Urban Design in Action

The history, theory and development of the American Institute of Architects' Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams (R/UDAT) Program.

Editors:
Peter Batchelor, David Lewis
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The history, theory and development of the American Institute of Architects' Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams Program (R/UDAT).

The Student Publication of the School of Design
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina
Dedicated to the memory of
Jules Gregory, FAIA, 1920-1985

Who challenged the architectural profession to expand its responsibility beyond the design of individual buildings and to assume a leadership role in enhancing the comprehensive quality of life in our cities.
Credits:

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Foreword

No one can doubt that our cities are in desperate need of help. Even those cities that we regard as the jewels of our culture have problems of many different kinds. From large and beautiful cities like San Francisco and Washington, D.C. to small New England mill towns nestling peacefully beside fast running streams in wooded valleys, there seem to be no exceptions.

Some problems are national, and all of our cities are affected by them. Others are particular and local. But whether local or national, they are all intensely real to the people who are affected by them. Usually one finds that a problem does not exist on its own, but is a part of the entire network of economic social and physical problems: unemployment; industries made obsolete by technological change; a declining tax base; the exodus of the talented young, and a loss of pride. On the other hand such negatives are just as often counterbalanced by the courage and determination of citizens and local government to turn the tide and make their cities better, to strive for new goals—if only they knew how to define them, how to design them realistically, and how to turn them into action.

Urban Design in Action is the documentation of a record of achievement by professional assistance teams who answer to appeals for help from our cities. Called Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams, or R/UDATs, they began in 1967 in response to a citizen’s chance perception that the American Institute of Architects could help resolve the problems of his community. The first team discovered that the city is a living organism, embodying within prototypical problems the local culture, history and aspirations of its citizens. They sensed its continual evolution, from past to future forms. Most of all, they realized that the citizens wanted to help shape their own destinies, to participate in the formulation of policies whose implementation would result in a new sense of community.

Since the formation of that first team, more than eighty R/UDATs have been conducted on cities throughout the United States. Hundreds of professionals drawn from the design and planning fields have volunteered tens of thousands of hours to the cause of building liveable communities. These professionals all have in common: a love for cities, a belief in their future, and a determination to help the citizens of each urban community articulate their goals and participate in the job of making urban environments better and more satisfying places to live in.
Over time the R/UDAT process evolved into its current mode of operation: a methodology of interdisciplinary problem definition and resolution in which the existing city's contexts provide all the elements from which the image of the cities future must take its shape. Consequently, R/UDAT teams are drawn from a national pool of specialists—men and women who are eminent in their field and who represent, in human terms, the broad range of skills and resources needed to analyze the city's issues and to propose solutions to particular problems.

The book is divided into two parts. The first sets the contexts in which urban design operates. The second provides case studies of typical R/UDATs and their products. In the first part the R/UDAT process is explained, followed by descriptions of the structure and form of American cities, the impact of urban design on architectural and planning practice, how government and the private sector can work together to make our cities better, and urban design education in architecture and planning schools. The second part describes typical R/UDATs and defines universal themes affecting the redevelopment of American cities. An appendix contains a detailed description of the R/UDAT process.

Born in an atmosphere of urban crisis in the sixties, the growing and deepening impact of urban design is one of the most exciting developments in recent years in architecture and related professions, bringing new enlightenment and dedication to the people of our cities. The civil rights movement taught us to listen, and to hear those whose voices had gone unheard for generations. The bicentennial taught us to see in our cities a history and tradition that is strong and uniquely American. R/UDAT has taught us how to turn the aspirations of citizens, and their descriptions of urban value, into action.

Peter Batchelor, David Lewis
Section One
Perspectives:
History, Theory and Development
David Lewis, Editor
1 The History of an Idea
1 The History of an Idea

**Genesis**

One day early in 1967, James Bell, President of the Rapid City, South Dakota, Chamber of Commerce, was in Washington for a meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He had a little time and he had something on his mind. So he stopped at the headquarters of the American Institute of Architects to visit with Andy Euston, then Director of Urban Programs. Mr. Bell, a practicing engineer, had a keen interest in what makes cities work and a deep dedication to his home town. He recalls that at the AIA that day there happened to be others present from the Urban Design and Planning Committee.

His question: “Is there anything you architects can do to help us with some very serious problems we have in Rapid City?” He articulated what a few of those problems were. After some intense talk the architects made a suggestion. They offered to gather a small group of experienced professionals to go to Rapid City as volunteers and confer with local government officials and citizens on site, if Rapid City were to put together enough funds to pay their expenses. That sounded pretty reasonable to Mr. Bell. He promised to carry the idea back home and see what kind of response it produced.

**The first R/UDAT**

Soon after Mr. Bell’s visit to Washington a formal request for an assistance team came to the AIA from the Rapid City Chamber of Commerce. The Urban Planning and Design Committee met and a visit was committed.

Four team members, two architects and two planners were selected, and a packet of maps, aerial photos, statistics and other background information about Rapid City was sent to each. The three-day visit occurred in June.

The team met with the Mayor and Council. They also met with local architects, the media and key citizens. They tried to keep their meetings informal, and to hear all sides of the various issues that were raised. And they reviewed the data about Rapid City in the light of what they heard. At the end of their visit they made a verbal presentation of their findings. A week or so later they mailed to Rapid City a brief written report and recommendations. Their expenses came to $900.

The results, over time, were powerful. A planning commission was established with one of the local architects as a member. The city hired a full-time planner and engaged a consultant to help. Citizens and officials became aware of the issues and learned to debate them jointly as part of the planning process. Everyone who was involved — including the visiting team — came to see in a few short and crowded days that the community, with a modicum of stimulus and help from the outside, had resources within it that it could learn to harness in the public interest. Business people, citizens and government joined forces for the first time. Indeed, it took the group of outsiders to trigger that result.
Back at the AIA, the architectural community was astonished and gratified. The value of the process was clear to the Urban Planning and Design Committee. It decided to offer the idea to other communities. And R/UDAT was born.

**What is a R/UDAT?**

R/UDAT is the acronym for a cumbersome and unmemorable official title: Regional and Urban Design Assistance Teams. (And it is as unmemorable to be told that this official title derives from the two AIA national committees—the Regional Planning Committee and the Urban Planning and Design Committee—which shared responsibility for the program when it first got started.) But the acronym is rapidly becoming a word in our language: “Roodat”!

**Well then, what’s so significant about R/UDAT that justifies a book?**

Because by sending teams to urban communities that request them (there have now been over eighty) the AIA has done something for cities that no other professional body has ever done. And in the process, the success of these teams has deeply affected the way urban communities have perceived their capacity to generate change from within, and has also deeply affected the way architecture is taught and practiced.

**The first R/UDAT in its national context**

First, let’s see Rapid City in its historical setting. Rapid City’s R/UDAT occurred almost 20 years ago. That was the high noon of urban renewal. Suburbs were expanding. New urban growth was at the edges of cities large and small, fingerling out into the open countryside. Everyone who could afford to in the 1950’s and 60’s moved outwards, particularly young college-educated families. Cars and gas were cheap. Highways and interchanges were under construction. New strip shopping centers, the forerunners of today’s enclosed malls, were steadily draining out the strengths of traditional downtowns. And offices and light industry had begun moving to suburban industrial parks.
Twenty-five years ago the flight from cities was not merely a geographic migration. It was a flight from origins. Young people, especially, turned their backs on the ethnic pasts of their parents and grandparents, choosing a new future as suburban Americans. The architectural language of the new suburban schools, offices and industries, sited on wide lawns with neat parking areas landscaped with trees, was of bright technological tomorrows, spacious, open and optimistic. And those who were left behind in the older neighborhoods were most often the folk who couldn't afford to move, the old, the minorities, the unskilled, the poor. And the cure for the problem areas of the inner city was to declare them blighted and to demolish them, leaving churches without congregations and cities with declining tax bases to maintain their streets, parks, hospitals, libraries, utilities and services.
Today the mood has changed so much that it is hard to believe now how many politicians and department heads at the national level were declaring, a mere two decades ago, that the old and traditional city was dead and that new decentralized urban forms would replace it. Metropolitan growth was seen as radial extensions along highways like the spokes of a wheel. Forecasts of urban growth showed these lineal extensions of metropoli becoming linked to form urban corridors. Two well known studies in the sixties showed megalopolitan corridors linking Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington in a northeast coastal system, and the other showed Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Erie and Buffalo in a great lakes system. The traditional centers of cities were perceived as “islands of excellence”—commuter cores of high density office towers reached by limited access high speed highways and rapid transit lines. Along the radials were suburban nodes — decentralized office and industrial parks, and shopping centers. Under urban renewal the older residential areas of the center city would be cleared and would become building sites for the expansion of high density cores or park land.
Rediscovery of the city
Fortunately these forecasts have not been realized entirely. Many historic inner-city areas were declared blighted and demolished. Because we know now from today’s vantage-point that we could have rehabilitated them, we mourn the waste. But enough of the older neighborhoods remain for us to be able to work with our urban inheritance — socially as well as physically — and graft new urban futures on to the old historic stems. Indeed, people everywhere are beginning to focus on our cities once again.

We are rediscovering orchestras, art museums, universities and historic buildings. The energy crisis of the seventies has made us realize how limited fossil fuels are, and that alternative energy sources must be found. Costs of family travel to work, shop, school and leisure have soared, particularly for people who live in the suburbs and commute to the city. Housing shortages have led to a rediscovery of older in-city neighborhoods, and to the satisfactions of remodeling and gentrification.

Developers and local governments are realizing that rebuilding in old neighborhoods offers economic advantages over the suburbs — because roads, sewers, utilities, shops, schools and all the other amenities already exist. And people in ever-increasing numbers are interested in “roots”, in the
ethnic origins of our cities. Bumper stickers that say “Proud to be Polish” or “Ireland Forever” or simply “Italia” are so common we hardly notice them any more. But intense urban problems still remain unsolved. Our cities still house the poor and the segregated. And in a world of rapid technological change in industry, the problems of unemployed men and women who lack the technical skills for the new employment markets are intense and real.

**The birth of a new urban consciousness**

The Rapid City R/UDAT occurred at a moment of great historical importance for cities. The civil rights movement was really gathering momentum. 1968 was the year of the long hot summer. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated: and burnings, lootings and riots broke out in the black ghettos of several cities including Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C. Perhaps the racial riots in Washington, the nation’s capitol, was the biggest surprise, cutting to the quick. And an unexpected cry arose from the slums and ghettos: “black is beautiful”.

Urban design was still in its infancy in the United States. The words were not a phrase in our vocabulary the way they are today. If anyone thought about urban design at all, it was taken to mean the formal beaux arts design of civic spaces. “Interior decoration in the rain” was the way someone characterized it. Certainly it was not geared to grapple with the social, economic and political forces that underlay the urban problems that erupted in American cities in 1967.

In contrast with later R/UDATs, which became much more sophisticated as a result of dealing head-on with these difficult and highly contentious issues in more complex cities, the Rapid City R/UDAT was small and primitive, faraway, and in light of current events patently lacking in consequence. But as things turned out, Rapid City was far from lacking in consequence. It taught a revealing and basic lesson.

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1 The History of an Idea
A new kind of urban design takes shape

Architects, by training, measure success in physical terms. "Design" to the architectural world means the design of physical environments and buildings.

It is not surprising, therefore, that virtually every urban renewal clearance in the 1950's and 60's was accompanied by official plans and models showing new buildings, boulevards, parks, schools. The graphics were beautiful and idealistic. New buildings stood out like sharp cubes in the sun, surrounded by trees and grass. Cars were parked neatly in lots, and street intersections were free of congestion. Usually the graphics were drawn by architects and planners who worked in offices that were remote from the sites they drew. Sometimes these offices were even in far off cities. Indeed, the architects might be forgiven if their designs for these urban renewal areas in the hearts of cities resembled suburbs. After all the suburbs were the older inner city's competition, and they were successful.
Yet the civil rights movement and other liberation movements of the late 60's and early 70's were telling us something very different about the mainsprings of design.

**Design without people**

Seldom were the citizens who lived in inner city communities asked by the official designers what their perceptions and goals were. The thought that the inhabitants might have different values and priorities from those of the planners and architects, and the government agencies which hired them, did not occur to anyone. It would certainly have seemed ludicrous that the citizens might want to retain the character and density of the inherited city which had so clearly become obsolete and had failed. It was not that the people in government or the architects were trying to be callous or dictatorial. They were doing what they thought they needed to do under the circumstances. In a way they were like doctors, curing the city. Their designs were prescribed like medicine. They were giving the people what they needed, what was good for them; and the plans they prescribed were objectively thought out in terms of public budgets, health standards, zoning regulations, demographic projections, new employment and tax benefits. After all, in an increasingly technological world how would ordinary people know what the new city should be like? That’s what the professionals were for. Fortunately, the plans they prescribed were seldom built; the few that were tended to be cold and impersonal.
Design with people

In contrast with this way of doing things, it turned out that the most significant achievement of the Rapid City R/UDAT was not physical at all — at least not to begin with. It lay in a different kind of design: the design of public policy, arrived at through a process of democratic exchange.

Five months after Rapid City there was a second R/UDAT. This was in Frankfort, Kentucky, in November 1967. There were two more in 1968, three in 1969, and three more in 1970. In all of these early R/UDATs, many of the same characteristics recurred. When a team came to town, people who had never talked to each other before, far less heard one another, began talking and listening.

Business people, government people, neighborhood people, old and young, minorities and WASPs, rich and poor, came to the same open meetings to talk about their aspirations, and about the obstacles that stood in the way of achieving their goals. Problems were debated and from every angle. There was no concealing any of the issues that were important to the citizens. Someone was bound to bring it up. And someone else was bound to dispute it, or have a different slant. Hidden agendas ran the risk of not being hidden for very long.

Some meetings even started by being confrontations. But most times people could see that confrontation was really a measure of passion. People got a load off their chest by shouting at one another and making accusations. But standoffs didn’t resolve anything. So meetings tended to become discussions instead. And the discussions began to reveal treasure troves of local inputs and perceptions. The team would learn about the issues, and about the history of local places and buildings in an entirely new way, a way that did not exist in books or reports, but firsthand, from people’s voices, in open and free public exchange.

But far more importantly, the people themselves learned from one another about the issues in this new way too, and saw within each issue, each perception, each piece of information and insight, a gist of political significance, a detailed piece in the jigsaw of policy and consensus. Agency representatives (who after all are citizens too) were asked to provide detailed explanations of how this property came to be zoned that way, or how that intersection will operate when it is rebuilt, or how state and federal funding is regulated pertaining to a particular project, and through their explanations citizens began to understand a bit better the mysteries of government. Documents of many different kinds, some of which might normally not have seen the light of public day, or be of particular interest if they did, became public and gained meanings that weren’t perceived before. People spoke at these meetings who had never spoken publicly. As they listened to each other speak, they became less shy about revealing their feelings and what they had thought to be their ignorances.
Impact on design
And as the members of the professional team began intensive discussions about what they had heard and learned, interrelationships between one issue and another began to be apparent. One thing would trigger another. Recommendations in one area became linked with recommendations in another. Networks of recommendations would be set up, anchored solidly in local contexts. And when the citizens who had participated perceived in the team's recommendations a true responsiveness to their concerns and inputs, local pride and commitment began to surface.

The architects and planners on these early assistance teams noticed something about themselves too. Their focus was not primarily on design at all, at least not in the old sense, but on making recommendations that affect policy. And when they drew their recommendations — which being architects they did more easily and naturally than writing them — they found that they were drawing in ways that differed from the drawings that were done by the urban renewal planners and by the majority of professional architects. Their drawings were not hardline and prescriptive designs imposed “from above,” but were tentative, exploratory, sensitive and uncertain, as though searching to uncover meanings. Instead of inserting hard new buildings into old streets, or replacing entire city blocks, they found themselves treating urban communities like pieces of old and treasured quilts, picking up threads of meaning and value, patching and stitching, trying to find the implicit, the particularity of inherited structure and texture and scale, introducing new buildings sensitively into old contexts, and eliciting new vocabulary from a sense of local place and heritage.
And as they drew, the architects explored the meanings of their drawings with the other professionals on these early R/UDATs, the economists, engineers, sociologists and historians. A sense began to emerge that drawings could become vehicles for the whole team working together, to explore alternatives and to define recommendations, and in this way economic and social policies became as much part of the content of drawings as physical concern with local fit.

So much has changed in the past twenty years in the way architecture is taught and practiced that much of this can be taken for granted now. But in the 60's and early 70's it was not. Architects and other professionals twenty years ago didn't think that anything was to be gained from listening to ordinary citizens. What could uneducated or untrained people offer to a task as intellectually sophisticated and complex as the design of cities? What could they be expected to know about real estate law or traffic engineering or development economics or the styles of historic buildings? R/UDAT has made an important contribution to the task of bringing about this change.
2 R/UDAT: How it Works
2 R/UDAT: How it works

Growth of an idea

Looking back, it is surprising how many of the elements and essential ingredients of today's mature R/UDAT process were present that May weekend in Rapid City. The team was interprofessional. They worked from a carefully developed itinerary. They worked with all components of the community. They toured the city, cameras, notepads and sketchbooks in hand. They recorded photographically and in thumbnail drawings and diagrams elements that seem to them to be symptomatic or at issue. These recordings, in all their freshness and spontaneity, they used in developing their recommendations and in their final presentation.

From that primitive beginning nearly twenty years ago, R/UDAT today has grown. In the 80 or more communities that have now had R/UDATs, four million dollars worth of professional services have been volunteered, and more than a tenth of the nation's urban population has, in one way or another, been affected by R/UDATs. And the program itself has profited with each succeeding experience, becoming much more sophisticated. Logistics have been refined to enable teams to have more creative time. Experience has developed capacities for sensitive response to delicate local issues. In many respects R/UDATs have become like urban commandos.

Today's R/UDAT

While the process varies as much as the communities, certain elements have become fairly constant in each R/UDAT. Here is a brief account of what happens.

R/UDATs are always invited

First of all, a R/UDAT is never foisted on any community. Every R/UDAT is invited. A team of about eight people comes to town drawn from all over the country. Some are old R/UDAT hands; some are on their first visit. They are from different disciplines, but all are leaders in their fields. They have been carefully selected for their capacity to deal with the specific problems at hand and their ability to work effectively in an interdisciplinary setting. They have been briefed with materials which spell out the key local issues and provide essential technical information. They volunteer their time. Only their expenses are reimbursed; and, to ensure their objectivity, they may not accept commissions for work that results from study recommendations. They are joined by at least an equal number of students from nearby schools of architecture, urban design and planning; sometimes by more.
How A Typical R/UDAT Takes Place

The team's four-day visit generally begins with a physical inspection of the study areas by foot, bus, boat, helicopter. They confer in a succession of meetings with representatives of the city establishment — mayor and council, planning and zoning boards, the chamber of commerce, banking and special interests, community leaders. They study background documents. On the second day there is a town meeting, the first of two. The town meeting is open to all interested citizens and its purpose is to collect input from individuals and from the non-establishment groups — neighborhood organizations, block groups, ethnic and minority representatives. Some of the people who have been heard at this first town meeting may be asked back for more detailed one-to-one discussions. The team gets together for work sessions. Members synthesize their experience and begin to hammer out as a team the theoretical basis for their approach.
The bulk of the production work takes place in a final 24-hour non-stop work session starting at dawn on the third day. First the team sets up a comprehensive framework for the thrust of its recommendations. Then each team member works at his speciality, alone or in small groups - conceptualizing, writing, drawing - conferring with other team members from time to time to compare thoughts and correlate ideas. A skeleton of a final report begins to surface, and as the night wears on, the report is fleshed out in writing and illustrations. By dawn of the fourth day a finished book, usually 60 to 100 pages in length, goes to the printer and the team goes to bed. In the afternoon there is a press conference. In the evening there is the second open town meeting when the team makes its presentation to the community, using slides and the finished report (which has just come back from the printer in the nick of time) to illustrate its recommendations.

The R/UDAT team is thus in town for a total of four days. But organization and preparation for a team visit often take more than a year all told, and expenses today can exceed $20,000 to $25,000 generally perceived as a small sum when it is compared with the value of the professional input and, in many communities, the tangible projects that are subsequently implemented.
Preceeding a R/UDAT
During the months before the R/UDAT, the city is visited by members of the AIA's R/UDAT Task Group and team chairperson who conduct informational meetings to understand the issues, and ensure that relevant background documentation is collected and available for team members. A critical outcome of these preliminary visits is that it enables the R/UDAT Task Group to select and invite the finest interdisciplinary talents available from all over the country to address the specific issues that have surfaced.

Following a R/UDAT
A highly organized follow-up program is also available as part of the process. It involves follow-up team visits, which include some (but not all) of the original team plus some new faces. The idea is to help the community move forward with the team's recommendations, to develop strategies with the community on how to remove roadblocks to progress, and to make comparisons with other R/UDATs so that the national R/UDAT committee can learn how to make future R/UDATs more successful.
The impact of the R/UDAT program on the nation's cities is unequalled by any other urban design activity over the past decade. No consultant organization has worked so closely with so many communities. No government agency has dealt with such a rich variety of issues. The breadth, quantity and quality of experienced talent in the R/UDAT process exists in no institution or in any consultant organization.

R/UDAT can therefore be considered an encapsulation of urban design. All the fundamental elements of the discipline exist in R/UDAT. The extent and activity of this program has not only taught us lessons for the program's own improved operation, but has also exposed the bare bones of urban design. Almost every planning and architectural office in the nation which practices urban design, whether in the public or the private domain, has been directly affected by R/UDAT.

Briefly, these are the three ingredients for successful urban design, as revealed by the R/UDAT experience:

One: the process
First, the process by which the effort takes place is as important as its product. Making urban democracy work is a critical demonstration in the R/UDAT program as it engenders a sense that ordinary people can, and do, affect urban change. The urban design process, as we have said earlier, must openly involve all elements in the community, from the decision-making structure to the neighborhood organization, and from the first perceptions of goals and objectives through the development of implementation strategies. To be successful, urban design must be sensitive to the people in the community and its physical fabric, as well as to the culture and history of the place, its political framework and the events which produced the existing climate. The process must contain feedback techniques, so that decisions reached in one stage can be evaluated and adjusted against criteria established earlier. It is, in a word catalytic. It brings people together who have never talked to one another before, with the tough common goal of “getting things done.”
Two: interdisciplinary teams
The second requirement for successful urban design is that the work be performed by an interdisciplinary group so that not only all the issues but all the angles on those issues can be explored at a professional level.

Today's issues in urban design are far too complex to be understood and addressed by any single profession. While sociologists and economists may understand each other's products, neither has the skill to perform the other's work. The sensitive meshing of the interdisciplinary team is vital, not only to ensure the quality of its work, but also its credibility in the community. The dialogue between professionals with different backgrounds and areas of expertise can grow tougher, sophisticated and more meaningful as recommendations are challenged and hashed out within the team. Healthy urban design recommendations and stronger projects for each particular context spring from such a dialogue.

Three: citizen participation
The key ingredient of urban design is citizen participation. In every urban community in the country citizens are saying in a variety of ways that our cities belong to the people who live in them, and are their means of expression. The citizens' movement is no longer the scattered local voice it was only a few decades ago. Neighborhood organizations have a new strength and are being heard in city halls across the nation.
3 Urban Form and Structure
Cities are our most intricate art form, our richest self-expression. Citymaking is the only art in which every citizen can take part, and it is also the only art that never reaches a conclusion.

Night and day we work on our cities, tirelessly, in a myriad ways. We knock things down, build things up, change this, change that. We are never satisfied; we never stop. Every day people are challenged by the city; challenged by what to keep and what to conserve, identifying new needs, trying to remedy obsolescence, worrying about competition and investment, scheming and drawing, negotiating and making commitments.

Not everything involves architects and planners: indeed, when you really get down to it, very little does. Countless agendas are going on all the time. Some are in the public interest, some not; many are in conflict with one another. In a way it's as if—in each living city—we have generated something with an independent life of its own; a self-destroying and self-renewing organism. With every demolition the city suffers a partial death. With every new construction it enjoys a partial rebirth.

Some changes are big — a leap in interest rates, a new highway, a national strike, the relocation of a major industry, or a new tall office tower reflecting summer sky and scudding clouds in its glass. They make the front page of the local newspaper and the six o'clock news on television. Other changes are quite small, like scraping and painting a clapboard house or restoring a front porch. Things like this go almost unnoticed except by your neighbors on the block, and in the context of the city they are hardly perceptible.
3 Urban Form and Structure
But everything adds up, big parts and little parts of the whole. All are increments of the quality, the character and the heritage of the city we live: in the place where we work and have our families and networks of friends, where we shop and go to concerts or football games, the place where we mold our public and private ambitions.

With all this going on, it's a wonder cities have any form at all. Of course on a scale of one to ten; some do and some don't. Yet this process of perpetual restless modification has been the way cities the world over and in every culture have grown and changed for centuries. Even basic urban forms which seem at first to be unexceptional and mundane may be found on better acquaintance to have evolved their own distinct personality and flavor, their own ambience, texture and even smell. Indeed, we are attracted to old cities because to our contemporary eyes they have accreted treasured layers of heritage. They touch deep chords in us. In our modern world, in which we are assailed by the speed of change and by uncertainty and cheapness, cities with tradition reassure us with their vocabularies of continuity and the anonymous enrichment of generations.
We might say, with Edmund Bacon, that the city precisely reflects its society; a pitiless mirror. And because in a way we are each responsible for this urban mirror, our city tells us about ourselves truthfully, without a blush. It tells about the things we value most and the things we hardly value at all. In the places where we take our visitors, it tells about our pride and culture. Yet in gutters and alleyways it is mischievously eloquent about our standards of housekeeping. In our tree-shaded residential neighborhoods it tells about the lifestyles of the affluent beyond the well-mown lawn; but in treeless slums, draped with wires like cobwebs from drunken utility poles, it doesn't mince matters about our disregard of the poor and derelict.

Oddly enough our urban mirror is also unblinking about our relationship to nature. Although our cities are manmade environments, they exist in natural settings. Urban form tells us unequivocally how we have shaped our urban lives in response to contour, wind and sun, to mountain and desert, and to the presence of rivers.
Every art has an implicit structure. The structure of American cities is very strong and distinctly different from cities evolved by other cultures. Because we look at them with contemporary American eyes, we can learn a lot from the towns of other nations and epochs. At no time in the history of mankind as so much information been available to us. If we can't fly to Europe on a Concorde or take a Boeing to the Far East, television will bring far-off places in pulsing color into our living rooms and bedrooms.

Internationalism permeates our lives. Modern science and technology are international languages which transcend the cultures and boundaries we inherit. They are relentless opponents of localism. Automobiles, refrigerators and a zillion other consumer products are not only much the same in every country, but are assembled from components manufactured in factories hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles apart.

But cities are different. They are not interchangeable. They do not so easily succumb to internationalism. Urban form, that mirror of society, can't be exported across cultural boundaries. We can learn neat and even magical things from the architectural styles of faraway towns, but they are mostly cosmetics. The urban forms we admire in other cultures are not ours; and the reverse is true too. However much we may love the winding streets or arcaded public squares, the histories, the laws, and the craftsmanship and the materials that produced Italian hill towns or Saharan walled cities — these are not our elements. They are the products of cultures and contexts profoundly different from those that gave birth to American cities.
Flying across the United States from coast to coast one looks down on deserts, mountains and plains, and on rivers meandering like silver snakes across the land below; and one is awed by the power and variety of the nature that upheaved those gaunt snow-peaked ranges, parched those orange deserts, and silted the vast flat prairie lands.

At the same time it is over the rich agricultural plains of the Midwest, stretching in every direction as far as the eye can see until they disappear in pale horizon mists, that you are aware, not only of nature's power, but of man's dimensions. The land is divided by grids as exact as graph paper. And the grids extend for hundreds of miles, from Texas to Illinois, and from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, representing the willful imposition of man's geometry, human order, across nature. Hundreds of miles of equivalence: north, south, east and west.

And the overall geometry subdivides into smaller orders within it. From your aircraft window you can pick out farm buildings too, neat clusters of small white cubes at the interstices of the grids. Each cluster is equidistantly spaced from the next, a concentration of geometric objects in geometric space, a white farmhouse, two or three white barns, and a grain tower, built around a square farmyard.
And there are cities as well as farms. From the air you can see how the agricultural geometry becomes a geometry of city blocks, and how city blocks are subdivided to become building lots, decreasing in scale and increasing in density and complexity the closer one gets to the city center.

These cities did not originate organically and grow slowly over time as European cities did. Like the agricultural grids they lie within, they originated in the Land Ordinance of the Continental Congress of 1785. Orthogonal geometries were applied by surveyors to the raw open continent, generally in squares of one mile by one mile, as a prelude to grants to big land companies which in turn auctioned off quadrants to pioneer farmers or to urban speculators.
Looking down from the comfort of today's airliner it is perhaps hard to visualize how vast and intractable that continent below must have seemed to eighteenth century explorers and traders, as they inched plains and hewed their way across the uncharted virgin plains and over mountain ranges under the endless sky. Yet once the land was mapped, huge territories, even if they were totally unknown, were suddenly measurable and comprehensible. The cartesian geometries, in a word, provided under the sky an address, a destination, a precision of place and human scale. In the history of human settlement nothing quite parallels what happened in the United States in the nineteenth century. Literally thousands of farms and hundreds of new towns and cities were laid out in a few decades.

The grids of American cities are often condemned for being boring. Some are and some aren't: it's dangerous to generalize. In any case, urban grids exist and we are well advised to learn and appreciate their rationale. The grid, rural and urban, was a perfect tool for nineteenth century settlement and speculation. No other geometry was so easy to lay out, subdivide, describe in deeds, and sell on the auction block.

Just like the rural grids which continue straight on regardless of whatever rivers or lakes might happen to lie in their path, urban grids became meshes thrown across every kind of topography, from the flat land of the plains to the extreme topography of the mountains. One would be hard pressed to call San Francisco boring. That city's grid runs up and around the hills, and plunges to the waterfront.

Laid over the contours the grid is a mesh of horizontal terraces and uphill-downhill avenues.

Of course, not every city has such a romantic setting. But North America is a continent with an extraordinary array of physical conditions and climates. The reason for the urban grid, as we have said, was land speculation, not citybuilding or urban felicity; urban blocks were laid out on maps with a rectangular geometry of streets so they could be sold. But under the geometry of the grid is always a geology shaped by movements in the earth's crust and weathered by nature's ceaseless energy, the silting of prehistoric lakes, the scouring of granite and limestone of millenia of winds and water, the parching of thin soil by relentless summer suns, the eroding and cutting of rains and rivers. Orthogonal projections and maps are not the same thing as being on the ground.

Innumerable cities have topographies which warp but do not break the grid, and gain intense local character from the interplay. Some cities are bisected by rivers with parkland along their banks, and the grid leaps across on bridges and continues on the other side. Other grid cities nestle in the bowls of mountain valleys, so that every avenue is a vista of mountains framed by buildings. Others run their grids to the waterfronts of river, lake or ocean so that a map of the city looks like a sheet of graph paper that has been torn along its edge. And in many cities, the salient grid triangulates to accept the diagonal of a railroad, a canal or a boulevard, and then varies within each triangulation the size of street or block.
Pattern books: a basis for our cities

Because towns and cities grew so quickly in the nineteenth century, block after block was built, not by individuals, but by developer-contractors who acquired sequences of lots within the grid and then sold them to individual buyers with standard buildings on them.

Pattern books for these house-builders, carefully dimensioned to fit standard subdivisions within typical grids, were published and were in popular demand. The pattern books offered basic plans, sections and details. These were then modified by builders, from city to city and region to region, in response to market, climate and prevalence of materials. In some cities, brick predominates. In others, timber frame and clapboard. In others, stone.

The most popular books were national publications. They were sold across the country or could be ordered by mail. Even Sears sold them. So in city after city you can trace the same basic patterns, the same basic residential or commercial boxes.

Yet if you think this leads to sameness, you are wrong. In equally popular demand were alternative add-on items which each individual builder or house-buyer could choose out of manufacturers’ or millwork catalogues — bay windows, porches, brackets, dormers, decorative lintels, fanlights, pilasters, friezes, stained glass, and so on. These modular items enabled each buyer to express his individuality and his contrast from his neighbor. The result is that blocks and subdivisions which appear to be equivalent on city maps evolved in reality into sequences of almost unlimited variations. And so throughout the city each block, while based on an underlying geometric unity, became an eloquent “body language” of individual ownerships.
Despite its origin as land speculation, the grid was quickly perceived as an articulation of democratic ideals, American style. The equivalence of the grids, expanding across the continent in all directions for thousands of square miles, came to represent to immigrants and homesteaders an equivalence of opportunity and property ownership in country and city.

Urban grids, seldom geometrically the same as rural grids, were nevertheless set up to fit into rural quadrants. From the air, the geometry of rectangular city blocks breaks into the lots of individual ownerships—the “grain” of cities as the late Kevin Lynch referred to them. And the geometry of rural grids also breaks into rectangular strips of ploughed land with crops or meadow, or curvilinear stripes within the rectangular grid. From the city, main urban avenues continue out into the landscape to become the roads of the rural grids. Thus between city and country a sense of holistic order was set up, a sense of continuity from city to country and to city again across the land, in which every front door is linked to every other front door within a simple and equivalent system.

Perhaps nowhere is the basic democratic theory of the grid city reflected more eloquently than in our older residential neighborhoods. In a typical neighborhood houses line the street on each side with porches or steps where families sit in the summer time. Behind the house there is a back porch and a back yard. The back yard is the family’s private space and is often fenced in. In front there are a porch, steps, a small front lawn, the sidewalk and the street. Unlike the back yards, front spaces are seldom fenced in. The street itself is a block long, with a cross-street at each end giving geographic definition.
Thresholds and Progressions
There is a clear progression in the American city from an ultimate privacy in the individual's house, the bathroom or the bedroom, to the ultimate public space, the city's courthouse square; and the sequence is a series of clearly articulated thresholds each with its own architectural vocabulary. In the house there is a back stair and a front stair. The back stair leads to a kitchen or family room that opens to the back porch and back yard, the private zone. The front stair, in contrast, comes down to areas progressively more public; a living room and hall; a front door and porch; front steps and a lawn. These in turn lead you to a sidewalk and a block-long street with cars parked on each side, separated by a row of street trees which not only offer summer shade but also demarcate the pedestrian zone from the traffic zone. Now you are in your car, and from the neighborhood street you turn onto the cross-street that leads you in turn to an avenue into the heart of the city.

Each of these threshold situations has its own social as well as personal vocabulary. The street is a summer living room under the sky, unified by front lawns and shade trees and lined with porches, each of which is a variant on a standard vocabulary of catalogue elements — column, rail, balustrade, spindle, bracket and so forth.

Urban Design in Action
Porches: boundaries between the private and public domains

Many of the older porches are stylized and decorative. Carpenter gothic fretwork in the North and frilly cast iron in the South, cast shadows as though sunlight is filtered through the leaves of a tree. Balustrates, like the fretwork, are “see through” elements: a “boundary” between the public space of the street and the private space of the porch and the house. Many families will put all sorts of extra touches on their porches, too. Structural wood details or ornament may be painted in distinctive colors. Striped canvas awnings edged with scallops or tassles, and hanging baskets of ferns and begonias, will give extra shade and act as a filter for evening breeze and the voices and traffic sounds of the street. Evergreen shrubs, like rhododendrons or azaleas, planted along the base of the porch will add an extra screen of waist-high privacy, as well as a springtime festival of blossoms of every hue—red, yellow, peach and mauve—to greet the first summer sunshine and bees of May.

The porches thus become the interface between the family and the block, a body-language of individual ownership, and yet a language too of belonging to the whole. The public zone within the house is often a stage set of catalogue parts too. The front stair is ornate, at least up to the first landing, with ornamented newells, spindles and handrail, and the landing itself is lit by an intricate stained glass window, while the floor of the hall will be gracefully inlaid with geometric patterns in polished hardwoods. And this space in turn becomes the interface between the public and the family.
Within this order the block thus becomes the key social unit of the American city, and the block-long neighborhood street with its unity and diversity of residential expression is its basic urban space. Children play in the street under the watchful eyes of parents. Families sit out on their porches on summer evenings, exchanging gossip from porch to porch, and talking with passersby on the sidewalk. Everyone knows everyone else.

On another level the grid is the physical infrastructure of urban democracy. From house to city to nation is an ascending series of scales. In the vast size of the continent the grid provides a precision of place under the sun, a vectored address where you will find an individual's self-expression within a geometrically articulated urban, regional and national holism. Similarly within the city there is an ascending micro-series of scales: house to street; street to block; block to the neighborhood shopping street and to churches, schools and parks; and community to city.

The right of individuals to own property within the urban grid, and the direct relationship of building to street, and street to city, has political as well as social and physical significance in the basic structure of American urban form. From the earliest decades of urban settlement in New England a tradition of town meetings has existed at which all citizens have an equal right to raise and discuss issues in the public interest. The geometric grids of the hundreds of subsequent nineteenth century towns and cities all across America came to represent this sense of explicit equivalence of social worth and opportunity, and the interrelationship of all citizens with each other and with the functions and processes of the city.

In most grid cities there is as clear a physical language of the democracy of law and government as there is a clear physical language of the neighborhood street as a basic social unit.

The grid doesn't change when it comes to the courthouse or to city hall. An urban block, somewhere in the center of the city where it often can be reached by everyone, is simply devoted to this function. In other situations, the location of
the civic block is geometrically precise within the grid. Within the block the courthouse is frontal to the street just as all the other buildings in the city are, and has a bi-axial plan that relates its internal geometries to the city grid. In front of it there may be a public square— which is not the hard-surfaced square of European cities, but small park laid out with axial and diagonal pathways between lawns and trees. Above the confluence of axial geometries rises a dome. Indeed in many cities the courthouse dome is more prominent than city hall, articulating the prominence of law over politics within the holism of the grid and society.

