Eplan, tend to operate in a mode of standardization and routine. "It's not necessarily that government officials are insensitive. It's just the way the system operates," he said.

Thus, to advance a new idea, existing political and bureaucratic channels often must be circumvented or modified. One successful route has been for citizen leaders to forge informal linkages at receptive points in the governmental structure at the local, state, and even federal level--wherever a sympathetic ear can be found. As indicated in the case studies, initial positive responses often seem to come from the policy level--the mayor's

office or the planning agency--rather than from the operational level. Often there is no consensus about the importance of implementing a particular strategy--for example, one that involves conserving older structures.

The community doesn't usually speak with one voice, either. Changing traffic routing or narrowing streets has different impacts on different residents, for example. Another tension which may arise in the community involves the perception by poorer residents that a neighborhood transportation improvement is an attempt to "gentrify" the neighborhood and will cause their displacement. This became a community issue in St. Louis, for example, when streets were closed in revitalization areas. In Baltimore, The South East Community Organization has been divided about whether to support curtailment of industrial traffic. But low-income residents may also find that restraints on automobiles and trucks in their neighborhoods, and the creation of pedestrian streets and "play-streets," are a positive contribution rather than a threat.

Responding to neighborhoods or small-scale ideas is a new experience for city officials, particularly for those professionally trained to move traffic through the streets quickly or to make decisions in light of conventional cost-benefit calculations. Transportation agencies may find working with the community time-consuming and frustrating, and the competing demands of neighborhoods difficult to weigh. Cooperation with the community, in planning, evaluation, and mediation of problems among different resident groups, as in the South End in Boston, is thus essential.

To integrate local community development and transportation policy, some cities have made institutional modifications. In St. Louis, ad hoc, informal, but regular consultations take place between the transportation and community development departments. In Seattle, a transportation offi-

cial is assigned to the office of policy planning. Often, however, there is no time or money even to plan small-scale efforts, much less fund their implementation.

Although many of the transportation ideas examined in this report are not costly, they usually require some public assistance for planning, testing, and implementation. In the absence of a specific program, funding tends to be ad hoc and opportunistic--sometimes drawing on UMTA funds, more often on Federal Highway Administration funds or community development block grants. Other federal agencies, local general funds, or private foundations are also sources of support.

The regulations, varying requirements, and paperwork of different programs can be frustrating not only in funding, but in planning and implementing transportation improvements, especially in efforts emphasizing smallness of scale, innovation, public participation, and other public and private-sector involvement. Regulations to achieve valid, desirable objectives --safety, decent pay, compensation for accidents--may work against testing or implementing new ideas. This is particularly true for paratransit systems. Designed to provide flexible, short-haul transportation that is responsive to demand, paratransit systems are often hamstrung, for example, by union rules for full-day pay for employees only needed part-time.

Another source of friction is regional, comprehensive transportation planning, which may mean that a neighborhood viewing a street as a community area will discover it is a "regional collector." An assessment of the TSM (Transportation System Management) process undertaken at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology notes that efficiency and amenity often are viewed as "competitors in the TSM process." Efficient economical measures are important to traditional transportation agencies; amenities, reducing neighbor-

hood impacts or introducing designed spaces, are attractive to planners, architects, and environmentalists.* As Eplan noted, there is competition for planning funds, too, since the regional agency determines allocation and often believes it is the most appropriate level to plan for the city and neighborhoods.

Nonetheless, Manning is impressed by the fact that difficult negotiations often provide opportunities for neighborhood groups to establish their presence as a constructive force and become linked in an ongoing way to public agencies. "Public officials should have no problem with this very natural kind of process. The benefits are very real."

* Ralph Gakenheimer and Michael Meyer, "Urban Transportation Planning in Transition: The Rise of Short-Range Planning," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 1978, p. 20.



The South End is a diverse and lively neighborhood close to downtown Boston.
(Photo by Ellen Gordon.)

BOSTON: THE SOUTH END

by

Ellen Harding Gordon

Senior Transportation Planner

Central Transportation Planning Staff

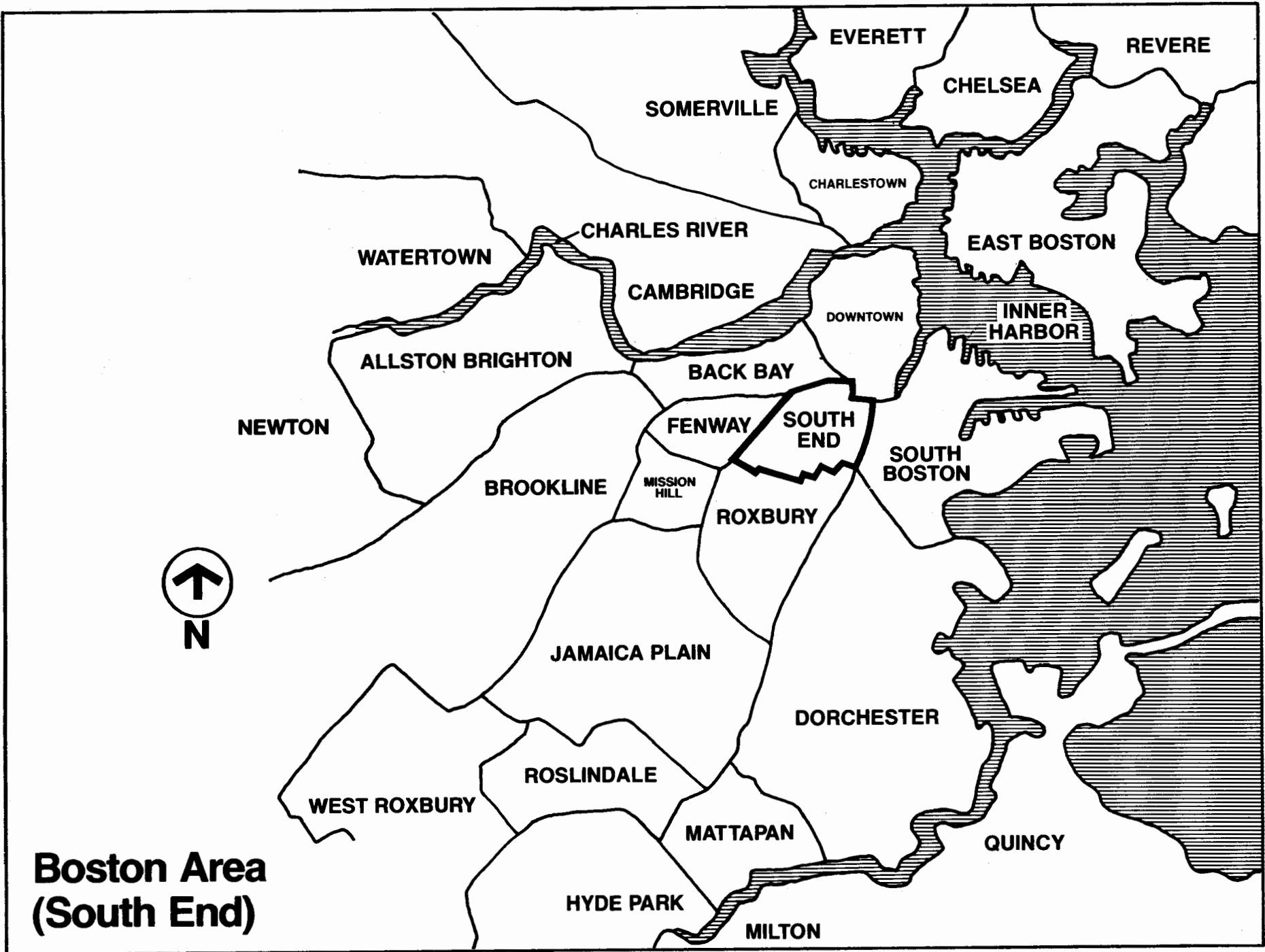
Boston, Massachusetts

Organizing Member

South End Committee on Transportation

1971-77

The architecture of Boston's South End is as homogeneous as the neighborhood's 23,000 residents are diverse. Brick, bowfront houses, built in the 1860s and 1870s on land created by filling the Back Bay Receiving Basin, line the straight streets. Originally planned for Boston's growing middle class, the South End never became fashionable; well-to-do-families preferred Beacon Hill, the Back Bay, or the new "streetcar suburbs" of Jamaica Plain, Roslindale, Hyde Park, and West Roxbury. By the turn of the century, most of the South End's townhouses were converted into apartment buildings or rooming houses in which Boston's Irish, Lebanese, Chinese, black, and West Indian immigrants have lived. Although each of these groups tended to cluster in a distinct area, the neighborhood's social life has been quite integrated through most of the 20th century. Racial and religious tolerance is considered an important element of the South End's heritage.



**Boston Area
(South End)**

From 1920 until about 1940, the South End was best known for its night life. Many popular jazz musicians performed in its fashionable bars and hotels. With World War II, the merriment ended, and South End bars became what they remain today--unattractive nuisances.

Though incomes of South End residents were never high, following World War II and the rush to the suburbs, the neighborhood became one of Boston's poorest. Housing suffered from bad maintenance and overcrowding. Waves of new residents arrived from the South and Puerto Rico. The neighborhood was a perfect candidate for urban renewal.

Between 1963 and 1965, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), with the help of some residents, planned the renewal of the South End; this included restoration of many buildings and demolition of others. Industrial and commercial construction was projected, along with rebuilt streets, sidewalks, and parks. New transportation facilities were also planned. The promise of restoration, coupled with the attraction of brick housing and bargain prices, began to attract young white professionals to the neighborhood.

THE TRANSPORTATION CONTEXT

The South End's boundaries extend below Massachusetts Avenue on the south, to the Penn Central Railroad tracks on the west, to the Massachusetts Turnpike on the north, and to Albany Street and the Southeast Expressway on the east. (See South End Boston map.)

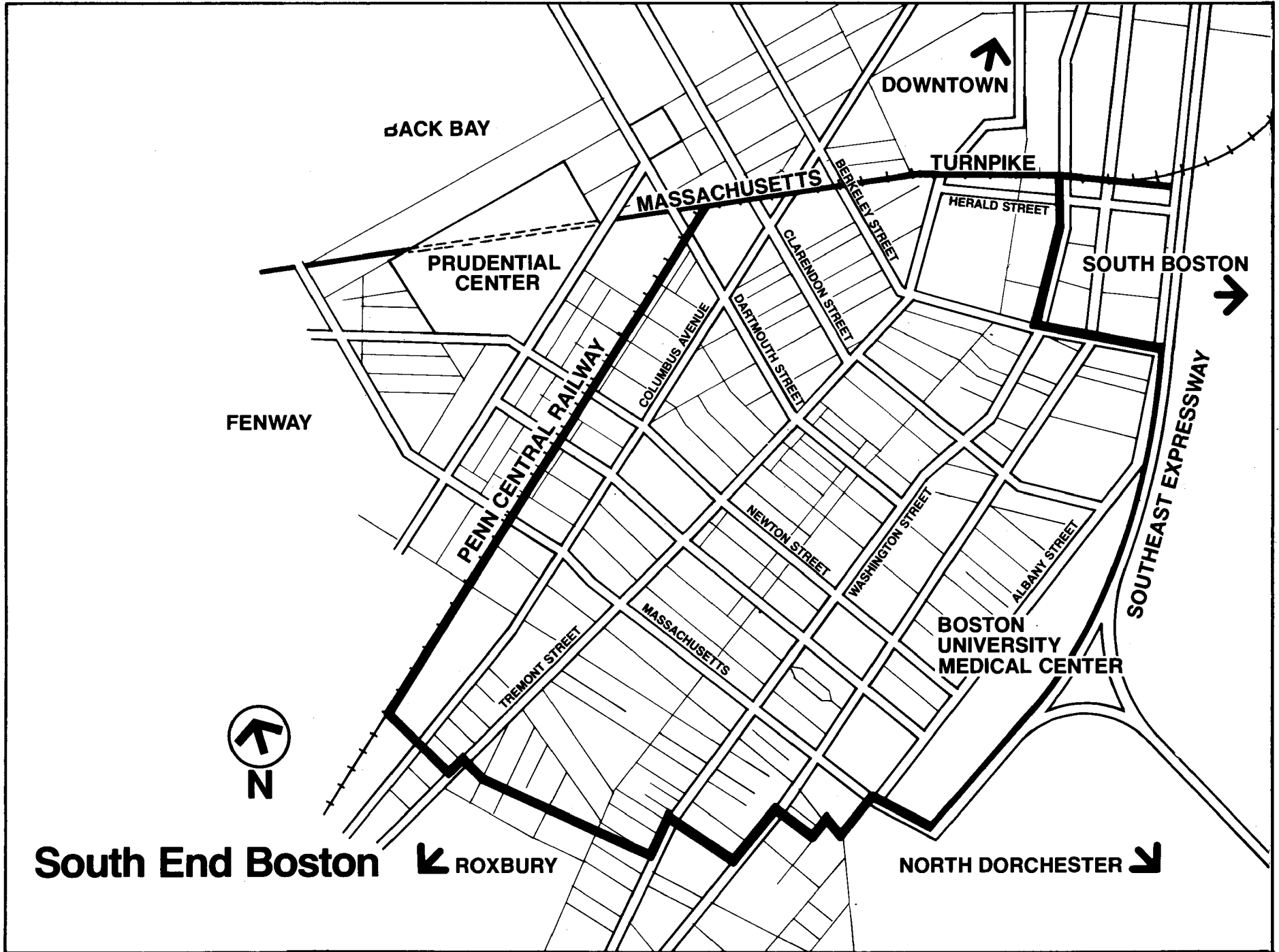
Arterial Streets (North/South Direction)

City engineers laid out South End streets in the mid-19th century when most commuters traveled to downtown Boston by horsecar. Except for Tremont and Washington Streets, main thoroughfares in the South End are narrow and lined with rowhouses a short distance from traffic lanes. To reduce noise from horses and carriages, Columbus Avenue was originally paved with wooden blocks.

Other arterial streets in the South End are Shawmut Avenue, Harrison Avenue, and the primarily commercial and industrial Albany Street. They have always carried heavy traffic into adjacent downtown Boston--first by streetcar, then by automobile, truck, and bus. Noise, pollution, and vibrations from heavy traffic for years have threatened the quality of life in the neighborhood and the structural soundness of its housing.

In the 1930s, Columbus Avenue, once the South End's most elegant street, was widened to accommodate two extra lanes of traffic. All of its mature trees were destroyed and its sidewalks narrowed. For the benefit of the automobile, a lovely green connector between the neighborhood and downtown was transformed into one of Boston's ugliest streets.

Before the turn of the century, Washington Street contained beautiful parks, stately trees, and some of the finest buildings in the South End. Perpetual darkness descended when the Boston Elevated Railway Company built an El above the street to connect Essex Station and Forest Hills in Jamaica Plain. Thousands of passengers still use this route every day to travel from southern neighborhoods and towns to downtown Boston and beyond. South End residents, however, are poorly served by the El. There are two stops at the edges of the neighborhood--at Dover (now East



South End Boston

ROXBURY

NORTH DORCHESTER

BACK BAY

DOWNTOWN

TURNPIKE

MASSACHUSETTS

PRUDENTIAL CENTER

SOUTH BOSTON

FENWAY

PENN CENTRAL RAILWAY

BOSTON UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER

SOUTHEAST EXPRESSWAY

Berkeley) and Northampton. Neither is easily accessible for most South Enders.

Trolleys along arterial streets also tended to be noisy, but they served the South End's transportation needs. When some of the tracks were removed to make room for more cars and trucks, residents had to take buses, which ran less frequently--and no faster than traffic jams allowed. South Enders found it more difficult and time consuming to reach the downtown and most recreational areas than did commuters living 10 to 20 miles away.

As suburban growth accelerated in the early 1960s, more cars and trucks used South End streets to travel between Boston's central business district and residential areas (the streetcar suburbs and other towns, including Quincy, Milton, Braintree, Dedham, Brookline, Westwood, and Norwood). To accommodate more traffic, arterial streets were widened, sidewalks narrowed, and trees removed or allowed to die.

