

PARTICIPATORY DESIGN, TIME AND CONTINUITY:

The Case of Place

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Submitted to the Departments of Urban Studies and Planning and Architecture on May 30, 1978, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degrees of Master of City Planning and Master of Architecture in Advanced Studies.

Abstract

This thesis considers the influence of "time" and "continuity" on citizen participation efforts and suggests ways in which participatory planning models might be altered to the benefit of citizen involvement. The underlying assumption is that both "time" and "continuity" influence the process and product of planning and compromise the involvement of citizens in decisionmaking.

Time, or the lack of time, influences the disposition of resources, both human and non-human, necessary for a project to be realized. The passing of time works against commitment amongst participants to the realization of a project, increases the volatility of resources, and promotes new relationships and conditions which invalidate information used in decisionmaking.

Continuity, or the lack thereof, can compromise the relevance and effectiveness of a participatory process through changing membership. And continuity is an important factor in relating the product of a planning process to a specific situation - to a place.

Three suggestions are offered as ways to reduce the influence of "time" and "continuity" and increase the influence of citizens in decisionmaking. They are: 1) Strengthen the role of citizens in the decision stages of "programming" and "management"; 2) Introduce "conditions" or "references" as an aid to decisionmaking; and 3) Organize decisionmaking around an "adaptive" implementation strategy.

Thesis Supervisor: Kevin Lynch
Title: Professor of City Design

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My interest in participatory planning began ten years ago when, as a freshman in architecture school, I ventured into a storefront advocacy office in the Hill district of Pittsburgh. Some people tell me I should have learned my lesson after the office was burned out - but I didn't. Since then, I have managed to pursue my interest through professional work and academic study, directed by a few people who have had a great influence on the work that I have done.

In particular I owe a debt of gratitude to David Lewis with whom I was able to work for four years.

More recently, discussions with Giancarlo DiCarlo, Donlyn Lyndon and Peter Smithson while I attended the ILAUD conference in Urbino, Italy last year, motivated me to write much of what is in this thesis. Kevin Lynch was most helpful in deciphering my early thoughts; with his direction, issues became much clearer. Tom Nutt-Powell and Tunney Lee helped clarify many of the points I make.

To have gone through the last three years at M.I.T. would not have been as pleasurable were it not for the many friends I made. And on leaving it is good to know Julie will be leaving with me.

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INTRODUCTION - SETTING THE STAGE

The myth was seductive and readily embraced. For decades the Modern Movement in architecture and city design influenced the form of cities and towns around the world. It still does. The Movement provided an alternative based on reason, technology and a simplistic social view to the seemingly haphazard accumulation of buildings and people. In place of blight and social disorder, the Modern Movement was to bring order to the city and consequently to its inhabitants.

The wealth of industry was to be equally distributed to bring middleclass affluence to all. The slums of the poor were to be replaced by high density towers which freed the land for public use. The automobile would provide access to amenities throughout the city. The dignity of human life would be restored.

Government institutionalized the Movement which easily succumbed to regulations, bureaucracies and predictable budgets. And political power over cities and the lives of thousands of its inhabitants was concentrated in the hands of only a few decisionmakers. Architects and planners found themselves working for extremely powerful public and private clients who could assemble large quantities of land and capital.

Increasingly, decisions about what course of action to take were based on data which represented people in groups with characteristics deviating from a population "norm". Theories and methodologies for planning and change drew on the emerging field of social science. Consequent development strategies belied acceptance of a philosophy of "physical determinism". The belief was that through improving physical conditions of the city, social and economic improvement would naturally follow.

And so by the sixties there was urban renewal removing huge swaths of "blighted" buildings. Urban renewal was to be the massive surgery which would restore health to ailing communities. They would be rebuilt according to the canons of modern architecture - beautiful buildings and public spaces were to breathe life into old industrial cities and provide hope and opportunity for the residents trapped there.

But Utopia was unattainable. Rather clearance seemed to further exacerbate the cities' problems through removal of low-income housing, the displacement of jobs and finally the politicization of residents. Even in places where new buildings were realized they promoted wholesale disruption of the urban fabric. Hope turned to anger as citizens fought destruction of their homes and organized to block renewal projects everywhere.

Today communities face the same physical, social and economic problems brought on by neglect. But rather than looking only to the future, they also look to the past to understand how they ended up in this predicament and why it continues. They derive strength and direction by looking to family, community and ethnic history and by seeking to identify the forces which have historically restrained and exploited them.

For the architect and planner this new awareness promotes a very different approach to perceiving and planning for the needs of communities. Whereas the professional has spent decades perfecting a "mass produced" architecture in both quantity and style to be erected anywhere in the world, he is now being told that such architecture promotes a false sense of social unification and cultural homogeneity.

Rather he should look to each community with its activities and buildings to understand how people live and identify with the place and manipulate it to meet their various needs. In each place there is a wealth of knowledge, expertise and insight to be gained from the people and their traditions to direct the professional in his work.

The provision of new facilities and services for people is not enough. Throughout the past century, since the poor became institutionalized as a necessary consequence of industrialization, there have been paternalistic attempts to

help them. They range from George Pullman's new city outside Chicago built in the 1880's to house his workers to Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis.

Pullman provided every amenity his workers could want, including their houses. But just ten years later they revolted - they wanted to own some part of their future and of the future of their town. The Supreme Court made Pullman divest himself of everything not directly required for industrial production.

And the dynamiting of the Pruitt Igoe public housing project in 1972, just twenty years after it was constructed was for similar reasons. The people living there were alienated from the rest of the city, not just by distance but by the housing type and the lifestyle they were forced to assume. Residents owned nothing and had no allegiance to the place. They took their frustrations out on the buildings.

The message is simply that people, no matter how poor, need the opportunity to be able to invest time and care in their surroundings. They want to participate with others in making a community that they can identify with and become committed to supporting. They want ways to build equity, both financial and emotional, in their living and working places, and to be able to influence and identify with changes within their domain.