One essence of democracy is that it permits the open exchange of ideas and concerns, and is prepared to debate them. Another is that it is accountable. The language of the grid articulates the relationship of every citizen to law and government as an equal and non-hierarchical system. Simply stated, every citizen is entitled to be heard and to get answers.

**The human body as metaphor**

One might say that American democracy is a network of dichotomies.

The theory of grids is a network of geometrical equivalences across the land. Yet on the ground, articulated by hills and rivers and the self-expression of countless millions of human actions, cities evolve into places with individuality and a sense of local belonging. The sense of belonging is all the more interesting when we take into account the fact that at no time in history have people been more transient. Without doubt the impact of modern communications which through
information networks, films and news bulletins make us all world citizens contributes to the confidence with which we uproot ourselves. Statistics tell us that American families move on an average of once every four and a half years. Yet in spite of the unparalleled complexity of the modern American city, we are able to plug ourselves with equal confidence into the local culture, politics and sense of place of any city we migrate to. Theoretically the political system and urban infrastructure are ready to receive us. In a sense, our own body is its metaphor.

Located at the upper end of our spine, on the periscope of our neck, is a mind, a consciousness, which looks out across time and space, across local and international history, and across cultures, arts, and politics. At the other end of our skeleton are our feet—anchored into a particular time and place. Indeed, perceiving each city as having a character and an evolving culture, and perceiving all citizens as transients — for even if they belong to that increasingly rare species of American which lives out its life in only one city, or rarer still in only one community or neighborhood, life itself is transient and the life of the city goes on — we can see that our American pattern is that of plugging in. We plug our minds and aspirations into an on-going and evolving local city-culture and we relate the range of our minds to the specific space-time location of our feet. We make our dialogue with our local city and its culture by involving the personal resource of who and what each of us is.

Urban Design in Action
Plugging into neighborhood and city

Democracy is thus essentially a framework for plugging in physically, culturally, socially and politically.

But when democracies break down, when the channels of communication are clogged or are deliberately blocked, when the individual voice fails to be heard and when public actions are no longer openly accountable — that is when revolt occurs.

By restoring openness to the local democratic process, the social upheavals of the 60's and 70's have begun to inject new life into the inherited structure of urban democracy, particularly at the local level.

The revival of our sense of localism in the latter quarter of the 20th century is thus accompanied by a new commitment to process, a commitment to the development of the democratic procedures which enable citizens to be directly involved in the design of urban policies, and in the decision-making that affects the quality of their lives and of their local communities.

Civil rights: a turning point for modern American cities

The changes that affect cities most deeply are generally not physical at all — at least not to begin with. As we have said, the main impetus for the basic infrastructure of American cities was the Land Ordinance of the Continental Congress of 1785. Infrastructures are generally slow to change. Yet at play on this basic form today are innumerable more transient factors such as the rise and fall of interest rates, the election of a new president and national administration, changes in federal funding programs, an escalation in the cost of fossil fuels — factors which powerfully control the course and quality of urban life at the local level through their impact on local economics, priorities, and what can and cannot be achieved through development.

These are national forces. Also at play are powerful forces that originate at local levels or are intensely felt there. In the 1980's the industrial cities of the northeast and upper midwest have been deeply affected, for example, by the decline of domestic steelmaking in the face of cheaper foreign imports. The local economy of milltowns and steel communities in the Pittsburgh area, Cleveland, Chicago and Gary have been disastrously undermined. In some cities there have been strikes, revolts, and violence. Of all the upheavals
of recent years, the civil rights movement of the 50's and 60's had perhaps the deepest and most creative impact in recent history — the effects of which are still being felt today in virtually every aspect of urban life.

In 1967 the nation was staggered by riots and unrest in cities from coast to coast. As with an earthquake or a volcanic eruption, the danger signals had been in evidence for a decade before. Supreme court decisions to integrate schools; the heroic and bitter confrontation of James Meredith with the University of Mississippi when his enrollment as a student was barred on the basis of color; the quiet heroism of Rosa Parks when she refused to stand in the crowded section at the back of an Alabama bus while seats in the front section, traditionally occupied by whites, were vacant; the violence against black churches and school children by the Ku Klux Klan—incidents like these signalled local revolts which suddenly flared into an anger of national proportion, culminating in the civil rights march on Washington and the assassination of King in 1968.

Clearly national programs were not enough. It was the intricate machinery of local democracy that needed to be made open and responsive once again to the issues and concerns of citizens. The crux of the challenge was to transform brutal and violent reaction — the riots and the arson — into understanding, and into processes through which new and positive initiatives could be found.

The sixties: a new focus on localism

Creative contributions to a growing national debate were made by planners, architects, sociologists and historians whose focus was not national, but local. Jane Jacobs' Death and Life of Great American Cities, with its concern for the neighborhood street, struck a timely chord. Urban America, Inc., was established, and it published Cities magazine. New urban design sections were structured into the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. The American Institute of Architects established the non-profit Urban Design and Development Corporation. Newly-elected mayor John Lindsey formed the Council on Urban Design in New York; and he established the offices of Mid-town Planning and Downtown Development and staffed them with talented young architects and planners. A nationwide Community Design Center movement sprang up in urban neighborhoods across the country, manned by volunteer architects, teachers and students. And the R/UDAT program came into being, sending interdisciplinary professional teams to cities requesting help.

But none of this would have been effective if other aspects of change were not occurring simultaneously. The civil rights movement gave impetus to other liberations, the women's movement for equal rights, the rights of religious freedom, and sexual freedom, peace movements and protests by students — all of which are revolts whose basis lies, not in changing our democratic institutions, but in simply making them work.
“Sunshine” legislation, which now requires meetings of public bodies to be opened to citizen attendance, has provided avenues of information on all issues, large and small. The Bicentennial in 1976 made urban Americans conscious of the inherited quality of cities, neighborhoods and buildings in a way that was new and relevant. For the first time cities became objects of pride. Urban design, in the new atmosphere of openness, became a means of negotiating environmental issues as citizens, local government and the private sector—working together—moved complex projects forward in an atmosphere of debate and consensus.

Urban design has slowly evolved into the powerful instrument that it is today. By permitting everyone to participate in the design process, from the earliest stage of defining goals and priorities, to the final stages of design and securing financial commitments to proceed into implementation, urban design procedures have become essential vehicles for achieving policies and projects in a climate of democratic responsibility and accord.
4 Urban Design in Practice
Urban design, like any other art, is a means of expression. But unlike painting, sculpture, music or poetry which originate as individual self-expressions, urban design is a public and collaborative expression. Many people participate in urban design, interrelating individual actions into networks of impact, in space and over time. As the art which deals with the form and quality of environments in cities, urban design ultimately involves everyone.

Architects and urban designers do not make cities. People do. Of course there are examples of urban design in cities in the United States and abroad where formal public squares, grand boulevards, tall fountains and monumental sculptures have been created with little input from the citizens. But there are many more examples in which the opposite has happened: neighborhood parks, squares, markets, shopping streets, taverns and cafes, and all sorts of other places such as special street corners which have somehow evolved and become special after years of use and modification, modeled and remodeled by anonymous generations of tree planters, sign painters, lawn makers, gardeners, bollarders, pavers, and, of course, by you and me who use them.
People places versus non-people places
The odd thing is that these less formal places are where citizens usually feel most comfortable. Such places speak their language, the body language of their city. This is where secretaries and executives come to brown-bag at lunchtime, to talk, listen to jazz, feed the pigeons, buy fruits and vegetables or hot dogs and chestnuts from pushcart vendors, enjoy a book, lie in the summer sun, skate in the winter, or just sit on a park bench and watch each other.
And if we look around these successful public places, we will notice that the buildings themselves seem to respond. Nearby shop windows tend to have lively displays; upper windowsills sprout flowerboxes; someone puts out a flag or two. Often citizens will work hard to modify a formal space—such as a civic plaza with its cold materials and hard geometry—into a similar informality; a group of musicians may appear, and people will sit on hard steps or low walls to listen. As W.H. White has pointed out in his wonderful book, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, formal spaces are never very successful as “people places” — that is to say, warm and human, and free from petty crime — until that sort of thing happens.
Involving people

Until the late 1950s and early '60s most architects and urban designers regarded themselves as interventionists in the daily processes of the city, inserting buildings or civic spaces without any real understanding of the interests of the citizens. But the urban unrest that erupted in the '60s showed just how wide of the mark architects, along with the majority of our society, often were. An extreme and widely publicized example of this was the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project in St. Louis, an inner city public housing project which won international acclaim and awards for its design, but was totally rejected by the citizens and ultimately had to be torn down.

If the architects for Pruitt-Igoe had involved the people in the formative stages of the project, there can be little doubt that the design would have been different. Had they done so, the designers would have heard about the social culture of the slum streets that had to be demolished to make way for their new buildings; they would have heard about the fears and hopes of parents for their growing children. They would have heard about segregation; and about being still locked into poverty in spite of the replacement housing being new and sanitary. They would have heard that public housing creates segregation within families, because when a young person succeeds and rises above the housing authority's income limits, he or she can no longer live in the community. They would have heard that only renters can live in the project, and therefore nobody can own a home or build up any equity in the community he lives in.

Because of pent-up bitterness and frustration, and the backdrop of inner city violence of those early years, the architect's awakening began with a baptism of fire. No one really knew how to organize a public process in which citizens were encouraged to make inputs, to be heard and make decisions in an orderly manner. There were no models of previous processes to look at, no body of experience. But over the past 20 years a considerable body of experience has developed.
The earliest examples of architects in private practice involving citizens directly in the design public of buildings and environments occurred in the sixties, parallel with the earliest R/UDATs. At first there was no connection between them, other than the climate of the times.

When James Bell of Rapid City, South Dakota, made his historic visit to the headquarters of the AIA in Washington in 1967, his request for help on behalf of his city was not tied to a national consciousness of change. He merely acknowledged that the difficult local issues facing his town called for expert counsel: and that was all.

A similar focus on local issues lay behind the earliest examples of public participation in the private practice of architecture. In many ways the stage had been set for a number of years before 1967. The nation's schools, particularly in northern cities, were a veritable cauldron in the sixties. It was here more than in any other public arena that the battle over segregation was waged most fiercely and, ironically, most eloquently. Parents saw education as the key to their children's futures. Black parents from socially deprived or segregated backgrounds looked to integrated school systems as thresholds to opportunities for their children to learn professional skills and enter middle class career streams — opportunities which their own generation never had. White parents predicted that integrated schools would lead to the lowering of educational standards, and would expose children from middle class families to drugs, crime and the role models drawn urban slums.
Schools: an early vehicle for focusing on broader urban issues

There is no doubt that this debate over the future of public education gave a powerful impetus to the flight of young families to the suburbs. And “white flight” as it was called in turn impacted the drive for integration, since it left the inner city neighborhoods more intensely segregated than ever before. Ironically the Supreme Court, by ruling that segregation violates the Constitution and that public schools must be integrated, made matters worse. And civil rights activists, white as well as black, saw the schools issue as a vehicle for exposing a number of parallel issues to public scrutiny issues such as prejudice in employment practices, health care and housing.

Fortunately in the midst of the clamor there were enough parents and educators in many cities and school districts who were simply dedicated to making integrated public education work for their children. They quickly discovered that children provided a good excuse for adults from different backgrounds to work together openly on common problems. Children don't naturally recognize racial or social barriers. And the more involved in these issues the adults became, the more they began to work together in an organized way to discuss common goals and achieve meaningful change, and these processes became early participatory design models. Indeed, years later, many architects in private practice actually learned to start with children, not simply in projects involving schools and education, but even in complex urban design contexts such as downtown redesign; and then to widen the circle outwards, first to parents, then to citizens generally, and then to city government, business, institutions and the rest.
It will of course never be known what form early participatory design models would have taken without the civil rights disturbances of the late 1960's. The fact remains that the civil rights movement brought many severe urban issues to a head, and in doing so it injected a new and urgent vitality into local democracy — and thus into participatory design processes.

An early example of what can happen was the design of an elementary school, beginning in 1967, in Pontiac, Michigan, on the heels of the Detroit riots. Like Detroit and other cities, Pontiac experienced deep civil unrest too. The city was in a state of confrontation on racial lines; blacks wanted to secede from the public school system and set up their own schools, staffed by black teachers; and, the children were caught in the middle.

The architects for the new school, David Lewis and Raymond Gindroz of Urban Design Associates, asked the Mayor and the President of the Board of Education to hold open meetings at which citizens could discuss — not the school directly — but what kind of city and urban society they would like their children to grow up into, as the context for a discussion of the school. In the process of doing this, major issues were identified, and it was within the context of these issues that the capital program for public education was introduced and debated.

The results were astonishing. Through the focus on education, parents began to discuss with city officials and the business community the shape of tomorrow's society and new opportunities, not only for young people, but for all of Pontiac's citizens. The media (radio, television, and the press) played an important part as these agendas began to unfold. The little elementary school became a local cause celebre, a vehicle for arriving at a totally new concept, something far bigger and more adventurous, a wholly unforeseen and unforeseeable program that grew out of the open process.
Instead of integration, the people began talking about pluralism, about American society composed of citizens from many origins and many cultural backgrounds. The Human Resources Center, as they called it, would be much more than a school. If there was to be education for children, there could be education for adults too. And education was seen to relate to jobs, health, and the arts. The school’s recreation component became a community recreation center. Adult education workshops, and branches of two universities and a community college, were incorporated. An auditorium became a community theater. School kitchens were expanded to provide meals-on-wheels for elderly. A community health component was added. An ethnic museum was introduced, composed of artifacts loaned or donated by the citizens to honor their own backgrounds. A food co-op, with an ethnic foods focus, was organized and incorporated. And as more and more people became involved, the basic education component also grew. What began as an elementary school became four “schools”, providing education for 1800 children. A pedestrian street, linking the residential neighborhoods to the east to the city center, was designed to pass through the complex so that the building would be perceived as a “shopping street,” with all the facilities which the community had proudly planned opening off it.

Pontiac is an example of what can happen when, like R/UDATs, architects in the private sector join with city officials and citizens to open up to the public those design issues that deeply affect their lives.
Urban Design in Action
Parallel with Pontiac the education park experiment at Orange, N.J., culminated in a remarkable middle school designed and built in the neighboring community of East Orange in the early and mid-70s. The architects under the leadership of Jules Gregory opened a studio in a vacant storefront on Main Street. The East Orange School Design Center — as the store became known — started life with a public celebration. The street was closed to traffic, the high school band played marching music, the Mayor cut the ribbon, and the storefront studio began its work.

Day and evening passersby were encouraged to drop in to chat and comment on progress. Community planning and design meetings were held in the store. School students made models of the design and the neighborhood. They also made drawings of what they thought the school should be, and these in turn encouraged adults to give their ideas. A site for the school had to be found in a dense residential area of the city. But in spite of the need for the school, no one wanted to have a repetition of the large-scale relocations and bulldozing of the urban renewal days. What could be done?
The citizen's solution was as astonishing as it was innovative. An existing neighborhood park would be sacrificed to become the site for the new building on the understanding that a public open space and park could be placed on the roof of the structure, to be reached by ramps which were extensions of the street system of the neighborhood. Designed as a succession of enclosed spaces and open courts, the building itself is accessible from every direction. The final building is exuberant and non-hierarchical, with programs for people of all ages.
A similar storefront studio was opened by Indianapolis architect, Evans Woollen, when he was asked to undertake the redesign of the Finlay Market area in Cincinnati. The result of that process was a refurbished historic markethouse and a new community center. The citizens were so happy about the outcome that they staged a grand opening and a street celebration.
An Experimental Environment is designed and built with children

Meanwhile in the political atmosphere of student disturbances on the university campus, a typical asphalt school yard in Berkeley, California, was transformed into a diverse play and learning environment. The yard was planned and then built by parents, children, teachers, university students and neighborhoods in the surrounding community. Under the design guidance of Robin Moore and the educational guidance of Herb Wong, school principal, Project WEY (Washington Experimental Yard) became a means for people to explore themselves and their environment. After dumping and molding tons of soil, and then building structures for play and enclosure, the yard became a garden that is perpetually changed every month and every season, demonstrating the value of shared lives and shared learning.

These projects were among the first in the nation that were performed by private architectural practitioners. The architects involved in them did not know about each other or about the fledgling R/UDAT program. They were working in isolation, inventing their citizen-participation processes the best way they could as they went along, as an answer to the urban situation they found themselves in, with its intense political and social conflicts and pressures.
These early examples of what can happen have blossomed into a wide variety of architectural and urban design projects of far greater complexity in the 1970s and '80s. Housing projects, parks, sports facilities, and campus plans, markethouses, neighborhoods, waterfronts, city markethouses, and city centers have been opened up to citizen inputs, with rich and unexpected results. And these have been paralleled by the growing recognition and complexity of R/UDATs.

The media have played an increasingly important role in the success and expanding public understanding of urban design as a public process. In addition to newspaper, radio and television coverage, television has been used successfully for "design-ins". Television studios have became architectural studios, and the public has been solicited to call in their ideas and comments. Public meetings have been carried live on TV, with hook-ups for the public-at-large to telephone from their homes and make statements or ask questions during the plenary sessions or the workshops.
It was as if people were thirsty for the opportunity to participate in shaping and molding the future course of their cities. In some situations in the late 70's and early 80's as many as 500 people would commonly turn up for public meetings, and they would come, not simply to sit in the audience and listen, but ready to work, ready to join issue-oriented workshops and small group discussions, knowing that their detailed inputs were just as critical as discussions about the overall scheme of things. One of the interesting aspects of these open processes was that people in official positions saw without prompting that they had to shed their titles if they wanted to participate effectively. Mayors, bankers, librarians, agency representatives, and everyone else in our multi-titled society, had to be what they really are, simply citizens in a democratic process in which their particular background and skill becomes, not a status, but a resource.

Extraordinary things began to happen in these public workshops. In one process the mayor of a large city came to the workshops in shirt sleeves, ready to get on with it. In another the bank president turned up in a T-shirt with a humorous message stencilled across his chest. One community celebrated the conclusion of its process by parading its plan through the streets, with fire engines and a high school band all the way to city hall. Another had a gigantic festival in the courthouse square, with music, dance, sideshows, conjurors, food, an antique car rally, and a marathon footrace. And another community closed the square around its markethouse, and had a feast and public dance.

**Why did all this happen?**

Why did all this happen? There are deep reasons. The spirit of the late 1960's and early 70's was one of revolt. The civil rights movement was only one of several liberations producing a mood of popular uprising against the established and remote decision-making normally controlling our lives. But at the local level there was a definite connection between the eagerness with which citizens participated in creating local plans and implementing them, and the inherited form and democracy of American grid cities.
The relationship of each family's front door and porch to their neighborhood street, and the street to the city, as a succession of scales gave everyone a sense of unspoken and inalienable right to be heard, and to hear others. People talked in meetings about national problems, the economy, technological and industrial change, energy and demography, and about how these large-scale forces affected their cities and their own neighborhoods. So they also came to talk eloquently about the qualities of local heritage. It was not that they were against modern architecture, but they opposed its transferability—the fact that so many modern buildings were the same in city after city. They wanted to be sure that whatever was built physically would parallel what was done programmatically, that it would be part of city building, and that in its style and materials it would be sensitively and precisely local. In other words, it had to be in their voice.

New ways of listening and responding
To begin with, architects invented their own processes and procedures. They worked for the most part in isolation, responding to the need of the times and unaware of what others were doing at the same moment in other places. Lawrence Halprin for example developed a process in the early seventies which he called Take Part, engaging citizens in environmental planning. Caudill, Rowlett and Scott, a large architectural firm in Houston, Texas, developed a program of architectural “squatters”, in which architects would live in the community for which they were developing designs, becoming “citizens” themselves as well as professionals for the entire life of the project. And participation on a R/UDAT by one of SOM's partners, John Kriken, led to the creation of an urban design team within SOM's San Francisco office and another in their Portland office. And similarly Urban Design Associates, the firm that designed the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, has developed participatory design procedures similar to the four-day R/UDAT model, but extended to occur in a carefully organized sequence of steps along a timeline of nine months or a year.

But private practice was not always the best way to respond. Sometimes communities—particularly low-income neighborhoods—have neither the money nor the internal organization to go through the process of engaging and architectural firm, or even of getting local government to do so on their behalf. As a result new groups began springing up in various cities in response to this need.
Community design centers

In Baltimore, Maryland, a small group of architects and planners got assistance from both the American Institute of Architects and the American Institute of Planners, and formed in 1968 a Neighborhood Design Center. The purpose of the Center was to enable residents of low-income neighborhoods to participate in comprehensive planning processes aimed towards improving their environments, including self-help projects. The Center provided technical assistance in evolving comprehensive plans, help in negotiating and evaluating development proposals in their neighborhoods, and developing alternative designs for environments, historic or vacant buildings, and vacant lots. It was not long before the Center took one more step, and became a non-profit development corporation which has to date completed over two hundred and fifty projects.

Baltimore's Neighborhood Design Center is part of what is now a national network of community design centers. CDC's to quote Paul Sachner in Architectural Record in June 1983, “are to architecture what legal aid is to law, and free clinics to medicine.” According to Sachner the first CDC opened in 1963 when several architects started the Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH), with aid from the New York Chapter of the AIA, to fight a proposed freeway in Upper Manhattan.

But CDC's did not really get going until the turbulence of the civil rights and the anti-Vietnam war movements in the years between 1968 and 1972. There can be no doubt that the network of CDC's which opened in cities across the nation in those years were not only a response by architects, urban planners, sociologists, attorneys, political scientists and economists bent on solving the problems of America's urban poor, but were also part of a new kind of power struggle in American cities, a struggle on the part of neighborhoods and urban communities to have a greater control over their own environmental destinies by entering into the political decision-making process and, through non-profit corporations, by implementing some of their own recommendations. Today, fifteen or more years later, there are some 60 CDC's in operation across the country.

Some CDC's are formally or loosely related to universities or other institutions; others are organizationally independent. They all operate on the fundamental principle that community groups know better than anyone else the needs and problems of their neighborhoods. Whether independent or institutionally related, they gain their funding from a variety of sources such as foundations, government agencies, corporations, and fund drives, and through performing contracts, usually with local or state government agencies.
An example of an organizationally independent CDC is Troy Professional Assistance (TAP) in New York, an offshoot from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. In its early days TAP was an all-volunteer center operated by a group of students and faculty in a storefront, but today its full-time staff includes two architects with an annual budget of $100,000, performing contracts for new and renovated housing, and providing an architectural clinic for homeowners, small businesses, groups and others in low-income neighborhoods. Like TAP several other CDC's are intensively neighborhood oriented: e.g., the CDC's in Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Atlanta and San Francisco to name a few. Others are regional in their range. The East Tennessee CDC offers services to rural communities, and the Cornell Region Community Design Assistance program uses students and faculty as resources in offering services within a sixty mile radius of Corning. Their work in turn led in 1979 to the formation of The Small Town Community Design Workshop, and also to another division, the Preservation Planning Workshop, initiating surveys and the architectural preservation of historically significant structures in an eleven county constituency. The Denver CDC has, during the past two years, negotiated joint proposals with private firms to do programming, planning and design work for small communities. CDC's continue to be formed. One of the most recent, the Columbus Neighborhood Design Assistance Center in Ohio, was started in October 1982.
Among the great values of CDC's, whether they are independent centers or related organizationally to universities, is their impact on students. Through intern programs they offer a professional threshold for candidates. As Michael Smith, director of the Denver CDC, says: “we are the folk architects of our time.” They also offer formal and informal training programs in architectural and planning schools. One of the best known is the graduate program conducted by Henry Sanoff at North Carolina State University, in which a number of new techniques involving urban design “games” and role-modeling have been developed as a means of structuring the definition of issues, recommendations and strategies. And at Mississippi State University, a Small Towns Institute has been formed by James Barker which offers the services of students in structured participatory process for small cities in the deep south.

Other Kinds of Centers
The R/UDAT model and CDC's have created precedents that have inspired universities to develop centers. These offer architectural and planning services as studios for students that are also useful to communities, thus serving the dual purpose of practical education and the delivery of serious recommendations. For example, Ball State University has an Urban Design Center in a storefront on Main Street in Muncie, Indiana, for on-going studies in the downtown and surrounding neighborhoods, and the Center also conducts squatter programs in small Indiana towns that request help. Other universities that have conducted similar programs include Ohio State, Arizona State, Kansas State and Yale University.
The R/UDAT model has also been used by local AIA chapters to carry out specific design projects. The Kearny Street project in San Francisco and the North market project in Columbus, Ohio, were performed by respective local chapters, while at the state level a K/DAT was organized in Kentucky. Other R/UDAT derived forms include the AIA's Charrette programs put together by Iris Miller for Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Virginia, and a study of the White River Park in Indianapolis (P/DAT). The latest of these, as we go to press, has occurred through the Rio Salada Chapter of the AIA in Gilbert, Arizona, outside Phoenix. And recent developments reveal that local government is organizing similar models.

In March 1985 the Denver Planning Office in conjunction with the district council office initiated a demonstration project to address specific neighborhood planning issues in the Five Points Neighborhood. They adopted and modified the R/UDAT process and built into it a commitment of follow-up. They assembled an interdisciplinary team composed of city officials from various city departments and agencies (2 of which have been represented on previous R/UDATs), local design professionals, bankers and developers. The approach helped the community and city focus on issues in a short time-frame, become visible and accessible in the intensive 3-day on-site design charrette, and made a commitment to implement 40 short-range recommendations within 90 days of the meeting. Some actually started the next day. It demonstrated to the mayor and the community that the city could respond in a meaningful way and utilize its resources in this hands-on process. 

Conclusion: people made places

Through these processes, professionals in various specialized fields are learning the benefits of working in interdisciplinary teams. As a result of the R/UDAT program alone, nearly six hundred of the nation's top architects, planners, economists, lawyers, developers, sociologists, geographers, political scientists and engineers have returned to their specializations after having an intensive work-experience in teams, and through CDC's and other similar programs the number runs into hundreds more. Similarly ordinary people in big city neighborhoods, small towns and rural areas, and students, have learned together why things happen the way they do. They have learned about the mechanics of getting things done on both the private and the public sector. They have also found that, through exploring unanticipated avenues, they can uncover options leading to enriching achievements far beyond their original goals.
Conclusion: people-made places

This was the extraordinary lesson of those early examples of participatory designing in Pontiac and East Orange, and it has been the lesson of innumerable R/UDATs. In the years since then, examples have multiplied of what can be achieved when citizens get the bit between their teeth and become creatively involved in public design issues. All over the country historic areas have been conserved, valuable buildings have been saved from the wrecking balls and lovingly restored, public spaces have been transformed from sterile anonymity to people-places full of life and color. Cities have become art museums with outdoor sculptures, gardens and waterfalls have been put in, and groves of trees have been planted to provide summer shade. Street vendors and musicians have been welcomed, and the city has put chairs out so that executives, secretaries and shoppers can listen at lunchtime to spontaneous violinists or accordionists. Traditional covered markets have re-opened, and the center city has come alive again through being taken over by its citizens. In summary, we have seen how these things can grow. We have seen how design starts with words, discussion, dialogue, perceptions, and with base maps, statistics, photographs, and budgets. We have seen how very soon diagrams begin to occur: diagrams of interrelationship, this concept interrelated with that, diagrams of place, of magnitude and of urban dynamics. And once people see ideas begin to take shape before their eyes, we can feel excitement rise. The pulse begins to beat a bit faster. Maybe, they say, we are going to achieve something after all.
New goals form, strategies begin to be discussed, priorities turn into programs, local human resources are linked to strategies and methods of implementation, and new patterns of citizen leadership emerge. Detailed three-dimensional design takes shape, focussing more and more on local needs and contexts, until it reaches a point where design and vehicles for implementation are fused in the minds of every participant. And suddenly each participant realizes that for the first time every person, whether local citizen, student or far-off professional, has heard and debated all the ideas together, and has watched design emerge, and has understood and enthusiastically agreed to complex recommendations as well.

From this understanding grows the most forceful consensus, the kind that provides a mayor and his council with a sense of solid constituency, a banker with a sense that he is not merely investing in a project but also in community pride, a local neighborhood leader with a sense that his community really can be effective in turning things around, and that all the late night volunteer meetings after all have not been in vain.
Urban Design: A Developing Tradition
Ironically, the movement to enfranchise citizens is still only beginning. Many decisions are made without the participation of users. In spite of appearances, our cities are not strangers to planning. Quite the contrary. Virtually every city of any size has experienced many proposals, many plans, involving huge investments in consultants and countless thousand of hours of professional effort.

But much of this planning comes to naught, either because of economic or other changes over which planners have no control, or more seriously because of community opposition. The waste is enormous. And because we can’t agree among ourselves, our cities suffer.

It is particularly tragic when otherwise well-intentioned and intelligent planning efforts run into a stone wall of community opposition because planners have failed to openly enfranchise the inputs and wishes of citizens. In almost every city over the past two decades projects have been built that could have been so much better and richer if the inputs of local citizens had been seriously sought and incorporated, and for every project that has been built we have seen a dozen projects of far-reaching potential benefits to communities killed by the opposition of citizens, not because they basically disagreed or did not want them, but because they felt themselves excluded and imposed upon, causing a loss of credibility on all sides that sometimes takes years to overcome.

Yet the other side of the coin is that we have a social and political framework in our cities in which decision-making can and should enfranchise citizens. Indeed the same process which stops projects can also ensure their success and inject into them richness and pride. By its very nature, urban design and architecture are interventionist. A new building will inevitably have an impact on the context in which it is built. Modern architecture has passed through a period in which innumerable new buildings were inserted into existing environments with a blindness to physical contexts, to say nothing of local issues and values, that seems to us today to be extraordinary and intolerable. By the same token, handled with openness and sensitivity, a new proposal can with a little care and sensitivity, be made to act as a focus of many public issues, and to relate sensitively to inherited environment, incorporating the aspirations and values of the people whose city and traditions symbolize local pride. Thomas Jefferson, the only American President who was also an architect, said: “I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.”
Urban design began as an outgrowth of studio architecture and planning. The first university courses in urban design in the United States began in the Graduate School of Design at Harvard in the mid-1950's under Walter Gropius. It is perhaps not surprising that he would attempt to apply to U.S. cities the Bauhaus tradition incorporating the applied ideals of European socialism and the studio-workshop approach to architectural design. Yet much as a result of his intellectual effort, urban design has evolved into the most crucial vehicle we have for focusing interdisciplinary talents and intelligence of the highest order on the contexts of change in the towns and cities we live in. R/UDATs with their emphasis in participatory democracy in the spirit of Jefferson's words and their interdisciplinary focus on precise local issues have proved to be laboratories of participatory urban design in action. And their influence on public agencies, private practice and schools of design has continued to deepen over the years. If our cities are, indeed, a pitiless mirror of our democratic decision-making civilization, it seems appropriate to pay some attention to improving our participatory processes beyond the achievements so far made in urban design. The initiative must lie in private practice. Here we will examine the typical elements constituting participatory urban design processes as they occur in everyday practice, rather than in the collapsed time-frame of R/UDAT. The salient ways in which private practitioners can address community issues are:

Through careful listening. Sometimes it's hard to listen and many of us have to reeducate ourselves to do so. After all architects and planners are trained to project their own values and ideas with their earphones turned off to the citizenry.

By providing a public forum and opportunity for participation by involving all sectors of the community. If urban design is to be open and democratic in the sense of Jefferson's words, the design/decision-making process treats as client everyone whose environment is affected. The vehicle has to be properly organized public meetings, open to everyone who has an input to make in the public interest.

By communicating. A common base of information that will provide the participants with critical understanding is a prerequisite to open, intelligent dialogue and discussion. Useful base information can in fact be developed by the citizens themselves in consort with the professionals.

This aspect of design process is invaluable in deepening public understanding of the range and impact of the issues, and later it will pay dividends in the public's grasp of accountability.
By seeking citizens as resources. Architects and planners who have worked openly with citizen groups will confirm that citizens know more about their own community than outside professionals do. They have aspirations and perceptions that can give unique insights to designers. Furthermore, a cross-section of citizens usually includes an energetic mix of creative viewpoints leading to rich and complex forms.

Architects/planners can organize workshops for these citizens to assist in developing detailed background materials, analysis of priorities, and financial and social impacts of alternative recommendations and scenarios.

By using design as a creative tool to explore and develop three-dimensional options and alternatives. Design is perhaps the best form of communication in open participatory processes. When alternatives are discussed and explored in design, everyone gets involved creatively. Accountability is in both directions, professionals and citizens. Differences fall away. This is particularly important in situations in which the contacts and language of the citizens may be very different from that of the professionals, say in a low-income black neighborhood in a large city, or a white suburban community. We should never forget that designers typically belong to a university-trained elitist subculture that is distinct and different from most of the constituencies they work for, and that common languages of understanding have to be established.

By redefining the problem in an interdisciplinary context. Although it is an outgrowth of architecture, urban design in complex urban situations relies on bringing several disciplines together in teamwork. The give-and-take of these professionals with citizen groups provides an extraordinary range and depth of understanding for everyone.
By establishing the essential connections between the various elements of the process and participants. It is important in open participatory processes that citizens see that linkages absent in the past, are now established. For example, it is clearly an indication that the process is taken seriously by local agencies if agency directors are present at meetings, and by local government if the mayor and council members participate.

Similarly, the serious intent of the private sector is signalled by the presence of a bank president and the president of a development corporation. And the best of all worlds occurs when they take off their jackets, roll up their sleeves, and participate in working groups seeking solutions. This is a two-way street. It may be politically advantageous to a mayor and council and financially advantageous to a bank president to know that particular recommendations are backed by citizen consensus.

By allowing feedback and evaluation of previous decisions. Feedback is not only important in local politics, it has a long history going back to the roots of our democratic traditions. Ideas are re-evaluated every step of the way; accountability is built in.

By accountability. Accountability thus goes back to the roots of our democratic traditions. When citizens have made the effort to be serious resources for designers and have come to meetings to explain their fears and their goals, it is important that the results of the design process should be referred back to them for their criticisms.

It is particularly important for developers to explain the theory of how their financial deals are put together, and how alternative financial models affect design. Experience has shown that once trust is built up, citizens will accept that developers cannot disclose the details complex and delicate financial negotiations. But the public's trust and commitment to projects pays off in the impact that pride has on the approvals process; project marketing; and on security once the project is built.
Process, Partnerships and the Public Sector
In many communities where successful participatory design processes have been carried out, citizens have become so proud of the results that they want “a piece of the action”. Generally this takes the form of the management of selected social programs that have emerged from the process. But sometimes, citizens have formed non-profit corporations beforehand, or similar organizations, specifically to implement and manage the whole project or parts of it. Managing non-profit organizations requires technical skill. The right time to prepare citizens for roles of this kind ideally lies within the planning and design process. Transferability of these skills is therefore an important component.

All urban design processes must have these features:

- Accountability
- Flexibility to re-evaluate and deal with change
- Credibility in government and the private investment sector, and
- Ability to recognize and respond to the different agendas and roles of participants

Partnerships between the public and private sectors, the community and the city, the various levels of government, between various educational institutions, agencies, organizations and departments and the interdisciplinary partnerships between various professional institutions, disciplines and consultants — all are interrelated to make the process work. These partnerships result, not just in contractual agreements between parties, but in commitment to implement particular projects in the public interest, insured by the knowledge that the community really wants and endorses them.
The public sector

The public sector consists generally of two basic public groups, the government sector and the community sector. In the past the two groups became polarized. It is not at all uncommon to hear people refer to the government sector as “they”. It is their responsibility to maintain our roads, and to provide good schools. They clear our garbage; and they run the government.

What we don't often appreciate is that they are us. They are citizens too. Officials involved in government from eight to five are members of the community after five, just like us: they own their homes, pay taxes, mow their lawns, and belong to community groups just like everyone else.

Furthermore, in a democracy, the reverse is equally true. The government is us. Legal avenues for having our voices heard in policy-making are open, and our taxes pay for moving policy into action.

The development process

To make public/private partnerships in urban design work successfully, government and community must mutually understand the development process and how to make it operate in the best public interest.

Together, the public sector and the community should begin by establishing a wish list of goals. And then they should develop, through the urban design vehicle, realistic priorities, cost benefit analyses, pro formas indicating levels of investment and risk, management plans, and who the implementers are anticipated to be. On the basis of this information, projects for implementation can be negotiated, some of which may be owned and managed by citizen organizations.
Government

The government sector consists of elected and appointed decision-making members of the community: the Mayor, Council, Planning Commissions and Boards, as well as the staff and agencies that support them. These groups operate at different levels of the decision-making process. Some decide, some advise, and some inform.

Understanding government, especially your own particular form of local government, is critical to successful urban design processes. Government institutions on the local, regional, state and federal levels are often plagued with cumbersome bureaucracy, favoritism and “old boy” politics, and are thus at odds with people who want to get things done. Elected officials are prone to be loyal to special interest groups, while their staff may be advocacy-oriented and more socially conscious. Citizens should be aware that, by nature, both groups tend to be guided by federal and state programs and regulations rather than by local goals and priorities. Therefore citizens have to make their priorities known vigorously.

Conflicting public sector interests are debilitating to urban design processes. It is certainly a primary challenge to agency staffs and elected officials to minimize conflicts.