Crosstown Streets (East/West Direction)

Traffic demand "crosstown" was fairly light during the 19th century. Commuters to the Back Bay and beyond into Cambridge could be accommodated by five crosstown streets with bridges over the Penn Central Railroad right-of-way: Massachusetts Avenue, West Newton Street, Dartmouth Street, Clarendon Street, and Dover Street (now known as East Berkeley Street). Except for Massachusetts Avenue, which is wide and able to carry heavy traffic (and one other street which is nonresidential), the crosstown streets are narrow--typically 28 to 33 feet--and lined with rowhouses.

In the late 1950s, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works constructed a six-lane Southeast Expressway connecting Quincy, Milton, and Braintree with downtown Boston. The Expressway parallels Albany Street along the eastern edge of the South End, with access points at East Berkeley Street and Massachusetts Avenue. To travel from nearby Back Bay to the Southeast Expressway, cars must use local South End streets. Traffic problems increased as large Back Bay office and apartment complexes were built.

In the late 1960s, the Prudential Center complex, with its large parking garages, replaced the old railroad yards between Boylston Street and Huntington Avenue in the Back Bay, increasing traffic on South End streets. The problem was aggravated by thousands of additional cars when the John Hancock Tower garage opened in the 1970s. Every evening, traffic officers at downtown commercial complexes direct streams of commuters--mostly one to a car--onto West Newton and Clarendon Streets.

The South End's other crosstown streets do not connect with adjacent neighborhoods, and, therefore, generally have escaped the destructive impacts of heavy traffic. The home restoration boom among young professionals was concentrated, for the most part, on these quiet side streets --West Canton, West Brookline, Pembroke, Rutland Square, Union Park, Upton, and others.

The South End Bypass and the TOPICS Plan

To accommodate increased traffic on South End streets, the city of Boston's Traffic and Parking Department decided in the 1960s to widen and "channelize" East Berkeley, Tremont, and Washington by adding concrete dividers

down the middle of each. The city and the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) planned to build a South End Bypass along the Penn Central right-of-way. Local crosstown streets would serve as "off" and "on" ramps. To ensure that commuter traffic would not spill onto streets that had been designated "residential," openings in the concrete dividers along Washington and Tremont would occur only at those crosstown streets functioning as ramps.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development refused to make urban-renewal money available for the bypass. The City of Boston nonetheless proposed to go ahead with the project on its own. Other local street improvements and channelizations were to be funded under the federal Traffic Operations Improvements for Capacity and Safety (TOPICS) program. Under that program, now known as Urban Systems, the federal government pays 70 percent of the costs and the state picks up 30 percent. All plans must be reviewed at both the state and federal levels.

THE SOUTH END COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION

By 1969, the Boston Redevelopment Authority was planning to implement the bypass and local street improvements to be funded under the TOPICS program. At the same time, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works had acquired and cleared much of the land for a Southwest Expressway and Inner Belt through Roxbury. Massachusetts had had plans for a Southwest Expressway, to connect with Interstate Route 95 at Route 128 outside Boston, since 1948. It was to be routed through an important wetlands area in Milton and then through the Boston neighborhoods of Hyde Park, Roslindale, Jamaica Plain, and Roxbury. In Lower Roxbury, the expressway would connect to the

Southeast Expressway via an Inner Belt road which would extend westward to Cambridge and Somerville after passing through the Back Bay Fens.

Growth of the Antihighway Campaign

Opposition to the Southwest Expressway, the South End Bypass, and the TOPICS-funded project developed during the late 1960s, not only in the South End but in many other communities. Residents near the PennCentral tracks, the proposed location of the bypass, saw sound structures demolished and low-income residents evicted to create a highway that would bring thousands of cars from other streets and neighborhoods into their own. The Tubman Area Planning Council, a South End citizens' group, invited representatives of Urban Planning Aid, a federally funded research organization, to speak to them about impacts of highways on urban neighborhoods and about ways to discourage new highways.

Members of the Tubman council lobbied city officials, including Barnet Frank, then an adviser to Mayor Kevin H. White and now a state representative. They also looked for ways to involve other South End organizations and attended meetings with such groups as Operation Stop in Roxbury and the Suburban Southwest Transportation Committee, which was concerned with the impact of the Southwest Expressway on the Fowl Meadow in Milton and on the Neponset River.

Responding to intense pressure from urban and suburban environmental groups, Governor Francis Sargent in February 1970 declared a moratorium on highway building inside Route 128 and ordered a comprehensive study of regional transportation needs, the Boston Transportation Planning Review (BTPR).

Two months later, Mayor White told people in the vicinity of the bypass that it would never be built. Thereafter, the city took a leading role in opposing transportation facilities that would increase local traffic. The mayor's transportation adviser, Fred Salvucci (later Secretary of Transportation and Construction for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts), became a leader in the Greater Boston Committee on the Transportation Crisis, a coalition of antihighway groups.

In early 1971, residents of some South End crosstown streets discovered what the TOPICS program meant. During discussions about new lighting, it was noted that pedestrian-scaled lights would go on streets defined as residential, while tall highway lights were planned for "arterial" and "collector" streets. Residents of West Newton and Dartmouth learned that their streets, indistinguishable from their neighbors' in size and character of housing, were not categorized as "residential" because of their importance for automobile circulation. Later in 1971, city crews installed new lights on Tremont Street--in the middle of the sidewalk, where the curb would be after the streets was widened.

As the BTPR began to review transportation needs in the Boston metropolitan region, two organizers of the South End Bypass opposition held a public meeting, in September 1971, to inform residents about the opportunity to influence planning in the BTPR. They also hoped to inform people of the impacts of the Southwest Expressway and Inner Belt* on the South End and to warn them about the effects of TOPICS planning.

* Opposition from Cambridge and the Back Bay-Fenway area had forced cancellation of the portion of the Inner Belt west of Huntington Avenue. The easterly segment, connecting the Southwest Expressway with the Southeast Expressway through Lower Roxbury, was still being considered.

Neither this first meeting nor subsequent ones were large, but most of the streets on which the new facilities would have an impact were represented, as were a number of South End organizations, such as the United South End Settlements and the South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC--the citizens' group elected by South Enders to watch over the BRA's urban-renewal planning). Efforts to include representatives from public housing projects were not wholly successful; the most active participants in the meetings were not the poorest. Nonetheless, support for the anti-highway movement was broad based.

The Ad Hoc South End Committee on Transportation (SECOT) met frequently in 1971 and 1972 to acquaint its members and the community with technical and social aspects of transportation planning. SECOT had neither a formal constitution nor elected officers; anyone willing to work hard could find some way to help. Several policy assumptions guided the committee's planning and organizing:

1. There would be no open warfare between neighborhoods or sections of neighborhoods. Disagreements were to be worked out quietly, so that a united front could be presented to city and state representatives. This would prevent a "divide and conquer" strategy.
2. No neighborhood or street should have to bear a disproportionate share of the transportation burden. In cases where inequities could not be avoided, streets with heavy traffic should receive special attention and amenities.
3. Commuter and truck traffic should be routed to nonresidential streets.
4. Sympathetic public officials should be identified and supported.

5. Public transportation should be promoted as an alternative to automobiles. Because the South End had the lowest rate of car ownership in Boston, improvement of public transportation was a major goal.

Success of the Antihighway Campaign

SECOT's first victory came in 1971, when the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) was persuaded to extend the South End's major bus route along Tremont Street into the heart of the downtown retail center. Later, SECOT Members helped parents in Boston's public Cathedral Housing Project get a traffic light at a dangerous intersection on Washington Street. Also during 1971, SECOT members joined with antihighway groups from 11 other communities in an effort to persuade Governor Sargent not to build the Southwest Expressway. Proponents of the expressway argued that the commonwealth had already taken hundreds of acres of land in old urban neighborhoods. It was, therefore, important for SECOT to provide public officials with viable and fairly specific land-use alternatives. To this end, SECOT members worked with Operation Stop in Roxbury to produce a development plan for the cleared land in Lower Roxbury, calling for housing, commercial and open space, and transit improvements.

During the summer of 1972, SECOT received money from SEPAC* to hire and supervise a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology specializing in transportation planning. This resulted in a report called

* SEPAC was funded by HUD and had, in addition to funds for administration, some discretionary money.

the South End Traffic and Transit Plan, a review of transportation problems in the South End, with recommendations and alternatives. Empty maps and sheets for community comments were provided at the end of the report, which was published in the SEPAC newsletter and distributed in the South End. The plan proposed:

- narrowing and rebuilding Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street;
- improving local bus routes;
- building a light rail transit system to replace the E1;
- building a new Orange Line Transit;
- changing directions on a number of narrow South End streets to discourage commuter traffic.

Later in 1972, while BTPR was finishing its transportation review, members of SECOT presented their plan to each area of the South End and all community-wide organizations. Endorsements for the antihighway position and proposed transportation alternatives were taken to the BTPR hearing, Department of Public Works, the city of Boston, and the governor's office. SECOT was designated to speak for SEPAC at the BTPR public hearing in October 1972. It was also appointed as SEPAC's official transportation committee and authorized to deal with state and local officials in stopping the TOPICS plan for the South End.

At the end of the year, Governor Sargent announced that the Southwest Expressway and Inner Belt would be rejected in favor of a more balanced transportation system. Soon afterwards, Department of Public Works Commissioner Bruce Campbell announced that the South End TOPICS plan would have to be revised before the state could recommend it for general funding.

PLANNING TO MAKE TRANSPORTATION A TOOL OF NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

The antihighway fight successful, serious transportation problems nevertheless remained--too much traffic, inadequate public transportation, and a physically and socially eroded neighborhood. SECOT was faced with the choice of declaring its job done and disbanding, or continuing to work for the kinds of solutions to the South End's transportation problems recommended in the South End Traffic and Transit Plan.

The success of the antihighway movement had enhanced SECOT's reputation; the BTPR process had provided the group with invaluable contacts and friends among state and local officials. But SECOT's most active members tended to be relative newcomers, so there was some resentment among longtime South End residents, many of whom still believed that new highways would solve the neighborhood's problem of blight and congestion. Because SECOT emphasized preservation and aesthetic improvement and was committed to community participation in transportation planning, it received support from otherwise warring factions in the South End. In balance, therefore, it appeared that SECOT's positive approach would stand a good chance of success, both within the community and with outside agencies.

In early 1973, at SECOT's request, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) and the mayor's office reopened the TOPICS planning process, this time as a cooperative effort of SECOT with the BRA, mayor's office, and Traffic and Parking Department. Fred Salvucci, who was responsible for developing TOPICS-type improvements that would be acceptable to the city, state and federal bureaucracies, and to South End residents, distributed a memo to representatives of the BRA and members of SECOT. It set out areas of concern and outlined mutual understandings that should govern the

planning process. The memo endorsed SECOT's goal of rerouting commuter traffic to peripheral and nonresidential streets and distributing other traffic loads according to the "environmental capacity" of local streets.

The memo also:

- agreed that some traffic-reducing direction changes recommended in the Transit and Traffic Plan might be tried experimentally on residential streets;
- disagreed with SECOT about the "mode" of the Washington Street Replacement Service, calling for buses rather than light rail vehicles;
- disagreed with SECOT's goal of reducing commuter traffic on East Berkeley Street and Dartmouth/Dedham/Malden Streets, two major crosstown routes.

The BRA promptly issued a "Statement of Policy" on South End traffic issues, opposing many principles in SECOT's Traffic and Transit Plan as well as the cooperative approach to planning that had evolved during the BTPR study and subsequent SECOT meetings with the city. A major premise of the statement, disputed by SECOT, was that most commuter cars clogging the South End's streets were headed for jobs, stores, and homes within the South End.

SECOT sent a letter of protest to the mayor and followed it with phone calls to Salvucci, who, with the mayor, asked the BRA's Director of Transportation Planning to assume personal responsibility for liaison with the South End. This began a series of biweekly meetings among SECOT, the mayor's office, and the BRA. Representatives of the city's Traffic and Parking Department were invited, but seldom appeared. The meetings

culminated with a revised BRA "Statement of South End Transportation Policy."

Significant areas of agreement appeared. The BRA statement officially submitted to SEPAC on May 15, 1974, defined the planning problem as follows: "Located in a vulnerable gateway location adjacent to the downtown and Back Bay/Ferway areas, the South End serves as a 'doormat' to many people driving cars through its streets, both in crosstown and radial directions on the way to jobs, business, shopping, or recreation. This traffic tends to erode the livability of the South End with noise, air pollution, congestion, and safety hazards, and is, therefore, perhaps the most pressing transportation issue."

The revised BRA statement agreed with SECOT's position on a number of points, but:

--SECOT wanted no more than two moving lanes--one in each direction--on Columbus Avenue. This would restore the street to its pre-1930 width and allow for wider sidewalks and new trees. The BRA statement still recommended four moving lanes on Columbus.

--SECOT wanted to reduce traffic on Dartmouth Street, which was heavily residential and contained two local schools and a new housing tower for the elderly. The BRA hoped to make Dartmouth/Dedham /Malden a major crosstown path.

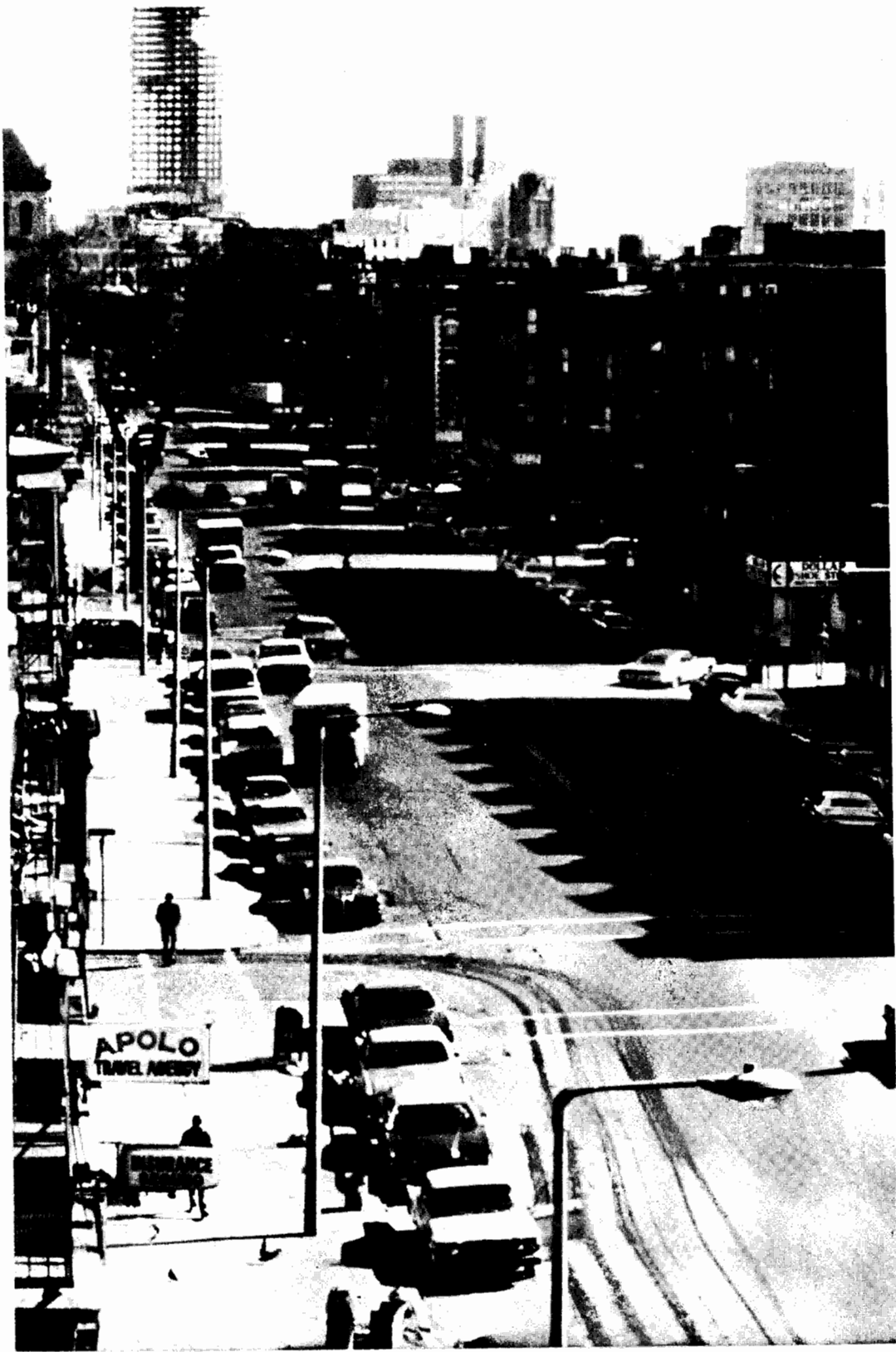
After considering the statement, SEPAC authorized SECOT to press for implementation of plans, with changes where necessary. (One important feature of the statement was that it formally recognized SECOT as the South End's planning committee for transportation.) SECOT focused on two

areas: it continued to argue for fewer lanes on Columbus Avenue and began planning experiments with the direction of crosstown streets and Shawmut Avenue.