It took the outrage of the sixties to move government to decentralized decisionmaking, and an attempt to reduce the separation between citizens and political and economic power. Citizens demanded that decisions being made about their future and their community be open to public scrutiny and debate. They rejected the notion of bureaucratic planning with its centralized and seemingly secret decisionmaking. They rejected the professional and the technocrat as all-knowing.

Instead they called for a return to the basic principles of democratic political theory, to "direct democracy", as evidenced in the New England town meeting with its mechanisms of decisionmaking, social control and conflict resolution. Yet ten years later it is difficult to assess what benefits the poor and disenfranchised have gained.

Undoubtedly the concept of advocacy has been co-opted into ongoing public planning. But that doesn't mean there have been any moves to integrate pluralistic values. Rather planning is still rife with middleclass values although a little tempered now if only because proposed actions are open to public scrutiny.

Nevertheless, the mood amongst professionals is changing. There is a recognition that cities are not made in the same way as buildings. Rather the city is an accretion of large and small decisions made by many people over many centuries.

The process of participatory planning, as well as providing political leverage, is an attempt on a larger scale to emulate this historic pattern of change. As such it is "place specific", responding to the particular characteristics of a place and its people. The success of a new project rests with it immediately being recognized and accepted by the community.

The goal of community participation is that the experiences, talents, ideas, knowledge and insight of neighborhood residents should be an integral part of the planning and administration of the place. The central assumption is that the impact of neighborhood residents on the planning process will result in a more relevant, sensitive and effective plan.

This thesis considers what that goal means given the interests represented and the constraints imposed on the planning process. It is not clear that residents are able to participate, or even want to, in many of the decisions taken on behalf of a plan.

The participatory process itself imposes many constraints on the resident, setting guidelines within which decision-making must operate and assuming competence, commitment and an ability to articulate need. The influence of time on participatory planning, in making decisions for the future

and adjusting to changing circumstances, has important consequences for continuity both of participants and information which must be considered in the design of participatory models.

While not specifically proposing a new participatory model, this thesis makes several suggestions as to how citizen involvement can be strengthened in decisionmaking and how some of the influences of time and continuity on planning and managing large-scale projects might be controlled. The collection and use of information and the structuring of the negotiation process places increased emphasis on the role of the resident in decisionmaking, and on the "place" itself as providing a basis for decisionmaking and a means to understand the consequences of change.

This thesis is organized under the following chapters:

1) Who Participates and Why?

An overview of the different actors involved in the planning and development process, and the restraints they operate under - whether real or imagined.

2) The Eleven Decision Stages of Building

The life of a building is characterized as transcending eleven decision stages. The roles of different actors in each stage are presented to illustrate their

influence over the process of development. Opportunities for citizen involvement in the decision stages are discussed, and those stages of particular importance to continuing citizen influence over development are identified.

3) The Dynamic of Time and Continuity

The influence of the passing of time on project planning is discussed from the perspectives of reduced participant and resource commitments and changing information and circumstances. Continuity of membership in decision-making and the need to absorb new information are posed as overriding problems encountered in large-scale planning.

4) Three Ways to Promote Responsive Planning

Three suggestions as to how participatory planning models might be modified to increase the role of citizens in decisionmaking while reducing the influence of time and lack of continuity.

WHO PARTICIPATES AND WHY?

Ostensibly the intent of a participatory process is to include those persons who stand to benefit or suffer as a consequence of development. But that does not mean that participants have equal decisionmaking power. The circumstances surrounding the involvement of different interest groups, or actors, enables them to influence and leverage favorable decisions in the structure and orientation of the process, just as they can for the project under discussion.

The disposition of a process is dependent upon the resolution and sublimation of individual orientations towards a commonly shared perception of what is the best interest. In this section some issues are discussed which profoundly influence the terms and conditions under which a process operates.

Actors are stereotyped to the extent of playing out a role in support of the general interests they represent. The creation of new participatory models must necessarily take into consideration the differences among actors, and the limitations and opportunities inherent in their roles.

Recent Motivations Behind Participatory Planning

In the late sixties, the government instituted a require-

ment that community approval was necessary before a project qualified for federal funding. It was a weak prod at developers to make them show their plans before building began. It was also a move to co-opt growing citizen protests against urban renewal planning.

Nevertheless, it was a foot in the door for community interests. A political base and a point of leverage was established whereby the community could negotiate to have particular needs met by the developer and the city in return for project approval. Advocacy on behalf of particular issues became an important tool for communities in order to sway some of the benefits accruing from development in their direction.

For each project the developer and the city had to reach a compromise with the community. The federal government wanted to see results of participatory planning quickly. The city had probably already cleared land for redevelopment, and had invested money in new infrastructure. The developer had money invested in planning and design and would not be able to keep the financial package together too long. Such crisis-motivated participation was typical of early attempts at advocacy planning.

Planners and architects were consumed by the political ideal of participatory planning. They began to recognize past mistakes and the limitations of their specialized tools.

They saw participation as a way out. Planning was now to be negotiated between many interests carried on in the open rather than by a few people behind closed doors.

More recently states have adopted "sunshine laws" whereby the discussions of various public boards and councils indeed have to be public. It is a move back to the traditional politics of the town meeting.

Today large-scale planning in cities is rarely undertaken without there being representation from different interest groups. The Queensgate II Town Center* in Cincinnati, a multi-use project planned in the early seventies, had a central task force which included a wide range of interests - some representing activities to be located in the Center, others just observers who wanted to comment on particular plans as they evolved. A partial list of participants includes the usual city departments concerned with different aspects of planning and management, representatives of the Mayor, several bankers, representatives of public institutions including the Music Hall and public television station, of six universities and colleges, of the police, a couple of religious denominations, local business and community groups, ethnic and cultural organizations, and just ordinary citizens.