If conflicts among citizen groups or between citizens and local government are latent, competing private sector development interests can be counted on to bring them out. Conversely, if the public and private sectors have hidden agendas, even though they might be in the best public interest, confidence in planning will be eroded very quickly once citizens smell a special deal in the air.

It is therefore important not to buck conflicting interests or private sector competition but to make these conflicts part of the design process. It is salutary to conduct competition in public and to include competitors and government together in public deliberation. In this way competing interests become a vehicle for negotiation through design that is meaningful and enriching to all concerned.

Objectives:

- To minimize conflict of goals,
- To align needs and means,
- To improve quality,
- To remove obstacles and misunderstanding,
- To define partnership roles and assess responsibility, and
- To maximize public good relative to private gain.
Other government objectives include:

Establishing an urban design consciousness in government that bridges political divisions, and focuses on issues affecting physical design and the quality of life within the city.

Establishing an open, accountable, urban design process that can get the citizens and the private interest groups involved.

Promoting responsibility and leadership in both the government and the community sectors as guardians of the physical form of the city by continually encouraging urban design issues to be raised and developing appropriate policies, frameworks and processes of communication to insure quality urban design, through encouraging open discussion and developing alternative proposals if required.

Being an effective agent in guiding the process of growth by incorporating development and urban design into standard operational procedures at all levels of government. Needless to say, it subverts the capacity of urban designers to act as brokers in negotiating design solutions of maximum benefit to all concerned if urban design is perceived as something to be done in order to make the situation look good, like garnishing an overdone roast with parsley, after all development decisions are made. To be effective, visual design values must be incorporated in the decision process from step one.

Employing talented and interdisciplinary groups of urban designers and professional consultants on the public payroll, by commission or competition, to undertake any project called for in the capital budget, and maintaining a contextual research component as an integral part of the project.

Coordinating those aspects of urban design that have regional impact among various agencies and levels of government on an interjurisdictional basis, and enacting forward-looking legislation and policies to encourage people interjurisdictionally to engage in urban design activities.

Introducing and encouraging the vehicles for public and private partnerships necessary to achieve a more responsive, higher quality urban design.

Developing meaningful incentives that result in quality development, whether by the public, private, or non-profit sectors, and that achieve community goals.
Every urban design project has a local diversity that makes it different, particular. A simple definition of community is the range of public interest in that project.

Each community consists of a variety of actors. Our society functions to a large degree on the basis of community and special interest groups. Some of these groups are already highly organized, with defined agendas and objectives, and, like church groups, are used to functioning at a decision-making level.

Others operate on an informal ad hoc basis, being motivated by specific issues. Individuals are generally more concerned about community development issues directly affecting their own lives, and don't immediately take positions on larger-scale or long-term development questions whose local impact is not apparent, unless they form or join an organization that is dedicated to these larger-scale questions.

How a community relates to the decision-making that affects the future quality of its local life and environment is at the root of our democratic way. Participatory design processes attempt to reinforce democracy's underlying themes and make them work better with richer and more satisfying products.

Looking particularly at the community aspects of these processes, we have to recognize that a concrete and apparently limited project, if it is relevant and potent, will inevitably become the focus of broader issues, and the broader issues will in turn attract their appropriate community concern.

The best participatory processes occur when community groups and individuals are self-organizing, free and inclusive, around the issues. The worst are when the promoters behind projects, whether in the private sector, or government, or both, try to exclude citizens from expressing concern, to say nothing of excluding citizens from creative roles, thus polarizing anger and opposition. Professional organizers can also be the Achilles' heel of participatory processes simply because they presuppose a priori goals, agendas and strategies, instead of allowing them to happen naturally.

As we have pointed out earlier, it is critical to recognize that participation must be open-ended. Time and again, unexpected and rewarding results occur. A community group will emerge from the process and assume the responsibility of sponsoring housing. Another will do something spectacular and creative for the elderly. Another will inject new life into existing institutions for the arts, such as a branch theater, an environmental arts program for children, or ethnic crafts. Give-and-take designing, back-and-forth dialogue, can only happen when everyone works openly and inclusively on something. And the best results occur when the opportunity to extend the project creatively, implement it, and participate in its management, is built into the design process itself.
Some objectives for the community sector are:

For special interest groups:

To sponsor interdisciplinary research, public forums and workshops on key urban design issues that are of particular concern to them and to publish and distribute information to all interested parties.

To expand the role of individual special interest groups to research and present in open forums key urban design issues involving other individuals and special interest groups from the public and private sector. This has the effect of defusing confrontation between groups, spreading understanding of viewpoints different from one's own, and getting everyone used to the idea of accountability.

To lobby for urban design issues and quality design through their respective constituency and friends in the public and private sector.

To be prepared to take on special projects for implementation, and to accept the challenge of continuing management.

For the media:

To educate and raise the level of understanding and make the general public aware through sound information of the basic facts on key urban design issues. As power-brokers, the media have deep responsibilities in keeping participatory processes open and fair to all by responsibility reporting all sides. The way events like public forums or the public discussion of alternative designs are promoted and reported can clearly make or break the best run processes.

For individuals:

To speak out and demand that elected officials and the media be more responsive to urban design issues that affect the quality of life in their community.

To become directly involved in a meaningful way in the local and regional urban design discussions of issues that affect your community.

To be prepared to assume responsibility, particularly in those areas that you recommend for action.

Encourage educational institutions to play a more meaningful role by providing community service and offering technical assistance.

To articulate concerns in the broader public interest, as well as advocate your own pet urban design ideas and values.

To promote the collective confidence and optimism of the community and encourage participation in whatever form it comes.
The private sector

The private sector includes major business interests directly affecting an urban design or architectural project; i.e., developers, bankers, board members, and major tenants involved in the design process either at the actual decision-making level or as reviewers and critics or as investors and managers.

Because of the competitive nature of development these risk takers tend to be conservative. Their profit-motive orientation is shaped by financial and governmental forces that are, for the most part, beyond their control.

Some developers perceive design or aesthetics as costly and unnecessary frills. They also see community involvement and design review processes as roadblocks to the development process. Enough examples have accumulated over the past decade of costly bureaucratic delays, or projects killed because of community opposition, to convince all but the most obdurate that far greater benefits accrue when agencies, elected officials and the public are properly informed and involved. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the more forward looking developers today openly welcome predictable design reviews or a properly structured development process involving citizens, when the intent and time considerations are clear at the start.

Indeed, important pioneering inroads are occurring. Interdisciplinary teams in which developers are team members, pioneered in R/UDATs, is becoming daily more widely accepted in private practice. In the last two or three years, urban design consultants working on urban revitalization programs have begun including developers from the first day of their contracts, so that developers can actively shape the feasibility of projects from their inception, and also can represent a continuity from design into implementation.

Every R/UDAT and every private practice team is becoming a casebook for the next, a demonstration to build on. Already, leadership does not necessarily come from architects. Developers, economists, sociologists, political scientists, lawyers are responding to contexts in which they are taking the lead. In a recent situation, leadership of a multidisciplinary team has been taken by an environmental sculptor.

Some objectives for the private sector are:

To develop and establish with the public sector an appropriate framework and limits for development through accountable urban design reviews and approval processes that allow for maximum community input from the earliest possible stages and within a known and predetermined period of time.
To participate in a leadership role in the design process as a meaningful partner with the public and community sectors.

To view citizens as resources whose creative inputs can improve the project and whose consensus can help it to move forward more effectively through its statutory reviews.

To investigate and develop new, innovative, and creative approaches that can be utilized in establishing partnerships with the public sector and the community, as appropriate, to carry out and manage key elements in design and development.

To view the enthusiasm of citizens as an important assist in marketing the project and its future management.

To utilize the resources of the private sector to bring to the design process, the media, the public sector and to other institutional entities its expertise and knowledge in educating and communicating issues and concerns; and, conversely, to listen to and try to understand the concerns of the public sector and the community.

To develop through its own resources and institutions, a coordinated research program that addresses specific, key urban design issues and research topics of common concern, and to communicate the findings in a clear and objective manner.
Urban Design Education
Just as participatory processes are redefining the roles of government, citizens and the private sector, professionalism itself is being redefined. For a long period, indeed for most of this century, architects designed buildings that were primarily for their clients and only secondarily for the context in which they were sited. The notion of the architect as artist and of the building as a habitable sculpture not only dominated the profession's view of itself, but it coincided with the public's expectation. This elitist and self-serving beaux arts image of the architect-as-artist was reinforced by our schools of architecture, by architectural journals (most of which still tend to celebrate architecture as "art"), and by the media. The pressure on the architect to change his basic approach to design has come from many sources and taken many forms. As already noted, civil unrest in American cities, and recently in European cities also, has underscored the fact that not any one issue but the interrelationship of many issues has led citizens, particularly young men and women at the thresholds of their lives, to vent their frustrations in the street.

How else do people have to tell deaf peers in government and business that paychecks relate to housing, that relevant schooling relates to the past and future of local cultures as well as to jobs, that home ownership means having a stake as a citizen in one's community, and that a person's cultural origin, his accent, his clothes, the street he lives on, or the color of his skin cannot any longer be accepted as the measure of his potential?
Perhaps it requires extreme situations to bore into the national consciousness that ways exist already in which multiple issues can be handled, and that these ways, far from undermining our society, lie at its political roots. Clearly, economics is as important as demography, social psychology as important as political science. That these can and should inform the design of physical environments is obvious. Less obvious, but equally persuasive is that it's a two-way street. The design of a school is related to curriculum; the design of housing is the shape of neighborliness. And both are the body-language of our social intent.

But like architecture, most of the professional disciplines have over decades grown apart and developed separate specializations. In spite of their common social focus, they do not easily cross-fertilize today. They speak a different language. Their premises are different. We have set up our higher education administrations and curricula on the basis that they are and will remain separate. In many universities, professors of economics don't even know the names of professors of sociology or law or architecture. Much less the chairman of different departments or the deans of separate colleges are willing to devise educational programs in which their disciplines interrelate in the public interest. Consequently, enormous barriers of language and methodologies have been erected that must be overcome if the common issues of our cities are to be addressed.
A brief definition of urban design is “design in an urban context.” That sounds innocuous enough not to cause offense to anyone. But design is used here, not in its traditional narrow sense, but in a much broader way. Economic projections, packaging new developments, negotiating public/private financial partnerships, setting up guidelines and standards for historic revitalization, forming non-profit corporations that combine citizens with public and private sector financing resources, are all considered as design. And urban context means the specific local context in which the design project is to occur.

The impact of all this on architecture is profound. It is no coincidence that along with the new concern for localism comes the expansion of the architect’s traditional role into the realm of urban design. Architects in growing numbers have come to recognize that cities are living organisms whose lifeblood is local culture and tradition, and that new buildings are the city’s way of renewing itself, adding new life and impetus to its own particular evolution as a place. And developers of new projects are also realizing in growing numbers that the pride of citizens in their city and their buildings pays remarkable dividends.

The other specialist disciplines are rapidly expanding their traditional roles into urban design along similar lines. It has therefore become more critical than ever for members of each discipline to understand the languages and inputs of the others.
**Drawing as urban design exploration**

Drawing is the primary language of architects. But architects entering the urban design field are having to develop new techniques to deal with so many different and simultaneous inputs. Urban design drawings tend to begin by being soft, generalized, diagrammatic. Configurations in charcoal, pastel or felt pens on onion skins abound, soft lozenges assailed by arrows. More conventional arrows may represent traffic flows, volumes, peaks; or wind direction, tremulous summer breezes or the snow-laden scything gales of winter; or contour and vista. Smudges may suggest building mass, or hill mass, or a screen of trees. But other lozenges and arrows may deal with other matters less physical. They may represent rates of historical change and indicate the history of the future; they may tell us about resources and the flow of capital and operational money; they might indicate opportunities, constraints and alternative strategies of phasing. They can diagram sociological factors such as unemployment, conflict or crime, stability or transience, gentrification or the corrosion of blight; or they might diagram economic factors such as projections of market absorption; or procedural factors such as permissible densities, uses, and heights. Drawn to scale, one diagram can even fit over another, describing the interaction of complex factors in plan and section on a particular site, and be summarized by word diagrams loaded with quantifications.
As such a process of drawing moves forward, building up layers of information, perception and understanding, it approaches closer and closer to the physical goals of urban design, an architecture of the man-made environment that is an organic and appropriate local fit. Inside becomes related to outside. Space is related to time. Contemporary materials are related to the inherited environment. Form is related to contour, climate and usage. Mass and penetration are related to vista. Drawing is exploration, and exploration is a process of self-definition, a gradually clarifying focus, until the object is just right.

**Translating complex strands into urban design**

Looking at our modern traditions of painting and sculpture we can see the same process of self-clarification occurring in a cubist painting or collage, or in the drip canvases of Jackson Pollock, and we can see insideness and outsideness, space and time, light and shadow, plane and linearity united in a dynamic and endless flow in the constructivist sculptures of Pevsner and Gabo. And the same continuities exist in the building plans of early Mies, Le Corbusier, and Wright. Indeed the new urban design drawing techniques, in the simultaneity of their explorations of the dynamics of physical situation are intellectually more contemporary and modern than the formal eclecticism of the so-called post-modernists.
But just as architects who enter urban design have to learn how to translate interdisciplinary inputs into drawings and three-dimensional models, it is also important for economists, sociologists, political scientists and others to understand the exploratory techniques and cultural concerns of architects. It can't be a one-way street. Citizens, who have no intellectual inhibitions about how architectural drawings should or should not be done, have found little difficulty in understanding urban design drawings and diagrams, and are not shy about making suggestions, or themselves adding to drawings.

**Decentralizing urban design and architecture**

Responding to pressures from citizens for deeper sensitivity and more detailed understanding of local issues and dynamics, many public planning departments have decentralized their personnel and even their offices. During the past ten years, more and more planning meetings, shopfront studios and architectural presentations of every kind have been opened up for public input and criticism.

The language of architecture has begun to change dramatically as a result of urban design, and the effects are to be seen in many cities. The prevalent notion that a new building is an idiosyncratic and eclectic art object inserted into a city has begun to give way to the notion that a new building can be a carefully wrought response to the inherited local context without being any less contemporary.
And so urban design, as an extension of the physical designer's traditional skill, has become a means of exploration, a way of determining not only physical forms, but what the impacts of physical forms would be on, say, social patterns, or economics, or on the city's tax base, if the design took this form in contrast to that. At the same time, urban design has also become a means of assisting communities themselves to explore and amplify their own perceptions of their futures; and with each new project to readjust and enrich their policies.

R/UDATs had a profound effect on the work these isolated professionals were doing. They offered a series of concrete examples of what could happen when interdisciplinary teams respond in a spirit of accountability to the concerns of citizens. As soon as the professionals — not only architects, but professionals from other disciplines as well — heard about R/UDAT they volunteered to get on the teams, and took back to their practices the lessons they learned firsthand. And the AIA's Urban Design and Planning Committee became a forum of exchange.

**How R/UDAT Affects Private Practice**

When R/UDATs began in 1967, the "state of the art" in participatory urban design was very primitive. To make matters more difficult, the few professionals in the nation who were involved in participatory design were working, as we have pointed out, in isolation, unaware that other architects and planners shared similar concerns. There were no forums of exchange. Sometimes innocent procedural mistakes led to difficult and unnecessary situations. Some of the early meetings in Pontiac became so heated that police surveillance had reluctantly to be requested and arrests were made. In a similar public process in Ann Arbor, confrontations between neighborhood people and city agencies was fomented by activist university groups. But lessons of procedure were forged in these early fires, and the rapid evolution of the R/UDAT program from similarly simple and obscure beginnings into a process that could be adapted by private sector professionals became important and influential.

**Participatory design: what happens in private practice**

At first glance it probably seems that a four-day R/UDAT cannot have much in common with a professional design process. The fact is that R/UDAT offers in a concentrated form a process that is readily adaptable to private sector practice. The accompanying chart shows the main steps that occur in a participatory design process in private sector practice. Generally such a process lasts three to six months. Some are shorter; others can be considerably longer. But their products are developed in far greater detail than the recommendations that emerge from a typical R/UDAT, and their goal is to move directly from planning into implementation.
Step 1
The citizen’s steering committee and the consultant team meet and work together throughout the urban design process.

Step 2
Perceptions of citizens of goals and issues are sought through interviews, group meetings, and questionnaires.

Step 3
Normal planning data base.

Step 4
The steering committee and the consultant team prepare a preliminary program with a statement of priorities.

Step 5
The materials from Step 4 are presented at a public meeting for debate. This meeting should be widely publicized to ensure attendance of all concerned citizens.
Step 6
On the basis of expressed concerns and priorities, the consultant team and the steering committee conduct workshops on components of the program at which citizens and agencies can work together.

Step 7
On the basis of the Workshops a program is developed.

Step 8
Alternative urban designs and strategies are developed by the consultant team.

Step 9
A joint Workshop on the alternative is held for those who attended the earlier workshops (Step 6)

Step 10
A public meeting is held to consider the alternatives and to determine a "preferred" alternative.

Steps 11-14
The preferred alternative is developed in detailed designs and recommendations, with a first phase of implementation built in.
The following is a brief description of the steps in which the chart illustrates.

Participatory design in practice moves through three distinct phases: contexts, concepts, and actions. The following are some general remarks.

1. Contexts

a. Interviews, questionnaires, group meetings

Like R/UDAT, the construction of a data base with "hard" and "soft" information is the basis for open public meetings.

"Hard" information is drawn from the same sources as in R/UDAT, but generally in far greater detail; statistical demographics, building uses and conditions, valuations, tax information, etc. Some of the work in this category may be done by sub-consultants to the team, for example market economists or traffic engineers.

Close collaboration with public agencies, the Chamber of Commerce, institutions such as banks, universities and hospitals, and groups such as merchants associations, neighborhood organizations, etc., is advisable in building up a "hard" data base. These agencies have useful resources, and it is good politics to collaborate.

"Soft" information is generally put together in three ways: interviews, questionnaires, and group meetings.

Interviews are different from casual conversations with citizens. They have to be carefully structured, and generally occur once the team and the steering committee have established what the main issues are. Each interview should be planned to last at least an hour, and should be built up on "conversation topics" that are designed to shed sharp light on the issues and to raise new issues. The people to be interviewed are carefully chosen by the team and the steering committee together, with an eye to include unfavorable or critical viewpoints as well as favorable ones, and also to get the best range of insights and perceptions in the community.

Questionnaires, on the other hand, should be designed for the widest possible circulation. They should be simple, but they should also encourage people to write longer answers than simply "yes" or "no". A good vehicle for distribution is the local newspaper. TV and radio newscasters can be asked to urge viewers and listeners to fill them in.

Group meetings should be organized as discussion workshops. Like the interviews, these discussions should be built up on the issues. Typical groups are the elderly, minorities, merchant associations, and neighborhood coalitions.
b. Issues
Participatory design just doesn't occur unless there are issues; people don't turn up without reason. Issues will have been identified in the RFP. They will have formed the basis of the interviews, questionnaires and group meetings. But once these inputs have been made, the chances are good that the issues will have to be revised and new issues will have to be added. The team will have learned many new insights and will have been pointed in the direction of many new sources of research and information. All of this material now requires careful tabulation.

c. Human resources
The interviews and group meetings will also begin to reveal what special human resources are to be found concealed in the community. Every community provides its own rich surprises. If the team keeps its ears and eyes open it will find local "authorities" on almost every subject. Historic photographs, artifacts, business records, architectural drawings, etc., will be discovered stacked away in private houses. There are rich oral histories to be taped and meaningful local traditions to be recorded. This wealth of information often makes splendid material for release to the press in the team's effort to get public momentum behind the process.
d. Analysis and synthesis
The team now puts together what it has learned. “Hard” and “soft” information is reviewed in categories, and gaps in information are established. Perceptions can be quantified (e.g., how many people mentioned the river as an overlooked resource, how many people rated security as a priority, what percentage of respondents thought that race was an issue), and even though the sample may be very small, the tabulation could be a useful indicator. Base maps keyed to the information are particularly useful (e.g., where in the city exactly was crime identified as an issue, what street intersection was identified as the most dangerous, etc).

The information bank is now assembled in large graphic documents that can be used at the first open public sessions and town meetings.

e. Town meeting
The open public sessions are as vitally important to urban design in private practice as they are to R/UDATs. The media once again plays a big part in the success of town meetings. The key is to get everyone involved who wants to be, and to make involvement meaningful. Articles in the press based on interviews and background information should be published daily. Handbills and banners advertising the public meeting make good video material for TV news bulletins, and call-in talk shows on radio help keep the public’s interest soaring.

At least one big town meeting should be held at this point in the process. Be sure to have a hall large enough for a good crowd. Five or six hundred people is not unusual. Generally, the agenda is in two parts. The first part is a plenary session, chaired by the steering committee, at which a report on what has been learned so far is made by the consultants. The issues are then analyzed. After a coffee break, the public is asked to attend a workshop of its choice. Aim at about five workshops. Each workshop will address an issue or a cluster of issues. Typical workshops might be conservation, traffic and parking, housing, or employment and financial incentives. After the workshops, which last about 50 minutes, the Town Meeting is reconvened and the chairman of each workshop makes a brief report on his session, so that everyone knows what happened in all the workshops.
2. Concepts

The purpose of the workshops is to narrow the focus of discussion to particulars. As a result the team should have a fairly good insight of the needs and expectations of the community. They are now in a position to draw and make recommendations.

The chart suggests that three main alternatives ought to be developed. The number of alternatives is up to the team. Perhaps alternatives is the wrong word, since it suggests complete designs. Scenarios might be a better word. Or better still “what if” scenarios. What if we do this? Alternatively what would happen if we went in a totally different direction?

Each scenario has a program, priorities, timetable, budget, incentives, impacts and level of accountability. These can be evaluated objectively in terms of risk compared with benefit, and cost compared with capital source and return on investment. Each scenario implies a series of political and financial strategies. And finally each scenario can be evaluated in terms of its probable level of acceptance with the community.

When enough scenarios and program-mixes have been worked through in three-dimensional designs as well as in numbers, the time has come for a second big open public meeting. Preparations for the public meeting will include the careful presentation of alternatives, with particular emphasis of risks, outlays, phasing and benefits.

It is important that the second Town Meeting is run by the steering committee and not by the consultant team. The chairman of the steering committee should in fact chair the public meeting. The steering committee should introduce the alternatives. The consultant team is called on to present the details.

Once again the Town Meeting should be in two parts, plenary session and workshops. At the plenary session the alternatives are presented and debated. Then once again the public should be asked to attend a workshop of their choice. The purpose of the workshops this time is to discuss critically how the team has responded in each program area, and prioritize preferences. After the workshops the Town Meeting is reconvened, and the reports from the workshops will be debated.

A picture of the preferred scenario should emerge from the Town Meeting and from a follow-up meeting of the steering committee.
3. Actions

The team is now in a position to move into the final design phase.

It is important to emphasize once again that design is not meant only in the narrower architectural sense of physical and visual design, but also as the design of political recommendations, financial pro formas, revisions to regulations, incentives, funding resources and requests, etc. Some consultant teams include a member with experience in development to help in these areas.

The goal of this phase is to bring the first phases of the project to the threshold of implementation. It is therefore crucial that design is both comprehensive and detailed. The very nature of contextual design is that new proposals are sensitively meshed with the city around them. At the same time the proposals have to work in an exacting arena where harsh terms are imposed by developers' pro formas, the requirements of lenders, and the phasing of public capital, and where things take unexpected twists and turns, such as the eccentricities of the marketplace or the rise and fall of interest rates.

In most situations today involving large projects, private sector commitments will be negotiated up to a certain point, but will not be finalized until public capital commitments have been made. Bond issues may have to be voted upon. A federal Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) may have to be negotiated.

These commitments rely in turn on a public approvals process. This is where evidence of a good history of accountability becomes a real asset.
Because of its interdisciplinary base, urban design has no home in any of the existing professions or institutions. It has problems of a common language. And it suffers from the lack of formalized procedures between disciplines involved in similar issues.

To compound these problems each of the disciplines that urban design processes bring together has its own existing professional institute with inherent policies and rules of membership, licensing, accreditation, focus and direction. And the majority of their members may not even want to accommodate interdisciplinary processes in case they weaken their institute's monopolistic control of their specialization.

We have to recognize that even within architecture, not every architect has the desire or capacity to be an urban designer. Although architecture is a team profession, demanding different talents and specializations within its generalist framework, urban design demands a broadening of teams and a complexity far beyond anything experienced within architecture before.

However, recent years have demonstrated beyond doubt that everyone involved in the art of city building must be required to understand the basic processes and language of urban design, and we believe that one of the challenges now facing us is to get other professional disciplines to understand and want this as well.

For more effective practice of urban design, the following steps should be taken:

First and foremost it is imperative to institutionalize urban design on an interdisciplinary basis. This can be done either as an integral part of the profession of architecture (since it is the only profession which deals with overall physical, three-dimensional products) or as a separate profession that has the ability to pull together and coordinate appropriate segments of other professional disciplines.

The R/UDAT program, apart from its impact on the nation's cities, is an important threshold within the architectural profession. The AIA can no longer deny that its most successful public demonstration is in urban design, not architecture. Variants on R/UDAT internationally, notably CAUSE in Canada and CUDAT in Great Britain, have carried the message to other countries and continents.

But the recent formation of a separate national Institute for Urban Design is likely to be of crucial importance. Its international conferences and urban design publications have already increased recognition of urban design as a distinct interdisciplinary skill. All the professions and disciplines involved in urban design should be encouraged to support and participate in the Institute, not for what it already is, but for what it can become.
For example, interdisciplinary partnerships in research and publications can be built up, either as individual projects or based on the interdisciplinary workshops which the Institute is already holding so effectively in cities around the nation. For its part, the Institute can set up working liaisons with the institutes of related professions to explore how urban design can be an integral part of overall purposes by including it as a mandatory element in its continuing education and recertification programs, its formation and resource dissemination systems and its research efforts and agenda.

Both the Institute for Urban Design and the AIA should work together to make urban design an integral part of the practice of architecture so that architects can enlarge their responsibilities by serving the community, either by establishing a design process which utilizes an interdisciplinary approach, or by participating in a meaningful way as a concerned citizen in someone else's process.

These goals will not be realized until urban design is a core program in all schools of architecture. To treat urban design as an elective, or as a master's program, is not sufficient any longer. We must develop new ways for the next generation of professional architects to exercise their design skills in the new contexts of social and urban awareness.

Rene DuBos spoke to this issue in his 1969 Pulitzer Prize-winning book, So Human An Animal:

"Since man's nature leads him to search endlessly for new environments and for new adventures, there is no possibility of maintaining a status quo. Even if we had enough learning and wisdom to achieve at any given time an harmonious state of ecological equilibrium between mankind and the other inhabitants of spaceship Earth, it would be a dynamic equilibrium which would be compatible with man's continuing development. The question is whether the interplay between man and his natural and social surroundings will be controlled by blind forces or whether it will be guided by deliberate rational judgement."

The responsibility of our universities is to make these "blind forces" understood. Habitually schools of architecture have been conditioned to produce graduates who fit niches that the profession and society has predefined for them. Professional schools still follow patterns governed by the vested and conservative interests that provide commissions for the big architectural offices, and by the subtle (but no less powerful) pressures of institutional accrediting boards. But the rate of social change has accelerated to a point that this educational model is no longer viable. The graph of change in technology alone is nearly vertical.
In a democracy the informed citizen has a right to expect officials and representatives elected in his behalf to act in his best interests. It is a precious right, not only because the election booth is an expression of trust and aspiration, but the process of removing officials who do not meet expectations, and reversing decisions that do not reflect the public will is enormously difficult to put into effect by means other than elections. Sadly, these remedies of process are usually too late. The deed is done. Historic buildings are razed; budgets are spent; a park has been paved; a highway has been rammed through; an unsatisfactory project has been built; and urban evolution has been permanently diverted.

Getting public officials to be sensitive to the aspirations of citizens and to understand the impacts of their policies and decisions is an important aspect of urban design communications. Carefully prepared presentations at public hearings and informed media are important components in educating government.

But this will always be unpredictable until the education of planners, architectural historians, political scientists, sociologists, urban economists and many others is based on interdisciplinary workshops, the language of which is urban design. Only in this way will standards of interdisciplinary performance in public professional life be set, and accountability in the public interest will be quantifiable and less a matter of rhetoric.

The education of architects is only one facet of urban design education. The interdisciplinary network that urban design represents can now be seen to expand in the university, correlating inputs and learning experiences from many directions. But the network within the university should also be seen as a microcosm of the network in the urban workshop itself.
Urban design research

It is clear that fundamental to good design and communication is sound research. Urban design research is contextual in nature. It has certain characteristics that differentiate it from research in other fields, and in a sense these characteristics make it more difficult to do. Like urban design itself, urban design research is generalist. It covers several related specialist areas, but its goal is to support design in the public interest, and is therefore different. It is not surprising to find that there is currently a shortage of urban design research. And what is done suffers from various deficiencies that have to be overcome. Here are some shortfalls:

- Most of the research is done by single disciplines, and has a narrow, unilateral point of view.
- Useful research findings are not in easily communicable form or readily available to practicing urban designers, and are not being employed effectively, if at all, by local government.
- A wealth of researchable information is not utilized.
- While universities and research institutions should continue to be primarily centers for urban design research, such research should not be conducted exclusively by them.
- Comparative case studies are needed to document and update successes and failures in urban design.
- Many individual research projects are carried out with an inadequate frame of reference.

A “culture of research”, on a sound, broadly accepted methodological basis, is needed within the interdisciplinary urban design profession. Its methodologies should be designed to provide overall and commonly accepted research management strategies to enable research in various institutions, universities and agencies to be coordinated in regard to direction, quality and comparison. Research findings will thus become invaluable resources for policy formulation and funding mechanisms.

Creating options

Urban design is concerned with creating valuable new options in old or new contexts, rather than applying systems already in existence. Besides monitoring case studies, research should also therefore be a tool in the process of active experimentation that is integral to the sequence of any project's organization, implementation and evaluation.

Carefully planned projects considered to be important arenas for research work should be supported to permit consistency over a long period of time beyond implementation to permit monitoring and comparisons with similar projects in other contexts. This would allow processes to be tried, retried, and adopted, building on results of previous efforts.
A central clearinghouse
A pressing need is a central clearinghouse of urban design research and case studies. This may be a task for the Institute for Urban Design, not unlike the parallel work being done by the Urban Land Institute. Universities as well as professionals should subscribe to and support the effort. Case studies based on performance criteria are of particular importance to practicing urban designers and to government.

Urban design often involves the creation of costly and relatively permanent environmental features. The urban designer must worry about the consequences of everything he does, not only because people are going to be living with the results, but because he is sometimes substantially changing the course of a city's future. So, whatever experimentation is done must be of a type that allows adjustments to be made and failures to be corrected. Research into parallel projects, and into the sequential steps of his project, is therefore an invaluable tool, and informed feedback can lead to a better informed accommodation of needs or changes in programs.

Contextual research
Contextual research, project-by-project, may be organized as parallel comparative case studies, going over a period of years. It can be carried out as an integral part of the design-decision-implementation-management process of each project, built in from the beginning. However, research has to be consistent to be of maximum use, and must be based on the interrelatedness of all of the steps in the entire design process. It must deal with how design accommodates successive programmatic or policy adaptations, and it must be undertaken in the context of real people and events. Some of the researchers should, if possible, be the citizens themselves.

Further research strategies to be considered are projective. We might call them trickle-up. Projections based on case studies evaluated by means of accepted methodologies can be invaluable. Depending on the issues at hand, funding and other capabilities, trickle-up and post-construction research may be conducted on a periodic rather than continuous basis.

Trickle-up research, like much scientific research, begins with a focus on a concrete problem, and works its way outward to larger contextual issues, and finally to projections. The implication is that, by choosing several contexts as important areas for research, it would be possible to amass considerable specific information from which important generalizations and projections could be drawn.
Post construction evaluation
Post-construction evaluation can focus on environments that are working well compared with those that are not, in order to develop an understanding of the factors leading to project viability, successful and unsuccessful. Although evaluations tend to be statistical in order to establish a basis for comparison, it is also important to trace back "soft" data, such as the impact of decision-making, and in the light of experience, to project what the impact of alternative goals, strategies, decisions or policies might have been.

Evaluations of this kind provide excellent staff learning experiences when developed from completed projects contrasted with original intentions and are useful as demonstrations to elected officials. Based on such evaluations, future programming can be altered, public policy may be modified, and the general public can review earlier decisions in the light of new information.

Potential areas of research, therefore, that may be considered are:
• design administration
• design legislation
• design issues
• communication and education
• urban design communications
• public/private partnerships
• comparative impacts on urban economics, sociology, demography, etc.

Rene DuBos in the 1970 Smithsonian Quarterly said:

"Now that social and technological changes are too rapid for the spontaneous development of successful adaptive responses modern societies will have to depend on conscious design for the achievement of fitness. I prefer to speak of 'design' rather than 'planning' because I want to emphasize the need to social and ecological patterns in which the potentialities of persons and places can achieve expressions which are humanly desirable."

Because physical design is visual language, architects are able to make connections between information distilled from research and three-dimensional physical expression. They are also able to discern or derive meaning in visual form from human aspirations expressed both directly and from case studies. They have not always, in recent history, brought this ability to bear on issues of the public interest, preferring instead to narrow their effective field to more private interests.

The experience and methods of R/UDATs have eloquently catalogued the public's desire to give form to its environment, and have demonstrated with conviction the effectiveness of interdisciplinary teamwork in which expertise is additive, and in which all physical and cultural forces combine to resolve issues of conflict in a creative manner.

Comparative research, as outlined here, coupled with open, participatory design processes, offers opportunities to enrich design and informs the public in the Jeffersonian sense. It also enlarges the role that our universities and design schools can play in the future of our cities.
While the 100 or so collegiate schools that offer the education of design professionals are superficially encouraged to develop their own priorities, there is a marked agreement between them as to what constitutes a responsible curriculum. It is certainly ironic that at a time when citizens are searching for an interdisciplinary focus on the issues of change impacting urban communities, the trend toward specialization has left us with fewer and fewer professionals trained to accept the challenge in interdisciplinary teamwork.

Four areas of instruction appear in all programs with varying percentages of time allotted to them: design, history, theory, and building technology. Noticeably missing are courses that recognize that parallel disciplines can and do also affect architectural and urban form. There is, in fact, very little instruction on the source of appropriate form itself.

A study commissioned by the AIA admits the similarity among schools. Core requirements remain structure, history and design, with the acknowledged primary emphasis in the design studio. The traditional design studios still deal with problem solution rather than problem definition, and tend to do this as architectural design in isolation rather than in interdisciplinary settings.

In contrast design education, to be reflective of public concerns and issues, should offer opportunities to develop skills that are responsive to the continuously changing conditions of our cities — conditions which in turn must be seen as the basis for physical form.

New curricula must be developed in design schools to sharpen the skills needed to define issues, encourage dialogue, collect and analyze information, and understand the processes of urban change. Courses must be offered that make clear how economic, social and political permutations can be generators of alternative physical form in given local contexts. Indeed, schools may consider making the urban contexts all around them, wherever they are located, their primary workshops or living laboratories.

Urban Design in Action
To some extent this has already begun. In the mid-sixties interdisciplinary research and workshops were organized by Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, while a parallel attempt was made by David Lewis to use Pittsburgh as an urban workshop by the graduate program in urban design at Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie-Mellon University). In the seventies more universities joined in. Yale in New Haven, Connecticut; Ohio State in Columbus; and the University of California at Berkeley are notable examples of universities which offered urban design workshops to address specific issues in their own communities, in collaboration with citizens and government.

Recent examples indicate that big steps forward are being made to institutionalize these efforts and organize them rationally. Mississippi State University has the Center for Small Town Research and Design organized by James Barker which runs projects and publishes a series of important case studies in book form, and the series of publications put out by the student program of North Carolina State University is a basis for an organized body of theory and case studies.

Like case studies, history must also be considered in context with the cultural forces that created it so that the student can better understand how, in the past, the forces of politics, economics, sociology, etc., were translated into design and form. In this way the present and future can be seen as history in the making.
Urban design is architecture

All art is image. Even the opaque silences of composer John Cage are images of the absence of sound. Urban design offers images of the future of the city. These images permit us to focus with intensity and detail on the policies and strategies of achieving that future.

This book began with a spontaneous visit to The American Institute of Architects by a citizen who had a perception that his community had problems that possibly architects could help with. The first R/UDAT quickly discovered that the city is a living organism, embodying the culture, history and aspirations of its citizens. They sensed its continual change, its continual evolution from its past into future forms. But most of all they sensed that the citizens themselves wanted to help to shape that future: they implicitly recognized that any given moment in the history of the democratic city, the policies which will shape its future must be in their own hands.

From simple beginnings, R/UDAT evolved into a process which draws from the present condition, from the existing context of the city, all the elements from which the image of the city’s future must take its shape. No one mind, no matter how brilliant, indeed not even one profession, is capable of spanning the width and depth of understanding needed to handle the diversity of this material. R/UDAT teams are therefore drawn from a national pool of men and women specialists, each eminent in his own field of endeavor, representing a range of disciplines to ensure that the recommendations that emerge are truly responsive to the complex strands of input and data that bombard the urban design process from all sides.
But the city does not belong to the assistance teams. They come from all parts of the nation and stay for only four days. The odds are that they have never visited that particular city before, nor previously met the other team members, and if they have, certainly not in an intensive interdisciplinary working situation. Be that as it may, the essence of the R/UDAT is that it serves, not the professionals, but the cause of the citizens. It is they who come to the team seeking help in achieving for their city a series of aspirations that are extremely precious to them. And in coming to the team they are symbolizing and expressing the basic democratic form of cities, in which every front door is connected to every other front door, and every citizen has a clear and equal relationship in government, articulated by the physical grid of the city.
R/UDAT is not called to go to cities in which all is well. On the contrary, R/UDAT is a response by the architectural profession to a call for help from the nation's distressed cities. Conflict, despair, confusion of goals, ways and means — all of these are factors that are the common fare of R/UDATs. In fact, it is the resolution of these contradictions that offers the best opportunities for creativity.