Reconstruction of Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street

Meetings between SECOT, the BRA, and the mayor's office continued through the summer of 1974. Serious, but largely unsuccessful, efforts were made to involve the Traffic and Parking Department, which was responsible for approving and implementing any street-direction changes. SECOT did succeed in persuading the BRA and mayor's office that Columbus Avenue should be narrowed. Committee members pointed out that that artery would have less traffic in the 1980s, when downtown developments were completed and when Huntington Avenue and the Southwest Corridor Crosstown Street would carry more traffic. It was also agreed that parking on Columbus Avenue could be banned on the inbound side during morning rush hours and on the outbound side in the afternoon to increase the peak-hour capacity.

In September 1974, BRA Director Robert Kenney held a press conference in the South End to announce that the community and the city had agreed on the size and capacity of Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street, and that preliminary redesign of the two could begin. He predicted construction would start by 1975. Columbus Avenue was to be narrowed from four travel and two parking lanes to two travel and two parking lanes (from 63 feet to 48 feet of roadway). Sidewalks were to be widened from 7 feet to 12 feet on the shady southeast side and to 18 feet on the sunny northeast side. Tremont Street would have four travel and two parking lanes, but the roadway would be reduced from 70 to 60 feet, with the



Tremont redesign has called for a narrower roadway with wider sidewalks or a median strip. (Photo by Ellen Gordon.)

extra feet to be used for widened sidewalks or a median strip, whichever the community preferred. Both streets were to receive new trees, signs, sidewalks, and pedestrian "neckdowns" at many intersections.

BRA consultants completed about a third of the design work in 1975, and the Department of Public Works and regional office of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) spent two years arguing about whether they met federal standards. The highway design standards established by the FHWA to facilitate the movement of cars and trucks were difficult to reconcile with community desires for urban conservation, historic preservation, pedestrian priorities, and aesthetic improvements.

In the fall of 1977, consultants were directed by the BRA to proceed with the design. It now appears that Columbus and Tremont will be ready for construction within two years.

Street-Direction Changes

At the same time that SECOT worked with the city on plans for Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street, it also pressed for experimental street-direction changes. By the fall of 1974, Mayor White had begun to attend coffee klatches in the South End and other neighborhoods in preparation for the 1975 elections. When SECOT members were invited to the gatherings, they thanked the Mayor for his stand on transportation issues, but pointed out that the city's Traffic and Parking Department did not seem to be receptive to experimenting with street-direction changes. Committee members reminded the Mayor that the more affluent Beacon Hill neighborhood enjoyed the benefits of a recently instituted mazelike street pattern, making the narrow streets difficult for most through-traffic.

At a community meeting in December 1974, the mayor agreed to arrange a meeting between a SECOT representative and Traffic and Parking Commissioner William Noonan. SECOT assumed this meeting would be the first of a series to work out a set of experiments acceptable to the Traffic and Parking Department as well as to the community. Noonan, however, was not interested in taking credit for what he was sure would be a disaster. He agreed to implement a plan similar to that proposed in SECOT's Traffic and Transit Plan, while making it clear that he opposed the whole venture.

The changes, to begin in June 1975, were to coincide with improvements in South End bus service. SECOT was never told exactly what the Traffic and Parking Department intended to do to implement the changes; some doubted they would really happen. Therefore, when the nearby Christian Science Church generously agreed to print thousands of fliers and maps explaining the changes, SECOT made sure that they were undated.

The changes were to go into effect on a Monday. The previous afternoon the Traffic and Parking Department changed the appropriate traffic signals. But on Monday morning, it became apparent that no special effort would be made by the city to avoid chaos. Thousands of cars, accustomed to using Shawmut Avenue as a bypass for Tremont Street, had to be informed that their travel patterns would be changed. Head-on collisions seemed likely on Shawmut, West Newton, and Dartmouth Streets.

Fortunately, SECOT had the handouts explaining the changes; maps had been printed in the SEPAC newsletter. Beginning Monday morning, SECOT members directed traffic and, when possible, distributed fliers.

After the first hectic weeks, it was possible to assess the impacts

--generally positive. Traffic from Shawmut went onto Albany and Tremont, where it belonged. There was a dramatic decrease in vehicle traffic on West Newton and Dartmouth Streets, and an equally dramatic increase in pedestrian traffic. Many motorists apparently shifted to peripheral streets, as proponents of the plan had predicted.

Attempts were never made to record traffic counts and turning movements or undertake origin-destination studies before and after the changes took place. Without these, evaluation has been based on informal counts taken by SECOT, and on responses from community residents. (These were recorded by staff members at the South End Little City Hall.) Three kinds of problems were brought to SECOT's attention by the community:

1. Everyone had agreed, in principle, that traffic loads should be shared. Nevertheless, some residents were not happy with any traffic increases, no matter how minor, on their streets. SECOT suggested solutions to these problems with some success. The direction of traffic on Upton and Dwight Streets was reversed, for example, because they had suffered inordinate traffic increases from the changes. "No Left Turn" signs were placed at the entrances to Rutland and Concord Squares for similar reasons.
2. Some streets carrying heavy traffic loads had not been part of the experimental changes. Residents felt that they should receive SECOT's attention, too, and were encouraged to petition for traffic reduction. SECOT was able to be of some help, but some streets still carry more than their "share" of commuter traffic.
3. Many residents found they could no longer drive cars or take taxis along familiar routes. For some, this was an annoyance; for others,



The South End has used one-way streets to help solve its through-traffic problems. (Photo by Ellen Gordon.)



Pedestrian crossings have been a problem on some South End streets. (Photo by Ellen Gordon.)

particularly the elderly who had to pay higher cab fares, it was a greater problem. It has been difficult to resolve this issue, since convenient traffic routes for residents are also the paths that attract commuters. SECOT attempted to make the street pattern rational, but also took the position that reduced traffic necessarily involves some inconvenience for residents.

In evaluating the impacts, SECOT and the South End Little City Hall held several public meetings. These were well attended--and sometimes stormy. Residents tried to retain the obvious benefits of the changes and eliminate the disadvantages. To deal with some of the problems described above, a second series of experiments was proposed and implemented in the fall of 1975.

In 1976, after public meetings and observation of traffic patterns, the city of Boston (through the mayor's office, which took the lead in securing BRA and Traffic and Parking Department approval) and SECOT agreed that most of the changes should be made permanent. Commissioner Noonan, who had worked hard inside city hall and in the South End community to oppose the changes, was finally reconciled. He even sent a staff member to a city council hearing to support SECOT.

One experiment--on Dartmouth Street--did not appear to work and was cancelled. Business people, many of whom did not like any of the experiments, were especially upset by the inability to use the Dartmouth/Dedham/Malden connector. Many local residents also felt inconvenienced without it. The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority was negative, and even Dartmouth Street residents didn't feel that the experiment had helped reduce traffic.

SECOT has recommended further changes to rationalize street patterns, particularly in the southeastern section of the South End. Future experiments need to involve the Fire and Police Departments, which have traditionally joined the Traffic and Parking Department in opposing community involvement in transportation planning.

EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE SOUTH END

Although the South End's transportation goals are far from realized--traffic still presents major aesthetic and environmental problems and public transportation remains inadequate--the community and state and city governments have worked together productively during the past five years. Clearly, much credit must go to SECOT. The reasons for this community group's effectiveness are worth examining.

SECOT was part of a larger antihighway movement in the Boston region and benefited from that movement's success. Operation Stop and other groups enjoyed strong support from community leaders--black and white, rich and poor. Advocacy groups like Urban Planning Aid worked hard to bring technical assistance to highway opponents. Thus, SECOT gained credibility.

The committee was careful to protect its credibility by touching base with established community groups and neighborhood leaders before taking a public position. Therefore, when the committee told public officials that it represented the South End on transportation matters, it was seldom contradicted.

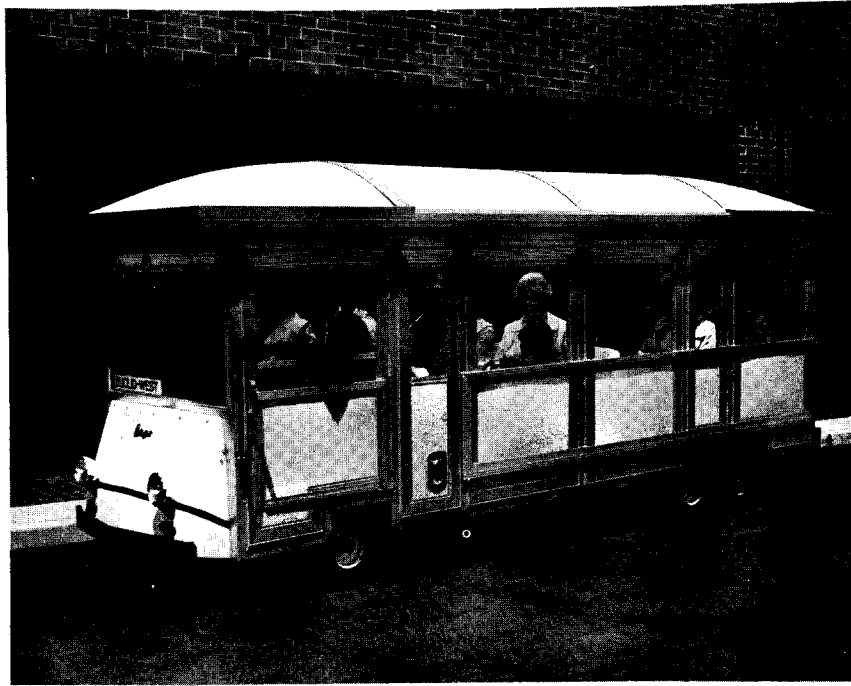
Many regular members of SECOT were professionals--transportation planners, architects, and teachers--who assisted less well-to-do or less-educated people without threatening their prerogatives in the organization.

The organization itself was voluntary. Members functioned well as a group and did not develop the kinds of rivalries and power struggles that plague some organizations.

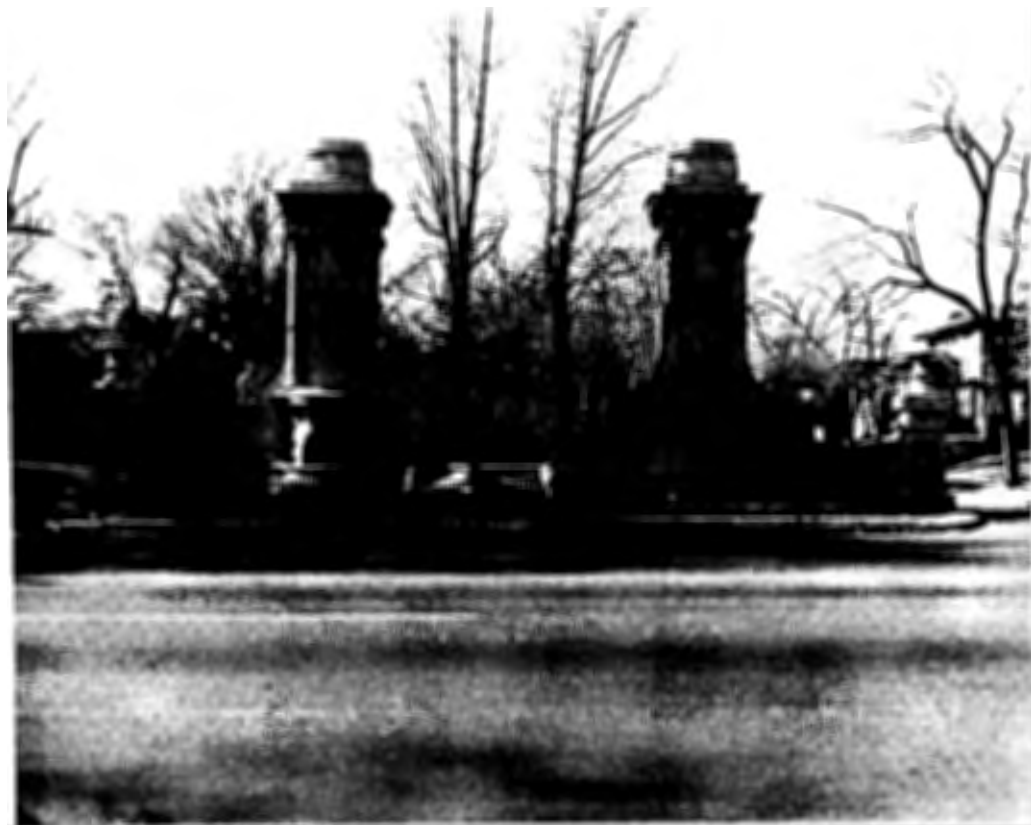
The Boston Transportation Planning Review provided SECOT members with opportunities to meet representatives of public agencies and consulting firms specializing in transportation planning. If it is important for engineers, planners, and public officials to understand a community's goals and perspectives, it is equally important for community groups to understand what motivates the decision-makers. SECOT has been effective at working cooperatively with public officials and sympathetic planners. It has supported those who have helped and has tried--though not always successfully--to be moderate in its public criticism of those less helpful.

Certainly, also, the city of Boston and the commonwealth of Massachusetts are fortunate that many of their important public officials support community initiatives. Without help from people in the Mayor's Office, the BRA, the State Executive Office of Transportation and Construction, the Governor's Office, and Department of Public Works, the community's efforts would have been hopeless.

Finally, the South End, with all its problems and contradictions, is a rare community, with many residents who understand the balance between private and public goals. Thousands of them have tolerated experimentation and disruption intended to help make the South End a better place to live.



The Firefly Tram. (Photo courtesy F.T.M. of St. Louis, Inc.)



Kingsbury Place, a traditional St. Louis private street. (Photo courtesy of St. Louis Department of Streets.)

ST. LOUIS: THE CENTRAL WEST END

by

Phyllis Myers

The Conservation Foundation

For decades, the statistics reflecting urban health in St. Louis have looked gloomy. Population, over 800,000 in 1950, fell below 500,000 by 1970, as prosperous whites, industrial jobs, and new business opportunities moved beyond the city's boundaries. Blocked by discrimination and low income from joining the exodus, the city's black residents constituted an increasing percentage of the population. An influx of disadvantaged whites from the nearby South and the advancing average age of the city's residents added to the proportion of poor. The loss in numbers of people and change in social and economic makeup had a profound impact on housing in the city. Lack of maintenance and abandonment were common. Extensive urban-renewal programs and expressway construction not only failed to stem the blight, but even increased it by threatening the existing social and physical fabric of older neighborhoods.

In recent years, some of these indicators have begun to stabilize. Local observers attribute a resurgence in St. Louis neighborhoods to specific community development strategies adopted by the city. These involve concentrating planning and resources in places where public investment can be leveraged with private money. A considerable proportion of block grant funds has gone for "neighborhood betterment"--i.e., capital and service improvements in threatened moderate-income neighborhoods which were beginning to show signs of deterioration and blight.

THE CENTRAL WEST END

The most ambitious community-revitalization effort in St. Louis is in the six-square-mile Central West End. Lying within its boundaries are some of the nation's most elegant mansions, many built around the turn of the century. Later, townhouses and apartments were constructed, and the area became an important business, as well as residential, center. A distinctive feature is the large number of medical facilities, including the Washington University Medical Center, with several hospitals on 40 acres of land and 13,000 employees, the Missouri Institute for the Deaf, and the local headquarters of Blue Cross, employing 900.

In the 1950s and 1960s, considerable blight began to threaten the West End, especially at its edges, where the area abutted urban renewal and demolition projects. The percentage of renters increased, median income declined, and the average age of residents rose. The area has notable strengths: still-elegant single-family and apartment houses; wealthy institutions of city, regional, and national importance; jobs in the commercial and retail centers; and a high proportion of workers who are residents as well. A beautiful park, an elegant old hotel, and excellent automobile and bus accessibility to downtown are additional assets.