* Urban Design Associates, Queensgate II Town Center Urban Design Report: March 1971 - July 1975, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1976. See Appendix A.

Since everyone who was to have some role to play in the development and use of the project was sitting in one place at one time, questions could be answered immediately, commitments made to provide special facilities, sources and restrictions on funding made known and what things were more important to do before other things.

Not only were plans made during these meetings, but people were informed of different points of view and educated about the workings of the city. They could debate and argue with bankers and chastize the Parks Department. And they could go home and explain to their families and friends just what was being discussed about the future of their neighborhood and the things that might be done to help solve its problems.

Outcomes of a Participatory Process

The possible outcomes are as varied as the range of interests represented. Agreement on a development program is the hoped for result. But failure to reach agreement is also sometimes a result. This can lead to a change of developer or perhaps the realization by each side that a project at this time and place is not possible.

Development plans can politicize a community around

issues, some real and some imagined. They can lead to community frustration and apathy if the process of planning is endless or easily bogged down. Or it can give rise to enough political pressure to change a city agency. If a community feels it is getting nowhere with a developer, they may instead create their own development corporation.

There is no such thing as a "stable" participatory process. So long as there is negotiation about the value of what one actor puts into the development and what another expects to get back, there will always be tension.

Initially participants negotiate a program of activities the project will include, and a set of conditions which preface acceptance by each side. The developer wants some amount of rentable space of different kinds. The community wants space for meetings and a park at the corner. They also want 30% of the construction jobs to go to minority contractors, and for the general contractor to hire 20 residents as apprentices. Local shopowners want first refusal on commercial space, and assurance that a department store will not move in. Without these assurances they vow not to sell the five shops presently on the site. And so the conditions go.

The next stage of a typical process is the prioritization of each activity and the phasing of the project. There is more negotiation, this time about what is more important to build before something else. The developer wants the

rentable space first so that he can get a return on his investment. The community wants the park right away to hide the mess of construction. The shopowners want their existing shops to be left standing until the new shops are ready for occupancy.

Management of the project may be discussed. If the development goes ahead, residents want it to be a responsible member of their community. They want guarantees that problems will be seen to immediately, that area groups have priority over the use of space for their meetings, and that a management board will be established with community membership. They want to be appraised of any plans to sell the building or otherwise modify or add to it.

Topics of Discussion and the Time-Frames of Actors

Along with discussion of the specifics of a project, a participatory process invariably brings to light the different plans of each actor - some short-range and others long-range. In supporting development the city will relate it to their long-term plans. They will talk of the changing dynamics of the city over the past decade, with a loss of low skill jobs and a return of young professional residents.

They may say that the project does not dislocate any existing businesses or residences, that it provides for vacant land to get back on the tax role, and that it will set a precedent for reinvestment in the inner city. The city's goals are not all long-range though. In fact they are perhaps more medium-range in that the city administration would like to see the project realized during its four year term. It would be a good campaign issue with which to woo poor inner city residents.

The federal government might also have both medium and long-range interests in the project. They may see it as a pilot for similar undertakings in other cities. Or they may view the project as a new trend that could signal a changing attitude amongst business to move just outside the downtown core. A government response might be to further stimulate the trend and to broaden the possible impacts to help low-income residents with jobs and the like.

A developers interests are in the short to medium range. He will invest some money to initiate a planning study and schematic design, but if he does not get a good reaction from community leaders or strong support from the city by way of politicking and land cost write down, he may decide to back out.

Beyond that, he is concerned about securing his investment in the project and providing a good return to investors.

Once he makes an investment he is committed to staying for at least a few years. Until the project stabilizes and is returning a good income he can't sell it profitably.

Public institutions can play a kind of advocacy role in an area, promoting to stabilize or destabilize the community around them. As solid financial bodies they are able to wield both financial and political power and influence local government and developers in their actions. In the Queensgate project in Cincinnati, the combined influence of the trusts supporting the Cincinnati Symphony and the educational television station were able to promote a development plan for the area with their two institutions as the focal points. A consequence of the plan was a commitment by the City to provide funds to upgrade much of the attractive but dilapidated housing in the vicinity.

And in Pittsburgh, grants from several institutions and foundations enabled creation of a low-interest revolving loan fund under the auspices of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation*. Loans initially went to the rehabilitation of six-square blocks of houses in a poor section of the city, built around 1840. The low-interest loans paid for improvements to be made that brought the buildings up to

* Tony Wrenn and Elizabeth Mulloy, eds., America's Forgotten Architecture, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, 1976, p.246.

code and restored their beautiful facades without displacing residents or drastically increasing rents. The fund was then put to work in other communities around the City.

In these instances public institutions had the foresight to recognize the imminent loss of some valuable examples of period architecture unique to the City. At the same time plans for their restoration took into account the social and economic limitations of present owners and occupants. There are doubtless many other instances of institutions using their influence to remove people and buildings considered inappropriate as neighbors. But on the whole, institutions are beginning to recognize the social imperatives that go along with their cultural responsibilities.

Community interests can range from the immediacy of day-to-day survival to the potential benefits of proposed development. What they see in a project is opportunity and hope - immediate opportunities for construction employment, and hope that if successful this renewal could lead to more investment.

A project provides a chance to leverage concessions and agreements from the developer and the city. But communities are also very cautious about new plans. They have been "burned" before with empty promises and unfulfilled expectations. They have seen renewal do more to destroy their spirit and their communities than any of the day-to-day

problems ever did.

Community groups take participatory planning very seriously - perhaps more so than do other actors. They expect firm commitments to be made and respected by all sides. Negotiating is to be in good faith. It is not that a developer is going to build in a community, but that the community is going to allow the developer to build,

Community representatives take compliance with negotiated agreements as their responsibility to uphold and for the developer to uphold or even a new owner if the developer sells. Experience has shown participants that a change in owner can soon negate all that they worked for. From their standpoint the agreement is transferable to each and every owner throughout the life of the building.