And in an open public process, in which everyone hears everyone else's input to the discussion and participates in the development of recommendations, the language of urban design is born. In the end it is the artist within the urban designer — part troubadour, part alchemist — who is able to make that creative and emotionally moving leap of insight and comprehensive understanding necessary for an inspired yet credible image. But because the citizens have participated in the birth of that language and in its development toward the articulation of policies they can deeply believe in, a new spirit of optimism and dedication and new leaderships come into being which will carry their community forward to new horizons.

The images of urban design are, therefore, truly important when their three-dimensional depictions of proposals and projects are the language of detailed focus and intention. But most important of all is the image of process and enfranchisement, those powerful undercurrents of policy and dedication by the citizens that will be responsible for the delivery of consensus and for implementing the recommendations, for these are the raw power of urban evolution. The deeper lesson of R/UDAT is that these are the mainsprings of truly significant architecture.
Section Two
The Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams in Action
Peter Batchelor
The Team in Action: An Assessment
The Team in Action: An Assessment

Arriving from all over the nation, a group of persons are preparing for a R/UDAT project. Their mission is to give design and planning assistance to a community. They have received a package of material in advance of the visit in order that they may familiarize themselves with the characteristics of the community and the problems they are likely to encounter.

Their professional background is very diverse. They may be drawn from architecture, landscape architecture, city planning, transportation planning, economics, law, sociology and many other disciplines. Their skills and professional activities differ greatly from each other: Some are involved in waterfront land development projects, others in highway design, and still others in writing. Yet they all have one thing in common: A strong commitment to improving the quality of life in cities. The R/UDAT visit which brings them together will result in proposals which reflect the diversity of value systems on the team.

One of the team members is designated as a leader. He or she has been carefully chosen to manage the R/UDAT event so that it is productive and meaningful to the participants. The team leader must represent the findings of the team to the community, and must be able to organize the effort internally. Such a person requires enormous amounts of energy, patience and good humor. Tactful when differences occur, adept at bringing the most creative response from individuals, the team leader must know enough about the professional backgrounds of team members in order to make sound judgements. And in the early hours of the morning when time and space hover on the edge of consciousness, and when the mind is wearied by round-the clock activity, the leader must be on hand to encourage and support team effort. Not surprisingly, a few natural leaders have emerged in the R/UDAT process and their skills are called upon with great frequency.
Over the course of several months, perhaps even as much as a year or more, a task force has been preparing for this event. Reconnaissance visits are made to the community for the purpose of meeting local officials and assessing the nature of the issues to be addressed. Local committees and contacts are established and a list of key actors — businessmen, politicians, professionals and community leaders — is prepared. The local chapter of the American Institute of Architects is involved in planning for the visit, and where possible schools of architecture and city planning are invited to send faculty and students to assist in R/UDAT sessions. A lot of time and energy is spent in preparing for a visit because it is essential to secure the active support and participation of the community, and because the team can spend their time more effectively responding to the local problems if sufficient background information is available. The existence, for example, of a properly-scaled set of reproducible base maps has a dramatic impact on the output of a team and the specificity of the product.

At some point late in the preparatory phase a team is identified by both the R/UDAT Task Force and the team leader. The unique strengths of a pool of several hundred volunteers are known, and individuals are selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to specific planning and design issues. Also important is the ability of the team member to contribute to the success of the visit, a factor which places cooperation on an equal footing with individual creativity and skill. Out of the process of selection is forged a team — the Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team — whose separate strengths are brought to focus on a common problem.

The Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team is a unique assembly of talented people. It meets for four or five days at one location in the United States. Some team members may know each other, or may have heard of each other through professional practice, but for most it is the first time they have assembled together. The convergence of these skilled professionals at this location and time in history is an event never to be repeated. It is bound to influence some aspect of community development, and yet its principal actors are only required to make a short term commitment.

In order to understand how the R/UDAT process functions, several questions must be raised: What is the general organizational structure of a typical visit, and how is the problem-solving process conducted? How do ideas emerge, and how are they communicated? Finally, what are the critical elements of the process? These questions will be examined in the following pages and illustrated by excerpts from seven case studies.
RUDAT Workshops tend to follow a fairly well-defined format. The first day is usually given over to meeting representative community groups and in becoming familiar with the physical environment. On the second day, public hearings and reviews of available and recently gathered data tend to sharpen the team's perception of major issues. By the mid-point of this day preliminary problem statements and programs are defined, and by the end of the day a strategy for approaching the problem is established. The third day is essentially an "inhouse" problem-solving work session. Finally, during the evening of the third day, or on the following day, recommendations are given to the community during a public presentation.

The problem-solving methodology of a R/UDAT workshop is based on team discussion of concepts followed by joint or individual work groups assigned to specific segments of the program. The assignment process tends to be a voluntary act on the part of the team member with expertise and interest in a specific aspect of the program. After about two to four hours, the team is called together again and a new round of presentations is started. This recycling of concepts brings about a steady inflow of new ideas and a modification of previous ones, as well as a prolific amount of drawing and writing. A superhuman effort is usually needed to bring all of the disparate material together, a coordinating task which normally falls to the team leader, or chairman. It is an exhausting process. The team often works around the clock to put the final document and public presentation together.
Wilson, North Carolina, May 2–6 1974: A Typical R/UDAT Schedule

The following itinerary reveals a general pattern of activities common to all R/UDAT sessions. On the first morning a bus loaded with officials, team members and students made a tour of the region followed by a drive through the town itself. This served to introduce the team to the regional problems of Wilson and to reveal the nature of the urban and rural landscape. The afternoon was a mixture of meetings with town officials, walking tours and photographic surveys of the environment. An evening presentation by the Secretary of North Carolina's Department of Natural and Economic Resources, James E. Harrington, gave the team an overview of the State's role in land development.

During the morning of the second day minority groups presented a picture of housing, employment and social conditions to the team. Public officials were requested to stay away from this meeting so that discussion could be relatively uninhibited. This meeting proved to be fairly exciting and prompted a special investigation of Black residential areas.

The second and third days of the workshop produced a large variety of planning and design concepts. Drawing boards and work surfaces were set up in the Wilson Council Chambers, and debris comprised of paper plates, cups and crumpled paper began to mount up as the tempo increased. By the end of the third evening, the team had produced the major portion of the report and accompanying design concepts. The production of a slide show for presentation to the public on the fourth evening and the printing of fifty copies of the report were the only tasks left by 4:00 AM on the final day.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Thursday May 2</th>
<th>Friday May 3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon</td>
<td>Team members arrived at Raleigh/Durham Airport.</td>
<td>8:00—10 a.m. Breakfast at Heart of Wilson Motel. City, County, State persons, Region “L” officials, community leaders, news media, etc., in attendance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Team met at 1526 Glenwood Avenue; had dinner at Velvet Cloak Inn in Raleigh.</td>
<td>10:00—12:00 a.m. Bus tour of Wilson and surrounding area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Team arrives in Wilson</td>
<td>12:00—1:15 p.m. Lunch at Holiday Inn. Community Leader input. Returned to Heart of Wilson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45 p.m.</td>
<td>Team briefing session and slide show.</td>
<td>1:30—4:30 p.m. Team went on aerial reconnaissance, city and state staff on walking tour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:00 p.m. Depart from Heart of Wilson Motel for Silver Lake Oyster Bar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30—9:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Dinner at Silver Lake Oyster Bar and presentation by James Harrington, Secretary, N.C. Department of Natural and Economic Resources.</td>
<td>9:00—Midnight Team discussion at motel. Film sent out for processing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Saturday May 4**

8:00—10:00 a.m. Breakfast meeting with DNER and other State officials. Discussion of planning and management issues pertinent to city, state and regional officials.

10:30—12:30 a.m. AIA team met with special interest groups and resource persons; continued at Municipal Chamber.

12:30 a.m. Team lunch with staff and council.

1:30—3:00 p.m. Walk through Business District.

3:00—6:00 p.m. First work session.

6:00—7:00 p.m. Team break

7:00—9:00 p.m. Team dinner.

**Sunday May 5**

7:30 a.m. Breakfast

8:30 a.m. Third work session

12:30 a.m. Lunch in Municipal Chambers.

1:30 p.m. Fourth work session.

7:00 p.m. Break

9:00 p.m.-4:00 a.m. Fifth work session. Work on final report initiated. Drawings and design concepts finalized. Slides taken of art work.

**Monday May 6**

7:30 a.m. Breakfast

All Day Preparation of statements for news media. Slide show for press conference and news media.

5:30—7:00 p.m. Team dinner.

8:30—10:00 p.m. Public presentation

11:00 p.m. Team members depart for home.
While the organizational structure of a R/UDAT visit follows a predictable course, as demonstrated in the Wilson study, the origin and flow of ideas is a highly variable phenomenon. Team members bring to each R/UDAT visit a personalized approach to issues of urban design which tend to act as a filter for sifting through and discarding or incorporating information. There are, in addition, some recurring themes — not necessarily conscious ones — which have a tendency to predispose conceptual ideas towards an array of acceptable alternatives. Finally, the technique of communication of ideas itself acts to shape the nature of the idea. All of these factors are dependent on the composition and skills of the team, the imageability of the issue to be studied, and the manner in which information about the study problem is obtained. Since no two situations are alike, the conceptualization of ideas does not unfold in some steady, step-by-step fashion. Consequently, a R/UDAT visit is a highly creative affair, proceeding as much by inspiration as by conscious management.

Ordinarily, some sort of overview or official presentation is made to team members before they have any contact with the actual site. Many civic groups assume a positive attitude about the community in an attempt to maintain a progressive spirit. Most teams are careful to question speakers at this stage and to examine disparities between documented material and official views of the community. It is a period in the process in which intuition comes into play; clues are sought which throw light upon conflicts between civic agencies or upon evasive behavior over specific planning and design issues. During informal conversations and social events team members receive a more personal set of perceptions about local problems, thus modifying the official view. Ultimately, individual and collective opinions are held concerning planning issues, and these may be widely divergent from the official view.

At some point in the first day, or usually no later than the morning of the second day, a tour of the site is made. This provides additional information of a contextual nature, supplementing diagrams and maps provided by civic and local officials. Depending on the size of the problem area, a means of transportation is provided which affords a comprehensive view of the community. In the case of a suburbanizing region, or a large city, it is not unusual to utilize airplanes and helicopters. Team members on the Butte R/UDAT visit in June 1972 were taken in a small single-engine plane over the downtown area and across the enormous Berkeley Pit, an open-face mining operation slowly
Often diagrammatic in nature, these drawings clarify the complexity of the city and pave the way for a comprehensive ordering concept.

These two methods of gathering site information — vehicular and pedestrian — serve two distinct purposes. The former affords a broad view and enables team members to comprehend the complete urban fabric without being distracted by details. The latter permits involvement with the textures and details of the urban landscape: Buildings, trees, signs, street furniture and so on. Architects are trained to work from a total concept down to details and the R/UDAT process follows traditional problem-solving methods fairly closely when it comes to dealing with cities. One scale of analysis clearly imparts a sense of structure to the proceedings, while the other provides the content.

eating away the land on which downtown Butte was situated. Buses and automobiles are also utilized, though no form of transportation is more effective than a walk through the community.

This is an exciting moment for team members. Cameras click away steadily, freezing an urban scene for some crucial point later in the workshop sessions after the film has been processed. Persons with an ability to draw will be seen working on a sketch pad with great animosity as views of the site slip by. Line drawings proliferate during this phase of activity: Subjects ranging from aerial perspectives of the region to physical details of the urban landscape issue from the skilled hands of architects and planners on the team. Drawings formed at this stage of the process serve not only to document the environment but also to create a perceptual framework for future decisionmaking.
At this stage of the R/UDAT visit verbal and statistical descriptions of the problem have become infused with graphic and photographic imagery. Subsequent meetings with special interest groups, interested citizens and individuals create an understanding of priority of issues which is the final step before the generation of new ideas. It is usually at this point, sometime between the second and third day, that conceptual solutions begin to emerge from the team. Executed with simplicity of form and line, diagrams of ordering principles begin to appear in notebooks and on large paper sheets hung from walls.

Many of the popular conceptual solutions of the R/UDAT process seem to owe their form and structure to recurring themes in the literature of urban design. Linear organizing concepts — malls, boardwalks, riverfront greenways, arcades, and so on — apparently strike the imagination of designers with greater intensity than other formal ordering systems. For example, in a city possessing an undifferentiated grid, the tendency is to favor those solutions which seek to emphasize linear segments over those which treat the grid as an entire structural system. A similar tendency to favor concentrated cores can be found in the conceptual diagrams of a R/UDAT Team. The
sheer physical dominance of the downtown area has a habit of overriding the importance of suburban cores, even if economic evidence demonstrates that downtown plays a subordinate role. It could be argued that a sort of professional bias operates in favor of the downtown, but it is also possible that, as a concentrated phenomenon, it is easier to conceptualize and to reproduce in graphic terms this tightly-knit accretion of built space.

Linear form connotes growth, expansion, adaptability, it suggests linkage and continuity — characteristics which are deemed desirable in contemporary cities. The core implies density and multiple use, which in turn suggest high levels of human interaction. In their simplest form, lines and cores can be organized into graphic constructs of just about any conceivable type of urban structural system. Therefore, a city with a strong central core and one or more linear organizing systems possesses a higher level of imageability than, say, either a suburban region or a typical small town with a dispersed population.
If linear and focal organization forms a major source of conceptual statements in the R/UDAT process, what kinds of drawings are most frequently utilized to communicate ideas to the public? Aerial drawings — plans and perspective — are probably printed most often in the official reports. Aerial relief plans, also known as shadow plans, allow the designer to give a sense of mass and therefore density to large sections of a city with comparatively few lines. These types of drawings also permit the form of buildings to be outlined, even if the plan arrangements are not known. In addition, landscape details can be executed as masses of foliage or planes of uniform texture. Aerial perspectives are extremely useful for describing the physiography of regions or large cities, and for visualizing the sculptural qualities of downtown cores and other urban concentrations. Both types of aerial drawings are used to describe complex urban environments in broad, structural terms in order that the whole city is perceivable, or so that some large part of a city can be comprehended.

R/UDAT Team members are especially adroit at distilling the unique visual attributes of cities into a language of design through rapid sketching techniques. These take the form of either ground-level views, usually made during the traditional tour of the site, or conceptual diagrams. Executed with a drawing pen in five minutes or less, ground level drawings reduce vistas, buildings, or building details down to their essential formal characteristics with only a minimum amount of detail. Conceptual diagrams are usually an abstraction, in plan form, of some aspect of the city which will later become a structuring device.
for recommendations. For example, the left-over spaces in a city block might be organized into a pedestrian-oriented park system through a diagrammatic interpretation of built space and open space. Similarly, the ragged edge of an urban grid system as it makes contact with a meandering river might become a visual pattern for riverfront housing. The reductionist element of these drawings feeds the creative component of the R/UDAT process while simultaneously communicating imageable ideas among team members.

Finally, some mention of the process diagram should be made. It is a sort of complex flow diagram — perhaps lacking the rigor of an algorithm, but conveying a similar sense of sequential decision-making — in which a series of actions are mapped out. Utilized most often in conjunction with implementation strategies, the process diagram is the urban designer’s equivalent of written instructions. Process diagrams can be found in many R/UDAT reports — leading a community through various stages of a comprehensive plan, or outlining a plan to rebuild the downtown area.

As stated previously, the generation and communication of ideas is subject to highly variable factors: The composition of the team and the skills it brings to bear upon the problem, the nature and imageability of the problem itself, and the manner in which information is obtained. The following section will examine these issues in greater detail.
Nothing is more important to the success of a R/UDAT mission than the composition of the team. Quite apart from social compatibility and mutual respect, team members must possess the ability to grasp the essence of a problem — often on the basis of fragmented and incomplete information — and to understand the differences in point of view between themselves and their colleagues. This latter quality requires breadth of knowledge in many fields, and the composition of the team typically reflects the complexity of problems studied: Building design, landscape design, transportation planning, urban land economics, project financing and development, urban administration, land use control systems, urban sociology, and other disciplines. Whatever their background may be, all team members have a special interest in urban issues, and their training probably includes exposure to, and experience in the resolution of problems drawing on knowledge from this diverse array of disciplines. The architect as urban designer has, for example, most likely received some sort of formal training at the introductory level in all of these disciplines, and it is equally likely that information originating in these disciplines is brought to bear on his or her problem-solving activities in professional practice.

Understanding all of the fields of study involved in the R/UDAT problem to be investigated, and possessing depth and creative skills in at least one such field is the prerequisite for membership on the team. This precludes the narrow specialist as team member because it is unlikely that such a person could respond to the intuitive processes at work in the concentrated, charrette-type atmosphere of a R/UDAT mission. R/UDAT teams therefore tend to be a group of creative generalists, each member having a rather special skill to contribute to the problem-solving process.

Where are such persons to be found, and how is a team assembled? Over the years a pool of talent has been organized by the American Institute of Architects’ R/UDAT Administration. It its published material the AIA has identified 572 team members from 23 professions during the first nineteen years of operation of the R/UDAT program:
Finding the correct mixture of expertise, creative skill, and compatibility is no mean feat, and it is not surprising that a small group of veteran R/UDAT team members continually reappear in the credits of project reports. Akin to an elite guard, these persons usually possess outstanding skills and creative talents. It is possible to thumb through some official R/UDAT reports and identify the work of specific urban designers without glancing at the team roster. This is especially true where illustrations are involved, because each drawing carries the graphic "signature" of its delineator. These persons are responsible, somewhat unwittingly, for setting the standards of excellence in design and communications skills by which others measure their success. Consequently, each new R/UDAT mission has a documented inheritance of urban design projects whose collective effect is to successively raise the effort and output. In this regard, the author noted a steady improvement in the quality of R/UDAT projects — as judged by the reports — over time, an observation based on both quality of graphic and written material, and upon depth of investigation. Some R/UDAT projects, such as Birmingham, Alabama (1976) and Lynn, Massachusetts (1982) generated such a prodigious volume of material that it is hard to see how the work could be accomplished in the time available. Both of these projects are summarized in the accompanying case studies.
All of the attributes of a successful team member apply to its leader, the Chairman. This person must be resourceful in managing people, especially under the stressful conditions of a high-pressure R/UDAT mission, and be compassionate to their needs and those of the community. While the Chairman is just as capable of formulating creative solutions to problems as any team member, it is necessary to play down this attribute in order to maximize the contributions of others. Consequently, the Chairman encourages, supports, sympathizes and even exhorts, but rarely become involved in committing conceptual statements to paper.

Another critical dimension of the problem-solving process is the imageability of the problem under investigation. Just as the words “linear” and “core” are able to evoke images of form, so do the words and phrases “downtown”, “historic preservation”, and “waterfront” have the power to evoke the physical environments of cities. The associative aspects of words can shape attitudes, both positive and negative, among urban designers and consequently predispose team members towards the acceptance or rejection of concepts. The phrases “commercial strip” and “suburban development” have never enjoyed a favorable position in the literature of urban design, and one is hard pressed to find these very serious urban development problems utilized as thematic material for a R/UDAT mission. It is not so much a matter of rejection of fact as of imagery. Both of these phases generate images of confused or unrelated forms, or perhaps lack of visible structure, a characteristic which makes the urban designer uneasy. Those words and phrases which possess a highly structured content, or suggest concentration of buildings — such as “riverfront development” or “downtown” give the designer an immediate mental construct upon which to build a formal design statement. Although it is difficult to prove, it seems that the imageability of problem has the capacity to provide intuitive access to a means for resolution, and that this intuitive accessibility is somehow shaped by professional attitudes towards key words and phrases.
The manner in which information is obtained by team members is also important in the creative process. The team is usually provided with a package of information prior to a site visit. Contextual information, which is so important to the comprehensive design and planning process of the R/UDAT methodology, cannot easily be provided through words and drawings. Consequently, a great deal of useful information is obtained through an actual inspection of the site. During this time period team members may make sketches, take photographs, or simply commit to memory a set of visual impressions.

Physical contact with the site enables team members to develop design criteria for future proposals. It is during this period that value judgements concerning the appropriateness of form, detail, texture, color, density and other environmental variables are made. Naturally, each team member is making the assessment independently of his colleagues, and some sort of open discussion or presentation is needed to discover those ideas which reinforce each other, or those which are in conflict. This occurs in the R/UDAT meeting place or workplace. The team pins up sketches, looks at slides, make comments about maps and generally exposes its collective intelligence to general scrutiny. Half-a-dozen or more environmentally perceptive people are able to amass a great deal of useful information through such an informal data gathering process. More important, open discussion serves as a kind of filter in which idiosyncracy is separated from constituent knowledge.

Organizing and assessing information in this fashion is characteristic of the R/UDAT problem-solving process. It is probably the most effective way to interpret the issues of complex environments in a short period. Patterns of recognition and the recurrence of physical attributes takes precedence over the abstract identity of numbers. Visual information is imbued with meaning and is translatable into action without the necessity for rigorous analytic tools.
Case Studies

Many of the issues raised in Part I and in the preceding section of this introduction can be found in the following pages. Seven case studies have been chosen as exemplifying the best of the R/UDAT problem-solving process. Criteria utilized to select those case studies were as follows:

- To show that the scope of R/UDAT activities extends from small towns to Metropolitan regions;
- To cover major recurring issues — downtown redevelopment, historic preservation, urban expansion, neighborhood revitalization, regional development, highway corridor design, special resource utilization and preservation, recreation planning, urban space design and planning, and urban facilities planning;
- To convey the sense of drama which many R/UDAT teams experienced; and
- To reveal the essence of creative ideas through the writings and drawings of team members.

Each of the case studies presented in Part II is excerpted from published team report. A brief overview of the significant aspects of each project preceeds the selected text and drawings.

The reader will notice a profusion of writing styles and variations in the usage of language. Editing has been limited to the correction of obvious inaccuracies of both fact and language in order to preserve the spontaneity of the original reports.
Case Studies
Denver, Colorado
Wilson, North Carolina
Lynn, Massachusetts
Seattle, Washington
Birmingham, Alabama
Healdsburg, California
Olympia, Washington
Denver, Colorado
In 1974 something of a miracle occurred in the Metropolitan Denver area: The citizens approved the formation of a “Regional Transportation District” to develop a transportation plan involving seven counties and thirty-seven jurisdictions, and supported it with ample tax allocations! It was a dynamic act, and widespread approval showed that it had touched the hot nerve of citizen concern.

After two years of operation, however, doubts about the concept began to surface, particularly among those most concerned with downtown Denver. At this point R/UDAT was called in to study the situation on account of its widely recognized interdisciplinary approach to problem-solving. It was one of the most complex R/UDAT undertakings to date because it involved issues of land use, growth management, and settlement patterns. In addition, economic issues of value capture of transportation modes and adequacy of fare-box receipts had to be considered. Finally, alternative strategies had to be examined as interim measures in planning the transportation system.

The basic purpose of the Denver R/UDAT study was to evaluate the urban design and planning implications of a proposed rail and rapid transit corridor as part of a larger rail and bus transportation system for the Denver metropolitan region. The R/UDAT team, a group of experienced architects and planners, very quickly grasped the broader issues surrounding their mission and expanded their problem-solving role to include policies for urban growth, design concepts for the downtown area, planning for the Platte River Valley, neighborhood redevelopment strategies, and other concerns.

The going was hot and heavy. Preconceptions of opportunities and problem solutions lay in every quarter of the communities to be served. The R/UDAT team appeared to be exceeding its charge in considering regional growth policies rather than transportation systems. Regional Transportation District officials were naturally nervous, and even defensive. Politicians were sharply divided about what was going on; the mayor never put in an appearance, while, on the other hand, one councilman never left the workshop during the R/UDAT session. Meetings were attended by every segment of the community, and every person spoke passionately.
Denver, Colorado
The team consisted of five urban designers, each with a different area of concern and specific talent, as well as a transportation expert, a transportation economist, and an attorney who specialized in land use. Along the way there were sharp lines of disagreement among these thoughtful people, but as the event took place, differences were resolved and disparate proposals were pulled together into a coherent and harmonious whole.

The recommendations covered a large territory and included nearly every activity that would effect the future of the region. The recommendations dealt with growth policies, such as growth without expansion. They dealt with land use and land values. They were concerned with downtown and the development of the railroad yards and waterfront. They identified the need for neighborhood to exercise a leadership role in the determination of their future.

The Denver R/UDAT was many years ago. What’s happened since then? Many of its proposals have been incorporated into the Greater Denver political processes, and the leadership structure in town still values the effort. Some of the issues have been resolved and some are still being debated. The significance of the Denver R/UDAT lies in a demonstration of the interdependence of all the elements of urban design and in the value of the interdisciplinary approach in seeking resolution of diverse issues.

Denver R/UDAT Study. February 6-9, 1976, Denver, Colorado. Team members: Jules Gregory, FAIA, Chairman; Jonathan Barnett, AIA/AIP; Charles Blessing, FAIA/AIP; Gary Fauth; Peter Hasselman, AIA; David Lewis, ARIBA/AIA/AIP; Summer Myers; Richard N. Tater.
This group has been called to Denver for the purpose, among other things, of evaluating RTD's (Regional Transportation District) rapid transit proposal. Two related conclusions emerge with regard to this proposal:

The proposal as it stands cannot be justified in terms of transportation service alone. However, the rapid transit proposal might be economically justified in land development terms, depending on the results of data yet to be assembled.

The rapid rail proposal cannot be justified in transportation terms alone because it does not effectively address the following set of transportation-related problems:

Many Denver residents may perceive the congestion of their highways as a problem. Compared with the situation in other cities of similar size, however, it is a relatively minor one. If anything, Denver highways appear to be largely underutilized even during the rush hours. But even if the opposite were the case, it is highly doubtful that transit could relieve Denver's highway congestion any more effectively than it has anyplace else.

Despite the empirical evidence of congested cities, planners theorized that building a new, superior transit system would relieve congestion by diverting motorists. If you open up a new subway and people who used to drive now take the subway, how can there not be fewer cars on the road than formerly? Indeed, there will be fewer cars on day one and on day two; but after a while more cars seem to show up on the roads to fill the "empty" spaces left by those who have shifted to transit. It happened most recently in Mexico City. When the subway opened there was a noticeable reduction in downtown traffic for about three weeks. Shortly thereafter the city reverted to its "steady-state" of traffic congestion. The same thing will probably happen to BART in San Francisco and Metro in Washington, D.C. It would cost half a billion dollars to find out if it would also happen in Denver.
Pollution

The rail rapid transit system would reduce air pollution to the extent that it would divert motorists from the highways. Under the most optimistic assumptions, only a small fraction of motorists would be attracted from their cars to the system with a miniscule impact on pollution.

Energy

Again, the small shift from automobile to transit would affect the energy situation in such a minor way as to be virtually impossible to measure.

Ridership

The ridership projected for the rapid transit system for the year 2000 is too small and too uncertain to justify the large expenditures called for by the system. The RTD figures indicate a ridership of approximately 9,000 persons per peak hour. Presumably, some of these would come from the North and others from the South, thus splitting the already small number of passengers among two lines. The numbers are so small and the uncertainties so great that the ridership may not materialize at all even in those small magnitudes. But even if ridership does materialize as projected it simply cannot justify a half billion dollar expenditure. Assuming that the peak load could be handled by less expensive bus, the "need" for rail system is presumably generated by the peak hour riders. Thus the capital cost per peak hour rider comes to over $50,000.00.
While the rapid rail system cannot be justified in transportation terms alone for the reasons noted above, it might be justified in terms of an economic investment. Denver — like other large cities in the U.S. — has been under increasing pressure to improve the quality of urban life from a relatively diminishing economic base. If that improvement is to continue, the economic base which supports it must be expanded and strengthened. The proposed RTD light rail system might contribute to that end. But in order to do so the system must be treated as a public investment intended to generate an economic rate of return of 7-10%.

**Urban Design Criteria**

**Regional Land Use Plan**
In 1974 the Denver Regional Council of Governments published a regional land use plan with the approval of its 37 member jurisdictions, based on a projected regional growth of 1,000,000 to a total of 2,350,000 by the year 2000.

Based on this land use plan, as revised and updated in January, 1976, R/UDAT assumes the following broad designations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suburban growth in the north</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban growth in the southeast</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth in transportation corridors and “activity centers”</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth in existing city neighborhoods</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>1,000,000</strong></td>
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**Critical Dangers of Growth**
The previous designations are misleading and dangerous if they are accepted within a climate of laissez faire suburban development and expansion outwards into open countryside.

- The metropolitan region has a tradition of “leap frog” suburban developments; i.e., suburban developers, moving ever outwards, will select and build new pocket communities only on the most favorable rural sites, leaving bands of less favorable land underdeveloped.
- One consequence is that much of the suburban settlement pattern of metropolitan Denver is a series of residential islands surrounded by bands of wasteland useless for agriculture and unrealized as a recreational resource.
- Another consequence is the creation of small, separate and introverted communities. Quite clearly these communities, despite the advantages of rural settings, are deficient in services and community facilities such as libraries, schools and health care.
- But the most serious consequences are economic. Low-density pockets of population in the metropolitan region mean uneconomic and wasteful lengths of roads, utilities, water and sewer lines. And for the residents there are long commuting journeys by automobile to work, schools, shops and entertainment.
The impact of the "leap frog" tradition of suburban expansion is particularly harmful to the region's fragile ecology. The bands of wasteland are denuded and eroded. Fauna and flora have been destroyed. Underground streams have been polluted. And pollution also hangs heavy in the air.

Most often, outward-moving population is middle and higher income. The result is a multiple pattern of "ghetto-ization." The small suburban communities are introverted and homogeneous. And many inner-city neighborhoods are abandoned to minorities.

And the further outward suburban communities radiate, the more isolated Denver's central business district becomes.

The R/UDAT team endorses two basic strategies to deal with growth:

1. Growth without expansion.
2. Development of sub-centers or "activity centers."

Essentially these strategies are components within a single and overall land use policy for the metropolitan region.

**Basic Urban Design Concepts To Deal With Growth**

*Growth without expansion* is a strategy of infill. Its benefits are numerous.

- It directs new development to wasteland areas.
- It puts to economic use the public investment in roads, utilities, sewers and water systems.
- It expands existing small settlements, enabling them to afford the community amenities in which they are presently deficient.
- It resists further encroachment on the natural resources of the region by metropolitan expansion.

*The development of sub-centers or "activity centers"* also has a number of benefits.

- It encourages the development of sub-centers at strategic locations in the region at which community facilities (shops, schools, arts centers, health care, etc.) may be concentrated.
- Since several communities may share an "activity center" the strategy encourages inter-community relationships.
- Convenient locations for "activity centers" will cut commuting distances.
- A network of "activity centers" throughout the metropolitan region will permit the balanced growth of the central business district.
Some Key Examples of the Growth Policy

Central Business District
Denver's central business district is, at present, a high density commercial island in a sea of parking lots.

It is a commuter center, full of people and activity by day, empty and dead at night and weekends.

Its impact on adjacent areas is extremely harmful. Commuter traffic lacerates contiguous neighborhoods, such as Capitol Hill and cherry Hills, contributing to their decline.

R/UDAT recommends that the central business district should be reinforced with new residential usage.

This residential usage should be treated as extensions from the surrounding residential neighborhoods into the central business district.

This strategy will enable the unique scale and social characteristics of each neighborhood (Capitol Hill, Highlands, Auraria Colleges, Burlington, etc.) to reach into the central business district, thus ensuring continuity of scale and amenity, particularly for pedestrians.
R/UDAT also recommends that the central business district should be carefully expanded in scale, materials and landscaping to interrelate with the historic buildings and environment of Central Denver, particularly Larimer Square, Union Station, the warehouse district and other notable buildings.

R/UDAT regards this recommendation as particularly important. The culture of a great city has its roots in its past; the vitality of a great city is in its vision of its past; the vitality of a great city has its roots and its past; the vitality of a great city is in its vision of its future.

Denver's central business district, like the central business districts of several other major cities, is concentrated, and within easy pedestrian reach of all points. Very little accommodation is presently made for the pedestrian.

R/UDAT recommends immediate action to humanize the central business district, particularly for people on foot.

R/UDAT notes with enthusiasm that the Mayor's Central Planning Committee and Downtown Denver Inc. are preparing recommendations for achieving this goal within the area bounded by Larimer, 14th, Broadway, Colfax and 18th.

Recommendations include graphics, lighting, signalization, seating, landscaping and information.
R/UDAT also notes that during the Christmas season, a portion of 16th was closed to traffic, with apparent considerable success.

R/UDAT recommends temporary and permanent malls, wall murals and sculptures, and other means of diversifying and enlivening the center of this great metropolitan area.

R/UDAT further recommends that major cultural resources such as the art gallery, the city auditorium, etc. should be linked by special landscaped routes.

**Burlington**

The official description of Burlington is “a new city within the city.” The concept is not new. This designation has been given to Cedar-Riverside in Minneapolis and Park Forest South in Chicago, among others.

The description is misleading. Cedar-Riverside is not a new city within the city; it is a new graft into the parent stock of the old and existing city.

Burlington is likewise surrounded by Denver. On all sides are unique and vital parts of the city. If the developers of Burlington will look carefully at the example of Cedar-Riverside they will realize that to overlook the interests and goals of neighboring communities is perilous.

R/UDAT recommends that the city should immediately develop an urban design strategy for the development of Burlington.

Basic to the strategy, the City of Denver should regard itself as a development partner with the developer. The city should further actively involve each of the surrounding communities, and representatives of central business district interests, in Burlington’s development process.

We illustrate here an urban design process for Burlington.

Rather than develop a master plan for the entire development, frozen in architectural forms which everyone involved must know cannot be binding on the developer over a 15-year time frame for implementation, R/UDAT recommends the joint development of an overall strategy for growth, with a detailed first phase development plan, on the basis of which subsequent phases will be catalyzed.

In this way the project may be allowed to grow and change in response to prevailing conditions, yet in accord with an agreed growth strategy.
Concentrated Development Corridors
One of the major open space networks in the metropolitan region is its highway corridors. The RTD rapid transit alignment follows the I-25 highway corridor for a considerable portion of its 23-mile length.

R/UDAT recommends, as described in earlier pages of this report, concentrated developments and activity centers along such corridors, particularly the RTD alignment.

However these developments should not be regarded as new and separate inserts into the City but should be viewed as extensions of the existing communities on each side of the corridor.

In this way the new developments can be planned with community participation in the development of guidelines and designs, and can be responsive to the scale of the community itself.

Platte River Valley
Next to the mountains, Denver's most important natural resource is the Platte River Valley.

If the greatness of cities is measured by their appreciation of their rivers, Denver would possibly rank among the lowest in the world. As outsiders, the R/UDAT team finds no excuse for the City's appalling treatment of its river.

R/UDAT, therefore, enthusiastically applauds the efforts of a small group of young planners in the City's Planning Office to establish the Platte River Valley and Cherry Creek as linear recreation amenities.

It is of utmost importance to Denver that the Platte River Valley should become a recreation resource for a full range of age groups, ethnic characteristics and interests of its citizens.

R/UDAT recommends that the Planning Office should work in partnership with the citizens, particularly with the representatives of the communities contiguous to the river, to develop appropriate zones of usage, and the appropriate activities within such zones.
For example:
- Conservation and picnic areas, shaded areas for quiet walks beside the river, seating areas for the elderly.
- Formal recreation areas, tennis, bocci, etc.
- Bikeways.
- Boating and possibly fishing ponds.
- Natural wildlife areas.

An intricate radial greenway system of walkways and bikeways should be designed to penetrate the communities on each side, thus linking the maximum number of people to their river.

In the central business district areas the river should be accorded the formal and ceremonial treatment that urban rivers traditionally enjoy in great cities. There should be seating steps, formal tree planting, fountains and sculptures.
The Wilson R/UDAT study was conducted with the same broad focus attitude that typified the Denver study. Denver, however, had a population between one and two million at the time of the study, while Wilson’s population was approximately 30,000. In addition to the contrast provided by a large metropolitan region and a small southern town, there was another essential difference in these two R/UDAT studies: The mission at Denver started with a specific focus and broadened over time, while the mission at Wilson began with a broad objective and narrowed during the five-day visit.

No single city dominates the settlement pattern of North Carolina, although the state does possess three rapidly urbanizing regions known as Metrolina, the Triad, and the Research Triangle. North Carolina is essentially a state of small towns and possesses a way of life that typifies the southeastern region of the nation. Wilson lies fifty miles to the east of Raleigh, capitol of the state of North Carolina and eastern apex of the Research Triangle. Situated in the fertile coastal plain, Wilson is both an agricultural center and a major manufacturing center — the former on the decline, and the latter on the increase.