Several major development projects have recently been initiated in the Central West End. The most extensive is the 185-acre Washington University Medical Center Redevelopment Project, which over a 10-year period envisions major rehabilitation and redevelopment, with a net addition of 1,000 dwelling units and institutional and commercial expansion. Nearby, the Maryland Plaza Redevelopment Project is creating a turn-of-the-century



SKINKER STREET

DELMAR BLVD.

**WATERMAN-PERSHING
REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

DE GIVERVILLE STREET

DE BALIVIERE STREET

KINGSBURY PLACE

WESTMINSTER STREET

HORTENSE PLACE

PORTLAND STREET

**MARYLAND PLAZA
REDEVELOPMENT
PROJECT**

MARYLAND STREET

LINDELL STREET

FOREST PARK

KINGSHIGHWAY BLVD.

LACLEDE STREET

NEWSTEAD STREET

ROUTE 40 DANIEL BOONE EXPRESSWAY

**WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
MEDICAL CENTER
REDEVELOPMENT
PROJECT
(185 acres)**

HAMPTON STREET

MANCHESTER STREET

EUCLID STREET

MANDEVENTER STREET

**St. Louis
Central West End**

mall in the Ghirardelli image by re-using a once-elegant shopping area that was abandoned when merchants moved to the suburbs. A third project, the Waterman-Pershing Redevelopment Plan, involves 106 acres with 20,000 housing units marked for rehabilitation and replacement. (See St. Louis Central West End map.)

All three projects have been incorporated under a state law that provides a private developer with two important tools: tax abatement and eminent domain. Approximately \$3.6 million in public money from community development block grant funds has gone into these efforts, aimed at increasing home ownership, creating new jobs and business opportunities, upgrading public services and amenities, and providing subsidized housing for elderly and other low-income residents. It is estimated that private investment has leveraged public resources by two or three times.

Two transportation initiatives in the Central West End are aimed at bolstering the redevelopment projects. Both are the kinds of improvements that evolve out of comprehensive grass-roots initiatives that stress rehabilitation rather than raze-and-rebuild. The two transportation investments play a special role in enhancing the value of existing community assets. The first, a local electric tram that serves businesses and employees, was the idea of a Central West End resident participating in a major transportation study. The second was initiated by local officials, who adapted a unique tradition in St. Louis--the private street--into a contemporary community development strategy.

FIREFLY TRAM

The Firefly Tram, an electric vehicle used as a neighborhood transportation system, has evolved indirectly from deliberations in a major city-sponsored study of the transportation needs of St. Louis's Central Corridor. Completed in mid-1976, the study was undertaken with the collaboration of transportation consultants and an ad hoc committee composed of representatives of city, regional, and state groups, as well as several neighborhood institutions. Included among the neighborhood institutions was the Second Presbyterian Church, located deep in the Central West End and bounded by abject poverty and prostitution on one side and blighted mansions on the others. Because of its location and the personal commitment of the pastor, Dr. Orville L. Brotherton, the church has taken an active role in a number of efforts to stem community decline.

Impetus for the transportation study came from a recognition that major redevelopment activity underway in the area could generate considerably different long-term land uses. Of immediate concern were state plans for expressway changes that would bring additional cars onto the streets, especially in north-south directions.

As Reverend Brotherton listened at the meetings, he recalls, he heard ideas about how to accommodate more traffic--one-way streets to move it more speedily, expansion of street capacity, and so on. These would disrupt existing neighborhoods. "Why not try to get at the basic problem, and cut down on the traffic?" he wondered.

The Central West End, Brotherton reasoned, has a great deal of intra-neighborhood traffic due to an unusual residential-employment mix. An

estimated one-third of the residents work in the area as well. He also thought there might be considerable latent demand for transportation to local restaurants, stores, and--especially by the elderly, who comprise about one-third of the West End's population--to clinics and doctors. The concentration of older people stems in part from the long-term decline in the area's appeal to younger buyers, and the conversion of mansions to nursing homes. The city has reinforced this concentration by approving construction of several high-rise housing complexes for the elderly. The mobility of residents of these complexes is aided by the provision of separate federally funded transportation vehicles; however, due to the high costs of operation, the vans make a limited number of trips.

The final report of the Central Corridor Study called for "submodal localized transit service to connect the various activity centers in the central corridor."* The report took note of excellent bus service, especially on east-west routes connecting the area to downtown, but saw the need for a "point-to-point transit service" to serve a demand that was "not now provided by a conventional system." The consultants were not specific about whether this submodal service should be a shuttle or other special-use vehicle, or whether it should be privately or publicly operated.

Through the energies of Reverend Brotherton and a small but dedicated group of supporters, the recommendation was translated into an elec-

* Alan M. Voorhees and Associates, in collaboration with the Ad Hoc Committee, Central Corridor Transportation Study: Central West End, for the City of St. Louis, Missouri, September 1976.

trically powered tram that winds its way through a three-mile route. The commitment to exploring the use of this mode of transportation complicated the Central West End venture--first, because it led some to view the vehicle as a toy, and, second, because the technology was not yet proved in conventional traffic. In adapting a vehicle previously used on golf courses and at Disney World, the staff faced many problems.

Tram service began in the fall of 1976. In the first winter, the coldest in St. Louis for many years, passengers rode in open vehicles, holding down plastic sheets for protection against the elements. There was no heating system. Despite this, there were 2,000 passengers a month.

Ridership has since doubled, averaging 4,500 persons monthly in the winter of 1977-78. Enclosures, safer doors, special features to accommodate the handicapped, and a heating system have been added, all of them specially designed and manufactured. In addition, a battery that needs recharging every four hours, instead of every hour and a half, has extended the operating range.

The system runs three hours a day, from 11 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. At any time, four to six trams are in service, each with a capacity of 16 passengers. The route is fixed, but passengers are picked up and discharged on demand. Primary users are employees of Blue Cross and other local business, and elderly or handicapped residents.

To its supporters, the vehicle's significance goes beyond numbers served. Rev. Brotherton is enthusiastic about the role transportation can play in reinforcing a sense of community. "My model is a small village," he says, using the metaphor of transportation as a long string tying the community together.

This perspective explains Brotherton's persistence in arguing for a small electric vehicle rather than a more conventional mode of transportation such as a van. He thinks a neighborhood vehicle should be fun and appealing to ride; a van, in his eyes, is somewhat forbidding, especially to the elderly and handicapped. Further, he argues, the silent, pollution-free tram does not add to the fumes and noises that are enemies of urban neighborhood life.

The original tram-system concept envisioned the vehicle as a public carrier charging a small fee, probably a dime. According to Brotherton and others, the Washington University Redevelopment Corporation was enthusiastic. The Bistate Authority, the regional transportation agency for Missouri and Illinois that must approve any public carrier on the city streets, also initially supported the idea. Opposition surfaced from both groups, however, and almost proved fatal.

The Bistate Authority was established in the late 1960s to bring order to the regional transportation network. A concomitant of regionalism was the elimination of competition. St. Louis's well-known flexible jitney system was an immediate casualty. Some city residents believe the Bistate Authority has a suburban bias, though its former director, Robert Baer, has argued that the city is better serviced by transit than the suburbs, and that the operating deficits of city transit draw heavily on the region's transportation purse.

The Bistate Authority's opposition was based primarily on its view that the tram competed with the deficit-ridden bus system already serving the Central West End. The authority proposed several options involving buses of conventional width and somewhat shorter length that were

used for downtown service and tourists during the summer. Economic operation requires standardized service and maximum utilization of existing vehicles, Baer has argued. "If the people want some kind of crazy vehicle, if they want to pay for it, that's fine--but it can't be a public carrier."

Following the refusal of the Bistate Authority to approve the tram's service, the Washington University Redevelopment Center withdrew its support. The impact of these actions was twofold: the service could not be a public carrier, and a major market for the tram service was lost.

Organizing a Private Tram Service

The tram service that evolved in the face of these difficulties operates as a private carrier. Since it cannot charge a fare, the operating costs are financed by subscription contracts from local merchants, including banks, restaurants, and retail shops.

The tram service is run by F.T.M., Inc., a nonprofit group headed by Rev. Brotherton and Ms. Joni Underwood, a former freelance writer. F.T.M. shares its community-based storefront office with CENTRON, Inc., a for-profit corporation that markets electric vehicles. Centron actually owns the vehicles; F.T.M. leases them. The two groups are organizationally separate, but share several officers, including Rev. Brotherton and Ms. Underwood. Centron's funds come from stockholder investors, who provided over \$150,000 for development. Part of this was a loan from City Bank, whose president, Norman Tice, is actively committed to the West End's revitalization. The bank has constructed a new headquarters building in the area and instituted policies steering about half of the bank's mortgages

to the community, mostly in residential loans. Tice expresses strong commitment to the tram. "Some kind of pollution-free vehicle like this has to be designed to serve neighborhood needs," he says. The bank and other investors see the vehicle as a prototype and hope its demonstration in the Central West End will attract the interest of other cities.

Blue Cross, which has no restaurant on its premises, is the major contributor, paying \$500 monthly. For the other merchants, fees are flexible, from \$7.50 to \$100 a month. The subscription income does not meet operating costs. Union Electric, the city utility, has been very supportive, and provided some small funding that helps to make up the difference.

One problem with the merchant-participation scheme is that the merchants do not see a direct payoff between riders and sales. Free passes are obtained in local stores; to encourage ridership, however, there is no requirement that a purchase be made. Some merchants understand the mutual benefits of everyone's participation; others don't mind the benefits of a free ride when their neighbor pays the contract fee. The route is defined by the location of contract participants, but, as noted, the tram discharges or picks up passengers anywhere along the route. This poses some problems if one key merchant drops out of the contract, or another located several blocks off the route decides to participate.

The Future of the Tram

The tram's financial problems have been compounded by difficulties beyond those already mentioned. It has to meet a series of definitional bar-

riers to qualify for insurance, licensing, and other needs. Standard safety requirements have been a particularly touchy issue; the tram does not purport to meet them. Rev. Brotherton believes that conventional regulations are far too stringent for this neighborhood service. "The tram goes 17 miles an hour, and moves only on side streets. The regulations call for a tank." Insurance costs are very high.

The private-carrier form of operation does, on the other hand, have advantages. The route can be flexibly altered in response to merchant participation, without permission from the Public Service Commission. Union regulations do not apply, and drivers can be hired part-time at minimum wages. The tram thus does not have to cope with the basic problems faced by most organizers of small-scale flexible transit services (known as para-transit), problems that usually raise the costs of operation sky-high.

Despite the tram's deficit operation, proponents remain optimistic. Some 50,000 trips have made the service a neighborhood "dependency," according to Dr. Brotherton, and neighborhood stores and restaurants on local business streets have noted an increase in lunchtime trade.

Backers of the tram are involved in a feasibility study for another route, in anticipation of the controversial proposed move by the Museum of Science and Natural History to the city's lovely Forest Park. Rev. Brotherton believes the tram would resolve a major objection to the museum by providing pollution-free transportation within the park, connecting the museum to the zoo, tennis courts, and other facilities. The city is also giving thought to a broader use of localized electric vehicles.

STREET CLOSINGS

A different kind of transportation innovation in St. Louis involves the use of "street closings" as a conscious strategy to stabilize and revitalize neighborhoods. It was in the West End that the unique St. Louis tradition of private streets began, during the time of the 1904 World's Fair, when families of wealth were building stately homes. Rather than give the new streets to the city, developers deeded them to the owners of abutting homes. Thus, the streets never were in public ownership.

The legal framework through which residents own the streets is a homeowners' association that assesses dues. Membership is required by the deed, which also specifies that the homes must remain in single-family residential ownership in perpetuity. The association maintains the streets, including lighting and road repairs. (The city provides police, fire, water, gas, and sewage service.)

Symbolic entryways--handsome wrought-iron gates, marble markers, and special landscaping--give each private street a distinctive identity. The gates are closed on one or both ends as a barrier to through-traffic. In more recent years, as urban poverty has crept up to the gates, residents sometimes have paid for security guards to screen pedestrians as well as vehicular traffic.

Although some of the original private streets have reverted to public use because of neighborhood deterioration or the failure of block residents to pay the assessment, most have remained private. Director William Wilson of the St. Louis Department of Streets estimates that 40 or 50 still exist--among them, DeGiverville, Kingsbury Place, Hortense Place, and Portland.

In a 1974 study, planner Oscar Newman called the private streets "anomalies" in the general pattern of urban decline in St. Louis. "Though they are immediately juxtaposed against areas in the advanced stage of physical and economic decline, they have experienced little of this deterioration."* He attributes the anomaly to several key factors. First, the physical closure provides a sense of place. "It is a necessary statement to the outside world that their street is different--that it will not respond to urban change the way the larger community has." Further, it "defines for residents an area which they can identify," and thus they "come to think of the street as being their neighborhood." This extension of control over the area outside their home is, to Newman, crucial in expanding one's involvement in the community. Further, the closure limits traffic and thus creates a "social zone where children can play safely and adults can meet and socialize. . . an ambiance which allows [the street] to compete successfully with suburban areas in attracting young families." Newman's research found that crime was indeed lower on private streets. The perception of residents that they had greater security than their neighbors on public thoroughfares was wellfounded. Prices are higher and sales brisker for homes in the private streets than for comparable homes nearby.

These advantages of the private streets were well recognized even before documentation by Newman. In fact, when many St. Louis neighborhoods fell on hard times in the late 1960s, several city officials living on the private streets--including the community development director and a

* Oscar Newman, "Community of Interest (Design for Community Control)," 1974.

city alderman--considered what lessons might be held out to the rest of the city. The specific salutary elements they identified as a result of the barriers were much the same as those found by Newman: restraint of automobile through-traffic; a sense of identity and community; protection against nearby blight.

The officials succeeded in getting street closings adopted as a conscious tool of community development, as a means of reversing physical blight and neglect and returning an area to prideful ownership maintenance. Except in one instance, none of the newer "street closings" (Westminister, Maryland) is private in the same sense as the traditional ones. Creating a similar private street would require unanimous approval by the affected property owners and restrictions in the deed, an approach not appropriate for rented houses on blighted streets in low-income neighborhoods. Today, the streets are not actually transferred to private ownership, and the city remains responsible for maintenance and repair. However, under a city ordinance, traffic is slowed or shunted onto main arteries, and various mechanisms are used to create a sense of identity and community for residents.

Various types of closings deter traffic from coming off main arteries onto neighborhood streets. For example, a cul-de-sac may be created by building a circular brick curb at one end and, perhaps, adding landscaping. A series of diagonal turn-arounds at each corner may lead a car through a maze, eventually bringing it back to the entry point. The driver is unlikely to return. Some closings are temporary, some permanent, some only experimental. The devices range from a simple post-and-chain to a bricked entry gate and grass median strip.

Street closings are an integral part of the Central West End Redevelopment Plan. A closing is phased in with other activities on the street. On one street, for example, a ball-and-chain has been placed midway. On one side of the chain, several large dilapidated multifamily houses are being rehabilitated for sale as condominiums; on the other side, urban and industrial blight prevail.

The most ambitious of the street-closing innovations is taking place on the 4400 block of Laclede, in the Central West End. Over 40 large, turn-of-the-century houses, physically similar to those on the traditional private streets, line the block. Unlike those on private streets, however, these went into multifamily rental occupancy and were badly maintained. To reverse the blight, \$175,000 in community development block grant funds paid for street repair, bricked sidewalks, a grassy central median, plantings, and distinctive entry markers.

According to Street Department Director Wilson, many houses on Laclede already have reverted to single-family, owner occupancy; property values have increased significantly, from \$10,000 or so to \$65,000 or more, and there is new pride and commitment on the part of residents. The houses were designated by the developers for rehabilitation to bring the exterior, plumbing, and electrical work up to code standards; owners either did the work or sold out.

Nearby, in the Pershing-Waterman redevelopment area, the same principles have been applied, with less-expensive requirements for rehabilitation, on a street of modest homes. "It's amazing how well this works," says Wilson, a strong advocate. "We've reached a point in city transpor-



Through-traffic on arterial streets is kept flowing, while adjacent neighborhood streets are protected. (Photo courtesy St. Louis Department of Streets.)