Business interests, shop owners and the like, look for renewal to provide a stable market. They want to build a clientele that will assure a steady income. Renewal is supportive of this end. The shop owner figures improvement of the area will help his business, and that a new appearance, new street, sidewalks and parking will attract new customers. A move into one of the new commercial spaces would enable him to change the image of his business and so provide an advantage over competitors. Some of the activities promoted in the renewal scheme might attract more people into his area.

The conventional wisdom goes something like "a healthy shopping area is a sign of a healthy community". Business accordingly is able to negotiate with some authority, claiming that support of area businessmen and neighborhood improvements will better their image, promote more business and so more jobs. The local shop owner is often one of the few local businessmen surviving in a poor area, and he feels there is some obligation to support him as part of renewal efforts.

Who Controls What: Leveraging Resources

Each actor has some leverage in the participatory process by virtue of control over at least one of the resources considered essential for the project to proceed. The negotiation over use and worth of each of these resources is the underlying rationale for participatory planning.

The resources that each actor brings to the project are well known. The developer brings management skill, the city brings financial incentives and perhaps land ownership, the financier brings his money and the community brings political influence through their numbers.

The leveraging of different interests and the setting of relative values is the first part of the process. The second part focuses on building a plan that fulfills the

needs of each actor; one that they can agree upon and pursue with enough commitment to ensure its realization.

Reaching agreement and at the same time securing commitment is the trickiest part of negotiations. The dynamics of group pressure are brought to bear on the individual to acquiesce in the face of growing agreement. The prevailing psychology pits one's own interests against those of the group.

Reaching agreement is linked to a commitment which may include risking individual resources or reputation. The stakes on the table are high. Negotiating is, in its most basic sense, a game of one-upsmanship.

Orientation of Different Actors

The actors bring with them a sense of what they consider the purpose of the process to be. This sense derives from the kinds of work they do and the restraints they operate under. Each actor has a very different outlook on the opportunities inherent in development, and the strategies he must pursue in order to maximize benefits.

Some actors are "goal" or "performance" oriented in wanting the process to establish a set of conditions or guidelines which development must meet. This attitude is

best represented by community groups and the government. For them the project can mean many things more than simply the realization of a building. Performance guidelines would allow the project to be realized in a number of ways so long as it met a set of criteria. These criteria would take the form of design guidelines for activities and masses. Or they may be that so many subsidized housing units must be included and that a certain number of commercial spaces be set aside for local retailers.

The developer would be more "product" oriented. His sole interest is to get a project built that is financially successful. It is in his interest to limit the scope of discussion to concerns directly related to the building itself. He doesn't want to be burdened with added responsibilities such as having to construct an adjacent park, or reserve some number of units for subsidized housing, or organize construction training programs for neighborhood apprentices. He wants a free hand to do whatever he thinks is necessary to capitalize on his investment.

And the architect and planner might best be described as being "process" oriented. They want negotiations to be fair and to proceed smoothly. They believe that the success of the project is dependent upon all interest groups participating in the decisionmaking process.

An orderly process, in the professionals' eyes, not only guarantees a project representative of the needs and interests of the community, but eliminates the possibility that the project can be challenged or otherwise slowed down during implementation. Their work becomes that much easier and faster as a consequence.

Broad representation serves to validate the decision-making process by protecting it from attack. It is an approach to planning which is intended to reflect the pluralism of community interests. But caution is necessary so that the process does not become an end rather than a means. Too easily participation can become ritual. Meetings can continue indefinitely, discussing every trivial subject while the chance to realize the project slips away.

Discussion

What becomes clear in studying the various actors and their roles is that levels of involvement and influence over decisionmaking vary considerably. Some actors, such as developers and public administrators, are enfranchised in decisionmaking by way of their influence over resources and approvals. On the other hand, the typical community representative has little if any direct control over the resources necessary for development. But what he does have is the political influence of his constituency, and through political pressure he is able to gain concessions.

Political pressure alone will not enable the community to influence change, though. They must be involved in the planning process and have access to the same resources, both financial and expertise, available to other actors. Community groups are easily excluded from the planning process; by exclusion from meetings, lack of information and expertise and discontinuity in the representation of their interests.

Typically community representatives from different constituencies and interest groups participate in a planning process. They represent groups which have an established political base in the community and have a particular interest in proposed development. While representing the views and

opinions of their constituency, representatives also serve as a conduit for information back to their groups.

But over the course of an extended planning process there is no guarantee that participating clients will remain representative. And there is also the danger that changes in membership will become so constant as to prevent the process from ever dealing with substantive issues. As new participants are brought into meetings, repetitious briefings are required. There is the possibility that because of the often tight schedule imposed by project development, important topics will never be discussed. These problems undermine the potential of a community to take an active role in the planning process.

Generally inner-city residents are characterized as being apathetic, distrustful of outsiders, not able to articulate their needs in the language of the professionals and are sometimes hostile towards other community representatives. The powerful distrust the poor, lack appreciation of their problems or respect for their accomplishments. And of course, the powerful are unwilling to share any of their power with the poor.

The disenfranchised are often bundled together as a group with a number of identifiable and unique problems. Architects and planners approach a renewal project with the belief that they can promote "pluralistic architecture". But

the fact is that there is such a diversity of interests, backgrounds, aspirations and ethnic groups in low-income neighborhoods that it is impossible to promote a single solution that meets the needs of all. What has made the situation worse is that in some cases community groups have fought with one another over whose interests should and should not be represented in a process. They compete for funds and in establishing their political base. The exploitive motivations of developers or the bureaucratic ineffectiveness of local government have gone unchallenged.