It is a beautiful town. An arcade of immense elm trees lines a major entrance to the city. There are many stately mansions and houses along its streets. In the center of the town a nineteenth century courthouse offers a Corinthian arcade to a main street and provides a plaza for shoppers and pedestrians. Shade trees line most streets and provide relief from the oppressive heat of the summer. Members of the R/UDAT team, drawn from all over the nation, probably felt that they had come to the quintessential Southern community: Easy going, perhaps frayed at the edges but nevertheless charmingly time-worn, genteel, and rural in its attitudes.
This picture of tranquility was shattered by two events: A bus tour of the city, and presentations to the team by minority groups. During the bus tour members of the team were taken to parts of the city close to the downtown area where they saw substandard housing in predominantly Black, low-income areas. Propped up on concrete blocks, crude detached frame houses created an impression of pervasive deterioration. This impression was further reinforced by streets lacking curbs, gutters, and in some cases asphalt paving. Afterwards, in closed sessions, minority leaders sketched a picture of poverty, alienation from political processes, and a subtle but insidious segregation in urban life.
The bus tour also included suburban residential areas, commercial strips and industrial areas. Team members observed that technology and industrial expansion were changing the small town way of life. Northern industries, attracted by non-unionized and low-wage labor as well as by low real estate taxes, were bringing a new lifestyle to Wilson. It became evident that the picture of community cohesion presented by local officials was sharply at variance with the experience of the R/UDAT team.

Wilson represents a type of community that can be found in many parts of the country. Internal and external change are bringing about stresses in the urban fabric and major upheavals in the social structure of the town. The design and planning issues of Wilson are comprehensive in nature and call for the collective vision and skills of the R/UDAT process. The charge to the team reflected this comprehensiveness: To suggest outlines for a plan which addresses itself to the needs of all segments of the community and all sections of the city; to identify design potentials and suggest a means of bringing them about; to suggest a “plan for planning” the city; to show how planning and design guidelines can improve the management capabilities of local units of governments; and to suggest appropriate public policy and implementation methods.
The Wilson R/UDAT study is a fine example of the ability of a team to organize disparate information into a whole picture, to identify sensitive issues and deal with them in an impartial manner, and to utilize graphic skills as the basis for solutions to problems. Tobacco barns and warehouses provided inspiration for reuse studies, and sketches of substandard housing became the basis for an urban network of interrelated services and facilities.

One of the major differences between the Denver and Wilson study is the function of scale of community. Design sketches for activity centers along the rapid transit system are generalized and prototypical in nature in the Denver study. On the other hand, suggestions for the rehabilitation of a tobacco warehouse and downtown redevelopment are highly specific in the Wilson study. The reason is that team members were able to explore Wilson in a close-up, intimate way and to comprehend the total urban environment in greater detail than in Denver.

Wilson was chosen as an example of the R/UDAT process because it clearly demonstrates the versatility of the interdisciplinary team to respond to differences in size of city and range of issue.

Reprinted from the July/August 1974 issue of the North Carolina Architect, the following excerpt outlines the general recommendations of the R/UDAT team.


Published in the North Carolina Architect, Vol. 21, nos. 7 and 8, July/August 1974, pp. 7-34. Text and photographs are by the author, Peter Batchelor, AIA/AIP. Drawings are from the original R/UDAT team report.
Recommendations of the RUDAT Team

Definition of the Planning Area

Any planning exercise must begin with a search for appropriate boundaries for the study. There are "outside" influences upon any area no matter what boundaries are selected. "Everything is connected to everything else," we are told by John Gardner. Thus, the selection of limits must be made carefully since important influences may be neglected.

The city of Wilson feels influences from outside its borders, and is involved with all other levels of government activity. Reconnaissance showed that there are unusual interconnections between the city of Wilson and Wilson County. Wilson has a number of problems which extend beyond the city limits, reaching out into county territory. Similarly, there are opportunities which could greatly benefit both city and county but which cannot be grasped without carefully coordinated action.

Therefore, the borders of Wilson County were delineated as the planning study area. The sharpest focus of the recommendations is upon the city of Wilson, but, in recognition of the network of interests and influences between county and city, the county-city combination is recognized as a valuable definition of the planning area.
General Recommendations
The first recommendation is that the city and county give serious consideration to creating a combined planning program. Such a program would translate their good relationship into maximum benefit for all their citizens.

The one-mile extraterritorial limit beyond the city boundaries is not sufficient to effectively control the location, rate, and type of growth, while the economic differential between development in the city (with full services) and in the rural areas (with lower land prices and no services) is too great.

Since taxation has been effectively equalized throughout the county, including the city of Wilson, it is now practical to effect such strong cooperation between county and city agencies that developers will not be averse to locating where services can be efficiently brought to their developments. The result will be greater access for the residents in planned neighborhoods to the services and amenities that they require. Agricultural land may also be preserved more easily.

The basic information required for a joint plan is already at hand, in the many fine planning reports which have been produced for the city and the county. All that is required to draw from these is an action plan, embodying such elements of the R/UDAT study as may be judged useful, with whatever additional provisions the joint planners may develop. Under this plan, Wilson can proceed with safe, orderly, rewarding growth.

Preventing Leapfrog Development
In maintaining a high quality of life in the outlying areas without wasteful expenditures of funds, it is imperative that development be concentrated where it can best be served. Leapfrogging must be minimized, and if areas are bypassed, they must be brought under appropriate planning and controls. An urban services area should be designated and recognized by all.

In the planned extension of industrial development, for example, each aspect of capital expenditure should be considered a developmental feature. Streets, water, electrical, gas or sewer line extensions should be scheduled to meet development goals. In turn, officials or private developers should coordinate their efforts so that all services may be extended simultaneously and no single agency would act to impose unexpected expenditures on other agencies.
Efficient Provision of Services
At the same time, the costs of public services to support industrial development should be distributed so as to minimize high taxes on those who already enjoy public services in order to provide the services to those who do not have them.

Such broad coordination among public agencies and private developers will call for coordinated planning by city and county officials and for systems of processing and review to assure full knowledge of industrial development programs. Joint city-county planning board operation and common development directives could provide adequate reviews.

Minimizing I-95 Impact on City Growth
Similar planning can minimize the impact of I-95 construction which bypasses Wilson and is expected to generate suburban Wilson development. Deliberate approval of staged development would provide desired facilities. At the same time the planned reservation of certain areas or the refusal to provide public services can serve to protect areas against undesirable development. Such reservation could protect watersheds, open spaces, desired park land, and farm land. Planned development should assure economical utilization of resources and minimize property taxes and capital expenditures.
Most important, unplanned I-95 development could be expected to cause transfer or abandonment of highway-oriented trade or service activities from US301 and the consequent decay of the eastern side of Wilson. Planned support of the industrial activities of the 301 corridor, maintenance of the thoroughfare as a major but local service commercial area, and redevelopment or extension of residential sectors near 301 would maintain the economic well-being of the corridor.

**Performance Zoning**

The new Wilson has available several important tools which can help it in its effort to direct growth. The most basic of these is the adoption of a zoning ordinance, applying equally in city and county. The regulations presently in force in the city of Wilson could simply be extended to include the entire county. However, region-wide zoning should add a series of provisions not presently in the city ordinance. These additions are titled “Performance” Zoning in some areas and “Impact” Zoning in others.

Performance zoning is based on the concept of “carrying capacity” — that is, since one piece of land may be capable of supporting more intensive development than another, the land itself provides a guide to development. Similarly, utilities are constantly being constructed, but those areas which are without such services cannot all receive them at once. To proceed one more step, while all development results in an increase in the tax digest, some developments cost more in services than they return in taxes. Just as there is an upper limit for the development which the land can support, there is an upper limit which the utilities and public services can support, and there is a limit to the amount of tax deficit a development may cause. Taken together, these limits form the carrying capacity.
Since there are factors which vary from one area to another, or sometimes from one building lot to another, the carrying capacity varies in the same way. This capacity, however, results from elements which can be measured, or which have already been measured, so that the carrying capacity can be established as a matter of public record. Under Performance Zoning, a developer must demonstrate that his proposal remains within the established carrying capacity before he can gain approval.

In this way, Wilson can prevent overloading of its natural environment, its municipal services, or its economic resources since all of these must be respected by new development. The amount of growth, its location and its scheduling are all matters of public concern. Under Performance Zoning, they are under public control.

**Population Movement**

Census records show that Wilson County and four of its adjacent counties in the region lost population over the 1960's, yet these net changes do not accurately reflect the migration or transfer of residents nor the very real growth of Wilson. True, some residents, particularly young school graduates, left to take jobs in other areas pointing up the present shortage of employment opportunities. However, the outflow of residents is partly balanced by an inflow of new ones which has resulted in continuing need for new housing and greater requirements for public services and expanding markets.

Actually, the City of Wilson registered a net population increase of about 600 persons over the 1960's and population has continued to increase over the last four years as more of the once-rural residents as well as newcomers move into the urban area. Within the city alone more than 2,100 new housing units were added in the 1960's, and building permits indicate new housing has been coming on the market since 1970 at the rate of more than 300 units each year.

Coupled with these housing gains in the city, at least 1,400 units have been lost since 1960 — about 100 per year. These losses, resulting from conversions to other uses as well as from demolitions, point up further the internal transfer of residents of Wilson and the continuing need for replacement housing for even the present residents.
Conservation of Sound Neighborhoods

Wilson's older grid neighborhoods west of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad are gracious, well treed and attractive. They serve a diverse group of wage earners of moderate and middle income families, providing affordable standard housing which could not be duplicated in new construction. The very low turnover in these neighborhoods underscores this fact. To conserve the aesthetic and functional qualities of these neighborhoods the City should consider the following policies: Require that additions to buildings be architecturally compatible with the basic structure; Provide a continuous program of sidewalk, curb, gutter, drainage and paving improvements; and where older trees die or must be removed, implement a program of replacement. With respect to the latter recommendation, the City could develop a nursery, plant seedlings, and thereby be assured of a ready supply of street trees over a period of ten to fifteen years. It should also be noted that a program of tree propagation may provide educational and vocational training for lower-income, minority residents of Wilson who can enter this expanding and environmentally-oriented profession.

Rehabilitation of Substandard Neighborhoods

The low-income Black neighborhoods east of the Seaboard Coastline Railroad are characterized by seriously deteriorated housing located on unpaved streets at a very high density and with insufficient open space. Serious overcrowding of people in these obsolescent and small structures might suggest to some that they should be replaced. However, such a goal is most likely unrealistic given current national housing subsidy policies and priorities. Thus, the neighborhood should be made as habitable as possible on a long-term basis. An asset worth capitalizing on in this effort is the proximity to the central business district and proposed activity centers there.
An effort to upgrade the condition of housing in these neighborhoods has been impeded by the fact that almost all of the substandard housing is occupied by low-income tenants who have been unable to support rental increases necessary to induce their landlords to make improvements. It is likely that some, and perhaps a substantial number, of tenants will begin to enjoy greater and more dependable incomes from steady employment in the growing industrial sector. Assuming this to be the case, certain measures could be explored by both private and public interests to assist tenants in upgrading the condition of their housing. Included among these measures are: creation of a credit union by a coalition of Black churches to make available to tenants the funds required to purchase materials for making basic improvements. An agreement from the landlords to refrain from increasing rents during the term of the repayment period would be necessary, and perhaps, not difficult to obtain since the landlords' property will be upgraded at no cost to them. This could, in turn, constitute the first step in the acquisition of these properties by the tenants (assuming a willing seller).
It is, however, unlikely that tenants will want to make financial commitments to improve (or purchase) their housing units unless the City of Wilson makes a commitment to providing much needed public improvements in the neighborhoods such as “forced” street pavings, storm drainage, and recreational facilities. Notwithstanding the fact that the City is faced with difficult choices in allocating its scarce resources, the pace of these types of improvements to date does not suggest a sufficient public commitment.

Additionally, steps can be taken by the residents jointly and by the City to upgrade the physical character of these neighborhoods. For example, the City could persuade owners of vacant lots to make them available for recreational uses. In connection with this, the City could offer training to neighborhood residents in recreation supervision.

**Shade Trees**
The R/UDAT team found the contrast between the character of older neighborhoods with tree-lined streets and new subdivisions built upon agricultural land so marked that a requirement to plant shade trees in all new construction is strongly recommended. If the City initiates a tree nursery from seedlings, a ready supply of trees of appropriate species and size will be assured for use a decade hence. The Public Works Department could manage cultivation, pest control, and root pruning. The contractor or homeowner can be required to transplant and maintain new plantings, or, alternatively, to purchase shade trees privately.

In order to assure that the long term objective of energy conservation is respected, new construction should require one, two or three shade trees planted in order to provide shade for southern exposure of houses, and, in addition, a standard for trees placed within the first 10 feet of the lot to provide street shade should be established. This will generally require one or two trees per house depending upon lot width. Until such time as a ready supply of City-grown trees is available, the cost of planting a minimum size tree (perhaps \(3/4\) inch caliper measured at a point 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches above the root) properly staked and wrapped, should be included in the performance bond required of subdividers. This will be returned to the homeowner—not the builder—one year from occupancy. This will encourage the homeowner to properly irrigate and cultivate his trees.
Land Available for Subdivision East of the Railroad

For as long as a policy of racial separation on either side of the Seaboard Coastline Railroad persists, the only new housing opportunities for Blacks within Wilson lie east of Route 301 in the newly annexed area. In order to provide Blacks with a choice among a variety of housing types, a more flexible tool is needed than the designation of nearly the entire area between the Norfolk and Southern Railroad and Route 264 as R-1. This large tract is under several ownerships, and therefore PUD zoning might not apply. However, by working with individual developers and landowners, a plan for a series of diverse housing clusters, incorporating group houses, garden apartments, duplexes and single family houses on lots of several different sizes should be agreed upon. The existing stream which courses through the area can become the basis of an open space network which would connect the schools, parks, and a proposed neighborhood shopping area on Route 264. This is considered a high-priority planning task in the light of the recent approval of two subdivisions for Black developers in this area. No further subdivisions should be approved until they can be made compatible with a plan.
Institutions present in local communities should be maintained and, where demand is present, new ones should be developed. In the case of the Black community there is now a series of small convenience stores, which provide important services to the community. The present zoning regulations consider these stores non-conforming, thus inhibiting their improvement and threatening their existence following a fire. A new zoning category should be created for areas where automobile ownership is low and off-street parking requirements and aesthetic considerations are inappropriate and out of character with the neighborhoods they serve. Old Mercy Hospital is a significant structure. The cost of rehabilitating it for use as multiple dwellings or community use may be prohibitive.

**Wilson Central Business District**

Although the central business district remains the commercial, retail and institutional heart of the city, there is evidence of the beginnings of the movement of some of these functions to other developing parts of the city. It is therefore timely to undertake measures which will serve to maintain the economic viability of the Central Business District.

In this regard, the city should first establish clear physical limits for the central core of retail, commercial and governmental activities. The zoning ordinance should be revised, to the extent necessary, to reflect the changes proposed for the CBD, and a development plan of action should become a matter of public policy so that locational and capital improvement decisions by the public (state, county) and private sectors can be made in the CBD.
In addition to a clearly defined business district, a network of interrelated activity centers which complement existing commercial, retail, and institutional functions should be developed within the heart of Wilson. Community cultural centers should be developed in and around the CBD. The green space surrounding the Wilson County Public Library should be upgraded providing facilities which promote educational activities associated with this library. Numerous structures within the central business district can be recycled and used for a variety of activity centers. In particular, the old Cherry Hotel provides the location for facilities such as a residence for the elderly; a child care center; or a public health facility. Medical and nursing staff available in such a health facility would be available to both the elderly and child care center. Tobacco warehouses—empty most of the year, and in less demand of late as a result of recent technological developments in the industry — could provide facilities for the following uses: sports, arts and crafts, teen-centers, roller-rinks, cultural centers and museums. The present downtown water tower could serve as an observation tower with an associated recreational facility. The present Railroad Passenger Depot could serve as a more general Transport Center for a shuttle bus to Firestone and other outlying industrial locations.

As a means to accomplish renovation of the central area a Downtown Development Corporation might be formed under joint public-private sponsorship. The Corporation could: (1) Form a land bank with participants to “trade in” their land for shares in the Corporation. Shares would be on a deferred interest and principal basis with distribution of development proceeds passed through to shareholders as development occurs. (2) In exchange for land banking, shareholders should be entitled to deferred property taxation — the tax abatement to be covered by the city’s general fund. After redevelopment the increased tax yields should more than offset temporary tax losses and reimburse the general funds. (3) A sale-lease back formula involving public and private sectors to achieve redevelopment objectives would operate as follows: Properties would be transferred by the Downtown Development Corporation to the city as collateral for subordinated financing. In exchange, the city would secure long-term low-interest revenue bond financing for building improvements or parking and industrial development financial alternatives. The city would then lease back or sell the improvements so
financed to the Corporation or its agent, retaining the ground lease. Equitable payments-in-lieu-of-taxes can be built into the ground leases.

There are outstanding examples of Victorian residences on the border of the central district. In past years some of the houses have been demolished to permit the construction of new one-storey business buildings on the edge of the business district. This intermixture of style and scale is not an effective urban design pattern. A cohesive streetscape of Victorian housing should be maintained.

Where practical, new activities should be fitted into these valuable existing buildings. New construction should apply compatible design standards in order to maintain the unusual and irreplaceable atmosphere of these streets.
Lynn, Massachusetts
On November 29, 1981, a conflagration engulfed the downtown area of Lynn, Massachusetts. Newly renovated and existing buildings were razed in a fire that destroyed five or six city blocks. This spectacle was viewed by persons across the nation on their television sets, and was reported in all the major newspapers. Site of a previous R/UDAT visit in December 1969, Lynn was selected for a second visit following the fire.

Lynn's population of 78,000 in 1980 was down from 90,000 in 1970. Once a shipbuilding town and a major shipping and warehousing center for lumber and coal, Lynn slipped into gradual economic decline over the past fifty years. After World War II jobs and middle class residents migrated out of the city leaving behind a population with a high concentration of social and economic problems. Some progress at revitalizing the downtown area had been made at the time of the fire, but many other problems remained. The following excerpt from the "Introduction" in the R/UDAT report puts the general issues into focus:

"Many changes are taking place in the region, the state, and the nation which will drastically change the economic, political and social context in which Lynn addresses its old problems to find new opportunities."

"The fire, then, is a crisis which forces Lynn, its people, its political leaders, and its economic community to use the rebuilding of its physical fabric to improve the economic and social conditions of its residents."
Lynn's problems are in some ways beyond its control. As in many other small cities in the North East and Mid-West, industry has been leaving and businesses have closed. The population is getting older and Lynn's young people are moving away. Minorities and new immigrant groups have come to Lynn nevertheless, finding opportunities that are better than what they have elsewhere.

Lynn has some special problems, too. On the North Shore, it is “the city in between.” It has remained a blue collar community while communities around it have become chic and attracted middle class residents, shopping centers, good restaurants — and tax dollars. Lynn has become increasingly poor. The city, to its credit, has not turned away from the pressing needs of its increasing numbers of poor, and in the past decade has provided its people with an impressive array of social services and housing aid.

These are not new problems. Lynn has thought about them and responded to them. There are three new reasons, however, why Lynn's longstanding and special problems call for new responses.
"The fire. The fire raises immediate issues of temporary relocation of people and the permanent relocation of industry. But more importantly, it calls for a new look at the revitalization strategies which were planned to link with areas that were levelled."

"The Heritage Park and the Community College in particular are two major, welcomed public investments which need to be reassessed. How these are built and the image they set will attract national attention. They should reflect the thinking of state and local officials who have looked creatively at the new opportunities which have been opened up. What the private sector does now—the major corporations as well as the small businesses can similarly capture national attention and create a new feeling of pride in Lynn."

"Proposition 2½: While tax caps are not new, Lynn is just now entering the difficult second year in a series of budget cuts in response to a state mandate. Total costs of running city government and providing services have increased, especially since the city has, in recent years, considerably improved the level of professionalism in planning and other services. It has to cut back costs, finding ways to meet the needs—and yet finding money to support new efforts, too."
“New Federal Policies: Washington seems remote from Lynn, but its influence in dollars and programs has been substantial. Lynn has benefitted from programs to help distressed people and places. The availability of housing subsidies and low cost loans for rehabilitation has shaped Lynn's housing strategies; social service grants have funded an array of local community agencies; and federal grants have funded substantial portions of recent economic development projects. The new administration has announced major changes in all these areas. Cuts in dollars for social services present the most immediate challenge. Equally important, however, is the intention to shift more responsibilities to the states, local governments and people themselves.”

The Lynn R/UDAT study is a fine example of the ability of the team to perceive a whole set of issues related to their original mission. The report is both comprehensive and detailed, and contains a remarkable section on the economic feasibility of renovating buildings.

Lynn R/UDAT Study. Lynn, Massachusetts, January 28—February 1, 1982. Team members: Charles M. Davis FAIA, Chairman; Phyllis Myers; Rick Kuner AICP; John P. Clarke, AIA/AICP; Harold K. Bell; Charles Harper, AIA.
Lynn was settled approximately 350 years ago by North Shore colonists in search of fertile agricultural land. Early settlement patterns were concentrated in the areas of the present downtown, the waterfront, and Western Avenue.

Although they looked for fertile lands, many of Lynn's early settlers continued to practice their leather shoemaking skills brought from Europe. Expanding upon this resource, Lynn successfully attracted other skilled immigrants. Small-scale shoe manufacturers joined forces to make Lynn one of the world's most important shoe manufacturing centers.

From 1800 to 1920 Lynn's waterfront activities grew as well. Ship-building, shell fishing, salt-making, boxmaking, and water-commerce in lumber, coal, and shoes are all a part of Lynn's waterfront heritage.

The Great Fire of 1889 demolished some of the harbor industries, but the city quickly rebuilt. The harbor was dredged and filled numerous times to accommodate the heavy port activities for coal and crude materials used by the growing General Electric Company.

Soon, however, Lynn was faced with a series of changes which were to cause cycles of turmoil for fifty years:
- Railroad competition in freight transport caused Lynn Harbor to decline.
- During the 1930's unions and foreign competition caused the shoe industry to contract.
- An out-migration of both residents and jobs occurred after World War II.
- Urban renewal projects of the 1960's razed intact sections of the city without significantly alleviating commercial and residential distress.
- Lynn's population declined from 90,000 in 1970 to 78,000 in 1980.

Today, Lynn is at an important crossroads. The city knows what it has lost. Lynn is working creatively to enhance its many remaining resources. It has the pride and strength of its heritage upon which to build.

**Growth Management**

A municipality's decisions about development and growth becomes the footprint of its identity. Lynn is no exception. Its existing land uses not only set the context in which downtown needs and opportunities emerge; they also reflect the history of Lynn's development psychology.

**Past Development and Resulting Dilemma**

Lynn, like many other similar metropolitan cities, has suffered because of population shifts, suburban expansion, major regional mall competition with existing downtown business districts, obsolete public transportation systems, highway bypass problems, limited industrial growth and movement out of the Northeast, high utility and energy costs, and a maturing population. The City has limited ability to organize its assets to protect its tax base and encourage regeneration by keeping and continuing to attract a young and energetic middle-class population.

Limited private development and neighborhood stability have caused a pervasive contraction of the business district, a decline in the quality of life in residential areas, an abandonment of housing, a limiting of industrial opportunities, and a lack of substantial private development.

The City has become in some cases the developer (or at least the catalyst) of last resort. It has in our opinion done a magnificent job in attracting various governmental funds and has fought a good holding action. It has been a fine public developer. The time is now drawing near for that public development to bear fruit in private initiative. Private development in today's cities is inextricably linked to public support, placement of infrastructure, interest and real estate tax assistance — all in varying amounts and combinations. The development agencies in Lynn understand thoroughly this linkage. Private development will take hold and thrive with intelligent public support.
The City nevertheless must establish its development priorities. A contraction of the downtown business district is natural at this time, and the eventual regrowth of the C.B.D. will come about through the remagnetizing of the downtown. The abandoned housing stock and demolition on housing sites are admittedly problems. But they can also be viewed as community assets to be warehoused and husbanded until the time is ripe to support an infill housing program.

The immediate priority is the planning and sponsorship of a major phased private development of the Waterfront. In addition, high priority should be given to the development of the southern Gateway entrance to the City, the fire site, the MBTA transit station site, the Union Street Mall, and new industrial parks. At the same time, the rehabilitation and maintenance of the City's housing stock must be fostered and encouraged.
**Professional Team**

One of Lynn's greatest assets is the professionalism of its development and planning staff. Their competence, dedication and enthusiasm have been an important factor in the progress that has been made.

There are signs that Lynn is turning around. The City staff has worked hard to maintain the gains that have been made. Moving forward from this point is, thus, not as difficult as it might have been, given the problems of the past decades.

The staff has succeeded in retaining and improving the housing stock and developing the employment base. Working with community groups and the business community, they have formed the linkages and established the programs that are making Lynn a "City of Opportunity."

**A Planning Direction for the Future: Redirected Growth**

At the moment, Lynn is interested in taking stock of its history and its present development problems. It has demonstrated a desire to effect real solutions. The time is ripe for a major planning effort directed at the downtown and the other areas of the city which will impact directly on any hopes for a revitalized downtown.

The R/UDAT team has proposed a plan for developing the waterfront and downtown areas of the city. In order to ensure that the R/UDAT proposal or any other downtown plan succeeds, the City must pursue a rigorous planning and request-for-proposal process culminating in a strategy for attracting the best design and development possible.

A national marketing task lies ahead. Cities are in direct competition with each other. The prize of rejuvenation belongs to aggressive city officials who actively seek and shape developer solutions, not to the city that takes just what it can get from a local developer.
Moderate-income neighborhoods are essential to the needs of Lynn's population. Therefore, the City, while redirecting growth in the Waterfront area, must take steps to protect its existing neighborhoods.

Similarly, the city must encourage the retention of the existing older housing stock close to the downtown area because it provides needed low- and moderate-income rental housing to the community.

In order to ensure that growth is redirected and proceeds on a course beneficial to the City as a whole, Lynn should pursue the following goals:

- Review zoning ordinances.
- Adopt standards for use permits.
- Make zoning consistent with the land use plan.
- Preserve existing residential areas.
- Warehouse residential land and prepare for infill use.
- Create a rational plan for future industrial lands which does not adversely impact existing residential areas or efforts for downtown revitalization.
- Respect the integrity and value of the waterfront and link the development to downtown.

**Public Perception**

Informal interviews of people who live and work in Lynn were conducted throughout the R/UDAT visit. The responses indicate that Lynn suffers from a poor image that only intensifies the sense of hopelessness that people communicate.
Q. "What comes to mind when I say Lynn?"
   A. "Fires."
   A. "Unsophisticated."
   A. "An older city struggling real hard to survive."
   A. "Too many old people."
   A. "Lynn is the only city in the country where they ever closed a McDonald's."

Q. "What is the problem downtown?"
   A. "The problem is a customer calls to ask where the store is located, and there's no way I can tell him."
   A. "Downtown's a mess. I don't think it should be torn down, however."
   A. "I think the new college will help. I hope the plans don't get changed on that project."
   A. "Downtown's a dangerous place . . . prostitutes and drugs."

Despite these responses to Lynn's general image, there are some positive perceptions about neighborhood activities that indicate optimism. As one woman stated, "If there's something good to be said about Lynn, it should be about some of the wards where people are fixing things up, and keep a watch out on crime — like the area around Goldfish Pond."

A city policy officer commented, "There's a lot of media hype happening with the fire situation, being in this type of negative limelight affects the people." and a downtown merchant reflected, "Where else but Lynn?" that's what we hear.
Any city that has undergone the serious changes and problems that Lynn has faced will eventually experience detrimental image problems. It is clear that before people will perceive downtown revitalization positively they will have to be better informed about the successful changes that are already taking place.

**Physical Concepts**

Lynn is a complicated city with complicated issues in its downtown. Once we had understood something about how it worked, we put this in the context of what we knew about cities and downtowns everywhere. The following concepts guide our perceptions of the physical problems and our responses to the challenges they pose.

A city is a world of connective and supportive experiences. The density is the reason for people being there. The downtown experience is a background for activity, for even denser gatherings. The city must be a continuous experience.

Single buildings, detached from their context, are usually at odds with the city experience. They are isolated visually and by walking distance.

A city node that becomes an isolated enclave does not offer its neighbor activity support, and it does not receive such support.

The city center, if it works, pulls other parts of the city together, since it acts as a common meeting ground and place of transition to other places. Defining an entry to a city offers orientation and the security of knowing the limits of an area. Making a pleasant experience of entry reinforces expectations and supports the transition experience.

Landmarks provide orientation and help make the city comprehensible. They can be buildings or other memorable objects.
The Waterfront/Gateway
Adversity has created opportunity. The unfortunate fire has afforded the citizens of Lynn a unique chance to reassess the downtown district. Seventeen buildings are gone. A valuable site vital to the rebirth of Lynn has emerged.

The current plans for the Heritage State Park on the waterfront, the location of the Community College, the possible realignment of the Lynnway, the size and scope of the proposed Seaport Housing, and Commercial Development Project, the Port, the recreation and industrial use of the Waterfront all must be reevaluated.

The dismal appearance of the southern entries to the City must be addressed. The development of the waterfront from Saugus to Swampscott and Gateway Development must be linked. Phased development should be integrally tied to a public/private partnership.

Residential neighborhoods are fragmented and decentralized. They surround a no-longer vital downtown commercial district and an underutilized waterfront. Without a downtown and waterfront functioning as unifying force, segments of the population have become physically separated from each other, unaware of their place in the city as a whole.

The Development Plan we propose includes free market housing, motel and marina, modest restaurant and tourist development, hotel, office building, recreation, state park, community college, vehicular and people movement, powerline relocation, in an expanded, exciting waterfront/gateway district. It is the focal point of the rejuvenation of Lynn.
Housing Opportunities
There are many opportunities to add a significant number of housing units in the city. Some of the opportunities involve developing new multiple-family housing. In addition, existing medium to large buildings can be adaptively reused to provide in-town housing. A number of three-decker units can be replanned to provide units of increased quality conforming to current living standards.

Some large single-family units and many other single family units could either be subdivided or added onto to provide additional single rental units. The simple zoning devices of allowing some single-family zones to become two-family zones will permit such expansion. Restraints such as minimum lot areas, parking requirements, fire protections, and dwelling unit area limitations are necessary to protect the general welfare.

The obvious advantages to the owners include current tax incentives and additional income to offset debt service. The advantages to the community and the general public include greater choices of housing types, an increase in housing stock, and the direct and indirect benefit of conservation — conservation of man-made resources, energy and natural resources, and lesser pressures for new development on open lands.

In-Town Housing Strategies
A comprehensive inner-city housing strategy will build on the existing neighborhood strengths and city programs now in place.

Objectives should include encouraging home ownership for younger families, especially in close-in neighborhoods, increasing the level of upkeep and maintenance of houses, preserving historic qualities in individual houses and streetscapes, while at the same time protecting housing for elderly and low-income renters.

These new program directions are not meant to diminish the current strengths of Lynn's neighborhood conservation and neighborhood confidence-building programs managed through the Department of Community Development. These vital neighborhood programs should be maintained and expanded to encourage additional neighborhood self-help and community involvement throughout the city.

Increase Ownership Opportunities. The City should continue to use all available programs and resources to support increased home ownership. Aggressive marketing of below-market home mortgage funds and rehabilitation funds (thru Massachusetts Home Mortgage Finance Agency and CDBG programs) should be undertaken, in cooperation with local banks and savings institutions, to keep available an adequate supply of mortgage financing for homes and condominiums. Together with finance support, condominium ownership and development of smaller rental units should be encouraged.
Rehabilitation. Continued use of available assistance for middle income rehabilitation activities should be encouraged. Special attention should be given to owner-occupant and landlord rehab assistance.

Infill/New Construction. The feasibility of infill/new construction housing development should be closely examined. The program should include single-lot opportunities to strengthen otherwise stable neighborhoods. Small-scale development programs in neighborhoods such as the lower end of Sagamore Hill, where considerable vacancy exists, should be encouraged. In all cases, new housing should be directed toward the owner-occupant market.

The single or small lot program, initially concentrating on tax-title property, should use all existing road and infrastructure services, be compatible with existing densities, and architecturally compatible with the neighborhood. Technical approaches to development should include: relocation of houses from softer areas or re-development sites, use of currently available industrial/pre-fabricated building systems and traditional small-scale new construction.
**Design Control**

As the city rebuilds itself, it has an unusual opportunity to insist on the best in design from the private developers who will service Lynn. A hodge-podge of second-class architecture planted in the middle of the city is easy to achieve. But architecture that will make the citizens of Lynn proud, and be an attraction and the envy of surrounding cities will require vigilance and competent independent design advice. Lynn now has the chance to tie its historic heritage, its landmark buildings, and renewed appreciation of its past to architecture that can be pleasing for years to come.
Seattle, Washington
Seattle, Washington

Living Downtown
May, 1981

Seattle is beyond doubt one of the most livable cities in America. It has a fine climate. Its topography is thrilling, offering magnificent views to the mountains and water as well as variety to the streets and walkways. It has a myriad of teeming activities in a downtown that includes one of the most exciting waterfront markets in the world. It is a progressive city. There is diversity in the ethnic backgrounds of the citizens, and they are concerned, organized and accustomed to speaking out at public meetings. The city enjoys good government and it appears to possess a sound economy.

As part of a long-term examination of land use policies by the planning office and concerned citizens, R/UDAT was called in to probe specific issues relating to the future of downtown housing. Support from the citizens, city hall and the local steering committee for the effort was unprecedented.
Decline of housing in the downtown area over the past couple of decades provided a focus for problems presented to the R/UDAT team. People were moving to single family houses in the outreaches of the city limits, or even in the suburbs. In addition, some areas had become unattractive for residential life. Poor shopping facilities, little opportunity for recreation, lack of security on the streets, and a pervasive absence of amenities which can make downtown living so desirable — all these conditions were contributing to a general decline in the quality of life in inner city residential areas. Finally, the costs of land and buildings, as well as regulatory processes for rehabilitation and new construction were stifling development activity.

Against this broad spectrum of issues the R/UDAT team mapped out a diverse set of strategies for providing a new residential environment in downtown Seattle. As a first step, the team made a critical analysis of principal downtown neighborhoods. Its suggestions were structured into three parts: Observations, issues and ideas. While there was similarity of problems from one neighborhood to another, most of the suggestions were specific to the area. The team identified three area-wide issues to which it devoted a substantial effort: The zoning envelope as a mechanism for controlling views and urban scale; the restructuring of public agencies concerned with Seattle's physical future; and financing mechanisms that could be utilized to bring all these ideas into reality.

Most R/UDAT visits deal with a variety of issues which combine to produce a situation of desperation to local citizens. The Seattle R/UDAT was unique in that it dealt with a single, comprehensive issue in a large city which, in all other respects, possesses one of the most liveable urban environments in the nation.

Seattle R/UDAT Study. May 1981, Seattle, Washington. Team members: Jules Gregory, FAIA, Chairman; Charles Davis, FAIA; Frank Fish, AICP; John Herman; John Desmond, FAIA; George Grier; and Lee Sammons.
Regional Setting

Set at the eastern edge of Puget Sound, Seattle provides a focus for much of the activity that characterizes the Puget Sound region. A major port, the City of Seattle serves as a focus of trade, business, industry, and transportation for the region as a whole. As the largest city in the region, the city and its people are a cultural and recreational hub, not only for the Puget Sound area, but for the Pacific Northwest.

Downtown Seattle, in similar fashion, provides a focus for much of the activity of the city. Business, government, industry, and commerce are centered downtown, and the people who work and live in the city find a focus for cultural and recreational activity.

Market Context

Early history has left a legacy of older housing stock which now provides basically low-cost housing and small units, particularly old hotels and rooming houses. In contrast, non-subsidized new construction is very expensive, due to commercial land values and the cost of new construction.
However one stratifies the various housing markets, only a small portion of the total market is really attracted to a downtown location. Even those who profess to desire convenience, proximity to work, and an “urban environment” find this, by their definition, in large portions of Seattle near to, but not within, the downtown area. As an indication of the size of this market, only 11,150 people out of a four-county region total of 2,175,300 currently live in the downtown area; and of the metropolitan growth of 236,600 people in the past decade, there was only a net increase of 755 in the downtown area. In the first half of the decade, while growth in the metropolitan area was negligible, the downtown area lost population in all sectors except the Pioneer Square census tract (perhaps indicating an increase in unemployed “street people”). Since 1975, when the metro area experienced 85% of its decade’s growth, all of the downtown neighborhoods except Pioneer Square and the International District regained and surpassed 1970 population levels.
Market Sectors
There are several demographic groups that have historically lived downtown or are potential residents. There are other groups that may desire to live downtown but are unable to afford housing there — at least without subsidy. The key market groups are:

- Single-room occupancy (SRO). This unit type, characterized by a single room without cooking facilities, is prevalent in the downtown area and represents a continuing need. While the population requiring such facilities may not be expanding, there is a continuing loss of units available to the existing population through demolition, deterioration, and economic obsolescence.

- Young professional. The downtown worker, whether living alone, married, or sharing housing expenses with other workers, is a large, growing, and logical market for downtown housing. It has been the largest demand sector for new housing in other cities. Projected commercial construction in downtown Seattle assures the continued viability of this market segment.

- Service worker. The downtown service worker represents another local market, but these persons generally have a lower income than the professional and need more moderately-priced housing. Nevertheless, they are price-sensitive, and if decent housing can be made available, they will carefully figure the cost of commuting saved in their housing expenditure equation.

- The empty-nester. The middle-aged couple whose children have grown is a substantial market segment for condominium and higher-density housing types. However, there is no natural attraction to the downtown area unless they are still employed there while attractive, amenity-filled projects elsewhere in the metropolitan area may be very competitive.

- Corporate purchaser. Many downtown housing units, particularly condominiums, are purchased by businesses or businessmen who use them for temporary residences, putting up visitors, and other uses which basically substitute for hotel rooms. While this might be a specialized market for certain projects, it should not be encouraged where a residential environment of some stability and community is to be established.