Laclede Street, showing median strip and ball-and-chain closing. (Photo courtesy St. Louis Department of Streets.)

tation where we have our major arteries in place to carry through-traffic. With these arteries, we are able to think about neighborhoods and shunting away unnecessary traffic. This is the next stage in city transportation patterns."

Wilson was not trained as a traffic engineer, which perhaps explains his openness to policies that selectively slow or divert traffic rather than speed it up. He admits that city traffic engineers were initially skeptical, but says they are "coming along." The Bistate Authority has had to move bus routes occasionally as a result of street closings, but has apparently not raised any major objections.

City Planning and Coordination

Plans for the street closings are implemented by a staff of four engineers in the St. Louis Streets Department in tandem with related efforts of the Community Development Agency. Plans are coordinated at monthly meetings of the two departments and at frequent informal meetings.

Funds for closings come from the Streets Department budget and community development block grant funds. Except for the Laclede Street investment, costs are generally low, ranging from the post-and-chain, which costs about \$800, to the cul-de-sac, about \$30,000. Highway funds or other transportation resources are not used to pay for the street closings, largely because these are allocated for capital improvements and operating deficits of the transit system.

The Response of Residents

The initiative for a street closing may come from the city streets de-

partment or from neighborhood residents. Wilson and his staff work with resident groups to gain a consensus and to sense what residents will do, on their part, to complement a city investment. "We meet with the neighborhood organizations and try to get a sense of what it is that they are ready to accept," says Wilson.

Response varies. While the traditional private streets in St. Louis are different legally from the newer street closings, their example is evidence that closed streets can be physically attractive, a restraint to crime and blight, and a cohesive force for neighbors on the street. Middle-class persons moving into reviving city neighborhoods, such as the Lafayette Square and Souldard Historic Districts, have asked the city to provide street closings and traffic controls.

But there are objections, especially from people whose driving patterns are set and who find the changed routing a frustrating infringement of their rights. Barriers have even been damaged in anger. The power of the city to "privatize" streets has been tested in court several times; the city has won consistently.

Opposition from nonaffluent community residents may arise out of concern that the city's goal is to "gentrify" the neighborhood and ease them out. This aspect of street closings is perhaps the most controversial. The physical upgrading of an area may cause an influx of middle-income buyers and higher rents and taxes, making it difficult for elderly and low-income residents to remain. Thus, a strategy to use public capital improvements to upgrade a neighborhood can be threatening, particularly in the absence of alternate low-income housing or tools to assist lower-

income residents to remain. (In response to criticism, the city recently expanded the availability of block grant funds for homeowner loans for housing rehabilitation and targeted subsidized rental units undergoing revitalization as a result of public investment.)

CONCLUSION

The two highly innovative transportation initiatives in St. Louis briefly described here are linked to the city's conscious efforts to restore confidence in the Central West End as a place to live and to invest: the community tram, by improving the ability of people to move around the various parts of the area; the street closings, by creating safer, pleasanter residential streets.

In a sense, the introduction of these innovations to St. Louis came via rather traditional channels--that is, a transportation planning study in one instance, and local officials in the other. Yet these ideas are not conventional, nor are their advocates as operating in the traditional style. In both instances, considerable involvement by the community in planning and implementation is evident.

Further, the testing of the transportation innovations at this point in St. Louis' history, when cautious hope exists for the city's revitalization, is not a coincidence. In a variety of ways, city officials, local residents, and private investors are reexamining their negative attitudes toward the city's future prospects. Their efforts seem to be having an impact. The new problem that has emerged in St. Louis--that public money is causing the displacement of the poor and elderly in the city--is an indicator of the change. Such impacts need to be carefully considered in publicly funded

transportation initiatives: the broadening goals of transportation improvements in community development strategies call for the full range of impacts to be weighed in planning.

Finally, the receptivity of city officials to these innovations in St. Louis suggests that such strategies are not inconsistent with broader public transportation system planning and the efficient movement of automobile and commercial traffic.

THE RENEWAL OF THE PIKE PLACE NEIGHBORHOOD

by Harriet Sherburne

Division Director

Pike Project

Seattle, Washington

Pike Place Market, in the heart of downtown Seattle, has always been a center of controversy. Founded in 1907 by city government in response to public outcry about skyrocketing food prices, the market began as three blocks where farmers could park horse-drawn wagons filled with produce for direct sale to consumers. This eliminated wholesale dealers who had been accused of paying low prices to farmers and manipulating supply for excessive profits. The market's success was immediate. Real estate developers built a series of labyrinthine commercial structures nearby.

Eventually, farmers moved their produce to tables constructed on the former sidewalk right-of-way, close to meat markets, groceries, delicatessens, drug stores, rest rooms, and "department" stores. As the market grew, the row of farmers' tables along Pike Place continued to be the main attraction, though people drawn by the produce stayed to shop for other things and to patronize the various professional services and theaters in the area.

Changes in farm life during the 1940s and 1950s were reflected in the market. During World War II, many Japanese farmers were placed in "relocation" centers. Other farmers found jobs in defense plants. Young men were drafted. The number and productivity of farms declined, and participation of farmers in the market fell off.

Then, during the post-war years, many young men and women were reluctant to return to farm life and instead found industrial and business jobs or entered professions. City dwellers moved to the suburbs. Shopping centers and supermarkets sprang up. Pike Place Market no longer held a primary position as a regional food center. The buildings in the market passed to second- and third-generation heirs, and to other absentee owners. Little attention was given to maintenance.

OVERALL NEIGHBORHOOD CONSERVATION STRATEGY

In 1969, the city of Seattle formally adopted a plan for a 22-acre urban-renewal project that included the Pike Place Market. The plan called for replacing all but a few of the market's structures with a 4,000-car parking garage supporting high-rise office, hotel, and condominium buildings. Victor Steinbrueck, professor of architecture at the University of Washington, led a popular movement to preserve the market within the context of the federally funded urban-renewal project. After much debate, the plan was modified to include a 1.8-acre historic district. Preservation advocates known as Friends of the Market felt this was inadequate. They campaigned vigorously for a broader definition of the Pike Place Market to include both the central structures and the surrounding area as well.

In the spring of 1971, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development announced that it would fund implementation of the urban-renewal plan. This sparked Friends of the Market to circulate a petition calling for a seven-acre historic district. The group collected more than 20,000 signatures and sought city council adoption of a historic district ordinance as an overlay to the urban-renewal plan. The council refused to approve the proposed ordinance, referring it instead to public vote in the next general election.

In a hotly contested campaign, the downtown business community, the two major daily newspapers, and the government of the city of Seattle opposed the ordinance. Friends of the Market and a new political force, the Alliance for a Living Market, led the preservationists to success. On November 2, 1971, Seattle established the nation's first voter-approved historic district. Approximately 60 percent of the 120,000 voters supported formation of a seven-acre historic district, with a 12-member Market Historical Commission to regulate changes in land use and buildings.

The Pike Place Market Historical District

The historic-preservation concept embodied in the Pike Place Market Historical District is unique because of its emphasis on perpetuation of the public market as an economic entity. That means that the existing pattern of food-related uses is to be preserved, with control over introduction of other uses.

Following adoption of the initiative, the city government reversed its policy position. The Department of Community Development initiated a process to revise development plans to meet the objectives of market

preservation, using the legal tools and resources of the federally funded urban-renewal program. This required thorough analysis of existing buildings and uses, revision of goals and objectives to satisfy the new priorities, and technical planning to implement policies to revitalize the overall 22-acre project area.

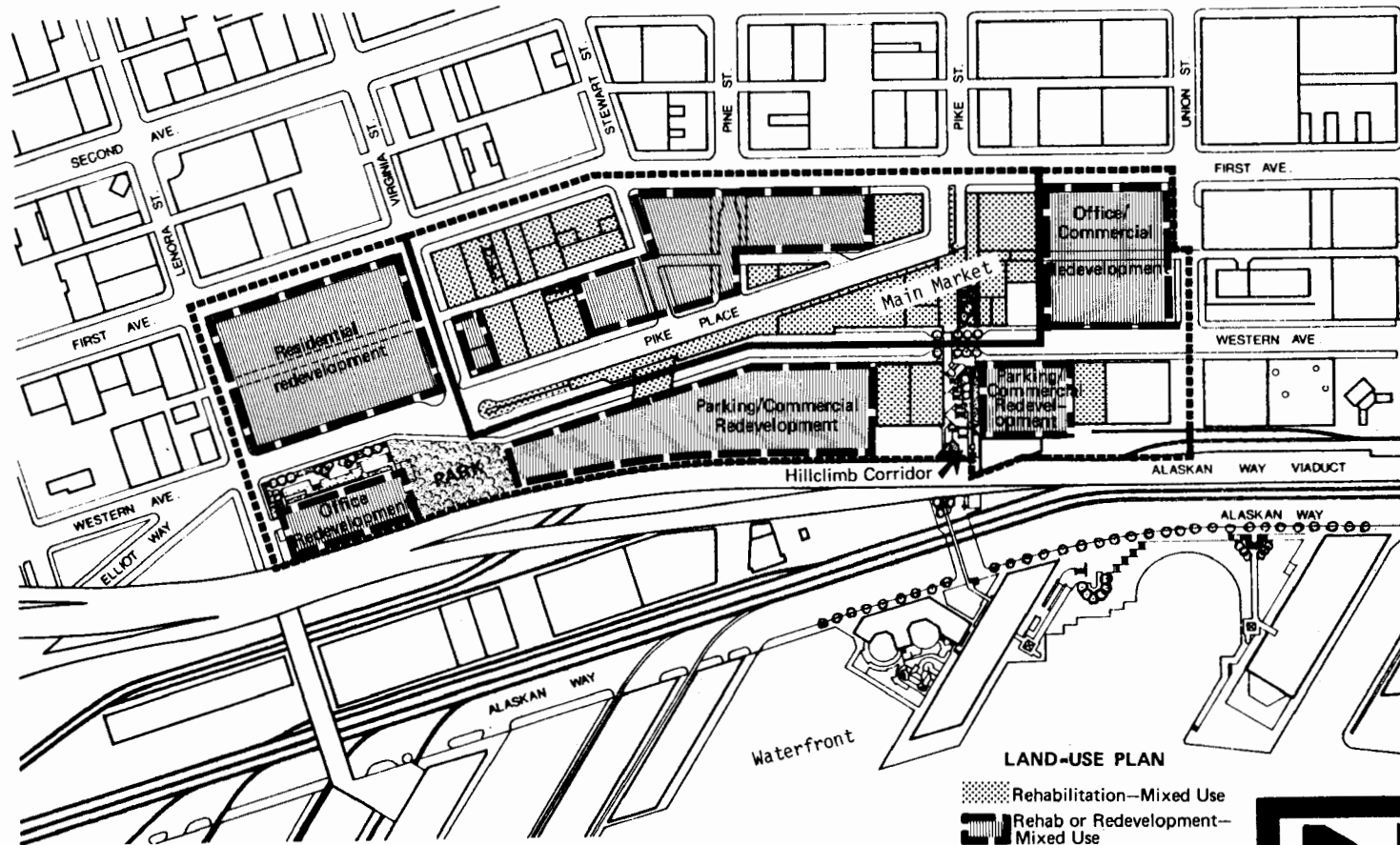
As a first step, a preservation plan was prepared for the market, which was formally entered into the National Register of Historic Places. Approved under procedures of the federal Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as administered by the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the plan outlined a conservation program that relied on the Market Historical Commission as guardian of the district. The commission was responsible for approving all actions to implement the plan. Of 41 structures in the district, 24 were designated for rehabilitation. The remaining 17 buildings and 2 parking lots were designated as available for redevelopment, provided that rehabilitation was not feasible.

The preservation plan and a revised urban-renewal plan were prepared with broad-based constituent involvement. Friends of the Market, Pike Place Merchants Association, members of the Market Historical Commission, and many citizens who had been involved in the initiative effort were active in the review of studies and formulation of proposals. After two years' effort, a revised plan for the Pike Place Urban Renewal Project was approved in 1974 by the mayor and council and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (See Figure 1.)

Funding for Market Preservation

The original federal funding commitment for the Pike Place Project--about

PIKE PROJECT LAND-USE PLAN



DEPARTMENT OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
CITY OF SEATTLE ; KING COUNTY WASHINGTON

PIKE PROJECT

JANUARY, 1978

FIGURE I

\$18 million in 1971--was boosted by an additional \$4 million by the time a federal loan and grant contract was signed in August 1972. The project budget covered real estate acquisition, rehabilitation, planning and administration, capital improvement, and relocation benefits and services. Because of the project's scale, it was evident that full implementation --market preservation and complementary development of housing, commercial, parking, and retail space--would require an unusual amount of public-private sector collaboration.*

Additional federal funding has been committed to the project in response to specific program objectives and development plans, including approximately \$2 million in the federal 312 Loan Program for rehabilitation of residential and commercial buildings. Resources from various categorical programs for low-income housing have also been available to convert vacant and deteriorated hotel rooms into 183 apartments for low-income elderly and handicapped residents. These two commitments, totaling more than \$3million, have contributed significantly toward preservation efforts.

In 1976-77 Seattle analyzed the financing required to complete the project. The lengthy replanning process for preservation, an inflationary economy, and the high cost of construction to correct serious deterioration in buildings had substantially depleted the original tight budget for publicly funded work. After negotiations, HUD agreed to a completion and close-out program that involved some additional allocations of community development block grant money and "Urgent Needs" funding--part of the urban-renewal phase-out. This brought the direct federal funding from the original contract for \$22 million to more than \$36 million. In addition, the Economic

* City of Seattle, Department of Community Development, Urban Renewal Plan: Pike Place Market, Amended January 4, 1974.

Development Administration allocated \$2.4 million to pay for brick and cobblestone and other street restoration work.

The clear commitment of the city of Seattle to completion of the Pike Project and the provision of additional federal funding fostered the confidence of owners, lending institutions, and private investors. Approximately \$13.5 million in owner investments--mortgages, equity, special grants--was made by private sources in just three years. In 1978-79 the private investment will surpass the public funds committed to the Pike Project. By the time all of the planned redevelopment is complete, \$75 million in private capital will have been invested.

As of January 1978, about 150 of the original 200 businesses of the project area had been relocated to permanent space in the rehabilitated market or other buildings. Remaining moves will be completed by 1980. Interest in and competition for rehabilitated commercial space has been keen; approximately 40 businesses have come into the market in the two years since completion of the first rehabilitation project. The apartments renovated for both low- and middle-income people in the heart of the market are in high demand, with long waiting lists. Thus, the efforts to maintain the commercial vitality of the area and to restore the residential neighborhood have enjoyed substantial success.

TRANSPORTATION AND THE CONSERVATION STRATEGY

At each stage in its history the Pike Place Market has been affected by the regional transportation system.

Seattle's early growth as a center of shipping and commerce in the the Northwest was shaped by topography. The city's major business and

commercial areas stood on a hilly plateau many feet above the natural shoreline of a deep-water harbor on Elliott Bay. City founders laid out streets in a standard grid pattern, for the most part, with special allowances for roads over and around the town's seven hills. Pike Place originally provided a diagonal route over a portion of the bluff between downtown and the waterfront; this street, together with Western Avenue, enabled merchants to carry wagonloads of goods between the harbor and the city center. Initially paved in heavy timbers, Pike Place later became a broad stretch of red brick, with cobblestoned side streets to give horses and vehicles a better grip on the slippery hillsides. A trolley system enabled the broadly dispersed population to travel to the center of the city for shopping and other regular needs. The corner of First and Pike Street was a major trolley transfer point as early as 1880. When the market was founded in 1907, its timber-paved street accommodated hundreds of horse-drawn farmer wagons as well as thousands of shoppers disgorged from nearby trolley cars.

Early suppliers and customers of the market arrived also from the waterfront, climbing steep wooden stairways to Pike Place and First Avenue. A system of small, steam-driven ferry boats plied the waters of Puget Sound, bringing farmers and shoppers to the market. In 1922 major property owners banded together to finance the construction of a heavy timber viaduct between the main market buildings and the central waterfront. This made it easier for farmers, merchants, and customers to travel over the steep bluff that divided downtown from the water's edge.

In the following decades, the market was visited by an increasing number of motorized vehicles, which were used by both customers and sup-

pliers. Traffic had to be regulated to accommodate delivery trucks entering the market in the morning hours. Throughout the day, pedestrians wove their way between a steady flow of automobiles. Eventually, spaces were set aside for parking.