Obviously residents are not in a strong position to influence change in their neighborhoods. Their perceptions of the planning process are perhaps limited, and in any event, very different from those of the people promoting development - be they public or private. Residents have a shorter time-horizon than do other actors. They don't see why there are such long delays between making a decision and acting on it, or why discussion has to go on for months.

In part this is because residents have a clear and simple sense of the way the process operates and what they think should happen. Residents are unwilling to commit much time to discussions and negotiations. They want to see results of their participation quickly. It is disconcerting and demoralizing for them to have to wait for a year or two before building begins.

Participants are not "educated" to the realities of the planning process with its many behind the scenes negotiations. Lacking knowledge of the development process, participants might assume that discussions and decisions undertaken in open meetings are the only ones necessary for a project to begin.

Conclusions

The integration of divergent attitudes, or the evolution of a process which somehow allows dialogue and discussion between different groups is a problem those involved in participatory planning have wrestled with for years. It takes commitment and trust on the part of the elite powerholders to participate, and the building of commitment and trust amongst the disenfranchised, perhaps at times unjustified, before meaningful negotiations can begin.

The points made in the discussion are important enough to influence the structure and goals of a participatory process. The purpose of the process must be articulated at the outset, and a set of rules established which layout the format and the ways in which actors may participate.

The roles actors play in the development process should be described to participants so that they can become educated to the concerns and interests of different groups. The stages of decisionmaking in which community representatives participate should be structured taking into account their limitations. In particular, the short time-horizon of residents and the need to see results quickly necessitates a planning framework which is responsive - where there is a close relationship between decisionmaking and implementation.

And most importantly, there must be continuity in the expression and representation of community views, opinions, needs, characteristics and traditions throughout the planning process. This is possible in two ways. First through devising a planning process which is structured around the constraints imposed by citizen participation, some of which have just been mentioned. And secondly, through creation of a set of "references" that define the position of different constituencies towards development.

Developers, administrators, institutions and others all bring a body of information with them into the planning process. It is information prepared specifically for each project such as financial pro-forma's, building and land-use restrictions, square footage requirements for marketing and other things. They are considerations that each actor is putting forward as the reason why something should or should not be done. These considerations might be characterized as "references" which serve to direct different actors in the decisions they make throughout the planning process.

It is rarely the case that a community is able to put forward a set of "references" about their expectations and needs. Yet such a set would enable residents to enter negotiations with a position on some of the issues, and perhaps even an alternate development scheme. The "references"

might consist of two parts: the first relating to existing conditions and characteristics which are important to understand about the community, and the second relating to particulars of proposed development.

THE ELEVEN DECISION STAGES OF BUILDING

The influence of each actor on the development process can be illustrated by relating them to the stages of building. A building's life can be characterized as transcending eleven decision stages of varying length. They are: recognition of a need to organize space; resource allocation and purpose of the organization; selecting a location; programming; designing; constructing; use; management; reprogramming; re-use; and obsolescence*.

All projects do not necessarily pass through each stage, nor are the stages always arranged in this order. The same actors are not all involved in each stage either. Depending on the actor, some stages are of more consequence than others.

Participatory planning has opened some of these decision stages to the influence of communities. Other stages remain closed or of no particular interest to communities at this time. Examples of recent community involvement in some stages will illustrate the extent of their participation and influence over decisionmaking. The activities and interests of the dominant actors in each stage will also be illustrated.

* The idea of "decision stages" was raised by Giancarlo DeCarlo in an article entitled "Further notes on participation with reference to a sector of architecture where it would seem most obvious", ILAUD Bulletin #1, Urbino, Italy, 1977. pp.3-4.

Recognition of a Need to Organize Space

The reason for beginning a new project is an opportunity to promote a building with particular spatial qualities. There are three important motivations underlying the organization of space. The first an exploitation of opportunities provided by the Capitalist economic system, the second a result of inadequate existing facilities and the third the availability of a site needing a use.

In the first case the developer is motivated by a chance of monetary gain. To be successful requires that he be willing to risk money (rarely his own) in the expectation that high returns will be his reward. He may see a need and an opportunity to develop a shopping mall in a suburban development, or a new office tower or mixed-use development downtown.

A different motivation would be that provided by an established business wanting to relocate into new facilities. A new location might bring them closer to a supplier or constituency, or perhaps permit expansion and reorganization not afforded by the present location.

And a third motivation might be that afforded by vacant land downtown, for instance. The land may once have been built upon and the building demolished or perhaps a new road

opened up previously inaccessible land. In either case there is a piece of land that is developable, but an appropriate use has to be found for it.

The involvement of community groups in this decision stage has usually been at the level of establishing conditions under which development can take place. These conditions are not always related to the development of the project itself. They can be the leveraging of non-built benefits such as guarantees of local jobs and the use of minority contractors on any work undertaken in the community.

Conditions specifically related to development can require the inclusion of community space within new buildings, the provision of space for local merchants, the improvement of adjacent streets and the construction of playgrounds and other things.

The only opportunity for community involvement is as an advocate for the development of particular land parcels. In the Parcel 18 study* conducted for a task force in Roxbury, Mass., the planners and architects evaluated different development options under the guidance of several community groups and a university.

* MIT Total Studio, 18 Plus: Coalition for Community Development, MIT School of Architecture and Planning, Boston, May 1976.

Parcel 18 is a large piece of land cleared ten years ago for a highway which was never built. The task force wanted a study which not only recommended a range of possible uses the site could be put to, but ways in which community groups could incrementally develop the land and build equity. Most importantly, the study was a vehicle whereby the many different interests and plans proposing development were brought together and discussed, and conditions laid out under which different groups did and did not participate in future development. In essence preconditions were set before specific negotiations about development were begun. The conditions were so comprehensive as to almost specify the kinds of development able to happen on the site, and who would develop what.