- Luxury units. the downtown area provides a unique combination of urban amenity and waterfront view and activity. This is likely to appeal to a certain segment of the market, particularly condominium purchases, regardless of their current or prior ties to downtown.
Certain household types have not been described here, and while they may occur downtown in small numbers, do not generally represent a sufficiently-large, or even appropriate, market for downtown housing. Most notable of these is families. Presently, only 24% of Seattle's households have children, despite the fact that over 60% of the city's units are single-family units which, for the most part, are in what are thought to be attractive neighborhoods and a suitable, family environment. Certainly in other large cities children have been provided for and effectively raised in an urban environment. However, without that tradition in the Seattle area, it is unlikely that sufficient market support would exist for family developments in the downtown area, even if child-oriented amenities were provided. An exception might be housing particularly oriented to the single-parent family in a low or moderate unit close to downtown employment or educational facilities.

Another market which probably cannot be fully served by downtown location is the moderate income wage earner, for whom no subsidy programs are available, yet who cannot afford market-rate new construction. Although it will be difficult to provide this housing in the downtown area, there are many rental apartment units serving this market sector in close-in neighborhoods near downtown.

Ballpark Forecasts
Many of these market categories have been measured and forecast in the city's planning studies and project analyses. However, they are not mutually exclusive, nor can it be said with precision what share of each market group could be attracted to downtown, and under what circumstances. Nevertheless, some general scale can be placed on the likely downtown market over the next decade.

The Puget Sound Council of Governments has forecast an increase of 394,200 people in the four-county region over the next decade. Through a computer allocation process, it has been estimated that downtown Seattle (a definition that is geographically wider than we are using here) would have a net increase of only 414 households (about 800 people). Even when adjusted to reflect government policies to restrict suburban sprawl, the downtown forecast is only for 1,680 households (or about 3,000 people). We would not suggest that the computer-generated forecast provides any real constraint on what can or will be done in the downtown area, but it does describe the magnitude of the task facing Seattle if it is to substantially increase the rate of housing production, rehabilitation, or even preservation in the downtown area.
The entire city of Seattle itself has only received about one percent of the new residential construction in the four-county metropolitan region in the boom period following 1975. And Seattle's market is also different from that of the metropolitan area as a whole, just as the downtown area is different from the city. From the metro to the city to downtown, there is a consistent pattern of increasing age of housing, increasing multi-family construction, decreasing household size, increasing share of single-person households, and decreasing household incomes. The important element of this mix is that 40 percent of the households in the city of Seattle (and 85 percent of those downtown) are single-person households. And while much is made of the social problems associated with the indigent elderly and street people of downtown, it is obvious that much of the city's one-person households are living in other parts of the city, including single-family homes, and that they represent a full range of incomes and backgrounds. This is a positive market factor for the future of downtown housing in that many of these people may eventually tire of maintaining and paying for the utilities in single-family neighborhoods. Will these houses deteriorate due to an inability to afford maintenance; or will they be rejuvenated as family housing?
Five key factors support the strength of the housing market in the downtown area:

- The increasing cost in fuel, time, and inconvenience of commuting.
- The large reservoir of potential occupants already within the city.
- The continued growth of the downtown employment base.
- A nationwide phenomenon, shared by Seattle, that is eliminating the stigma of living downtown.
- The cumulatively improving image, acceptability, and security which occurs as new housing is added.

On the other hand, there are several negative factors which limit the market for downtown housing.

- The price of land which, in turn, dictates a high-density, high-priced construction cost which, in turn, results in an appeal to a limited segment of the market for market-rate housing.
- The virtual elimination of subsidized housing programs by the Reagan administration — programs that have provided much of the impetus for what recent downtown housing development and redevelopment has occurred.

On balance, it is likely that the rate of housing production in downtown Seattle will increase in the future. But the market is finite, and downtown still must compete in the metropolitan context.

While city policies and subsidy programs can greatly influence the rate of construction, it is likely that Seattle will see 200 to 400 units per year built within the downtown area as defined in this analysis. Virtually all will be higher density units, with townhouses and lower density styles provided only as a part of multi-use complexes. It is also unlikely that the vast majority of these units will be condominium units with a high dollar-per-square-foot price, although smaller units might be affordable when compared to other ownership alternatives within the city. Moderate income housing will be provided primarily by the rehabilitation of existing units, smaller-size units in new projects, and in other nearby neighborhoods.
**Development Setting**

Downtown Seattle has been depicted as an area comprised of a number of distinct, identifiable districts. Among the districts are those which both presently and historically are pertinent to the issue of living downtown:

- Pioneer Square
- International District
- Denny Regrade
- Pike Place
- Central Waterfront

**Government Process**

**Regulatory Standards**

Seattle has a relatively complex downtown regulatory scene, with a zoning ordinance designed to reward certain design features with floor area bonuses and an overlaying of numerous special districts and zones. Examples include historic districts, such as the Pioneer Square and Pike Market area, the added requirements of an urban renewal plan in Pike Market, and the special zoning category to encourage residential mixed development in the Regrade area.

While the bonus system is fairly straightforward in the commercial CBD district, it is overlaid with a process bonus where substantial floor area ratio (FAR) increments are allowed for responding to various design criteria. An absolute FAR of ten is possible; in other words, a floor area of ten times the site. This allows twenty floors with 50 percent site coverage. The high allowable FAR effectively negates an innovative tool, the authority to transfer development rights, because such a development rights acquisition is unnecessary.

In three of the downtown zones, the combination of special district controls and zoning alone rather rigorously constrain new development. The extent of current development, plus these design controls effectively preclude major design swings in terms of housing development in the Pike Market, Pioneer Square, or International District. On the other hand, in the central waterfront area and the Denny Regrade, current design and zoning controls provide considerable flexibility and major design-related housing disputes have arisen in both areas.
Forces similar to those which have resulted in down-zoning in the single family areas are at work in the CBD, i.e., a general citizen sense that densities are too high and are inappropriate for the character of Seattle. In addition, the fear of neighborhood displacement and modification which generates opposition to high density in a single-family neighborhood has its more poignant parallel in the opposition of existing residents in the downtown area to displacement of low-income SRO renters.

It is our perception that these CBD complaints about excessive zoning authorizations and concerns about displacement are receiving a positive reaction from city officials. The city has, for example, enacted a displacement ordinance which exacts relocation payments and a displacement fee from developers who remove the existing housing stock. Similarly, there appears to be general recognition that the Regrade zoning category has failed so far in its purpose to encourage a livable residential environment. A further indication of the apparent responsiveness of city officials to neighborhood objections regarding new housing has been their tacit encouragement of one on one neighborhood activist-developer negotiations as part of the State Environmental Policy Act regulatory process. This process, in which a detailed environmental impact statement is required on the specific project, provides a ready forum for appeals which delay development. In this regard, SEPA has more influence on housing design than the specified regulatory processes.
Government as a Promoter

Perhaps no area is more lacking in terms of the government and housing in Seattle than the new tools being utilized by other urban centers to encourage and direct development by governmental participation. Although, of course, Seattle has utilized the federal programs such as the Section 8 Rent Subsidies, the 312 Low Interest Loan Program, Block Grants, and earlier, urban renewal bonds, the extent of direct governmental participation and promotion of development here is minimal. While there are advantages that have accrued from this absence (such as the avoidance of large-scale clearance in the early sixties) with the likely end of the currently available federal tools, the absence of the normal state and local mechanisms to participate in, encourage, and direct development severely limits opportunities for creative responses to the displacement and development control problems. For example, while other cities have encouraged construction of moderate income condominiums in downtown areas through tax-exempt revenue bonds, Seattle's condominium stock is almost entirely upper income. Commonly, other urban areas have assembled land, developed design criteria, and selected the most responsive private developer, with land write-down and amenity construction inducements. Outside of the Pike Market area, there is no evidence of such ability to control development or to encourage its site-specific occurrence. Perhaps the best example of the relative desirability of such an approach is the design responsiveness of the Market North project accomplished on publicly acquired land after a design selection process.

Governmental Structure

In most cities with which the R/UDAT team is familiar, the planning-zoning function, which includes comprehensive plans, zoning text development, and thereafter design and environmental (EIS) evaluation and review, is centralized in a planning department. Generally this also relates to a city planning commission which has a direct advisory role in the critical path of development approval. Housing and economic development promotional activities are located in a separate promotional housing or redevelopment authority which has access to many of the above-noted governmental tools to promote development. Building permit review is largely administrative and occurs at the tail end of the process.
In Seattle, these functions are split in a novel fashion. It is our perception that this division has weakened the lineage between development promotion and the profit and nonprofit development community, as well as weakened the relationship between establishing overall long-term goals and specific regulatory review. Finally, the separation of environmental and design review in the building code agency—the Department of Construction and Land Use—has removed these functions from the more natural location in the planning and zoning area. Under Seattle's system, the Office of Policy and Evaluation, a long-term planning arm, is responsible only for the preparation of the comprehensive plan. One result is the comprehensive plan becomes a specific document as a way for that agency to control the zoning text which is written in a separate agency, Community Development. This agency, in addition to code preparation, is also involved in promotional functions including the limited housing development financing functions available to Seattle through distribution of federal Section 8 and block grant funds. It also has design review functions in the Denny Regrade area. All other design and environmental reviews are located in the building permit division of the city.

**Downtown Building Envelope**

Modifications to height and bulk regulations have recently been considered for the Regrade area. These modifications have been based primarily on protection of views of the bay from inland. This would be achieved by adopting a sloped zoning "envelope" within which building heights would be relatively low along First Avenue, but increasing incrementally toward Fifth Avenue. This R/UDAT team recommends that such changes be seriously considered by the city. In addition, in configuring the envelope, the city should also consider a tapering down of heights toward the north. Tapering down to both the west and the north would result in a pyramidal zoning envelope.
Such a device would serve several purposes. It would help preserve views. It would serve as a transition to lower Queen Anne Hill. It would prevent high-rise buildings from encroaching on the Space Needle, which is a Seattle landmark. It would, in a sense, “rebuild” Denny Hill, a topographic feature that was destroyed in the early Twentieth Century. Finally, the zoning envelope would “hold the line” on high-rise development, serving notice to land owners and developers that they could not pepper the Regrade with freestanding high-rise fortresses. True high-rise towers would be reserved for the southerly portion of the Regrade and, of course, the downtown core. This has, in fact, already been done in San Francisco to protect the scale of areas surrounding the CBD with height limits dropping from 700 feet to 65 feet.

The Regulatory Process

It appears that there are four major regulatory controls in Seattle. They are:

- Comprehensive Plan
- Zoning Ordinance
- Building Code
- State Environmental Policy Act (SEPA)
Comprehensive Plan
Seattle is to be commended for undertaking a Comprehensive Plan update. The parts of the plan that are completed appear to protect and maintain the existing single-family areas and the low-scale character of multi-family neighborhoods surrounding downtown. This can be expected to win popular and political acceptance while at the same time focusing higher density development downtown. In this process it is hoped that the plan will try to establish goals for the following factors in the downtown:

- Integration of housing and commercial development in the CBD.
- Maintenance of existing moderate and low-income housing.
- Establishment of a variety of scales and densities.
- Protection of existing neighborhoods.

We also suggest that specific neighborhood actions not wait three to four years until completion of the plan. This is particularly important in the Denny Regrade area. An interim enactment is vital if Seattle is to grasp the opportunity to expand downtown living.

Zoning Ordinance
The following zoning recommendations endorse policy changes already being considered.

- Maximize the "As-of-Right" Situation. Bonuses and other incentives should always be seen as clearly discretionary. The "as-of-right" proposal (one which observes all requirements) should be given automatic approval, without hearing or delay. The prime purpose of zoning is health and safety which directly relates to permitted use, height, bulk and access/parking. Good design and aesthetics are more susceptible to opinion and various approaches and should be subject to discretionary negotiation.
- Change the Floor Area Ratio bonus system to encourage housing. The city has recognized that the plaza and arcade bonuses are questionable. Bonuses for the provision or retention of housing should be increased, particularly in the CBD which is becoming a single-use 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. area.
- Shorten and Clarify the Negotiation Process. It is important that the rezoning process itself be predictable, clear, and timely.
- Revise the Zoning for Denny Regrade. The present zoning for Denny Regrade sees the area as an extension of the CBD in terms of height and bulk (FAR 10). It is recommended that the bonuses be revised to encourage low-rise housing.
Building Code
The existing building code is a sound and progressive code. We see no need for changes.

State Environmental Policy Act
We would make two major recommendations to improve the SEPA process:

- Conduct a generic EIS on neighborhood levels. Individual projects would then require an amendment or simply a technical review.
- Increase thresholds. The threshold for environmental consideration should be for projects over 100 units or perhaps 300 to bring it in line with state procedure. Reviews of projects of under 100 units should not be necessary.
Program for Action

The R/UDAT Steering Committee will continue to involve the Downtown Seattle Community in the R/UDAT Process. The Committee will work with governmental agencies, the general public and interest groups to assess the R/UDAT report, prioritize recommendations, aid in initiating action and identify potentials for early implementation.

In order to sustain and enhance communication within the Community, the R/UDAT Steering Committee will publish a newsletter. This newsletter will be distributed to all members of the Advisory Committee, and will be made available to all other interested individuals at the Seattle Chapter Offices of the AIA at 1911 First Avenue. To begin the Action Process for the R/UDAT proposals for Seattle, the Steering Committee will distribute a Response Forum, to identify the level of support for the various R/UDAT recommendations. This Response Forum will be distributed in the same manner as the Newsletter.
Not all R/UDAT missions are concerned with planning and design issues of the physical environment. The Birmingham study is primarily aimed at creating a municipal planning process which facilitates citizen participation at the neighborhood level. This emphasis on human values in the decision-making process is an outgrowth of the participatory planning movement of the 1960s in American cities.

Team members on the Birmingham study were charged with helping to implement a recently established Citizens Participation Program, to demonstrate what enlightened neighborhood participation can achieve, and specifically to develop a neighborhood planning process as a constituent element in the overall planning program for the city. Such a charge required that the team make an intensive analysis of one or more neighborhoods in terms of social and economic characteristics, develop an understanding of the way local decisions are made, and comprehend the large-scale aspects of resource management for the City of Birmingham. It is a very large task for a handful of people on a four-day visit to a city. The team report is one of the longest and most detailed in the history of the R/UDAT process, and demonstrates the versatility of the R/UDAT concept in responding to social as well as physical issues.

At the time of the study, Birmingham, often referred to as the “Pittsburgh of the South” had more than fifty percent of its nonstreet acreage devoted to steel production and fabrication industries. Unemployment for the city as a whole was well above the national average. There was widespread poverty. Middle class families migrating to the suburbs left behind them a growing proportion of disadvantaged persons—the elderly, the poor, the under-and unemployed, and undereducated — thus increasing the burden of social services while simultaneously shrinking the tax base. Retail and office space vacancy rates reflected these trends. In one North Birmingham neighborhood center 60% of all retail space was vacant.
A large number of social and environmental issues confronted the R/UDAT team in 1976, the most serious being that Birmingham did not possess the mechanisms for incorporating neighborhood needs into local governmental decision-making processes. Fortunately, race relations were relatively stable and most of the organizational infrastructure was in place. Neighborhood boundaries had been identified by citizens, and annual popular elections were held to elect three-member Neighborhood Citizens Committee. In an ascending hierarchy of leadership these committees made up the membership of a series of Community Citizens Committees whose residents were members of a Citizens Advisory Board. The problem was that neighborhood programs became entangled in a largely indirect, advisory procedure for formulating plans. The basic mission of the R/UDAT team was to “design a process” for effective neighborhood planning.

Birmingham, Alabama
The Birmingham R/UDAT team undertook its mission with characteristic conceptual simplicity and directness. After analyzing the current planning process and recognizing its limitations, it laid out a process in which the Citizens Advisory Board had direct access to the mayor and council. In addition, the team recommended that technical resources be made available to the Community Citizens Committee, that a new department of Economic and Social Development be established within city government, and that new legal statutes be created to make quasi independent boards and commissions more accountable to the mayor. The combined effect of these recommendations is to strengthen the mayor’s office in relation to the planning function, and to bring the neighborhood’s needs more directly into the preparation of a plan through direct access of the Community Advisory Board to the mayor and city council.

It has been noted previously that certain types of drawings are used to create conceptual frameworks: Abstract diagrams of city and regional form, phasing diagrams, aerial perspectives, and aerial relief plans. The Birmingham R/UDAT makes use of the process diagram, a sort of complex flow chart in which all the members of a decision-making process are organized according to functional interrelationships, sequence, hierarchy, and ability to transfer information. Considering the planning background of many R/UDAT team members and the general understanding of algorithms in the realm of architecture and city planning, it is not surprising that the process diagram is called upon so often to chart a path through a decision-making structure. In the hands of the Birmingham R/UDAT team the process diagram becomes a technique for creating an ordering system out of which the recommendations grow. The clarity of these diagrams suggest that, as in previous R/UDAT studies, drawing is used to define a framework for team solutions rather than merely act as a descriptive technique.
The following excerpts from the Birmingham R/UDAT report deal with the team recommendations concerning a neighborhood planning process and include some illustrations of the process applied to the North Birmingham section of the city.

Birmingham R/UDAT Study. Birmingham, Alabama, October 1976. Team members: Stanton Eckstut, AIA, Chairman; Charles P. Boyce; Don Conway, AIA; John J. Desmond, FAIA; Julia Hall; Ronald B. Kull, AIA; Jack Patrick, AIA; R.T. Schadelbach; Ron Shiffman.
The City of Birmingham has launched one of the most significant experiments in the country in popular neighborhood/community participation and decision-making. Every residential neighborhood within the City has been geographically identified by its residents and a pattern of responsible neighborhood participation has been established that extends from each neighborhood directly into the chambers of the Mayor and the City Council. A regularized form of annual popular elections has been established by which each neighborhood formally elects its civic leadership — a President, Vice-President and Secretary of its Neighborhood Citizens Committee (NCC). These three persons are in turn members of a Community Citizens Committee (CCC) that looks after the collective interest of a number of neighborhoods. The Presidents of these committees in turn function on a city-wide level as a Citizens Advisory Board (CAB) that meets regularly with the Mayor and City Council. CAB reviews with these city officials programs for proposed capital improvements, community development and other planning activities and serves as a direct, two-way conduit between the political leadership and the residents of the city. This is a unique experiment. If successful, it will have far-reaching significance for Birmingham and other cities of America.

The impact of this form of direct participatory democracy cannot be overestimated. The dramatic changes that inevitably will occur in the political structure and administration will have long-term implications for Birmingham. The R/UDAT team believes that the outcome can only benefit the citizens of Birmingham.
The Planning Process in Birmingham

Development of the Plan
The separation of the physical planning process from the political process of the city government is evident in the way Birmingham now does its planning. Currently, the Birmingham Planning Commission (BPC) receives advice through the public hearing process. The Planning Commission in turn serves as an advisory agent to the Mayor and City Council. The principal link in this relationship is a land-use plan for the City which the BPC is charged to develop with staff assistance from the Department of Community Services. An extremely important advisory element in the development of the physical plan is the Citizens Advisory Board (CAB) which works closely with the Planning Commission, the Mayor's office and the City Council throughout development of the Plan. Appropriately enough, this process starts at the grassroots level, the eighty-four residential neighborhoods of the City.

Implementation of the Plan
As Chief Executive and administrative officer of the City, the Mayor is responsible for the implementation of the City's land-use plan upon approval of the Council. There are three elements of local government that the Mayor has to deal with in his efforts to implement the Plan. The first of these comprises the departments of the City Government over which the Mayor has both administrative and budgetary control. These are such agencies as the Police Department, Inspection Services and Engineering. By virtue of his control, the Mayor can implement those portions of the Plan which relate to or are affected by these departments. The second element of local government with which the Mayor must deal are the autonomous boards, commissions and associations which derive their powers from the State rather than the City. The Mayor has little or no administrative control over these agencies. He has, however, some limited leverage with these units through the budgetary process. In addition, the Mayor is a working or full member of these Boards. Of course, in actual practice and as long as the day-to-day working relationship between the Mayor and City Council and these Boards is cordial, it is probable that the Mayor's opportunity to implement those portions of the City Plan which relate to or are influenced by these boards is satisfactory.
The third element to consider is the Jefferson County Commission. The essential issue in this relationship is the control of social and welfare monies. Indeed, one of the Commissioners is titled the Commissioner of Welfare. Thus, those portions of the Plan that contain physical elements that are meant to facilitate social goals and programs are contingent upon the concurrence of the Jefferson County Commission which controls both welfare policies and monies.

Limitations and Recommendations
There are a number of issues of the city's planning process as it currently exists. These stem primarily from the limited capabilities of each of the neighborhoods to assess the nature and extent of its needs and assets and the constraints placed on implementation powers of the Mayor. It is clear that almost everyone involved in the development of the Community Participation Plan anticipates that it will serve as a device for bringing about significant change. By-and-large, however, the changes are thought of simply as physical — a sort of beautification program with certain economic implications. Certainly this is partially true. What does not seem to be quite so clear, however, are the profound social consequences that result from physical changes once they are implemented. The quality of life is powerfully affected by these changes. Most importantly, however, the view of the plan as solely a beautification and economic instrument inhibits one from seeing the opportunities it contains for exerting a positive influence on the quality of life in all of Birmingham's communities and neighborhoods. The recommendations of R/UDAT which follow are intended to increase the potential of each community within the city to recognize these opportunities and implement them.
The elements of the proposal for strengthening Birmingham's planning process derive from the Citizen Participation Plan (CPP). We view the neighborhood-community structure currently developing as the focal element around which the planning process should revolve. Our intent is to improve and expand the planning capabilities of these neighborhood-community units in order that they can perform in a competent manner reflective of the needs and aspirations of their residents. It is important that the provision of CPP which allows the Community Citizens Committees to set up advisory councils should be honored. Resource Councils to serve these committees should consist of as many technical resource persons or organizations as are needed to encourage the discovery and consideration of options respecting the social and physical environment. Thus, for example, a Pro-Bono Publico Law Group can become part of the Resource Council of any of the Community Citizens Committees that feels it would benefit from this kind of expertise. In a similar way a Community Design Center or a Vista volunteer or a public health physician can become a resource for either a neighborhood or community citizens committees. In addition, we urge the expansion of the Community Citizens Committee idea to allow it to include special interest groups from each community such as representatives of industrial or retail interests as advisors and full participants in the planning efforts of the CCC. The inclusion of these interests at the community level should be actively sought. It should also be stressed that the strengthening of the Citizens Community Committees should not in any way lessen or diminish the right of either an individual neighborhood or a special interest whenever it feels the need to do so. The intent here, however, is to have as much of the negotiation/consensus/decision process as possible occur at the community level. A final word is appropriate here in regard to the community units. This is the implementation of the community concept by the various departments of the City Government. Our recommendation is, wherever possible, that all operating departments of the City should reorient their service boundaries in order to coincide with the boundaries of one or more communities. Further, and to the extent possible, the manpower, equipment and services should be decentralized into the community or communities they serve. Obviously, scales of economy must be recognized so that, for example, a police station might service two or three communities. However, an important point is that this reorientation be along the lines of the now recognized communities.
recommendation is for the activation of as large a number and variety of communication mediums as possible in order to keep residents currently informed about all aspects and activities of the CPP network. Specifically, we urge the consideration of community-oriented radio programs, cable TV, newsletters, handbills, poster, neighborhood bulletins and the like.

The second step we recommend to encourage communication among community and neighborhood groups deals with the citizens Advisory Board, the Mayor's office, the City Council and the Planning Commission. While a significant degree of interaction already occurs among the CAB and the Mayor's office and City Council, clearer, more intensive, two-way communication should be occurring at this highest level of decision-making. All four offices must actively participate in the give and take, month-by-month negotiations necessary to give birth to the plan's implementation procedures. A further recommendation entails the establishment of a new agency within the City Government — the Department of Economic and Social Development (DESD). We view the present lack of such a department as a significant void that needs to be filled to provide for the constant monitoring evaluation and assessment of the economic and social consequences of the City's plans. This economic and social "accounting" function should be carried out in parallel with a program of economic and social development.

The next two steps in strengthening Birmingham's planning process have to do with communications. Again we begin at the neighborhood level. At present CPP encourages communication between the Presidents of the Neighborhood Citizens Committees and their residents. The actual mechanisms for the transmission of information at this level are neither strong nor well-defined. Our
DESD should be the sensing mechanism which provides information on the economic and social (or quality of life) effects of the City’s plans as their implementation proceeds. In addition, DESD should serve as a mechanism for further developing and advocating Birmingham’s opportunities to the rest of the State and Nation. In this capacity, DESD should undertake a broad range of economic development programs such as industry incentives, manpower development and so on. On the social side DESD programs aimed at reducing alienation, providing social supports necessary to facilitate people’s involvement in the social and economic life of the city and starting in motion structural changes would maximize opportunities for low income and particularly young people.

The benefits of this dual assessment/development function can be turned inward toward the city and outwards toward others. Thus, for example, in a time of diminishing resources the programs of DESD can be focused inward to inform and re-educate the working force in respect to the changing economic conditions. Conversely, as the quality of life in Birmingham moves upward this information can be directed outward to promote the growth of the city.

R/UDAT’s final recommendation for the improvement and strengthening of Birmingham’s planning process has to do with the legislative program for the Mayor’s office. Specifically, we see the need for changes in the present state legislation which affect the relationships between Mayor’s office and the independent boards, commissions and associations and between the Mayor’s office and the County Commissioners.

We are not in a position to comment on the forces and legal principals which have led to the existing laws governing these relationships. We are, however, acutely aware of the impediments and constraints imposed on the Mayor’s office and the City Council in their efforts to implement their plans. In both the development phase and implementation phases of the planning process, current state legislation hinders all parties in their efforts to serve their constituents. In addition, present statutes leave the Mayor, the County Commissioners and the local boards and commissions without resource for either arbitration or redress of grievances.
In view of these conditions we recommend that the Mayor and City Council take whatever legal initiatives are appropriate to change the existing statutes for the purpose of insuring a greater degree of accountability and responsiveness by the independent and quasi-independent boards, commissions and associations of the city government and the County Board of commissioners to the plans and programs of the city.

Making the Process Work

The technique utilized here is to demonstrate the manner in which land uses and physical improvements diagramatically shown in the plan can be implemented. Within each community, there exist special conditions that require stabilization and/or change. Because of these special conditions, certain implementation techniques will be discussed.

In general, these plans are designed to increase home ownership, provide means of stabilizing home ownership and increase housing. In support of housing, pedestrian and vehicular circulation would reinforce the inter-relationship with other residential sections and support facilities such as parks and recreation and shopping.
In terms of commercial development, the intent is to consolidate through the recycling of adjacent property and improved circulation. Additional parking may be necessary to reinforce the commercial improvements. Sign controls, etc. would be used to support the neighborhood characteristics.

Utilization of existing undeveloped land would be enhanced through the introduction of new storm and sanitary sewers, construction of drainage ditches and grade separated crossings.

The basic premises discussed here are demonstrated in each community.
North Birmingham

Acipco . . Hooper City . . Collegeville . . Pleasantview . . reflect the suppressed energy of its residents. Heavily burdened with the visual blight of the U.S. Pipe Company and cut into a patchwork quilt of isolated pockets by railroad tracks and superslabs, North Birmingham is a community desirous of preserving, rebuilding and re-establishing its identity.

The struggle of each neighborhood to survive and to create a stable environment for its residents is reflected in attempts at rejuvenation of the main commercial street. The decline of the 275th Street strip is a reflection of the limited opportunities of the poor neighbors residing in adjoining areas. The poverty, joblessness, and lack of identity, coupled with the desire to overcome these problems, is the driving force that is everywhere in evidence.

The commercial rejuvenation of the 27th St. shopping center is integrally linked to the maintenance, preservation and growth of the adjoining neighborhoods.

Inherent in the plan for rejuvenation is the principal expressed at the town hall meeting — “Bring the People Back.” Given the growth of regional shopping centers in areas previously served by North Birmingham, the only way 27th St. can be revitalized is by bringing the people back. Therefore, we suggest that low-rise housing be built on vacant land adjoining 27th Street. In addition, services, quality merchandise, safe streets and new merchants with roots in the community must also be “Brought Back.”

Road systems must also be rationalized; access improved; hazards removed; noise controlled, and services, particularly for very old and very young, established.

Urban Design in Action
Specifically the suggestions include:
- Extension of 20th Avenue N.E. to Collegeville along the southern edge of Collegeville.
- Provision of vehicular access to Collegeville via grade separation crossings of 33rd and 35th Avenue N.
- Diversion of 30th Ave. to 29th Ave. near the business center in order to restrict commercial expansion.
- Provision of general road and street improvements.
- Improvement of the sewer system in Collegeville.
- Construction of bike paths.
- Development of neighborhood based home improvement programs.
- Establishment of a community-based development corporation that could undertake development activities within the community’s business center.
- Provision of housing for the elderly adjacent to the shopping center.
- Construction of several new housing complexes.
- Establishment of new industry North and West of 26th Ave.
Healdsburg, California
Healdsburg, California

Healdsburg is a town of approximately 7000 persons in the Sonoma Valley region of California. Known for its vineyards, Sonoma Valley runs almost due north of San Francisco through an area possessing rich alluvial soils and a climate that is conducive to wine-making.

The town functions as an agricultural service center. Tourists pass up and down the valley visiting wineries, but no effort has been made to capture the commercial potential of this activity. Santa Rosa to the south is a rapidly growing community with a diversified commercial retail system which attracts shoppers from Healdsburg. Some of Santa Rosa's explosive growth is creating demands for housing in Healdsburg, and the town is caught in an economic squeeze between loss of trade to Santa Rosa and costs of expansion to accommodate residents who work in another town.

All indicators point towards continued future growth in Healdsburg, yet there are constraints which have forced the town into a compact urban form within the valley configuration. Russian River, origin of the rich soil of the valley, acts as a barrier to the eastern extension of utilities, while Fitch Mountain is part of a ridge line which blocks expansion to the northeast. The flood plains of Russian River, Foss Creek and Dry Creek have limited growth to the south and west of Healdsburg. Finally, Highway 101 acts as a western limit to expansion except at interchanges. A less obvious constraint to growth is the existence of a major fault zone on the eastern edge of the valley. Finally, if aquifer recharge zones should become depleted as a consequence of increased water demands caused by urban expansion, the potential for earthquakes would increase.
In view of these environmental constraints, the R/UDAT team visiting Healdsburg in October 1982 had to develop a plan for growth and change. It recognized Santa Rosa to the south as a regional commercial center and major employer in the service sector while capitalizing, at the same time, on the resources of Healdsburg's position in Sonoma Valley. Three development scenarios were considered: A continuation of current patterns of growth in which Healdsburg acted as a dormitory suburb for Santa Rosa and continued to function as an agricultural service center; a Silicon Valley pattern of growth based on research industry; and a "destination tourist" strategy for organizing vineyards and other local attractions into a network of tourist features.

It is characteristic of the R/UDAT process to state its concepts with great simplicity. The bedroom community scenario was pictured with consummate skill as a growth strategy which could only drain local sales away from Healdsburg while simultaneously raising the demand for new public services. The vision of shrinking local sales receipts accompanied by increased costs for infrastructure, schools, sewage facilities, housing, public safety services, hospital beds and health facilities was advanced along with specific quantities of space, land and square footage of buildings. A similar argument was made against industrial expansion in the high-tech sector, with added emphasis on the potential destruction of environmentally sensitive agricultural lands within the river valley ecosystem.
Recognizing the fact that tourism brings trade without increasing the residential population, the R/UDAT team opted for the third development scenario: To utilize Healdsburg as a destination point for tourism, with the chief thrust being the organization of 57 local wineries into a system of tours. This development strategy would serve to coordinate current laissez faire patterns of tourism, to provide the basis for improvements in the downtown area, and to focus activity in the retail and professional service sectors of the economic structure of the city. Specifically, the team's recommendations stated that Healdsburg should promote a minimum two-day loop tour of both valley's wineries — Sonoma Valley and nearby Napa Valley — through the San Francisco Tourist Office and the County Wine-growers' Association. It was envisioned that this approach would make the town a logical place for at least an overnight stay, and as a consequence create a market for hotel space and related retail sales. A variety of complementary tourist attractions already centered in Healdsburg could then be drawn into the tourist industry: Russian River recreational activities, Lake Sonoma, historic housing, and the Plaza as a downtown focal point.
Downtown Healdsburg is seen in the R/UDAT report as an area of mixed-use development: commercial, recreational, residential and tourist. The Plaza, a three-sided central square, is to be reinforced by arcades, outdoor cafes and commercial activities catering to a variety of income levels. A hotel is to be constructed across Vine Street and connected to the Plaza by a public passage. Other features to the west such as a bus, rail and auto transportation inter-change and a new Hispanic Cultural Center are seen as strengthening the role of downtown. The goal is to bring a winery-oriented tourist population together with a varied group of residents into a mutually rewarding social and commercial atmosphere.

An underlying optimism and purposefulness is revealed in these R/UDAT recommendations. The scenarios are described as if they had happened, and the measures for achieving them are stated with conviction. From small town to metropolis, R/UDAT defines issues and applies its concepts with characteristic simplicity.

Healdsburg R/UDAT Study October 8-11, 1982, Healdsburg, California. Team members: R. Terry Schnadelbach, ASLA, Team Chairman; William Lamont, Jr., AICP; Ernie Niemi; David Stea; Milo H. Thompson, AIA; Baymond Trujillo, AIA; Ronald A. Straka, FAIA.
Economic Recommendations

Healdsburg's public services currently are adequate to support a sound economy, but their status in the future is uncertain. The City's utilities — electricity, water, and sewer — support their operating costs through the collection of fees. Other services, though, depend on the general fund and, given California's current financial structure, the City has little ability to control its revenues directly to meet service requirements. It essentially has no ability to raise property tax revenues, the conventional source of funding for local public services in the U.S. Other major sources of funding, such as intergovernmental transfers also are beyond the City's control. General obligation bonds, the borrowing of money for major capital expenditures, are also essentially a thing of the past.

But through its economic-development strategy, Healdsburg can indirectly hold and even broaden its resource-base for its public services. The key is the sales tax. Currently, the tax on retail sales contribute more than one-half (60%) of the General Fund. About one-third of the sales-tax receipts come from a single source: Boise Cascade's sales to contractors. Such dependency on a single source of revenue undermines the security of the City and its vital public services — particularly those services that can't fund themselves, such as parks and recreation, public safety, human services, cultural programs, streets and bike paths.

By adopting a strategy emphasizing the commercial rather than the industrial sector, the City can mitigate this vulnerability. Thus, our recommendation to pursue tourism-oriented commercial development not only takes advantage of national and regional economic forces, but it also enhances the City's ability to provide the necessary local support for services.

There are some remaining economic concerns, though. One is that the City should not turn its back on industry. Specifically, it should not unreasonably interfere with the industrial firms already here, but should retain adequate industrially-zoned land to support future expansion. Local firms that need to expand or relocate, such as E&M Electric, need to be able to find space.

Also, the City should avoid unnecessary subsidization for growth. Healdsburg's economy is basically strong and is likely to become even stronger. Rather than follow the course of distressed communities which use subsidies to encourage growth, Healdsburg should de-emphasize such actions and, instead, use its resources to promote other, non-economic, aspects of the area's quality of life.
In developing its commercial sector, the city must recognize that the sector has two major components. One provides retail and professional services to residents of the City. The other services tourists. Our recommendations attempt to bolster both components by strengthening each individually, and by encouraging them to reinforce one another.

**Local Retail and Services**

The size, needs and the nature of the local-service commercial sector stem primarily from the size of the community. A city the size of Healdsburg embodies too small a market to support either a large number of similar shops or a wide offering of goods and services. Hence, in this and similar communities, the commercial sector feasibly can provide only the retail and professional services that represent a fairly high percentage of household expenditures. These include, for example, both the retailing of groceries, drugs, and general merchandise, as well as the provision of health-care, insurance, banking and other services. Comparison shopping such as clothing or furniture are much more limited due to the market size. Variety, sizes and fashions are apt to be limited with a small market to serve. Inventory, by necessity, is also restricted.

Expansion of the City by even 10,000 people will not alter this picture appreciably.

Our recommendations for local retail development in Healdsburg originate within this context. They treat the proposed shopping center on Mill Street primarily as a local-retail center, with a grocery store and a major drug store as major tenants; the center will draw its clientele mainly from the City and the surrounding area.
In addition, our recommendations anticipate that the new center will become a major new focus of local-service retailing in the City. Currently, the downtown focus is not the Plaza, as many people perceive, but the two small shopping centers two to three blocks north of the Plaza, with J.C. Penney and Sprouse-Reitz/Safeway respectively as major tenants. The Mill Street Center though, with the area’s largest grocery and drug stores, likely will become the new focus for local shopping.

In the process, this new area will draw some trade away from the existing centers. The Mitchell center seems most susceptible because of its constricted parking. The existing Safeway/Sprouse Rietz center enjoys better access and, assuming that a replacement for Safeway is found, this area should remain quite viable.

To reinforce all the centers, our recommendations emphasize the development of a new road connecting Mill Street and the new center with the intersection of Piper Street and Healdsburg Avenue. The new road will give all centers good access and will avoid increasing traffic conflicts around the Plaza.

The new center will have little impact on commercial enterprises elsewhere in the City. This includes the Plaza. Firms in the Plaza constitute very little of the City’s local-service retailing capacity. Hence, the new center should draw little trade from these stores. The concentration of professional service firms around Healdsburg, Center and East Avenues is likely to remain relatively unaffected.
Our recommendations for commercial development elsewhere in the City focus on tourism. Here again, the guiding principle is that the nature of the development must match the nature of the market. Since Healdsburg will continue to see growth among two distinct groups of tourists, we commend two distinct responses.