Pike Place also began to serve as a receptacle for refuse. Even today boxes, barrels, dumpsters, crates, and little heaps can be found outside doorways. The sanitation problem is compounded by the fact that fish merchants at the end of the day dump soiled ice from their cooling bins into the street. In summer, the stench can be overwhelming. The urban-renewal plan for Pike Place had to take into account not only the hectic vitality and colorful character of the market, but also its congestion, sanitation, and traffic problems.

The Urban Renewal Plan: Managing the Automobile and Encouraging Pedestrian Use

The revised urban-renewal plan adopted in 1974 gave special attention to vehicular circulation and pedestrian movement. Its provisions were carefully tailored to respond to community standards for historic preservation and economic revitalization. The following criteria were to be applied to street space:

1. Reduce the impact of automobiles on the market and project area.
2. Achieve a higher level of pedestrian movement on Pike Place and throughout the area.
3. Control traffic on Pike Place to assign priority to pedestrians, market users' automobiles, and selected traffic.

4. Provide access to short-term parking and goods or passenger-loading areas on Pike Place.
5. Improve vehicular circulation in the project area without increasing existing rights-of-way. Assign other uses to vehicle rights-of-way which became redundant as a result of improved circulation.
6. Develop alleys as people-oriented pedestrian routes.
7. Strengthen the identity of the market as a "place" and develop means of linking its identity to parking facilities.
8. Improve bus zone locations and facilities along First Avenue and encourage the use of public transit.*

"Pedestrianization" of the historic district was thus to be achieved through careful orchestration of vehicles and pedestrians on the streets, rather than by creating major "malls." The basic pattern of developed streets and alleys would be retained, with some conversion to other uses complementing the market. Further, to the extent practical, private automobiles would be directed around the congested market toward convenient adjacent parking. Whereas conventional transportation plans focus on expanding street capacity in order to speed up vehicle flow, the Pike Project effort gives central attention to encouraging movement on foot through a dense commercial and residential center.

"Vehicles shall not be accommodated in such numbers that they dominate," the plan says. Parking should be limited "to that which directly supplies the needs of the area." In addition, parking development "shall occur in structures rather than on grade lots."** (The area had 900 spaces at the time.) The plan also made specific provisions for servicing the market.

* Ibid., pp. 23-24.

** Ibid., p. 26.

Restoration and reconstruction of traditional canopies and the provision of weather protection and lighting over all sidewalks, was called for. The plan also required through-block easements at various locations in the district to allow pedestrians to meander freely through the streets and alleys, and improvement of Post Alley, which runs the length of the district, with paving, lighting, directional signs, and plantings to attract shoppers walking to market businesses and residences.

The major capital improvement called for in the plan is a Hillclimb Corridor, to run between the main market buildings and the central waterfront, which is one block directly west and 120 feet below the bluff. The purpose of Hillclimb is at least twofold. First, to re-establish a convenient pedestrian route built in 1922 and removed 30 years later to make way for a double-deck, multilane freeway that has created a permanent wall of noise and visual blight, cutting off the market and the rest of downtown from the water's edge. Second, to improve access to existing parking lots west of the market, and make it feasible to convert nearby underused warehouse buildings to active use for retailing, office, wholesaling, and residences.

While most persons interested in the market generally agreed on the merit of these pedestrian and traffic improvements, market merchants argued that change should be gradual and disruption limited. They wanted assurances that customer convenience would be the foremost consideration in scheduling construction and changes. Thus, the plan requires: "Development of parking shall be phased and coordinated to minimize inconvenience to Market patrons. Existing parking shall be maintained until new or substitute parking is available."*

* Ibid.

Implementing the Traffic Plan

Because of its direct impact on other elements in the traffic and circulation plan, parking received first attention. This emphasis was justified by surveys showing that most market shoppers arrive by private automobile.

A consultant study was commissioned in the summer of 1975 to consider how parking might be improved in the Western Avenue area. After examining the use of existing lots, the rates, and vehicular and pedestrian patterns, the consultants made several recommendations.*

Contrary to expectation, they found there was a generous supply of off-street parking spaces, at low rates, in the general vicinity of the market. But the lots were used for all-day parking by office workers, merchants, and patrons of the downtown retail core. Few convenient, short-term parking spaces remained for market users. The consultants recommended a long-range parking program.

In the first phase, they called for a number of experiments to try to improve the use of existing parking lots. This included reversing the one-way direction of Pike Place and the flow on some intersecting streets to permit traffic to move through Pike Place toward Western Avenue, where many underused parking spaces existed. (See Figure 2.)

City officials, merchants, and property owners accepted the recommendation, and the traffic experiment was initiated in January 1976. Within a few months it was judged by the community as an overwhelming success; the pattern became permanent. The new route allowed people in automobiles

* Victor O. Gray & Company, "A Parking Development Strategy for the Pike Place Urban Renewal Project," December 17, 1974.

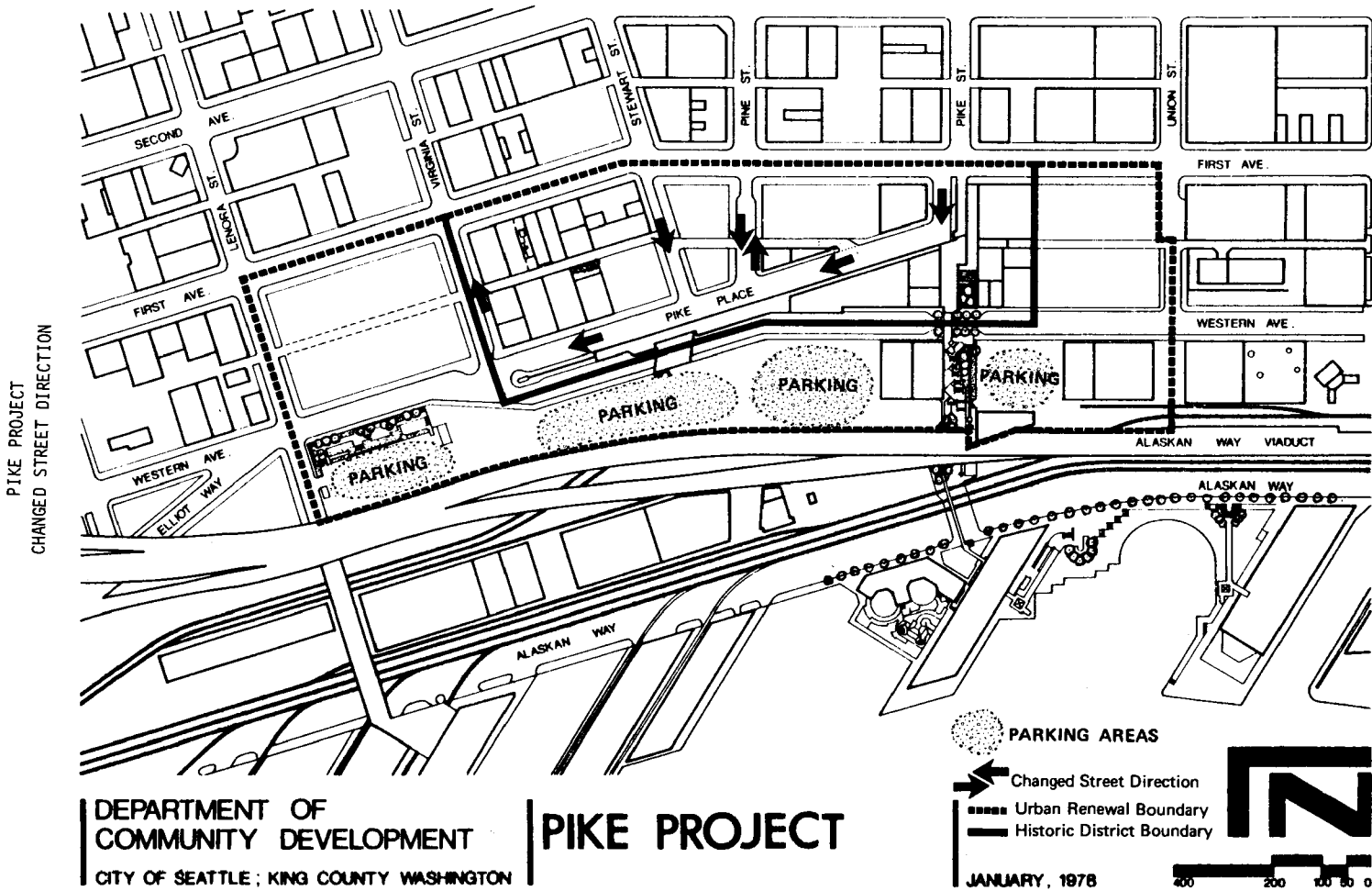


FIGURE 2

to acquaint themselves with the market, its crowd level, and the availability of free parking. They could then park in a convenient lot. In the original routing, the shopper was drawn away from Western Avenue lots, through progressively greater congestion, into the general press of downtown traffic.

Motorists followed new directional signs, and in many cases avoided the congestion of Pike Place completely by using bordering streets to reach off-street parking. Stairways on the Western Avenue side of market buildings were brightened with new paint and marked with bold signs to encourage use of neglected access routes. A new stairway was constructed from the off-street parking to a bridge over Western Avenue into the market, thus facilitating shopper access.

Changes in the operation of parking lots were possible because the underlying properties had been acquired by the city of Seattle as part of the urban-renewal process. Once the lots were purchased, they were put under a property management agreement with the Pike Place Merchants' Association for day-to-day operation and maintenance. This mechanism provided the opportunity for a key constituent group in the project area to have direct authority in dealing with an important problem. By the terms of the property-management contract, some of the revenues are returned to the Pike Place Project; a portion compensates the Merchants' Association for its services; the balance goes into a capital-improvements account to enhance the revenue-producing potential of the lots. The arrangement has permitted the Merchants' Association to proceed with both management and physical changes to make the lots a more successful adjunct to the market.

The initial improvements made a remarkable change. Merchants and others

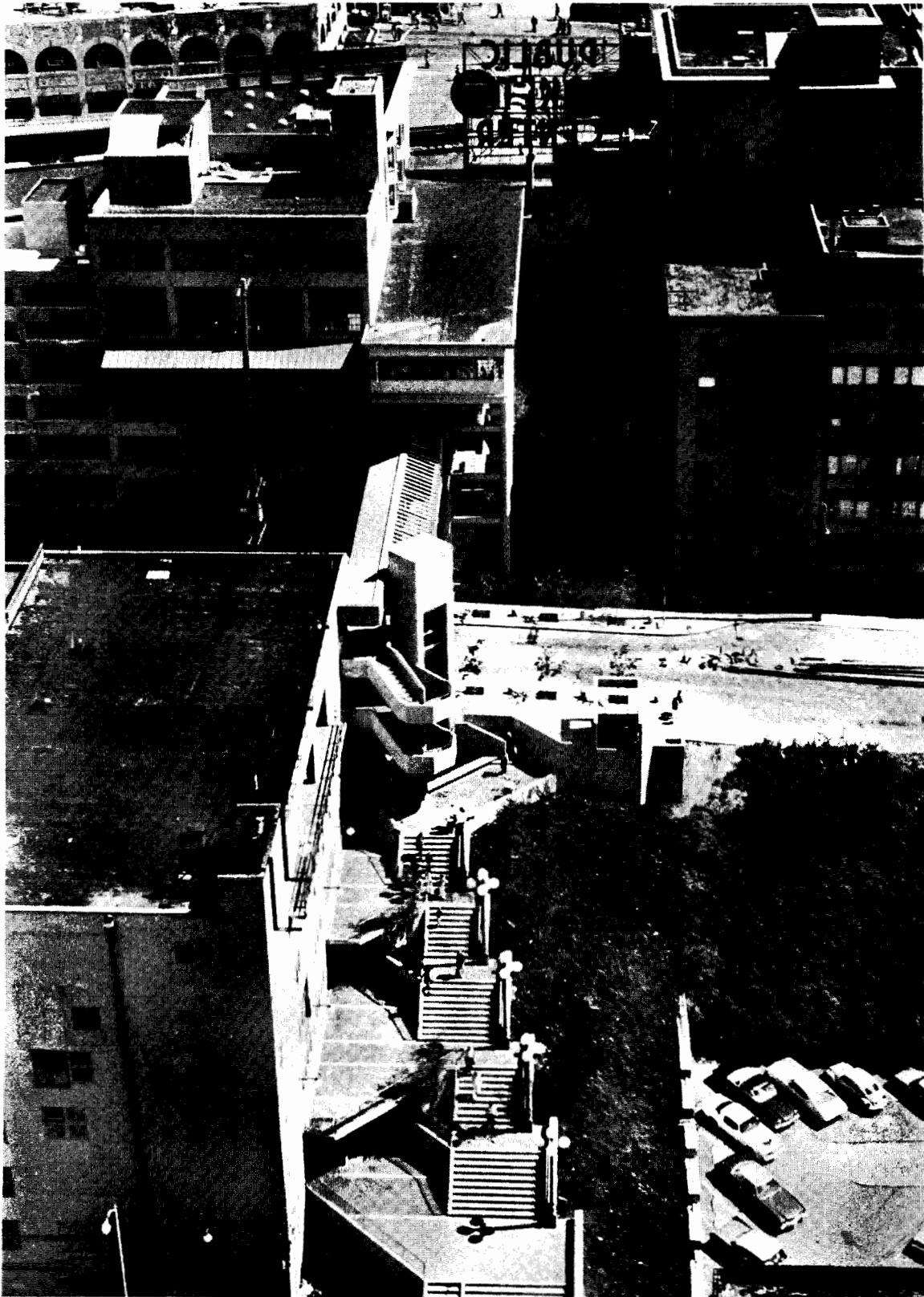
seeking all-day or monthly parking arrangements were shifted to lots on the perimeter of the area. This freed lots immediately adjacent to the market for high-turnover parking to serve customers. Parking lots that had seen very little use were filled at peak times. Stairways used by as few as 65 people in a day began to serve approximately 140 an hour. The number of customers using the market rose steadily.

The consultants also addressed the question of pedestrian circulation. They recommended that the Hillclimb Corridor be constructed at the earliest possible date, to maximize pedestrian access to the rehabilitated market buildings and to enhance circulation to Western Avenue parking spaces. Rehabilitation of key buildings of the market was scheduled to begin in the summer of 1976, with completion in the fall of 1978. Construction of the Hillclimb could be scheduled in tandem with rehabilitation so that pedestrians could use the route for access to new parking spaces. The consultants further argued that the goal of attracting more cars into parking spaces on Western Avenue required connections to both the market and the waterfront, which the Hillclimb development would provide.

Interested citizens and various constituent organizations that had been working with the city--the Merchants' Association, Market Historical Commission, and Pike Place Market Preservation and Development Authority--reviewed the design plan and, after some modifications, concurred in the decisions to continue with the traffic experiment and to proceed with specific plans and designs for the Hillclimb Corridor.

The Hillclimb: A Connection Between Downtown, the Market, and the Waterfront

The 1974 urban-renewal plan had marked a route on the existing Pike Street



Hillclimb corridor provides pedestrian access from Seattle streets (background) through various market buildings to Elliott Bay. Cars (foreground) are parked at level of the bay. (Photo by Linda Manewall, City of Seattle.)