Resource Allocation and Purpose of the Organization

The second decision stage has to do with the application of criteria to the organizational purpose. That is, there are specific quantitative and qualitative needs to be met in the making of space that are different depending on the purposes for which the space is to be used. For shopping malls it is the interconnection of large, cheaply constructed

boxes. For an office building it is a floor plan which enables division into a number of smaller self-contained units.

The scale of a project, is of course, directly tied to the availability of resources, especially money. The amount of money available, under what conditions and for how long are considerations directly influencing what facilities and activities a project will include. The allocation of money to a project means that the money is not available for other things. Since resources are limited, one project is competing against another on the basis of costs and benefits of each.

A developer will probably commission a market study to determine what uses a piece of land or a vacant building will be put to. He would then decide what size investment to make based on anticipated returns. From that economic analysis emerges a set of uses and activities that define the scale and extent of development.

The opportunities for community involvement in this process are very limited. The types of organization required of different uses are well established in the form of typologies. Insofar as new mixes of uses are promoted, there may be an opportunity for residents to be involved in developing a new typology to meet that need.

Only indirectly might they be able to influence resource and organizational or use decisions. Developer acceptance of a community's preconditions for development often have implications on finances and use, especially in renewal projects. Since communities have asserted their control over changes in their territories, it behooves the developer to plan the project with their cooperation. Otherwise the possibility exists that they might block the project for long enough to jeopardize funding.

Community groups can also undertake financial responsibility in a project themselves so long as they are legally incorporated. Funds are made available from the federal government either as direct loans and grants or as loan guarantees to support groups in undertaking community development. They are also able to enter into joint venture with private developers in mixed-use development.

This is one way communities are able to provide some of the desired amenities and opportunities for equity building that enable them to withstand neglect from developers or profit motivated exploitation. In the Roxbury area of Boston, community groups such as the Roxbury Action Program have undertaken residential and commercial development in an area of the city where few private businesses are willing to locate.

A somewhat different approach to funding was taken in the Queensgate II Town Center in Cincinnati. In this multi-use project, planning with community groups, public and private institutions and local and federal government had over three years promoted a unique project. It was to provide amenities for different segments of the local and regional population.

Just as the project was to begin construction in 1972, the HUD moratorium on community development categorical grants was instituted. The consequence was a loss of considerable funds which were to support most of the community facilities. After several months of discussion a new financing scheme was evolved which would see the first of three phases of construction completed. Although community facilities could not be provided in this phase, some public facilities and a park and a garage were realized.

The financing was generated in response to the demoralizing withdrawal of public funds at a time when all parties had been able to agree on the scale and content of development. What was most innovative about the financing was the combination of grants from nine different funding sources - some city and state, a little federal money and grants from four private foundations.

Queensgate in particular is a good example to illustrate the influence communities can have on promoting development

they consider to be in their best interest. They were able to generate substantial backing from private sources on the basis of having participated in a planning process which provided benefits for many groups in the city.

But the fact remains that decisions about what a project can and cannot include and the scale of development are determined by the market. Only in cases where a community has control over funds is it able to participate in this stage of planning and decisionmaking. Otherwise it is relegated to a position of advocating for various uses but unable to directly influence decisions.

Successful developers are inevitably those people who have skill in the manipulation of money and access to money sources. The average resident rarely has these opportunities and must rely on the expertise of others to operate in the community's best interest. This stage is one of the most important in determining the nature of proposed development, but one which through lack of specialized skill the resident is excluded from participating in or readily influencing.

Choosing a Location

The "right" location is a consequence of the purpose for building, the availability and cost of land and the importance

of spatial relationships to other places. Locational decisions are based primarily on cost and opportunity - on the monetary and non-monetary expenditures in comparison to the anticipated returns. These returns may be derived by way of increased production for an industry, larger sales area for a shopping mall, or perhaps increased imageability and prominence for a corporate headquarters.

It is not unusual for a corporation, for instance, to undertake site studies to determine the optimum location for its new headquarters. Perhaps four or five alternate locations are analyzed and compared with one another on the basis of the amount of land available and its cost, building limitations imposed on the site, access to public transportation, "stability" of the area - whether it will be a good address, availability of services, and the potential for creating an impact on the area beyond immediate construction - improving the business of surrounding shops and the like.

These are just a few of the considerations given to site selection. They vary depending on the activity to be housed. Choosing a site for an office building is not the same as locating a highway route or a neighborhood service center. In the Queensgate project the determining factor of site selection was the pieces of land which the City owned in the area that could immediately be developed.

The involvement of communities in the use of land has been either to promote particular development or organize against proposed development. Their involvement is motivated in large part as a reaction to perceived secondary consequences of development - to "externalities", both positive and negative. In a case where development is supported it may be because it will provide more jobs and increased equity and taxes to the community.

Their moves against a project may be because they feel the proposed use will reduce the environmental quality of the area. Construction of gas stations is often blocked on these grounds. Or perhaps the proposed use is out of keeping with the general community sense of what the site should be used for or what it once was used for. Building on historic sites, for instance, or next to historic buildings.

Whatever the reason for community pressure, though, the Constitution guarantees that the owner of land has the right to develop his land as he wishes - within the limits of zoning and other restrictions, of course. Neither the government nor community groups can restrict the use of private land. Consequently, unless the owner is amenable to suggestions of the community as to how he might develop the land or modify his plans to meet their needs, they are powerless to influence locational choices or development plans.

Only in the case of public lands being made available for development, such as for renewal, are there rights guaranteed to the public to influence location and development. And this right is indirect in that it depends on leveraging their influence over the granting of federal funds to get a project where they want it. The problem is that the use and development of public land is not independent of the forces which control private land; the same economics apply. Indeed, many of the problems of urban renewal during the sixties stemmed from opportunities for developers to speculate on the use of public lands.

Since the motivations underlying urban renewal were directed towards bringing so called "blighted" areas back into the mainstream of the economic system, any barriers which stood in the way were removed - be they derelict buildings or poor people. Since most decisions reached in furtherance of urban renewal were economic, there was little opportunity for communities to enter the decisionmaking process.