One addresses tourists oriented to the wine industry. This group generally is quite affluent, is sensitive to aesthetics, and will increase their trade with Healdsburg's commercial sector only if the sector constructs an identity built around relationships with the wine industry. This group also is likely to trade more with a commercial center oriented toward pedestrian rather than automobile traffic.

We recommend the City encourage commercial development in and near the Plaza to respond to this tourist market. The City and local merchants should develop a common theme here and orient the area toward the wine country tourist. The area should emphasize retail firms, accommodations, and restaurants, rather than local professional or convenience stores. Development of the westside of the Plaza should occur only if it enhances the ability of the entire area near the Plaza to serve this market. The City should give preference to a first-class hotel/restaurant complex on the westside. Finally, the City should alter the character of Healdsburg Avenue between Mill and Piper Streets to ensure that it serves as a corridor leading people into the Plaza.

For other tourists, the City's commercial development must have an entirely different flavor, and a separate location. Highway-oriented travelers, especially those headed to and from Lake Sonoma, increasingly will demand highway-oriented goods and services at the Dry Creek Road interchange with U.S. 101. This is the main entry point to Lake Sonoma from the south. The City should thus respond accordingly.

The City should encourage commercial development east of U.S. 101 that includes motel(s), gasoline stations, automotive/marine services, boat storage, fast-food restaurants, and the like. In essence, the City should encourage a commercial node on the east side of the interchange to serve and capitalize on the anticipated growth of traffic headed toward Lake Sonoma.
In the future, "Downtown" is the area immediately surrounding the Plaza, west of East Street, south of Grant Street, and north and east of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad tracks. It is envisioned as an area of mixed use: Mixed commercial, mixed recreational, mixed residential land, tourist activities. The Plaza is reinforced by arcades, outdoor cafes, and commercial activities catering to a variety of income levels. Across Vine Street (formerly Healdsburg Avenue) is a hotel connected by a public passage to the Plaza and other features to the west, including the rail, and auto transportation interchange and a new Hispanic Cultural Center. The "new" (reorganized) downtown will bring a winery-oriented tourist population together with a varied group of residents in a mutually rewarding social and commercial atmosphere.

The Plaza area design encourages the addition of a new hotel and several bed-and-breakfast establishments. The recently burned building, with rehabilitation, becomes an outdoor cafe providing a public passage from a parking lot to the plaza, oriented along an axis to the passage through the new hotel restaurant complex to the west. The vacant corner opposite City Hall becomes a shop with a rooftop restaurant. A new sidewalk design, fronting all buildings, incorporates a line of centennial palm trees adding another concentric ring of green to the plaza complex. A pedestrian connector runs from the plaza to the current Mill Street Shopping Center. This occupies an existing open corridor.

A major change in the traffic pattern is the routing of heavy trucks to the west of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad tracks, returning to its old path on Piper Street, thus bordering a broader special downtown precinct, including new shops with a tourist orientation. This street ties into the proposed new street in the Mill Street shopping center. Reducing traffic on what was formerly Healdsburg Avenue permits increased parking for tourists through a perpendicular parking pattern. At each end of the street is a ceremonial gateway.
As part of its efforts to implement these recommendations, the City must define and implement various design guidelines for the plaza and surrounding area. Then it must exercise its power for design review to enforce these guidelines. The guidelines must cover the criteria of the design proposal to ensure that the overall concept becomes manifest.

**Plaza District Guidelines**
These characteristics include, but are not limited to:
1. Connection between the Plaza and other areas;
2. Continuity of pedestrian street level activities;
3. Controlled height of buildings;
4. Orientation of buildings to the Plaza;
5. Distinguishing the difference between new buildings on the westside and the existing Plaza; and
6. The overall character of the Plaza.

Healdsburg is a delightful city in a delightful area. It has natural and man-made attractions. It has a good location — one hour to the ocean and two hours to a major city. It has an interested, active population, strong political leadership, a strong staff who is very capable of dealing with its problems and opportunities. The information, reports and feedback from elected officials, staff, and citizens during the RUDAT process demonstrated that the ideas and the capacity to accomplish things are here. What can be done to strengthen this?
Urban Design in Action
1. Keep the Faith
Don't become too anxious. Growth is coming to this area. Set the standards and guidelines for development high. Don't let marginal or unattractive past development set the standard for the future. Don't compound financial burdens.

For example, sewer and water hook-up charges are not paying for the plant capacity people use. That means the whole population will have to pay for further expansion. Have growth pay its own way. Set plant hook-up charges equal to the costs new users impose on the system, probably $1,000 to $1,200, for sewer instead of the $200 fee presently charged. If you don't, everyone will pay higher future user rates charges and subsidize growth. Put the lid on items you consider problems and have all new development meet your new standards. Don't get anxious and give away the store to get growth.

2. Timing
The economy, as everyone knows, is bad. Money rates are high, construction is down. This too shall pass (we hope). Development of an area such as the Plaza West project takes time. Downtown malls, in most cities, have taken 12-15 years to implement from the time the idea gains credibility. There are laws to be passed, parking to be created, designs to be finalized, financing to be obtained, utilities to be moved. It will not happen in a year or two.

It helps to have a flow chart of what needs to be done, and not forget little things, for they frequently take the most time. Post the flow chart where it will be a constant reminder and keep it up-to-date. Set benchmarks so you know you are making progress. Be flexible and be prepared to adjust, but keep the central concept in mind and do not get frustrated by required adjustments. Maybe the “fountain” does not get built or some pet element gets dropped. Changes are inevitable. The plan is only the beginning. It's the implementation that takes the work and the time. Be prepared for the long haul and you will be less easily discouraged.
Olympia, Washington
State capitols are a special kind of urban design problem. Government expansion and office building utilization policies are rarely coordinated with the host city planning agency, and as a result an uneasy relationship may exist between the town and the state government. Since the old state capitol buildings are located near, if not at the actual center of the downtown area, there are a number recurring design issues: Excessive ground-level parking space devoted exclusively to government employees; periodic large scale swings from full to partial occupancy in office buildings as government programs change; little after hours activity in downtown streets; and a "grey" area of deterioration surrounding the government complex, often in residential areas possessing historically significant homes.

Olympia typifies the unique design challenge posed by state capitols. Situated at the southernmost end of Puget Sound in the state of Washington, Olympia has a population of approximately 45,000 and is both state capitol and seat of Thurston county. Three local cities — Tumwater, Lacey and Olympia comprise a small urban region of over 100,000 people. State government employs 12,500 persons. If the economic multiplier effect is taken into account, government employment clearly is the major economic base component.
The old state capitol building is located near the center of the downtown among a rectilinear grid of streets and buildings. A waterfront, once utilized as a canning and logging center, flanks two sides of the downtown area.
When the R/UDAT team visited Olympia in April 1979 they quickly grasped the basic design issues and realized the significance of the waterfront as an element in a development strategy. Setting sights on a ten-year development program aimed at a centennial celebration in 1989, the R/UDAT team skillfully blended the ordering system of the grid, the potential of the waterfront as a scenic and recreational area, and the presence of the state government into a plan for the downtown area.

There are definite landmarks in the evolution of the R/UDAT process. The Denver mission in 1976 clearly demonstrated the power of graphic visualization techniques to render a complex set of issues comprehensible to the participants. The Olympia study carries the evolution one step further by bringing both the overall concept and its component parts up to the same level of advanced conceptual development: Scale, mass and aesthetic character is defined, and architectural form is implied rather than detailed.

There is a technical virtuosity about the study which is conveyed through both the eloquent graphic depictions of development actions and its supporting text.
The crucial step in the organization of separate planning issues into a development framework occurred when a three-phase strategy was devised. These simple line diagrams reveal basic land and waterforms, major infrastructural elements and critical components in the process of knitting an urban fabric into some kind of unity. Phase 1 shows the creation of a "thematic" waterfront retail center and a tree-lined pedestrian link between the center and the existing town. Phase 2 extends the pedestrian link linearly between the state capitol and the waterfront to give a visual emphasis to marine activity. Cross links are established along major commercial streets, and a cultural center is used as a magnet to generate activity at the southern end of the pedestrian link. Finally, in Phase 3, office buildings reinforce the pedestrian link which now extend all the way to the end of the peninsula upon which the downtown area sits. Marina facilities and housing are used in this phase to reinforce the conceptual structure established in Phase 1 and elaborated in successive phases.
Observations have already been made about the power of drawings to act as structural frameworks for design and planning decisions. In all probability the three-phase drawing of the Olympia was the catalyst which inspired an expression of ideas for individual actions. Elements of the existing urban landscape were selected and combined with ideas for new facilities into a set of comprehensive and coherent line diagrams. These conceptual statements were then executed in the detailed form in a "development plan" in which building masses, landscape features, and specific facilities were given a concrete imagery.

As stated previously, the imagery yields a sense of scale, mass and aesthetic character, but stops short of making a commitment to architectural form. In the pages of the report following the phasing diagrams and the development plan, several individual projects were drawn and described in greater detail: Performing Arts Center, Capitol Way-Eighth Street Development, marina and housing complex, office development and capitol lake office complex.
Aerial relief plans, also known as shadow plans, are the type of drawings most often chosen to create detailed development frameworks. Landscape features, such as rows of trees or paved plazas, can be suggested with relatively little linework. In the same manner, shadows cast by plan forms can be used to create a sense of "visual mass" without becoming involved in building function or plan configuration. Nevertheless, it is necessary to differentiate between building types so that the scale of residential development is clearly distinguishable from that of, say, office buildings. Urban designers must understand the determinants of architectural form even if the external environment is as far as the concept of urban form is to be executed in a R/UDAT study.

This special ability to rapidly organize three-dimensional concepts and execute them in a convincing manner is the mainstay of all R/UDAT missions. In the case of the Olympia study, it is performed with skill and eloquence.

Before the team arrived in Olympia there was a good collection of parts and players but no structural framework. This R/UDAT helped address the need for priorities and a plan. It dealt with the development of special activities, mixed uses, housing, the development of Olympia's physical appearance, a growth policy, and management plan.

At the time of the Olympia R/UDAT the local steering committee established a corporation to carry out the recommendations of the team. That corporation has been active ever since and is still chipping away on the issues of urban development in Olympia.

Olympia R/UDAT Study. April 19-23, 1979, Olympia, Washington, Team members: Charles Redmon, AIA, Chairman; Shirley Bramhall; Daniel R. Mandelker; Dean K. Hunt; Peter Hasselman, AIA; Bernard P. Spring, FAIA; John K. Haeseler; Summer Myers; Charles A. Blessing, FAIA/AIP
Olympia, the state capital of Washington, lies at the center of business and governmental activity in the Pacific Northwest. Located at the southern tip of Puget Sound, the Capital City area is a developing three-city community consisting of Lacey, Olympia, and Tumwater. Olympia is the seat of government for Thurston County. It is strategically located as a major transportation crossroads between rail, air, water, and highway services giving the area the forward momentum that characterizes a progressive city.

Several themes in Olympia's history continue into the present. Olympia's relationship today with its neighbors, with its own neighborhoods, and with the State are a result of historic events.

For instance, Olympia's relationship with Tumwater can be traced back to 1847 when a trail was made to link Smithfield (Olympia) with New Market (Tumwater). After the founding of Thurston County (1852) and the arrival of the new territorial governor, Stevens (1853), Olympia became the government seat.

Olympia was incorporated in January 1859 and in 1889 Olympia was named the State Capital. Legislation in 1954 requiring all State offices to locate in Olympia further confirmed Olympia's unique identity as a governmental seat.

Geography and historic decisions on construction also have played a major role in determining Olympia's present situation.
The decision by Edward Giddings to build a wharf at the foot of Main Street (now Capitol Boulevard) contributed to the location of the east-west corridor. Events like these establish the land use pattern which to some degree still determines future land use in the city. Not until 1868 was a bridge to the Westside built. Large property ownerships kept the area in a relatively undeveloped state until after World War II.

The discrepancy between the reality of Olympia and its idealistic name helps identify the unrealized potential of the city. The slow growth which has been a factor in the region has helped preserve this potential. The discovery of gold in California (1848) and the decision to locate the railroad terminus in Tacoma (1873) are two of the more important historic events which have contributed to a slow rate of growth in Olympia until the present. The centralization of State offices in the town and the creation of The Evergreen State College along with statewide growth have contributed recently to an increase in growth pressures.

The population of Olympia’s three-city area was 38,400 in 1970 while the population of Thurston County in that year was 76,900. By 1979 the population of the Olympia area had risen by about 13%, while Thurston County showed more than a 30% increase to 101,000.

Statistics for Thurston County and its three principal cities of Lacey, Tumwater and Olympia reveal that growth has already exceeded forecasts made as late as December, 1977. These forecasts indicate that the population of Thurston County may double by the year 2000.
Downtown Activities

The Downtown: Concentrating on the Best Activities to Spark Future Growth

The secret to making Downtown Olympia a place where people will want to come and where they can both conduct business and enjoy themselves is twofold:

1) Having the right kind of activities in the downtown, and
2) Creating an attractive physical framework for these activities.

This section of the R/UDAT report identifies the activities which the team sees as the principal opportunities to make downtown an exciting and useful destination. Recommendations on the physical framework for the downtown that can house these activities and further enhance them are set forth in the succeeding section.

Present Downtown Strengths

Activities which currently exhibit strength in the downtown and serve to attract people there for purposes other than workday business include the following:

- Two major hotel/motels, one of which is located on the principal square.
- A large number of banks and savings institutions.
- Established specialty retail stores, which remain strong in certain locations, particularly Capitol Way south of Fourth Street.
- New retail stores and restaurants, several of which have been started by young entrepreneurs. A number of these are concentrated on Fourth Street between Water Street and Columbia Street.
- Three movie houses, one of which has been converted to a multi-cinema with three screens.
- The Yard Birds Sea Mart, a very large discount type store located in two former cannery buildings on the northern edge of downtown. This store draws a wide variety of shoppers into Olympia from considerable distances.
- Marine operations and waterfront parks along the downtown's western waterfront. The parks appear to be under-utilized at present, but offer a major amenity due, in part, to the views across the water and the boating activities nearby.

It is fortunate that these strong existing activities are principally concentrated within the space of a few blocks and can, therefore, be supplemented by rather modest projects in the same general area to make the downtown a stronger magnet for visitors.
Over the longer range, a number of new activities should be created in the downtown to make it an exciting place to visit and to provide a wide enough range of activities to keep people pleasantly occupied. These recommended new uses have been selected based on 1) their ability to fit in with the existing strengths of the downtown, 2) provide activities that are not duplicated elsewhere in the region, and 3) emphasizing activities that are capable of attracting people, particularly for shopping, dining and recreation.

The activities recommended to be added or enhanced are outlined below and described more completely later in this report. They include:

- Continuation of waterfront development for expansion of boating activity and as a setting for adjacent shopping, dining and recreation.
- Commercial revitalization with emphasis on specialty shopping, handicrafts, food and entertainment.
- Recreational attractions, including both free and commercial facilities and possibly additional festivals programming.
- Office space of a type and scale that fits in well with the rest of downtown Olympia and its setting.
- Housing for special target markets including singles and the elderly.
- Historic preservation and adaptive reuse of downtown buildings which are significant aesthetically or historically and which, in themselves, might constitute a minor visitor attraction with proper interpretive programming.

Some possible projects that can be carried out within each of these categories are identified below, and further possibilities should be generated by the community.

The priority projects which the R/UDAT team feels should be implemented initially are identified in the section on phasing.
Waterfront Development

The city has already made significant strides in improving the waterfront so that it can be enjoyed by pedestrians as well as by boat users. Downtown projects completed to date include Capitol Lake Park and Percival Landing. A major marina project for the East Bay is expected to be approved soon. Next steps should include:

- Extending the waterfront improvements northwards from Percival Landing.
- Keeping a 'working waterfront' while permitting pedestrian access, good vantage points and protecting sight lines across the water from the west side of downtown.
- Including maritime attractions such as ships which can be visited alongside.
- Integrating waterfront development with themed specialty retail and recreational uses immediately adjacent. This concept is referred to in the discussion of commercial revitalization later in this report.
A Technique for Bringing about Revitalization of the Commercial Core

The merchants and the public sector need to work together closely to bring about immediate modest improvements and long-term larger changes to the retail area.

The merchants should form a Local Development Corporation (LDC) to help them get favorable loans through the Small Business Administration for rehabilitation and improvements. As an LDC they can carry on a number of co-operative activities that will improve the appearance of the area and over time improve business volumes.

- A unified design plan for improving building exteriors and controlling signs.
- Preparation of special events such as downtown promotions at certain times, street fairs, sidewalk sales, dinner and restaurant guides, dinner/movie specials, craft demonstrations, walking tours of historic structures and unusual shops.
- A plan for shared parking and ultimately additional parking.
- A search for new businesses to fill vacant spaces or meet special needs.
- Assistance to existing businesses requiring space for expansion.
- A series of experiments with evening and weekend openings in co-operation with the transit authority and the neighborhood organizations.

The public sector needs to continue to offer assistance in the following ways:

- Negotiating a transit system from the state campus, possibly using a fun-type vehicle such as a trolley or closed zoo train, or a regular bus.
- Getting free transit for evening and weekend openings and special events
- Preparation of grant applications for Small Business Administration programs.

The revitalization of the downtown business area will benefit the entire region and everyone should participate. Since the area will not be competing with the malls, all levels of government and residents from all parts of the county can be encouraged to visit, enjoy and support the new downtown Olympia. To bring this about the merchants should seriously consider hiring a full-time staff person to work with a staff person assigned by the City of Olympia.

Phasing

The R/UDAT's far-reaching recommendations for the transformation of downtown Olympia may take between ten and twenty years to accomplish in full. The overall design concepts were developed with realistic opportunities for phasing in mind. As the population of the region and the State's administrative functions grow over the coming years the economy will grow as well. This should attract a steady stream of investment into the downtown area.
### Appendix: Chronology of R/UDATs 1967-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Team Members</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
</table>
Redmond, Washington 17-20 October 1969
Chairperson: Jules Gregory, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Princeton, NJ
Team Members: DeNorval Unthank, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Eugene, OR
Michael Wornum, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner, San Francisco, CA
Population approx. 10,000
Visit requested by Seattle Chapter/IAA. Rapidly growing city with undefined central business district.

Akron, Ohio 17-19 January 1970
Chairperson: DeNorval Unthank, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Columbus, OH
Team Members: A. Donald Bourgeois, Urban Development Administrator/Planning Educator, Columbus, OH
Ron Ginn, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner, Treasure Island, FL
Population approx. 300,000
Visit requested by Akron Chapter/IAA. Model Cities area with urban design and freeway corridor problems.

Ely, Minnesota 18-20 July 1970
Chairperson: C. William Brubaker, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Chicago, IL
Team Member: Samuel Caudill, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Aspen, CO
Population approx. 6,000
Visit requested by Northeastern Minnesota Chapter/IAA. Old mining town, now a recreational center, lacking in character.
12
Fairfax County, Virginia
21-24 April 1972

Chairperson:
Henry Steinhardt, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Mercer Island, WA

Team Members:
George W. Barton, FASCE,
Transportation Planner,
Chicago, IL
Charles A. Blessing, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban
Designer/Urban Development
Administrator,
Detroit, MI
C. William Brubaker, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Chicago, IL
John W. McMahon, Urban
Economist/Urban Development
Specialist,
Los Angeles, CA
Lawrence P. Melillo, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Louisville, KY
John Reed, Ph.D., Ecologist,
Madison, WI
Joseph N. Wills, Urban
Designer,
New York, NY

Population approx. 260,000
Visit requested by Northern
Virginia Section, Washington
Metropolitan Chapter/AIA and
Virginia Chapter/AIA, with
support of the Fairfax County
Planning Commission and
Fairfax County Board of
Supervisors. Problem of rapid
growth of county-wide area.

13
Clearwater, Florida
20-22 May 1972

Chairperson:
Jules Gregory, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Princeton, NJ

Team Members:
Arthur Edwin Bye, FASLA,
Landscape Architect,
Cos Cob, CT
J. Richard McElvea, Urban
Economist/Urban Development
Specialist,
San Francisco, CA
Ronald A. Straka, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Boulder, CO

Population approx. 60,000
Visit requested by Clearwater
Section of Florida Chapter/AIA
with support of community
leaders. Decline of downtown
activity.

14
Gainesville (Hall County),
Georgia
3-5 June 1972

Chairperson:
John Fisher-Smith, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:
John Decker, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Seattle, WA
Willard C. Pistler, Jr., AIA,
Architect,
Cleveland, OH
Donald Williams, AIA,
Architect/Urban Development
Specialist, Louisville, KY

Population approx. 16,000
Visit requested by North
Georgia Chapter/AIA and
Gainesville Area Chamber of
Commerce with support by
Gainesville City Commission
and the Hall County
Commission. Rapid growth and
increased demand for services.

15
Butte, Montana
10-12 June 1972

Chairperson:
Maynard W. Meyer, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Milwaukee, WI

Team Members:
Peter Batchelor, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban
Design/Urban
Design/Educator,
Raleigh, NC
John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Baton Rouge, LA
Ralph L. Dix, Ph.D., Ecologist,
Seattle, WA

Fr. Collins, CO
Royce LaNier, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Milwaukee, WI
Edward T. Ruppel, Ph.D.,
Geologist,
Helena, MT
Paul D. Spreiregen, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Washington, DC

Population approx. 16,000
Visit requested by Butte
Society of Architects/AIA with
support of Butte-Silver Bow
City-County Planning Board.
Possible relocation of central
business district and part of the
city.
16
McMinnville, Oregon
19-21 May 1973

Chairperson:
Ronald A. Straka, AIA,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Boulder, CO

Team Members:
Jean W. Cobb, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Mobile, AL
Naaz G. Rosinen, Urban
Economist,
Los Angeles, CA
Milo H. Thompson, AIA,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Minneapolis, MN

Population approx. 12,000
Visit requested by Salem
Chapter/AIA supported by City
Manager and Chamber of
Commerce of McMinnville.
Deteriorating central business
district and indecision on
growth policy.

17
Phoenix, Arizona
18-21 January 1974

Chairperson:
Lawrence P. Melillo, AIA,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Louisville, KY

Team Members:
Charles A. Blessing, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Rochester, NY
John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Planner,
Baton Rouge, LA
John Neidercorn, Ph.D.,
Urban Economist,
Los Angeles, CA
John Neuhold, Ph.D.,
Ecologist,
Logan, UT
Alan M. Voorhees, AIP/FITE,
Traffic Engineer/Transportation
Planner,
Washington, DC
John Zeisel, Ph.D.,
Environmental Sociologist,
Cambridge, MA

Population approx. 1,000,000
Visit requested by Central
Arizona Chapter/AIA and
citizen's group Valley Forward.
Options with respect to
mobility, lifestyle and urban
form in future development of
the metropolitan area.

18
Columbus, Georgia/Phoenix
City, Alabama
2-4 March 1974

Chairperson:
Maynard W. Meyer,
FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban
Planner,
Milwaukee, WI

Team Members:
Junius J. Champeaux, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Lake Charles, LA
Donald E. Cleveland,
Transportation Planner,
Ann Arbor, MI
Neil W. Guda, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cleveland, OH
Stephen D. Julius, III, Urban
Economist/Urban
Development Specialist,
Washington, DC
Bruce H. Murray, Landscape
Architect,
Madison WI

Population approx. 150,000
Visit requested by West
Georgia and Auburn, Alabama,
Chapters/AIA with support of
local government and civic
organizations. Problems of
central business district and
adjacent historic district.

19
Honolulu, Hawaii
6-9 April 1974

Chairperson:
Robert S. Sturgis, FAIA,
Architect/Urban
Designer/Architectural
Educator,
Cambridge, MA

Team Members:
Charles A. Blessing,
FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban
Designer/Urban Development
Administrator,
Detroit, MI
Carl Feiss, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban
Planner/Historic Preservation
Specialist,
Gainesville, FL
Edward J. Logue, Hon., AIA,
Urban Development
Association Executive,
New York, NY
David O. Meeker, Jr.,
FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban
Planner, Washington, DC
Rai Y. Okamoto, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
David L. Peterson,
Lawyer/Urban
Economist/Urban
Development Specialist,
Claremont, CA

Population approx. 650,000
Visit requested by Hawaii
Chapter/AIA with support of
state and local officials and
agencies. Future of
underdeveloped Central
Honolulu in a rapidly growing
city with limited
land resources.

20
Wilson, North Carolina
3-6 May 1974

Chairperson:
Ronald A. Straka, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Boulder, CO

Team Members:
Harry W. Atkinson, Urban
Economist/Urban
Development Specialist,
Atlanta, GA
Alastair M. Black, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Regional Planner,
Atlanta, GA
Charles A. Blessing,
FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban
Designer/Urban Development
Administrator,
Detroit, MI
John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Baton Rouge, LA
Carl Marshall, Urban
Economist/Economic
Development Specialist,
Atlanta, GA
Richard L. Rosen, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban
Planner/Housing Specialist,
Rochester, NY
Richard N. Tager,
Lawyer/Urban Development
Specialist
Washington, DC
William L. Yancey, Ph.D.,
Environmental Sociologist,
Philadelphia, PA

Population approx. 32,000
Visit requested by State of
North Carolina Community
Development Section and City
of Wilson, NC, with support of
the Raleigh Section, North
Carolina Chapter/AIA.
Small town growth and
development within a regional
framework, a demonstration
project of the North Carolina
Department of Natural and
Economic Resources.
21 Warren County, Ohio 31 May-3 June 1974
Chairperson: Royce LaNier, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner, Madison, WI
Team Members: Conrad Bagme, Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist, Seattle, WA
C. William Brubaker, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, San Francisco, CA
Anthony Neville, Environmental Planner, Louisville, KY
Robert B. Shawn, Urban Economist/Urban Development Specialist, McLean, VA
Ronald A. Straka, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Boulder, CO
Population approx. 65,000
Visit requested by Cincinnati Chapter/AIA with support of Area Progress Council, Warren County Board of Commissioners and Regional Planning Committee.
Problem of regional growth and development within a historic and rural framework.

22 Lafayette, Indiana 6-9 September 1974
Chairperson: Ronald A. Straka, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Boulder, CO
Team Members: John J. Desmond, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Baton Rouge, LA
William L. Haralson, Urban Economist/Urban Development Specialist, Chicago, IL
Theodore L. Oldham, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer, Washington, DC
Joseph R. Passonneau, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer/Architectural Educator, Washington, DC
S. Jerome Pratter, AIP Lawyer/Urban Development Specialist, St. Louis, MO
Population approx. 50,000
Visit requested by Central Southern Chapter, Indiana Society/AIA and the Lafayette Redevelopment Commission.
Problem of railroad relocation and its impact on the community.

23 Hendersonville, Tennessee 1-4 November 1974
Chairperson: William A. Gould, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner, Cleveland, OH
Team Members: Daryl J. Butcher, Urban Economist/Recreational Development Specialist, McLean, VA
Gerald J. McLindon, ASLA, RIBA, Landscape Architect/Environmental Planner/Planning Educator, Baton Rouge, LA
William J. Voelker, III, AIA, Architect, Peoria, IL
Ilhan Zeybeck-Oglu, AIA, Architect/Architectural Educator, Cambridge, MA
Population approx. 25,000
Visit requested by Middle Tennessee Chapter/AIA and the Middle Tennessee Section of the Tennessee State Planning Office.
Rapidly growing suburban area in search of an identifiable urban form.

24 Long Branch, New Jersey 10-3 January 1975
Chairperson: Ronald A. Straka, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Boulder, CO
Team Members: Ben H. Cunningham, JR., AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Minneapolis, MN
Suzanne Keller, Ph.D., Environmental Sociologist, Princeton, NJ
Charles F. Redmon, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Cambridge, MA
James A. Veltman, ASLA, Landscape Architect, Woodlands, TX
Population approx. 31,774
Visit requested by Shore Chapter, New Jersey Society of Architects/AIA and City of Long Branch.
Problem of changing urban characteristics of a small, oceanfront resort community in the nation's most heavily populated region.

25 Macon, Georgia 10-13 January 1975
Chairperson: Henry Steinhardt, AIA, Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist, Mercer Island, WA
Team Members: Peter Batchelor, AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer/Urban Design Educator, Raleigh, NC
William R. Eager, Ph.D., Transportation Planner, Seattle, WA
Richard C. Frank, FAIA, Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist, Ann Arbor, MI
Frank J. Hahn, Urban Economist/Urban Development Specialist, Orlando, FL
Peter M. Hasselman, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, San Francisco, CA
R. Terry Schnadelbach, ASLA, Landscape Architect, Philadelphia, PA
Population approx. 206,342
Visit requested by the Middle Georgia Chapter/AIA.
Problem of central business district typified by declining retail sales and departure of stores.
Chairperson: Archibald C. Rogers, FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer, Baltimore, MD


Population approx. 294,703 Visit requested by Shreveport Chapter/AIA. Problem was defining steps for implementation action in the context of existing plans.

Chairperson: Lawrence P. Melillo, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Louisville, KY

Team Members: Roger L. Creighton, AIP, Transportation Planner, Delmar, NY Isaac Green, AIA, Architect/Housing Specialist, East Lansing, MI Karl B. Radov, Urban Economist/Architectural Educator, Brookline, MA Randhir Sahni, AIA, Architect, Houston, TX Milo H. Thompson, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Minneapolis, MN

Population approx. 75,385 Visit requested by the Westchester County Chapter/AIA. Problem of how to establish cohesion, quality, and identity of the central business district and waterfront of this suburban New York community.

Chairperson: Ronald A. Straka, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Boulder, CO


Population approx. 72,863 Visit requested by Northern Nevada Chapter/AIA and Western Mountain Region/AIA. Problem in community identity and lack of citizen awareness and interest in local conditions.

Chairperson: Junius J. Champeaux, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Lake Charles, LA


Population approx. 96,265 Visit requested by Wichita Falls Chapter/AIA and the Midtown 2000 Subcommittee of the Wichita Falls Planning Board. Problem of maintenance of a viable midtown area.


32
Atlantic City, New Jersey
14-17 November 1975
Chairperson:
Robert S. Sturgis, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Team Members:
Samuel B. Ashford, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Salt Lake City, UT
Roy Gerard, Ph.D., Urban Economist/Urban Development Specialist,
Raleigh, NC
Harry S. Weinroth, AIP,
Urban Planner, Urban Development Administrator,
Cambridge, MA
Population approx. 55,487
Visit requested by the Atlantic City Convention Bureau.
Problem of significant urban deterioration, physically and socially, and the repercussions on the tourist economy.

33
Denver, Colorado
6-9 February 1976
Chairperson:
Jules Gregory, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Princeton, NJ
Team Members:
Jonathon Barnett, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Charles A. Blessing,
AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer, Urban Development Administrator,
Dakota, MI
Gary Fauth, Transportation Planner/Urban Economist/Planning Educator,
Cambridge, MA
Peter M. Hasselmann, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
David N. Lewis,
RIBA/AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer,
Pittsburgh, PA
Sumner Myers,
Transportation Planner,
Washington, DC
Richard N. Tager,
Lawyer/Urban Development Specialist,
Washington, DC
Population approx. 1,506,800
Visit requested by the Denver Central Chapter/AIA, Colorado Society/AIA and Denver City Council.
Request to evaluate the design and planning implications of the proposed rail rapid transit corridor.

34
Dalton, Georgia
22-25 April 1976
Chairperson:
Thomas R. Aidala, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
Team Members:
John K. Haeseler, Urban Economist,
McLean, VA
Robert M. Leary, AIP, Urban Planner/Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,
Raleigh, NC
Charles F. Redmon, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA
Charles E. Steinman, Urban Designer/Urban Development Specialist,
Boston, MA
Population approx. 18,872
Visit requested by the Dalton Chapter/AIA and the City Council of Dalton.
Problem of providing adequate public services and facilities to meet the needs of continued growth and expansion based on a healthy, local economy.

35
Lexington, Kentucky
21-24 May 1976
Chairperson:
Joseph R. Passonneau, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Washington, DC
Team Members:
Henry Arnold, ASLA,
Landscape Architect/Land Planner,
Princeton, NJ
Joseph R. Buckley, Urban Development Specialist,
Blue Bell, PA
Ralph F. Evans, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Salt Lake City, UT
David Harrison, Jr., Ph.D., Urban Economist/Planning Educator,
Cambridge, MA
David N. Lewis,
RIBA/AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer,
Pittsburgh, PA
Population approx. 108,137
Visit requested by the Lexington Downtown Development Commission.
Problem of how to control development activity and provide essential public services and facilities for rapid expansion and growth.
36
Gunnison County, Colorado
10-13 September 1976

Chairperson:
Adam Krivatsy, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Planner,
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:
Rod Freebairn-Smith, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
Robert K. Nyquist, Urban
Economist,
Seattle, WA
Toby Arthur Ross, Ph.D.:
Regional
Planner/Geographer/Environmental
Planner
Petaluma, CA
R. Marin Smith,
Lawyer/Growth Management
Specialist,
Chicago, IL
David Stea, Environmental
Sociologist/Architectural
Educator,
Los Angeles, CA
Albert Tsao, Ph.D.,
Environmental Planner.
Helena, MT

Population approx. 10,000
Visit requested by Colorado
Central Chapter AIA.
Problem of environmental
impact of unlimited growth of
skiing, hunting, and mining
activities in an insecure
political and social context.

37
Birmingham, Alabama
1-4 October 1976

Chairperson:
Stanton Eckstut, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY

Team Members:
Charles P. Boyce, Urban
Economist,
Cambridge, MA
Donald Conway, AIA,
Architect/Architectural
Research Specialist,
McLean, VA
John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Baton Rouge, LA
Julia Hall, Ph.D.,
Environmental Psychologist,
Philadelphia, PA
Ronald B. Kull, AIA,
Architect/Urban Design
Administrator
Cincinnati, OH
Jack Patrick, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Adelphi, MD
R. Terry Schnadelbach,
ASLA, Landscape Architect,
Philadelphia, PA
Ron Shiffman, Neighborhood
Development Specialist,
Brooklyn, NY

Population approx. 300,000
Visit requested by the
Birmingham Chapter/AIA.
Problem to study three typical
urban neighborhoods in urban
growth situations.

38
Moore County, North
Carolina
8-11 October 1976

Chairperson:
Jules Gregory, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Princeton, NJ

Team Members:
Brian D. Bash, Urban
Economist/Urban
Development Specialist,
McLean, VA
Lewis Goldshore,
Lawyer/Waste Management
Specialist,
Trenton, NJ
Avis C. V. Gordley, AIP,
Urban Planner/Planning
Educator,
Cambridge, MA
Paul D. Spreiregen, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Washington, DC
William L. Yancey, Ph.D.,
Environmental Sociologist,
Philadelphia, PA

Population approx. 40,000
Visit requested by the
Sandhills Area Chamber of
Commerce.
Problem of fear of physical
deterioration in beautiful resort
area (24 championship
golf courses).

39
St. Louis Forest Park,
Missouri
28 October-1 November
1976

Chairperson:
Junius J. Champeaux, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer
Lake Charles, LA

Team Members:
Elizabeth Barlow, Openspace
Planner,
New York, NY
Michael Cunningham, ASLA,
Landscape Architect,
New York, NY
Jerry Goldberg, AIP, Urban
Planner/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
Thomas Martin, Urban
Economist/Recreation
Development Specialist,
Boston, MA
Malcolm A. Misuraca,
Lawyer/Growth Management
Specialist,
Santa Rosa, CA
Raymond Stanland, Ph.D.,
AIP, Urban Planner/Urban
Designer,
Dallas, TX

Population approx. 104,638
Visit requested by Trenton
Department of Planning and
Development.
A microscopic view of the
problems of a
declining neighborhood.

40
Trenton, New Jersey
25-28 February 1977

Chairperson:
Stanton Eckstut, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY

Team Members:
Harold K. Bell, Urban
Economist/Architectural
Educator,
Ardesley, NY
Victor Calandro,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Ghislaine Hermanuz,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Patricia C. Jones, Arts
Association Administrator,
New York, NY
Garrison McNeil,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Janet Scheff, Ph.D.,
Environmental
Sociologist/Architectural
Educator,
New York, NY
Stanley Stark, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Edwin W. Woodmen, Urban
Development Specialist,
New York, NY

Population approx. 1,000,000
Visit requested by St. Louis
Chapter/AIA.
Problem of urban pressures on
Forest Park, a large historic
downtown open area.
41
Ft. Smith, Arkansas
11-14 March 1977
Chairperson:
Lawrence P. Melillo, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Louisville, KY
Team Members:
Alastair M. Black, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Wichita Falls, TX
Langdon E. Morris, Jr., AIA,
Architect/Historic Preservation
Specialist,
Denver, CO
Douglas M. Schwartz, AIP,
Urban Planner/Urban
Economist/Economic
Development Specialist,
Atlanta, GA
Population approx. 70,000
Visit requested by the Ft.
Smith Section of the Arkansas
Chapter/AIA.
Problem of a declining central
business district and concern
about its economic future.

42
Lansing, Michigan
4-7 June 1977
Chairperson:
David N. Lewis,
RIBA/AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban
Designer,
Pittsburgh, PA
Team Members:
James Carberry, Journalist,
New York, NY
John P. Clarke, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Trenton, NJ
John E. Cummings, Urban
Economist,
Minneapolis, MN
Peter Hasselman, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
Jerry Pollak, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Los Angeles, CA
Dennis Ryan, Ph.D., AIP,
Urban Designer/Urban
Planner/Urban Design
Educator,
Seattle, WA
Carroll William Westfall,
Ph.D., Architectural
Historian Architectural
Educator,
Chicago, IL
Population approx. 440,000
Visit requested by Mid-
Michigan Chapter/AIA.
Problems of peripheral
shopping centers, suburban
expansion and freeways
draining the traditional
strengths of the city center.