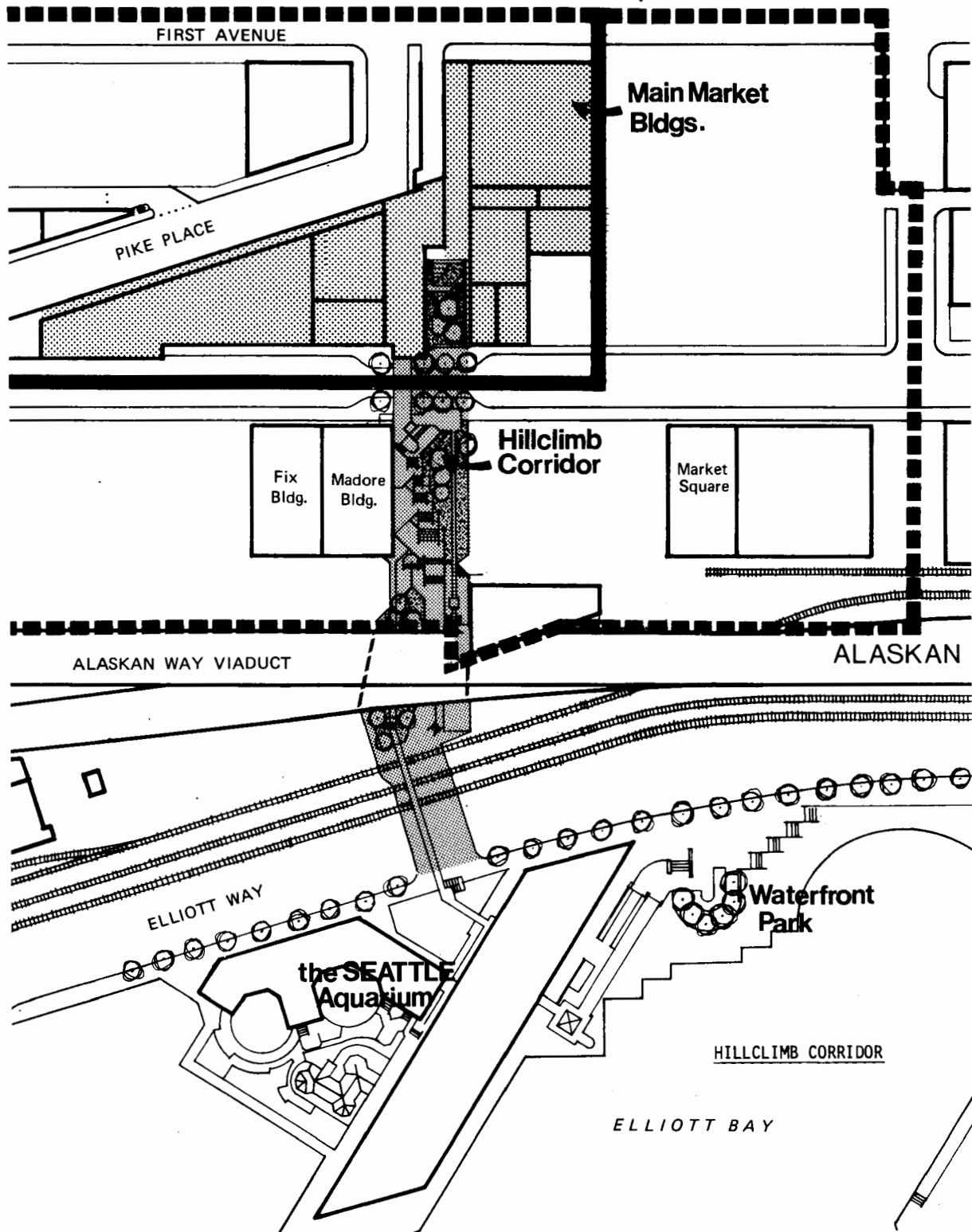
right-of-way and called for development to "provide for mechanical and other means ("hill climb") for moving people between the main market and the waterfront."* After the plan was passed, the city made two major development decisions, increasing the importance of the corridor: (1) construction of a public aquarium, expected to attract nearly one million visitors annually, on two waterfront piers at the terminus of Pike Street, immediately adjacent to the new Central Waterfront Park; and (2) completion of plans and selection of a developer for the Westlake Project, a downtown retail development incorporating within a privately developed commercial complex an attractive park and the downtown terminal for the Monorail, which provides high-speed, aboveground transportation to and from Seattle Center, site of the 1962 World's Fair.

The city's comprehensive plan for Seattle's downtown had designated Pike and Pine Streets as the east-west routes to be improved to attract pedestrians and to foster economic revitalization. Through a self-taxing Local Improvement District (LID), property owners on Pike Street decided to invest in widened sidewalks, attractive lighting, trees, and other street amenities to make it inviting to shoppers and provide a final link over the pedestrian route between the revitalized retail core, the renewed market, the Hillclimb Corridor, and the aquarium and waterfront park.

Meanwhile, the city, in cooperation with the metropolitan transit agency (METRO), established a "Magic Carpet" free-fare zone in downtown Seattle. An immediate success, it permitted passengers to ride free on any bus or trolley moving through the central business district. Routes were adjusted to provide buses along the waterfront, which lacked a mass transit service.

* Urban Renewal Plan, p. 13.

FIGURE 3



However, because of topography, there was no direct transit service between downtown and the waterfront; to travel two or three blocks, east-west passengers had to ride a time-consuming north-south loop. A mechanically assisted Hillclimb Corridor development was seen as a means of providing a necessary transit link for quick and convenient service over the intimidating bluff. (See Figure 3.)

The circulation concept outlined in the urban-renewal plan thus gained added significance as a result of subsequent downtown developments. A Hillclimb Corridor advisory group was formed--including representatives of the Market Merchants' Association, Historical Commission, Preservation and Development Authority, Downtown Seattle Development Association, and waterfront merchants--to work with Pike Project and the design team to flesh out the idea.

Many objectives had to be met. It was felt that the pedestrian way should be inviting, but not overpowering; it should have its own character, but harmonize with the historical district and waterfront improvements. Its environment would be that of a "hillside park"; its technology, simple and straightforward, rather than exotic, able to accommodate the infirm as well as transport merchandise. Hillclimb was not seen as a means of providing express transportation, but rather of maximizing opportunities for pedestrians to "filter through" the many buildings bordering it both in and outside the historical district. The development was to foster pedestrian movement, serve as a green courtyard for housing in the rehabilitated market, and enable the public to appreciate the magnificent westerly view of water, mountains, and port activities.

Construction of the Hillclimb corridor began in January 1977, and the first phase was completed in February 1978. The basic construction consists

of a series of concrete stairs and terraces, accented with brick paving which matches that used for the park. The terraces adjoin a warehouse building to provide pedestrian access to this property, which will be rehabilitated for commercial, retail, and other compatible uses.

The corridor is illuminated with "old Seattle" globe lighting, matching that in the historic district. A glass-enclosed pedestrian bridge across Western Avenue links the lower levels of the rehabilitated main market buildings with a three-step horizontal elevator which will also serve the adjacent warehouse building. This bridge repeats the materials, colors, and window character found in the market structures. The corridor is generously landscaped.

In terms of economic revitalization, the Hillclimb Corridor already has proved its worth. Private developers acquired a seven-story warehouse south of the Hillclimb, rehabilitated it at a cost of \$2.3 million, and are renting space for offices, retail shops, and restaurants. The warehouse property immediately adjacent to the corridor was offered by the Pike Project for development proposals in December 1977, and five competitive plans were received. Rehabilitation is expected to cost more than \$2 million.

Plans for the Hillclimb Corridor anticipated two construction phases. Base construction of the pedestrian way, bridge, elevator-stair, lighting, irrigation, and landscaping came first. The major transportation element --a four-wheeled elevator cab running on an inclined beam-and-track system, with loading terminals at Western Avenue and the waterfront--was to be implemented later.

The inclined elevator has been designed as a self-service, demand-

ARTIST'S ELEVATION OF HILLCLIMB CORRIDOR

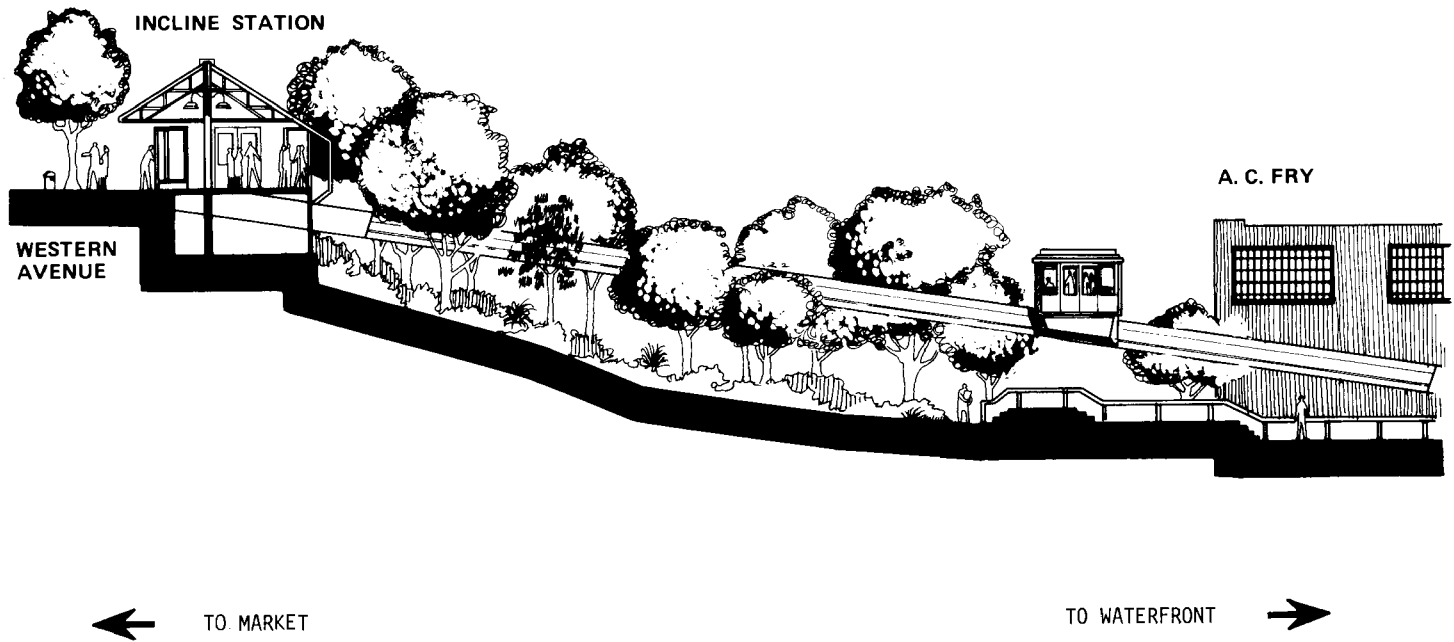


FIGURE 4

actuated system with a capacity of 1,000 persons per hour. It would terminate at Western Avenue. A "traveler" could then walk across Western Avenue and enter an upright elevator that connects to the market through a glassed-in pedestrian walkway and, in about five minutes, be in the central business district and connect to metropolitan transit routes. Or a shopper could be diverted along the way into the inviting array of shops.

The budget of approximately \$1 million for the Hillclimb under the revised Pike Project funding was not sufficient to implement both construction stages. The city's Department of Community Development and Office of Policy Planning decided that the inclined elevator, the cost of which was estimated at approximately \$500,000, would be eligible for funding as a "transportation improvement" under a state or federal categorical program.

The inclined elevator represents an innovative application of elevator technology which, if successful, could point the way for a series of low-cost transportation links over the steep bluff that runs the full length of downtown. This development might be applicable to other cities with similar topographical problems.

The Hillclimb Corridor project received acceptance from METRO and the Puget Sound Council of Governments, and was incorporated in transportation improvement plans for capital development. Efforts to obtain state or federal transportation grants, however, have made clear that it is difficult to convey the idea that pedestrian improvements--and this particular movement system--are genuine "transportation improvements."

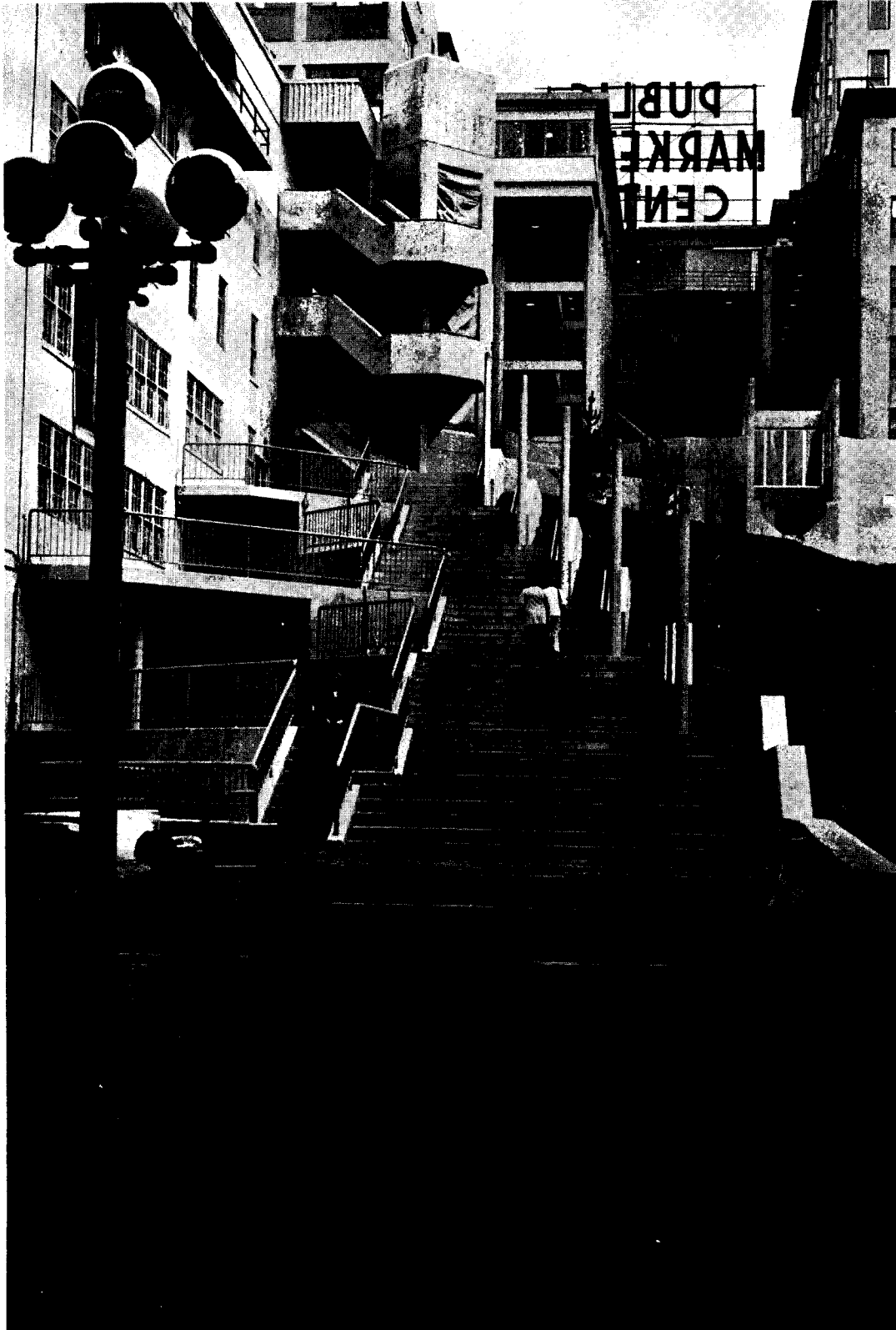
Initial funding efforts were directed toward the Urban Mass Trans-

portation Administration (UMTA). The city grouped the request with a "people-mover" improvement in the central business district, and described the measures as necessary to achieve a desirable and comprehensive pedestrian circulation and parking system. Initial discussions between the city and UMTA were favorable. A preliminary proposal was submitted as part of a national competition for demonstration program money for the study of people-mover systems.

Seattle, eventually eliminated from this competition, applied for other Department of Transportation demonstration program funds. Discussions with regional DOT staff established that the inclined elevator alone would not warrant DOT's consideration of funding.

Subsequently, the city Office of Policy Planning recommended--and the mayor and city council agreed--that the Hillclimb elevator should be funded under Federal Aid to Urban Systems (FAUS), from which the city received annual allocations for priority projects. FAUS generally has been oriented toward correction of vehicle-circulation problems and applied to paving, lighting, street widening, and other traditional improvements in the public right-of-way. However, funding can be used for pedestrian improvements in arterial right-of-way areas.

Further, the Office of Policy Planning has recommended that the Arterial City Street Fund (gas-tax revenues) be used as the required match for the FAUS funds to complete the improvement; this has also been approved by the mayor and council. Again, this funding has been generally applied to right-of-way improvements serving vehicles, rather than pedestrians. The Hillclimb project would thus set precedents for use of these funds.