And it is not that these conditions are different today. What is different is the political influence of city residents who are now more able to influence the changes that can and cannot happen in their neighborhoods. Indeed they have asserted their influence over irresponsible development through exercising the right guaranteed in federal funding

legislation that requires community approval of a project before funding is forthcoming. More and more communities have been able to elect local representatives to city government, so that political influence is available to back residents demands.

The opportunity for communities to influence locational decisions of business or shopping from elsewhere to their neighborhood is very limited. Some communities have taken initiatives in an attempt to attract particular kinds of development. They can range from restrictive kinds of zoning which favors high-income residential development, to subsidizing costs for new businesses through tax rebates. Yet increasingly this kind of subsidization is of little consequence to a business over the long-run, and only hurts the finances of the community.

Programming

Programming is concerned with defining the activities and spatial qualities a project should encompass. Attempts at opening the programming stage to outsiders have focused on a characterization of programming as essentially a linear decisionmaking process. Simply, this would include listing possible activities, elaborating upon unusual or particular

spatial qualities necessary to support those activities, clustering the activities together - first two-dimensionally in plan and then three-dimensionally as masses.

Programming is the phase of project planning that communities have typically been involved in, although not always in the way just outlined. Their involvement in this stage is a natural outgrowth of opposition to urban renewal of the sixties when they claimed projects did not represent the needs of the community. Although programming is, for the professional, an extremely important, time consuming and complex undertaking, when undertaken publicly it usually deals with gross issues such as activities.

At this level of generalization programming is not very useful. Public forums have a tendency to be condescending in an attempt to assure participants they are making an important contribution. In some cases they do, if the professional is able to "hear" what they say. More often than not these sessions are seen as a way for the developer and city to get community support for a final program rather than an attempt to generate one together.

Since the programming phase is complex, success in including the community rests with attempts to simplify the task. This does not mean making the task simpler than it really is, but rather make it more open and understandable for the layman.

One innovative example of participatory programming was that undertaken for the Gananda Neighborhood Center* in Gananda, a newtown outside Rochester, New York State. Here the architects played a series of planning "games" over a period of two days which included over two hundred players. An interesting aside is that since there were as yet no residents in Gananda, the participants came from surrounding farms and villages and from a representative sample of the market for the newtown. Other participants included public officials, university people, politicians and professionals.

The games started with general perceptions and moved progressively into the detail necessary for design. First step was to establish an inventory of what a neighborhood center serving 2000 families should contain. Subsequent steps determined the size of spaces, who would use them, when and for what duration and how they interrelated to one another.

One of the most important games from a design standpoint was an "inside/outside" game which showed what activities could occur in the open air, what activities required total enclosure, and how they could be interrelated by circulation and access. This game produced the concept carried through

* David Lewis, "A Community Determines What Its Center Is", in Declan and Magrit Kennedy, eds., The Inner City, Wiley, New York, 1974. pp. 221-228.
See Appendix B.

into design, of external pathways converging to form an interior street.

A more complex project such as Queensgate in Cincinnati necessitated not only the programming of many different activities, but a means of deciding amongst competing claims for space and location. The architects and planners role in this case was that of a mediator as well as a design technician. Design itself was chosen as the appropriate medium about which to illustrate opportunities and conflicts of different spatial arrangements. In all over thirty different designs were evolved in the meetings during a six month period before final design was reached and agreed upon.

Immersion in the programming phase is one of the pivotal points of involvement for a community. It is in this stage that decisions about what should or should not be included in development are made. The final program serves as the basis for design and to secure funding, and is difficult to change once these activities have begun.

As projects have become larger in scale over the years so the programming phase has become more complex. Unfortunately programming methodologies and techniques are not up to the task. Participatory techniques, especially, have not evolved to meet the challenge.

Design

Design is the translation of programmatic information into detailed drawings depicting the project as completed. Historically this responsibility has rested with the architect, and it still does, although it is not his responsibility alone.

Buildings are the most prominent artifact of a culture, providing insight into the concerns and lifestyles of its members. The preoccupation of architects who see their work as an interpretation of emerging trends in society has provided the world with some of its most exciting and enjoyable buildings, also some of its most disorienting and dehumanizing. Designing is not just the literal translation of a program into a building, but the couching of that program in an architectural language particular to a culture.

Sixty years later we are still in the shadow of the Modern Movement. But lately there has been a trend back to the expression of individuality, of the idiosyncracies of different places, peoples and traditions. Just as the last decade has shown an interest in retrieving one's ethnic heritage from the melting pot it was thrown in years ago, so people are reliving the history they inherited in their neighborhoods.

After the wholesale demolition of the sixties, communities today are very suspicious of plans to tear down any of their buildings. Residents realize the importance different buildings and places have in their lives and the identity these places give their community. This identity has come from years of living and working in the community, of changing and renovating buildings to reflect different needs and changing lifestyle.

The trend in the seventies has been to recreate the scale of older communities, and in that way encourage the associations and lifestyles that strengthen urban areas. The understandings and associations residents have with their communities and the events and traditions that are evidenced in festivals and fairs and music are respected and responded to.

Some architects have set up office in store fronts so that continual dialogue with the residents is promoted. The architects for the Pilot Center* in Cincinnati did. They designed the multi-use neighborhood center to be infill buildings which complemented the existing residential buildings. Their scale, size of openings, color and massing repeated the pattern of the street that had been broken when

* Woollen Associates, "Pilot Center, Cincinnati, Ohio" in David Lewis and Jules Gregory, eds., Process: Architecture, Process Architecture Publishing Co., Tokyo, Japan. 1977. p.50. See Appendix C.

the previous houses were demolished. They even incorporated the spire of a church, for almost a century an area landmark which was also supposed to be demolished.