43
West Palm Beach, Florida
20-23 May 1977
Chairperson:
Thomas R. Aidala, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA
Team Members:
Henry Arnold, ASLA
Landscape Architect/Land
Planner,
Princeton, NJ
John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Baton Rouge, LA
Jose A. Gomez-Ibanez,
Ph.D., Transportation
Planner/Mass Transit
Specialist,
Cambridge, MA
Frederick F. Kennedy, Urban
Economist,
McLean, VA
A. Dan Tarlock,
Lawyer/Growth Management
Specialist/Environmental Law
Specialist,
Evanston, IL
Fred Travisano, AIA,
Architect/Urban Development
Administrator,
Trenton, NJ
Population approx. 59,000
Visit requested by Palm Beach
Chapter/AIA.
Decline of a classic small
downtown due to suburban
development and general
disinterest in the area.

44
Portsmouth, Virginia
17-20 June 1977
Chairperson:
Clifford W. Graves, AIA,
Urban Planner/Public
Administrator,
San Diego, CA
Team Members:
Harold K. Bell, Urban
Economist/Architectural
Educator,
Ardsley, NY
William P. Durkee, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Pittsburgh, PA
Alex Eckmann, Transportation
Planner,
Washington, D.C.
John Loss, AIA,
Architect/Architectural
Educator,
Raleigh, NC
Roy Mann, ASLA, Landscape
Architect,
Cambridge, MA
John J. Orofino, Urban
Designer,
Washington, DC
Betty Woody, Ph.D.,
Environmental Sociologist,
Cambridge, MA
Population approx. 100,000
Visit requested by the
Tidewater Chapter/AIA.
Problem of central area decline
and focus for
downtown revitalization.

45
Liberty Park, New Jersey
23-26 September 1977
Chairperson:
Junius J. Champeaux, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Lake Charles, LA
Team Members:
Arlo Braun, Urban Designer,
Philadelphia, PA
Anthony B. Casendino, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Boston, MA
Felicia Reed Clark, AIP, Urban
Planner,
New York, NY
David Cooper, Urban
Development Administrator,
Alexandria, VA
Jacquelyn H. Hall,
Neighborhood Development
Specialist,
Cambridge, MA
Alan Mallach, Urban
Economist/Housing Specialist,
Trenton, NJ
Population approx. 15,000
Visit requested by New Jersey
Society of Architects/AIA and
various local organizations
Problem concerning
development of Liberty State
Park and redevelopment on
city-owned land adjacent
to the park.
46  
Tacoma, Washington  
26-31 October 1977

Chairperson:  
Michael C. Cunningham,  
Ph.D., AIA, Architect/Urban Designer,  
New York, NY

Team Members:  
Garland Anderson, Jr.,  
Developer/Neighborhood Development Specialist,  
Houston, TX  
Elbert T. Bishop,  
Lawyer/Economic Development Specialist,  
Chicago, IL  
William S. Donnell, Real Estate Development Specialist,  
Boston, MA  
Peter M. Hasselman, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA  
C. Todd Heglund, PE,  
Transportation Planner,  
Minneapolis, MN  
Joseph G. Madonna,  
Lawyer/Urban Development Administrator,  
Columbus, OH  
Don Shaw, PE, Waterway and Shipping Specialist,  
Pittsburgh, PA

Population approx. 155,000  
Visit requested by the Tacoma Chapter/AIA.  
Downtown decay and lack of leadership commitment in a healthy industrial and shipping area.

47  
Detroit, Michigan  
June 2-5, 1978

Chairperson:  
Thomas W. Ventulett, FAIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Atlanta, GA

Team Members:  
John Lund Kriken, AIA/AIP,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA  
Constance Perin, Ph.D., Anthropologist,  
Cambridge, MA  
Michael John Pittas, AIP,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Winchester, MA  
Nicholas Quennell, ASLA,  
Landscape Architect,  
New York, NY  
Donald L. Stull, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Boston, MA  
Alan M. Voorhees, AIP/FITE,  
Traffic Engineer/Transportation Planner/Architectural Educator,  
Chicago, IL

Population approx. 53,000  
Visit requested by the Detroit Chapter/AIA.  
Problems of traffic/transportation, city/Parish, and unplanned growth.

48  
Lafayette, Louisiana  
June 2-5, 1978

Chairperson:  
Jerry Pollak, AIA/AIP,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Los Angeles, CA

Team Members:  
Howard S. Bloom, Urban Economist/Transportation Planner,  
Cambridge, MA  
Felicia Reed Clark, AIP, Urban Planner,  
Boston MA  
Lawrence Coffin, ASLA/AIP, Landscape Architect/Urban Planner,  
Washington, D.C.  
Todd Lee, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Cambridge, MA  
Dale H. Levander, Urban Economist,  
Palos Verdes, CA  
Malcolm Misuraca, Lawyer/Growth management Specialist,  
Santa Rosa, CA  
Earl M. Starnes, Ph.D., FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner/Architectural Educator,  
Gainesville, FL

Population approx. 53,000  
Visit requested by the Lafayette Chapter/AIA.  
Problems of traffic/transportation, city/Parish, and unplanned growth.

49  
Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan  
June 23-26, 1978

Chairperson:  
Ben H. Cunningham JR., AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Minneapolis, MN

Team Members:  
Ian Ball, Political Scientist,  
Minneapolis, MN  
Paul Buckhurst, RI/AlA/AIP,  
Architect/Regional Planner,  
New York, NY  
Anthony DiSarcina, PE,  
Transportation Planner,  
Boston, MA  
Edgar Galson, PE,  
Environmental Engineer,  
Syracuse, NY  
Harry Garnham, Landscape Architect,  
College Station, TX  
Norman Hoover, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Houston, TX  
Jim Murray, Urban Economist,  
Boulder, CO

Population approx. 458,000  
Visit requested by the Huron Valley Chapter/AIA.  
Problem of growth pressures and potential. Suggested mechanisms or guidelines for directing and controlling it.

50  
Corpus Christi, Texas  
October 12-16, 1978

Chairperson:  
Jerry Goldberg, AIP, Urban Planner/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:  
James E. Bock, AIP, Urban Planner/Urban Economist/Urban Development Specialist,  
Houston, TX  
Giuliano Fiorezoli, Urban Designer,  
New York, NY  
Alfred W. French, III,  
AIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Planner,  
Minneapolis, MN  
Roger B. Lujan, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Albuquerque, NM  
Lydia Elena Mercado,  
Urban Development Specialist,  
Cambridge, MA  
Jeffrey Prottas, Ph.D.,  
Political Scientist/Planning Educator,  
Cambridge, MA  
R. Marvin Smith,  
Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,  
Chicago, IL

Population approx. 225,000.  
Visit requested by the Corpus Christi Chapter/AIA and Citizens RUDAT of Corpus Christi, Inc.  
Problem was to show how good planning and development strategies could improve the city’s future in the context of present and projected economic, cultural, political and social conditions.
51
Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin
November 2-5, 1978

Chairperson:
Fred Travisano, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Trenton, NJ

Team Members:
David Abramson, AIA,
Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist,
New York, NY
Rita Bamberger,
Transportation Planner,
Washington, DC
William Beyer, Urban Designer,
Minneapolis, MN
Susan Conner,
Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,
Waukegan, IL
Kathleen Kelly, Environmental Planner,
Philadelphia, PA
Felicity Brogden-Olswang,
Ph.D., Architectural Educator,
Milwaukee, WI
R. Terry Schnadelbach,
ASLA, Landscape Architect,
Philadelphia, PA
Edward Whitelaw, Urban Economist,
Eugene, OR

Population approx: Spooner, 2,543; Medford, 4,064
Visit requested by Northwest Wisconsin Chapter/AlA and Northwest Regional Planning Commission.
Problem of downtown revitalization in the small communities throughout the region.

52
Bellaire, Texas
November 10-13, 1978

Chairperson:
Ronald B. Kull, AIA,
Architect/Urban Design Administrator,
Cincinnati, OH

Team Members:
Harold K. Bell, Urban Economist/Architectural Educator,
New York, NY
Beatriz De Winthuysen
Coffin, Landscape Architect,
Washington, DC
Sumner Myers, Transportation Planner,
Washington, DC
G. Gray Plosser, Jr., AIA, Architect/Urban Designer,
Birmingham, AL
Michael D. Sinclair, AIA,
Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,
Boston, MA
Nore V. Winter, Urban Designer,
Denver, CO

Population approx. 20,000
(within the city limits of Houston, Texas.)
Visit requested by Houston Chapter/AlA and the City of Bellaire. Problem of community image, land development and traffic congestion with a focus on the central business district.

53
Laredo, Texas
December 1-4, 1978

Chairperson:
John P. Clarke, AIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Trenton, NJ

Team Members:
Dennis Carlone, Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA
Hermann H. Field, FAIA/AIP, Architect/Urban Designer/Regional Planner,
Shirley, MA
Geoffrey Freeman, AIA/RIBA, Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Mel Gamzon, Urban Economist,
Boston, MA

Bennie M. Gonzales, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Phoenix, AZ
Michael A. Powills, Jr., AICP/PE, Transportation Planner/Traffic Engineer,
Evanston, IL
Edward Sullivan, Growth Management Specialist,
Portland, OR
James A. Vietman, ASLA, Landscape Architect,
Woodlands, TX

Population approx. 75,000
Visit requested by Laredo Chamber of Commerce,
Laredo Section, San Antonio Chapter/AlA.
Problem of deterioration of central business district, unplanned growth, racial issues.

54
Oldham County, Kentucky
December 1-4, 1978

Chairperson:
Thomas R. Aidala, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:
Gordon Clark, Ph.D., Urban
Economist/Residential Specialist,
Cambridge, MA
Rodney Hardy, Developer,
Minneapolis, MN
Randolph Jones, AIA/AIP
Architect/Urban Designer,
Boston, MA
S. Jerome Pratter, AIP,
Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,
St. Louis, MO
Toby Arthur Ross, Ph.D., Environmental Planner/Geographer/Regional Planner,
Petaluma, CA
Lee Swenson, Urban Economist/Social Scientist,
San Francisco, CA

Population approx. 24,000
Visit requested by Central Kentucky Chapter/AlA.
To provide direction for control of rapid growth, especially problems of dislocations resulting from suburbanization.

55
Knoxville, Tennessee
March 23-26, 1979

Chairperson:
Junius J. Champeaux, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Lake Charles, LA

Team Members:
John Andrew Gallery, Urban Development Administrator,
Philadelphia, PA
Dan M. Gatens, Transportation Planner,
Boulder, CO
Percival Goodman, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Frank S. Kelly, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Houston, TX
Alan Malach, Urban
Economist/Housing Specialist,
Philadelphia, PA
Peter C. McCall, Journalist,
Washington, DC
Peter Rothschild, Landscape
Architect,
New York, NY

Population approx. 181,000.
(1970)
Visit requested by East Tennessee Chapter/AlA.
To identify and assess long-range benefits and possible deficiencies resulting from EXPO-82 and their impact on Knoxville’s human environment.
Arch goals for the Centennial

Harrison, next twenty

Planer, Su

Lawyer/Daniel

Pensburgh, Shipping

futer

John McLean, Denver, Neigh borh

Detroit, Des

Washington, DC

Visit Cambridge, MA

Chairperson:

Olympia, Washington

April 20-23, 1979

Chairperson:

Charles F. Redmon, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA

Team Members:

Charles A. Blessing,
FAIA/AICP, Architect/Urban
Designer/Urban Development
Administrator,
Detroit, MI

Shirley A. (Billie) Bramhall,
Neighborhood Development
Specialist

Denver, CO

John K. Haesseler, Urban
Economist,
McLean, VA

Peter M. Hasselman, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA

Dean K. Hunt,
Lawyer/Waterway and
Shipping Specialist,
Pittsburgh, PA

Daniel R. Mandelker,
Lawyer/Growth Management
Specialist,
St. Louis, MO

Sumner Myers, Transportation
Planner,
Washington, DC

Bernard P. Spring, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Harrison, NY

Population approx. 120,000
(1979)

Visit requested by Southwest
Washington Chapter/AIA.

Study growth problems of the
next twenty years and identify
goals for the Centennial
Celebration in 1989.

57

Springfield, Illinois

April 27-30, 1979

Chairpersons:

Mort Karp, AIA,
Architect/Architectural
Educator,
Fayetteville, AR

Langdon E. Morris, JR., AIA,
Architect/ Historic
Preservation Specialist,
Denver, CO

Team Members:

John J. Desmond, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Baton Rouge, LA

William M. Dikis, AIA,
Architect/ Historic Preservation
Specialist,
Des Moines, IA

Fred C. Doolittle,
Lawyer/Urban Economist,
Cambridge, MA

David B. Smith, AICP,
Lawyer/Urban Planner,
Boston, MA

Population approx. 91,000
(1970)

Visit requested by Sangamon
County Section of the Central
Illinois Chapter/AIA.

Define and analyze the city,
the region and, in particular,
the historically significant
central business area and
governmental complexes as
they interact.

58

Kansas City, Missouri

May 29—June 3, 1979

Chairperson:

Ben H. Cunningham JR., AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Minneapolis, MN

Team Members:

William G. Conway, Urban
Economist/Real Estate
Development Specialist,
West Palm Beach, FL

Hermann H. Field, FAIA/AIP,
Architect/Urban Designer/Political Scientist,
Shirley, MA

Lester Gross,
Lawyer/Developer,
Columbia, SC

Bryan Grunwald, AIA/AICP,
Urban Planner/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA

Ernest W. Hutton, JR., AICP,
Urban Planner/Urban Designer,
New York, NY

Sarah LaBelle, AICP,
Transportation Planner,
Argonne, IL

Richard Westmacott, ASLA,
Landscape Architect,
Athens, GA

Population approx. 507,330,
(1970)

Visit requested by Kansas City
Chapter/AIA.

Develop recommendations
and policies which will
enhance growth of Northland
area of Kansas City while
pursuing conservative
financial policies.

59

New Orleans, Louisiana

January 18-21, 1980

Chairperson:

David N. Lewis,
RIBA/FAIA/AICP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Pittsburgh, PA

Team Members:

John Blaine, Arts Association
Executive,
Houston, TX

Lance Jay Brown,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY

Kent Bloomer,
Scul tor/Environmental
Artist/Architectural Educator,
Guilford, CT

Gary C. Johnson, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA

Florence Ladd, Ph.D., Hon.
AIA, Environmental
Psychologist,
Wellesley, MA

Laurie D. Olin, Landscape
Architect/Environmental
Planner,
Philadelphia, PA

Mary Miss,
Scul tor/Environmental Artist,
New York, NY

John M. Woodbridge, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Berkeley, CA

Population approx. 577,000
(1980)

Visit requested by the New
Orleans Chapter/AIA, and the
City of New Orleans.

Assist the City of New Orleans
and its citizens in setting up a
program for action in Duncan
Plaza, the center of a
metropolitan park.

60

Louisville, Kentucky

Feb. 29—March 3, 1980

Chairperson:

Ronald A. Straka, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Boulder, CO

Team Members:

Gordon L. Bringham Urban
Development Administrator,
Boston, MA

Peter H. Brink,
Lawyer/Preservation
Association Executive,
Galveston, TX

William S. Donnell,
Developer,
Chicago, IL

Rodney W. Kelly, Urban
Transportation Administrator,
Dallas, TX

Milton Kotler, Neighborhood
Development
Specialist/Neighborhood
Association Executive,
Washington, DC

Barbara Yanow Litchenstein,
Neighborhood Development
Specialist

Cincinnati, OH

Theodore A. Monacelli, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA

Donald E. Moore, Downtown
Association Executive,
New York, NY

Population approx. 298,000
(1980)

Visit requested by the Central
Kentucky Chapter/AIA, and
the Louisville R/UDAT Steering
Committee.

Recommend a plan and
process to bring the various
factions in the community
together to jointly determine
the future of Louisville’s
Central Business District.
61
Lincoln, Nebraska
March 28-31, 1980

Chairperson:
Felicia Reed Clark, AICP, Urban Planner, Boston, MA

Team Members:
Sinclair Black, AIA, Architect/Architectural Educator, Austin, TX
Allen Gerstenberger, Urban Development Specialist, Boulder, CO
Neal B. Glick, Lawyer, Boston, MA
Kenneth E. Kruckemeyer, Neighborhood Development Specialist, Boston, MA
Margaret Maguire, Recreation Planner, Washington D.C.
David Stea, Ph.D., Planner/Architect, Los Angeles, CA

Population approx. 172,000 (1980)
Visit requested by the Lincoln, Nebraska Chapter/AIA and the Lincoln Radial Reuse Task Force.
Identify the most desirable land use alternatives and development strategies for neighborhood revitalization along the Northwest radial transportation corridor.

62
Hillsboro, Oregon
18-21 April 1980

Chairperson:
Junius J. Champeaux, FAIA, Lake Charles, LA

Team Members:
James E. Bock, AICP, Houston, Texas
James W. Christopher, AIA, Salt Lake City, UT
Christopher G. Costin, Santa Rose, CA
Jeffrey A. Grote, AICP, San Francisco, CA
Kathleen Kelly, Environmental Planner, New York, NY
Carroll William Westfall, Ph.D., Architectural Historian, Chicago, IL

Population approx. 31,000 (1980)
Visit requested by the Portland Chapter/AIA, and the Hillsboro Development Commission.
Examine the changes that have taken place in the recent past, and those expected with the influx of new residents and businesses in the future.

63
Salisbury, Maryland
2-5 May 1980

Chairperson:
Bernard P. Spring, FAIA, Harrison, NY

Team Members:
Gay Crowther, Landscape Architect, Annapolis, MD
Joseph Dennis, Developer, Englewood, FL
Peter Hasselman, AIA, San Francisco, CA
M. David Lee, AIA, Cambridge, MA
Wayne Lemmon, Economist, McLean, VA
Michael Painter, ASLA, San Francisco, CA
Constance Perin, Ph.D., Anthropologist, Cambridge, MA
Charles B. Zucker, Urban Designer/Funding Association Administrator, Washington D.C.

Population approx. 25,000 (1975)
Visit requested by the Boston Society of Architects/AIA, and the United South End/Lower Roxbury Development Corporation.
Stimulate the City of Boston, local business, and resident interest in the redevelopment of the South End/Lower Roxbury commercial corridor.

64
Boston’s South End/Lower Roxbury, Massachusetts
9-12 May 1980

Chairperson:
John P. Clarke, AIA/AICP, Trenton, NJ

Team Members:
Harold K. Bell, Urban Economist/Architectural Educator, New York, NY
Donald Conway, AIA, Architect/Architectural Research Specialist, Los Angeles, CA
Randall K. Fujiki, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Princeton, NJ
Clifford W. Graves, AICP, Urban Planner/Public Administrator, San Diego, CA
Jose J. Maply, AIA, Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist, Washington, DC
Ernest R. Munch, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer/Transportation Planner, Portland, OR
David Vann, Lawyer/Elected Official, Birmingham, AL

Population approx. 70,400 (1980)
Visit requested by the Delaware Society of Architects/AIA.
Study of approaches that will stress communication and public awareness in the development and planning of the Wilmington metropolitan area.
Prepare an urban process, conflict, and outline realistic courses to achieve those goals.

Visit requested by the Kansas Society of Architects/AIA, Topeka Section, and the Topeka Capital City Redevelopment Agency. Respond to the issue of process, conflict, management, and the need for a framework to develop an urban design/development plan.

**67 Missoula, Montana**
**October 17-20, 1980**

Chairperson:  
Thomas R. Aidala, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:  
*Sam J. Burns, Convention  
Center Manager,  
Sacramento, CA  
Roger Holtman, Landscape  
Architect,  
Baltimore, MD  
Norman Kondy, Urban  
Designer,  
San Francisco, CA  
Larry Mattel, Transportation  
Planner,  
Boise, ID  
Ernest Neimi, Urban  
Economist/Economic  
Developer, Eugene, OR  
Thomas Burke Simmons,  
Urban Designer,  
Washington, D.C.

Population approx. 70,000  
(1980)  
Visit requested by the  
Missoula City Spirit Facilities  
Committee.  
Evaluate the feasibility of  
developing a shared facility for  
athletics and recreation, fine  
arts, and conventions.
71
San Bernardino, California
October 9—12, 1981

Chairperson:
Charles F. Redmon, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA

Team Members:
J. C. Boyd, Urban
Development Association
Executive/Elector Official,
Wichita Falls, TX
Philip B. Caton, AICP, Urban
Planner/Housing Specialist,
Trenton, NJ
Bennie M. Gonzales, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Scottsdale, AZ
Jacquelyn H. Hall,
Neighborhood Development
Specialist/Economic
Development Specialist
Atlanta, GA
M. Dale Henson, Urban
Economist/Urban
Development Specialist,
Atlanta, GA
Lawrence Kutnicki,
Architect/Urban Designer,
New York, NY
Ernest R. Munch, AIA,
Architect/Urban
Designer/Transportation
Planner,
Portland, OR

Population approx. 102,000
(1970)
Visit requested by Inland
Chapter/AIA and the City
Revitalization Committee.
To define the city's overall
image and to make
recommendations for the
development and preservation
of the downtown core.

72
Lynn Massachusetts
Jan. 28—Feb. 1, 1982

Chairperson:
Charles Davis, AIA,
Architect/Housing Specialist,
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:
Harold K. Bell, Urban
Economist/Architectural
Educator,
New York, NY
John P. Clarke, AIA/AICP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Trenton, NJ
Charles F. Harper, AIA,
Architect/Downtown
Association Specialist,
Wichita Falls, TX
Rick Kuner, AICP,
Transportation Planner,
Chicago, IL
Phyllis Myers, Neighborhood
Development Specialist,
Washington, DC

Population approx. 78,000
(1980)
Visit requested by the Boston
Society of Architects/AIA and
a public/private non-profit
corporation, "Step Up With
Lynn."
Following a devastating
downtown fire, the city sought
guidance in rebuilding,
defining its special character,
and inventorying its stock of
solid buildings. The team also
recommended shaping
alliances among the city,
citizens, and the business
community to begin reviewing
available resources and to
seek investments in the
community. (An earlier R/DAT
visited Lynn in 1969.)

73
Jackson Hole, Wyoming
March 19-22, 1982

Chairperson:
Rai Y. Okamoto, FAIA/AICP,
Architect/Urban Designer,
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:
Michael L. Horst, Resort
Development Specialist,
Cambridge, MA
Dinwiddie Lampton, Jr., Land
Owner/Manager,
Louisville, KY
Malcolm A. Misuraca,
Lawyer/Growth Management
Specialist,
Santa Rosa, CA
Toby Arthur Ross, Ph.D.,
Environmental
Planner/Geographer/Regional
Planner,
Petaluma, CA
Dennis M. Ryan, Ph.D., AICP,
Urban Planner/Urban
Designer/Urban Design
Educator,
Seattle, WA

Population approx. 9,344
(1980)
Visit requested by the
Wyoming Chapter/AIA
Adjacent to one of the
country's greatest scenic and
recreational attractions, the
city was concerned about
hazard growth, particularly
the development of vacation
and second home subdivisions
on prime scenic and range
land. The team responded by
analyzing patterns of growth
for the remaining open land in
the valley and recommending
procedures to deal with
development pressures.

74
Healdsburg, California
October 8-11, 1982

Chairperson:
R. Terry Schnadelbach,
ASLA, Landscape Architect,
New York, NY

Team Members:
William Lamont Jr., AICP,
Urban Planner,
Boulder, CO
Ernest Niemi, Urban
Economist/Economic
Development Specialist,
Eugene, OR
David Stea, Ph.D.,
Environmental/Sociologist/
Architectural Educator,
Milwaukee, WI
Milo H. Thompson, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Minneapolis, MN
Raymond A. Trujillo, AIA,
Architect,
Albuquerque, NM

Population approx. 7,000
Visit requested by the City of
Healdsburg
The team was asked to assist
the community in its effort to
understand and deal with
several significant economic
trends and critical planning
issues. Recommendations
were made to respond to these
in ways that take advantage of
the opportunities offered but
without sacrificing the city's
small town character and
quality of life.

75
Franklin, Virginia
April 15-18, 1983

Chairperson:
Sinclair Black, AIA,
Architect/Architectural
Educator,
Austin, TX

Team Members:
Charles Brewer, AIA,
Architect/Urban
Designer/Architectural
Educator,
Columbus, OH
Giorgio Cavaglioti, FAIA,
Architect/Historic Preservation
Specialist,
New York, NY
Kenneth Danter, Urban
Economist/Real Estate
Development Specialist
Columbus, OH
Larry Gibson, ASLA,
Landscape Architect/Urban
Designer,
Aurora, CO
Lane Johnson, Ph.D.,
Geographer,
Swarthmore, PA
Avis C. Vidal, AICP, Urban
Planner/Planning Educator,
Cambridge, MA

Population approx. 7,300
Visit requested by the
Tidewater Chapter/AIA and the
City of Franklin.
The team examined factors
affecting the commercial
activity surrounding Main
Street in order to increase the
apparent and real intensity of
downtown use as the
identifiable business and social
core of the city.
Chairperson: Charles B. Zucker, Urban Administrator, Portland, Oregon

Team Members:
- William B. Fleissig, Urban Economist/Economic Development Specialist, Beverly Hills, CA
- M. Dale Henson, Urban Economist/Economic Development Specialist, Des Moines, IA
- Russell V. Keune, AIA, Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist, Lawrence, KS
- James Pettinari, Urban Designer/Waterfront Development Specialist, Eugene, OR
- Robert Sommer, Ph.D., Environmental Psychologist/Architectural Educator, Davis, CA

Population approx. 380,000
Visit requested by Portland Chapter/AIA.
The team assisted in evaluating the potentials of an older industrial/warehouse area northwest of the central business district and developed options and recommendations for transportation, commercial, industrial, and preservation improvements.

Chairperson: William G. Conway, Urban Economist/Real Estate Development Specialist, Newport Beach, California

Team Members:
- Philip B. Caton, AICP, Urban Planner/Urban Development Specialist, Portland, OR
- Thomas Laging, AIA, Architect/Urban Design Educator, Lincoln, NE
- Ernest R. Munch, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Portland, OR
- R. Martin Smith, Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist, Chicago, IL
- Thomas J. Sykes, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Margate, NJ
- Jacqueline Claire Vischer, Ph.D., Environmental Psychologist, Ottawa, ON, Canada

Population approx. 65,312
Visit requested by the Orange County Chapter/AIA.
The team studied an older, beach-oriented part of town and addressed traffic and parking problems, impact of tourists and visitors, redevelopment pressures, restrictive zoning, land scarcity, and lack of overall coordinated planning.

Chairperson: Charles Davis, AIA, Architect/Housing Specialist, Sarasota, Florida

Team Members:
- E. Larry Fonts, AICP, Urban Planner/Downtown Association Executive, Atlanta, GA
- Arnold D. Hirvela, PE, Traffic Engineer/Transportation Planner, Alliance, OH
- Mark Johnson, ASLA, Landscape Architect, Denver, CO
- Alan Mallach, Urban Economist/Housing Specialist, Linwood, NJ
- Daniel R. Mandelker, Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist, St. Louis, MO
- Terry Stephens, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, San Francisco, CA
- Ronald A. Straka, FAIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Boulder, CO

Population approx. 39,000
Visit requested by the City of Sarasota and the Gulf Coast Chapter/AIA.
The team analyzed the assets and development trends of the city and formulated goals and implementation strategies for overall land use and development, including the conversation and planned development of the bayfront, downtown, and neighborhood revitalization and the creation of a public/private partnership for implementation.

Chairperson: David Lewis, RIBA/FAIA/AICP, Architect/Urban Designer, Niagara Falls, New York

Team Members:
- Kurt P. Alverson, Tourism Development Specialist, Annapolis, MD
- Eric Ernstberger, ASLA, Land Planner/Landscape Architect, Muncie, in
- Michael L. Horst, Resort Development Specialist, San Francisco, CA
- Sumner Myers, Transportation Planner, Washington, DC
- Patrice Yager Nelson, Economic Development Specialist, Philadelphia, PA
- Peter Sollogub, AIA, Architect/Urban Designer, Cambridge, MA

Population approx. 90,000 (1980)
Visit requested by the City of Niagara Falls.
With a declining industrial base but located at one of the natural wonders of the world, the city requested assistance in identifying its unique opportunities, capitalizing on the economic potential of the tourism industry, and developing an implementation strategy for both economic and neighborhood revitalization. A concurrent program of the Ontario Society of Architects (Community Assist for an Urban Study—CAUSE) was working with the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario, thus allowing an international exchange of information and recommendations.
Regional population approx. 500,000 (1980)

Visit requested by a public/private not-for-profit organization, “Tucson Tomorrow.”

With the prospect of rapid population growth within a delicate desert environment, assistance was requested to increase the effectiveness of comprehensive planning process, to encourage the City of Tucson and Pima County to cooperate more fully, to explore innovative development and revitalization strategies, and to suggest ways of protecting the fragile desert ecology while accommodating future needs. This R/UDAT was the first united effort of the Urban Land Institute (ULI), through their Panel Advisory Service program, and the AIA.

Population approx. 5,000 (1980)

Visit requested by the Howell Area Chamber of Commerce. Facing a combination of declining population, increasing market competition, and industrial unemployment, the community requested assistance in planning for downtown revitalization, identifying implementation strategies (including competitive marketing), and management of change.

Population approx. 7,000,000

Visit requested by the San Francisco Chapter/AIA and the City of San Francisco. The area south of Market Street, adjacent to the city’s central business district, is characterized by light industrial, non-retail commercial, transportation, and housing uses. Pressures to expand the intensive office/commercial character of the downtown into the area in a piecemeal fashion were reviewed by the team and recommendations were made that addressed this issue, reviewed proposed development projects, and suggested more sensitive alternatives. In particular, the team focussed on defining edge conditions, humanizing the waterfront, controlling office/commercial expansion, and working with indigenous residents and land uses.
83
Albuquerque, New Mexico
November 15-16, 1984

Chairperson:
Clifford W. Graves, AICP,
Urban Planner/County Administrator,
San Diego, CA

Team Members:
Michael A. Dobkins, AIA,
Architect/Urban Design Administrator,
Birmingham, AL
Craig Halvorson, ASLA,
Landscape Architect,
Birmingham, AL
Rick Kuner, AICP,
Transportation Planner,
Chicago, IL
W. Kirby Lockard, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Design Educator,
Tuscon, AZ
John Stebbins, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA
Louis Viramontes, AIA,
Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist,
San Antonio, TX

Population approx. 300,000
Visit requested by the Albuquerque Chapter/AIA and the City of Albuquerque.
Central Avenue, or “old” Route 66, has long been the main street of Albuquerque linking activity nodes which include the fairgrounds, university, downtown, and historic Old Town. The purpose of the R/UDAT visit was to upgrade the physical appearance and perceptual image of traditional corridor through the city.

84
Carlsbad, New Mexico
November 15-19, 1984

Chairperson:
James W. Christopher, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Salt Lake City, UT

Team Members:
James E. Bock, AICP, Urban Planner/Urban Development Specialist,
Houston, TX
Alice Gray, Economic Development Administrator,
Boston, MA
Charles Harper, AIA
Architect/Elected Official,
Wichita Falls, TX
James M. O’Neal, AIA,
Architect/Growth Management Specialist,
Denver, CO
Joe Stubblefield, AIA,
Architect/Historic Preservation Specialist,
San Antonio, TX
Joel H. Sachs,
Lawyer/Growth Management Specialist,
White Plains, NY
Avis C. Vidal, AICP, Urban Planner/Planning Educator,
Boston, MA

Population approx. 30,000
Visit requested by the city of Carlsbad.
Carlsbad is an isolated community long dependent on local extractive industries. Recently, it has grown as a tourism, agri-business, and retirement center. The erosion of basic industry and the untapped potential of tourism were the issues faced by the team and recommendations were made for downtown revitalization, residential area upgrading, and tourism development.

85
Anderson, Indiana
March 8-11, 1985

Chairperson: David Stea,
Ph.D., Environmental Sociologist/Architectural Educator,
Santa Fe, NM

Team Members:
W. Russell Ellis, Ph.D., Behavioral Scientist/Architectural Educator,
Berkley, CA
Michael E. Gleason, Ph.D.,
Political Scientist/Public Administration Educator,
Bloomington, IN
Alex Herrera,
Historic Preservation Administrator/Architectural Historian,
New York, NY
Dwight Hoover, Ph.D.,
Historian/Private History Specialist,
Muncie, IN
Gary C. Johnson, AIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Cambridge, MA
Victor Walker, ASLA,
Landscape Architect,
Belmont, MA
Robert Coldwell Wood, Ph.D.,
Urban Development Administrator/Political Scientist,
Middletown, CT

Population approx. 65,000
Visit requested by the Madison County Council of Governments.
A medium sized industrial city, Anderson was hit hard by the economic shifts of the 1970’s. With conditions improving (if not rebounding) in the 1980’s, community betterment became the issue. The R/UDAT focused on improvement of the 7.5 mile White River corridor that winds through several residential areas and the central business district. Recommendations included improving the river as a recreational and visual amenity, historic preservation within the downtown and adjacent older neighborhoods, and working more closely with citizen organizations and minority community.

86
Bethel Island, California
June 21-24, 1985

Chairperson:
Junius J. Champeaux, FAIA,
Architect/Urban Designer,
Lake Charles, LA

Team Members:
David W. Ames, Developer,
Hilton Head Island, SC
Stanley Keniston, AIA,
Architect/Energy Specialist,
San Diego, CA
David E. Lourie, PE,
Geotechnic Engineer,
Westlake, LA
Richard Madsen, Ph.D.,
Environmental Sociologist,
San Diego, CA
Alan Mallach, Urban Economist/Housing Specialist,
Roosevelt, NJ

Area population approx. 2,400
Visit requested by the Bethel Island Area Association.
Located on a riverine island with severe geological and hydrological constraints to development, the community of Bethel Island was concerned with growth management and environmental conservation techniques and the planning process necessary to develop and implement these. Recommendations for development standards, incorporation alternatives, and an areawide plan were presented.
**87**

**Jacksonville, Florida**  
**September 26-30, 1985**

Chairperson:  
Charles Zucker, Urban  
Design/Funding Association  
Administrator,  
Washington, DC

Team Members:  
Leopold Adler, II, Historic  
Preservation Specialist,  
Savannah, GA  
Charles A. Alden, ASLA,  
Landscape Architect/Land  
Planner,  
Miami, FL  
James Greenburg, AIA,  
Architect/Energy Conservation  
Specialist,  
Princeton, NJ  
M. Dale Henson, Urban  
Economist/Economic  
Development Specialist/Real  
Estate Development Specialist,  
Atlanta, GA  
Michael E. Johnson, AIA,  
Architect/Real Estate  
Development Specialist,  
Atlanta, GA  
James Mills,  
Human Services Planner,  
St. Petersburg, FL  
Michael John Pittas, Hon.  
AIA, Urban Designer/Urban  
Design Educator,  
Los Angeles, CA  
Arthur Skolnik, AIA,  
Architect/Historic Preservation  
Specialist,  
San Diego, CA

Visit requested by the  
Jacksonville Chapter AIA and a  
coalition of organizations  
representing the Springfield  
neighborhood.  
The R/UDAT focused on  
revitalization issues being  
faced by the neighborhood of  
Springfield — a historic suburb  
and now a part of the city of  
Jacksonville — located  
adjacent to the city’s central  
business district.  
Recommendations were made  
for neighborhood  
organizations, historic  
preservation, housing  
rehabilitation and commercial  
revitalization for this racially  
integrated low/moderate  
income neighborhood.

**88**

**Boise, Idaho**  
**October 11-14, 1985**

Chairperson:  
Charles Davis, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA

Team Members:  
Richard Beatty, Transportation  
Planner,  
Newburyport, MA  
Frank Gray, Urban Planner,  
Boulder, CO  
Thomas Laging, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Design  
Educator,  
Lincoln, NE  
Theodore A. Monacelli, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Cambridge, MA  
Reginald Owens, AICP, Urban  
Planner/Urban Economist,  
Tempe, AZ  
William S. Saslow, Developer,  
Denver, CO

Population approx. 540,000  
Visit requested by the  
Jacksonville Chapter AIA and a  
coalition of organizations  
representing the Springfield  
neighborhood.  
The R/UDAT focused on  
revitalization issues being  
faced by the neighborhood of  
Springfield — a historic suburb  
and now a part of the city of  
Jacksonville — located  
adjacent to the city’s central  
business district.  
Recommendations were made  
for neighborhood  
organizations, historic  
preservation, housing  
rehabilitation and commercial  
revitalization for this racially  
integrated low/moderate  
income neighborhood.

**89**

**Generic R/UDAT,**  
**San Francisco, CA**  
**October 17-20, 1985**

Chairperson:  
Ben H. Cunningham, AIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Houston, TX

Team Members:  
Robert Calathorpe, AIA,  
Architect/Energy Conservation  
Specialist,  
Sausalito, CA  
W. Paul Farmer, AICP, Urban  
Planner,  
Pittsburgh, PA  
Peter M. Hasselman, FAIA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
San Francisco, CA  
Robert Issacson, PE, Civil  
Engineer/Neighborhood  
Activist,  
San Francisco, CA  
David N. Lewis,  
AIA/AICP/RIBA,  
Architect/Urban Designer,  
Pittsburgh, PA  
William F. Masterson, Urban  
Economist/Real Estate  
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