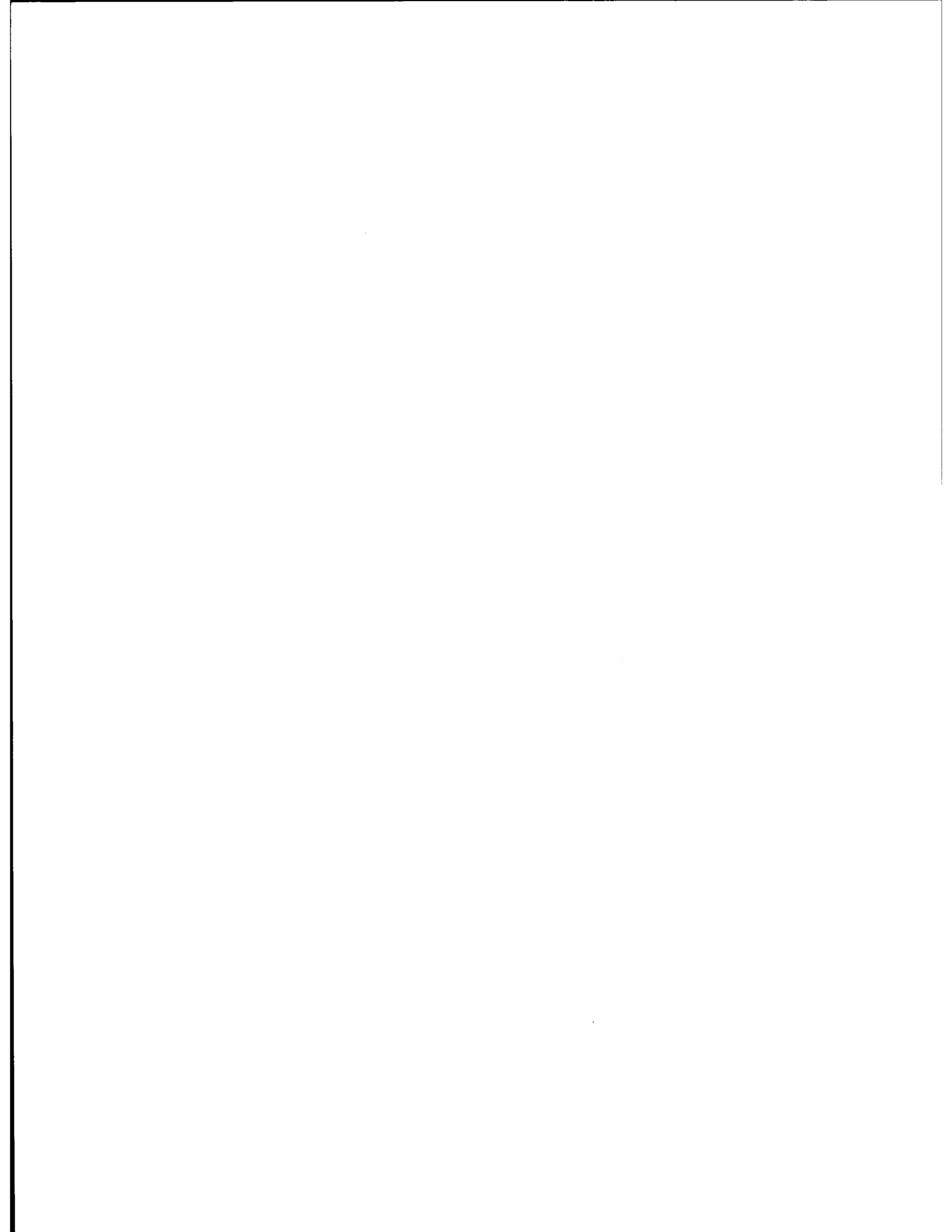
Hillclimb was designed to encourage easy movement through different levels of the market, where the pedestrian may find many surprises. (Photo by Linda Manewall, City of Seattle.)

Prior to city expenditure of funds, however, the Washington State Highway Department and the Federal Highway Administration must give their approval. Both the Office of Policy Planning and the Department of Community Development believe it will be difficult to obtain. The reviewing agencies have little familiarity with pedestrian-circulation issues and are not acquainted with an innovative concept such as the Hillclimb elevator.

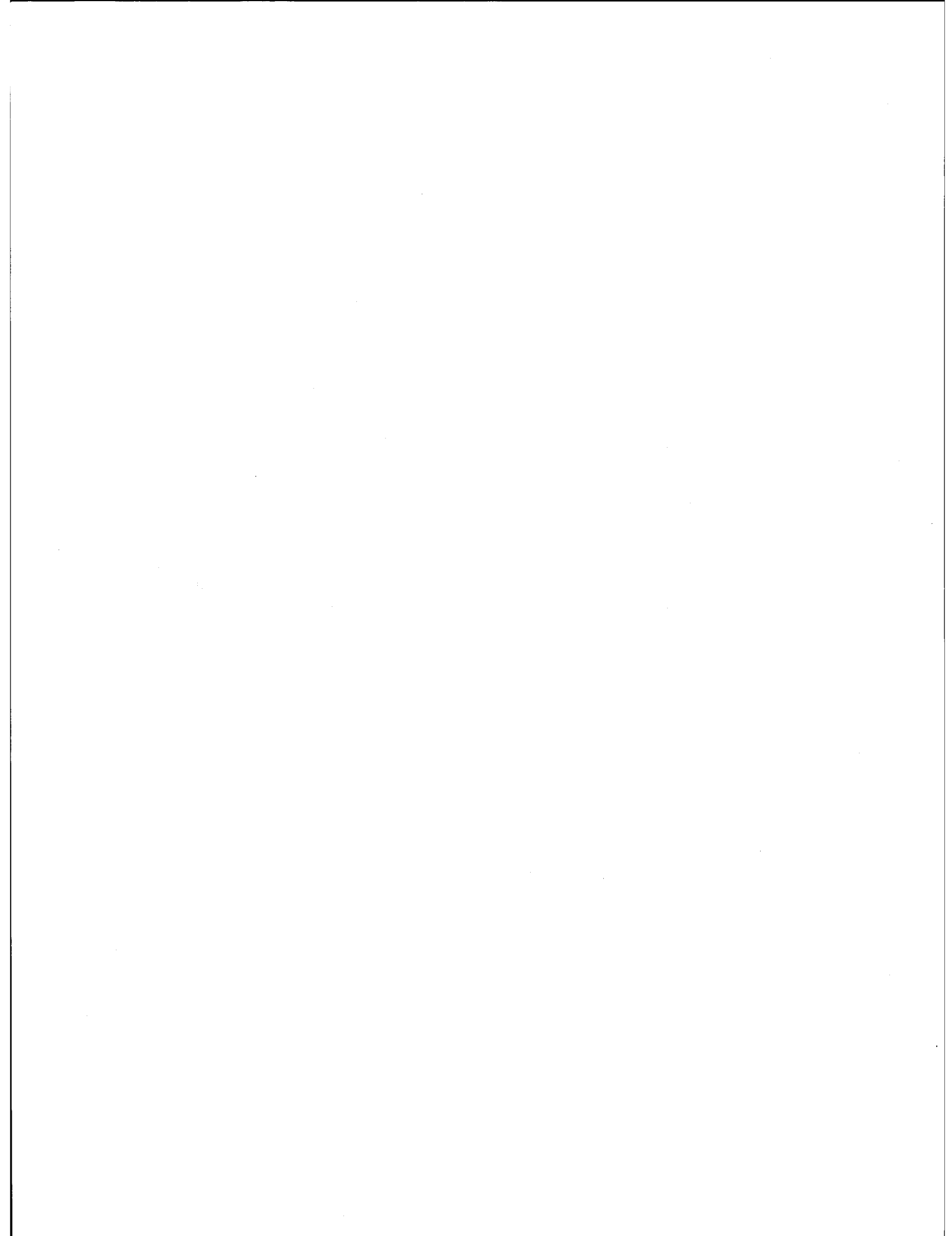
CONCLUSION

As of late 1978, the impact and success of the Circulation/Transportation Plan for the Pike Place Urban Renewal Project were uncertain. The clamor for more parking continues. In January 1978, the city contracted for a consultant to do a parking analysis for the Central Waterfront and Pike Market area. Afterward, the city once again will determine its transportation objectives, and whether to apply public funding to resolve the problems identified in the study. If more cars must be accommodated, the preservationists seem to believe that a garage adjacent to the Historic District will have less impact on the area than dispersed parking within the district.

Problems will arise, change, and be solved in the Pike Place Market area, but the enduring legacy is a community process of dialogue among all of those concerned about the problems and affected by the solutions. In this climate of continuous interaction, transportation issues will be identified and addressed for years beyond the life of the Pike Place Urban Renewal Project.



APPENDICES



TRANSPORTATION'S ROLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

February 22-24, 1978

Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland

Wednesday, February 22

6:00 - REGISTRATION AND RECEPTION (Cash Bar) *Cavalier Room, Upper Lobby*
8:00 p.m. *Level*

Selected films on neighborhood revitalization and transportation planning will be shown. "Baltimore on the Move," a 25-minute multi-media introduction to Baltimore, will be presented at 7:00.

Thursday, February 22

8:15 a.m. REGISTRATION *Salons A, B, and C, Second Floor*

9:00 WELCOME

William K. Reilly, President, The Conservation Foundation,
Washington, D.C.

Richard S. Page, Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Adminis-
tration, U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

Monsignor Geno Baroni, Assistant Secretary for Neighborhood Voluntary
Associations and Consumer Protection, U.S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

LINKING TRANSPORTATION PLANNING TO NEIGHBORHOOD CONSERVATION:
4 Case Studies

Community leaders and public officials will present brief accounts of their efforts to relate transportation planning to neighborhood conservation in their own communities. Selected respondents will comment on the presentations.

Moderator: *Donald Appleyard*, Professor of Urban Design, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Case Studies:

The South End, Boston, Massachusetts: Ellen H. Gordon, senior transportation planner, Central Transportation Planning Staff, Boston; organizing member, South End Committee on Transportation.

Central West End, St. Louis, Missouri: The Reverend Dr. Orville L. Brotherton, senior pastor, Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis; founder and president, Future Transportation Models (FTM).

Woodward East, Detroit, Michigan: Edith Woodberry, president, Woodward East Project, Inc.; manager, Woodward East Towers.

Pike Place Market Renewal, Seattle, Washington: Harriet Sherburne, division director, Pike Project.

Respondents:

Frank C. Colcord, Jr., Professor of Political Science, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts;

Leon Eplan, Commissioner, Department of Budgeting and Planning, Atlanta, Georgia;

William Manning, Project Director, Intra-Neighborhood Transportation Project, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, Washington, D.C.

DISCUSSION

12:15

LUNCHEON, *Salons D, E, & F, Second Floor*

SPEECH

M. Jay Brodie, Commissioner, Department of Housing and Community Development, Baltimore, Maryland

1:30 - TRANSPORTATION'S ROLE IN REVITALIZING BALTIMORE'S NEIGHBORHOODS
5:00

The tour of Baltimore, organized by *Albert De Salvo*, Executive Director, Citizens' Planning and Housing Association, Baltimore, Maryland, is designed to explore the transportation components in Baltimore's public and private revitalization efforts. At each site, individuals directly involved with the particular project will share their experiences and observations.

1:30 Briefing and slide presentation on Lexington Center

Representatives of the Greater Baltimore Committee and the city government will discuss the Lexington Center Plan for integrated transportation and land-use development, the value capture strategy, and a people-mover proposed to tie together the market and major CBD employment centers.

2:00 Participants board buses at the Hanover Street exit of the Lord Baltimore Hotel

To brief participants on local urban affairs, transportation, and neighborhood conservation issues, each bus will have a local resource guide:

David Jon Boehlke, marketing strategist, Neighborhood Housing Services;

Stephanie Solomonoff Reich, staff aide to City Council President Walter S. Orlinsky, Baltimore;

Albert De Salvo.

Areas to be visited are:

Lexington Center, the site of Baltimore's famous produce and vegetable market, where a proposed subway stop is a major element in a public/private redevelopment concept, combining transportation and land-use planning to revitalize a downtown shopping district.

Bolton Hill, where traffic circulation management (including barriers) controls high-speed traffic through this close-in residential neighborhood.

Old Town/Gay Street Mall, once a deteriorating commercial strip in a low-income neighborhood, now redeveloped into a pedestrian shopping mall for nearby residents and existing merchants. Adjacent urban homesteading, market renewal, and store facade renovation are part of the revitalization effort.

SECO (South East Community Organization) Neighborhood Center, the office of a multi-purpose umbrella community organization with special interests in neighborhood conservation, social services, and transportation. SECO includes in its membership the Society for the Preservation of Federal Hill and Fells Point, formed to fight an interstate expressway through East Baltimore.

- 5:00 Return to Lord Baltimore Hotel
- 6:00 RECEPTION (Cash Bar) *Cavalier Foyer, Upper Lobby Level*
- 7:00 DINNER *Cavalier Room*
- 8:15 - 10:00 PANEL PRESENTATION: Resources for Transportation Planning and Implementation *Cavalier Room*

Panelists will discuss a range of relevant federal and private resources and opportunities for coordination and innovation.

Moderator: *C. Kenneth Orski*, Associate Administrator for Policy and Program Development, Urban Mass Transportation Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

Panelists:

Leon Eplan, Commissioner, Department of Budgeting and Planning, Atlanta, Georgia

Richard C.D. Fleming, General Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Philip Hammer, Chairman of the Board, Hammer, Siler, George Associates (urban economic consultants), Washington, D.C.

John Hansel, Special Assistant for the Environment, Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

Robert McNulty, Assistant Director, Architecture + Environmental Arts, National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, D.C.

Ali Sevin, Chief, Community and Environmental Planning Branch, Urban Planning Division, Federal Highway Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

DISCUSSION

Friday, February 24

- 9:00 a.m. TRANSIT AS IF PEOPLE MATTERED *Cavalier Room, Upper Lobby Level*
- Neal Peirce*, Syndicated Columnist, Washington, D.C.

9:45 -
11:45

WORKSHOP SESSIONS (Participants select one)

1. Transportation Planning for Neighborhood Vitality and Livability
Maryland Room, Third Floor

Moderator: *Linda Billings*, Sierra Club, Washington, D.C.

Panelists: *Donald Appleyard*, Professor of Urban Design,
Department of City and Regional Planning,
University of California, Berkeley, California.

The Reverend Dr. Orville L. Brotherton,
senior pastor, Second Presbyterian Church; Founder
and President, Future Transportation Models (FTM),
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William Manning, Project Director, Intra-Neighborhood
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Joseph Passonneau, Joseph Passonneau and Partners,
Architects and Engineers, Washington, D.C.

2. Involving Citizens in Transportation Planning
Florentine Room, Third Floor

Moderator: *Panke Bradley*, Member of the City Council, Atlanta,
Georgia

Panelists: *Ellen H. Gordon*, Senior Transportation Planner,
Central Transportation Planning Staff, Boston,
Massachusetts

John Hilpert, Transportation Planner, Raleigh,
North Carolina

Joseph Vilenno, Jr., Director, Office of Special
Projects for the Mayor, Providence, Rhode Island

3. Downtown Revitalization
Downtown B, Mezzanine Level

Moderator: *Frank C. Colcord, Jr.*, Professor of Political
Science, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts

Panelists: *Alan Borut*, Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C.

Leon Eplan, Commissioner, Department of Budgeting
and Planning, Atlanta, Georgia

Richard M. Rosan, Director, Mayor's Office of
Development, New York, New York

4. Creative Local Government Solutions
Downtown A, Mezzanine Level

Moderator: *Lawrence Reich*, Director, Department of Planning,
Baltimore, Maryland

Panelists: *Douglas C. Schneider, Jr.*, Director, D.C. Department
of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

Peter Ujvagi, East Toledo Community Organizing
Sponsoring Committee, Toledo, Ohio

William Wilson, Director, Department of Streets,
St. Louis, Missouri

11:15 - REPORTS FROM WORKSHOPS *Cavalier Room, Upper Lobby Level*
12:00

Moderator: *Carl Westmoreland*, Director, Madisonville
Neighborhood Housing Services Program, Cincinnati, Ohio

12:00 CLOSING REMARKS

Joseph Timilty, State Senator, Boston, Massachusetts; Chairman,
National Commission on Neighborhoods

12:30 ADJOURNMENT



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Telephone (202)797-4300 Cable CONSERVIT

TRANSPORTATION'S ROLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

February 22-24, 1978

Baltimore, Maryland

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