In the Gananda Neighborhood Center the approach was not so informal. Nevertheless, those persons participating in two days of games wanted the Center to be thoroughly modern yet reflect the farming tradition of the area with its huge red barns. This motif was picked up in the form and color of three large classroom clusters within the Center.

The implication of these moves is that the design of new buildings is directed towards them being "place specific". The design language of each community is different because of differing people, activities, topography, climate, materials, construction methods, history and traditions. Residents of a place are better able to bring these unique locational qualities into the design process than anyone else.

Yet because of the specialization of the architect and his dependence on nationwide and worldwide motifs and styles, the expertise and knowledge of the resident has been abandoned. The design of participatory models necessarily has to include provisions for the exchange of information between the resident and the architect and an opportunity for the resident to participate in the creation of a building for his community.

Constructing

Constructing is that phase of project planning where the various technologies, both structural and mechanical, are chosen for the building. The impact of the growth and exporting of technologies over the past few decades has been to disseminate information and skills around the world that permit construction of a technologically advanced building anywhere.

This homogeneity of building types is propagated at the expense of local traditions, not just of countries but of regions within countries. The results are often tragic. Not only is there no longer a role for the builder/craftsman, but locally available building materials and technologies which have evolved to meet specific needs and conditions have been abandoned.

But as there is renewed interest in renovating older buildings, so there is a return to local ways of building, a revival of traditional styles. The barn motif of the Gananda Neighborhood Center, or the infill in traditional residential style of the Pilot Center are two cases in point. At the residential scale traditional ways can still be embraced. But in the larger scale office and commercial complexes of the last few decades, the problems are more difficult.

These complexes are simply an agglomeration of what until recently had been separate buildings, The high density clustering of people, buildings and activity is a characteristic of Capitalist economics. It is the economic system that has prompted the abandonment of traditional building technologies in favor of mass produced technology. And in the case of the skyscraper, new technologies have evolved to meet the need.

But for shops and offices which still depend in large part on ground level accessibility for customers, one can wonder why the smaller scale buildings were given up. It is interesting to note that supermarkets are returning to the concept of specialty shops to market other than pre-packaged goods. Little buildings creating an allusion to days gone by are located around the periphery of the aisles, where meats, vegetables, cheeses, flowers and plants and other specialty items are sold on an individual basis.

New technology won't be abandoned. Rather it will be utilized to solve difficult building problems. As there is a need to provide human scale environments, so the traditional ways will be adopted with their small scale building units. But for the larger buildings of an industrial society, there will continue to be an evolution of innovative construction technologies.

More and more people are getting involved in building or rehabilitating houses and older industrial buildings. In part this is brought on by the rapidly escalating cost of new housing. But people are also interested in making the places they live in, in expressing their individuality, ingenuity and skill in building that contract builders are often unable to equal. And as government puts more money and emphasis on regenerating old cities and neighborhoods, and provides incentives for self-help housing, there will be increasing interest in the skills of building and a return to traditional construction methods and materials.

Use of the Building

Having gone through all the decision stages directly concerned with physical design, the next stage is that concerned with use of a project. Here decisions about what formal activities the building will support, as well as what other informal or unplanned uses will be permitted are made.

To think, as some professionals and clients do, that the only uses a building will be subjected to are those specifically programmed and designed for is to live under an illusion

about one's power to control and the uninventiveness of people. Over the life of a building there are many uses supported that are not anticipated at the outset.

A building is designed and constructed to represent as best it can, the spirit of the program. But a program never anticipates all activities. Many uses are improvised to meet various unconsidered needs and whims. It is in these opportunities and the flexibility in absorbing different demands that the success of a building can be judged.

In the "games" played to program the Gananda Neighborhood Center, hundreds of different activities were suggested by participants as those they felt a neighborhood center should support. Obviously it is impractical to design a specific place for each activity. Rather those activities requiring special spatial qualities were designed first, and less demanding activities were designed into those spaces.

The outcome was that one area which was to serve each day as a cafeteria could be transformed into a small theatre with a stage. The steps that during the day were used by children to go out to the playfields, at night became the stage itself. And the kitchen which served lunch to the children, at other times made food for a snack bar for adults who participated in programs at the Center.

And there are less formal activities which happen in and around the building. From using planter boxes to sit on

to holding exhibitions in building lobbies. From having street fairs in parking lots to being able to personalize each workplace in an office building. From being able to put your house plants outside during the summer to sunbathing on the roof of an apartment house.

The little everyday, ordinary activities that people like to do are the ones rarely considered in designing a building. These are the activities which persist long after the particular uses a building houses are gone, or even after the building has gone. There is a continuation of peoples lifestyles outside the home and into the street and workplace.

These activities cannot always be designed for, but buildings can promote and enable them to happen. In projects considered most successful as a translation of program into design, one often finds their utilitarian purposefulness is at the expense of manipulable space that can support other activities and interpretations. The typical classroom is an example. Its typology is defined to the point of it being unuseable for many other activities.

There have been attempts by planners and architects to understand the ways people use buildings. Observation is one way. Another is to talk to people and have them draw or otherwise reproduce their experiences in using a place. For

the design of a new elementary school in Dubois, Pennsylvania , the architects had the students draw and at the same time talk about their ideal school. From this exercise came ideas incorporated into the school - cubby-holes where children could get away from the teacher for a while, separate little outdoor play areas for each classroom, and a resource center with books, audio-visual materials and displays that stretched through the school and into each class space.

This approach is unusual though. Rarely is evaluation undertaken so that improvements can be made or insights gained for future reference. The building is left by the architect as a fait accompli, for the future and the people to interpret and use as best they can.

Management

Management is the responsibility of maintaining a building and overseeing its use. If we own our own home we manage it ourselves. But for apartment buildings, office buildings and other large structures there are companies which specialize in managing buildings for their owners. Public buildings are generally managed by a department of the local, state, or federal government, depending on who owns the building.

Buildings are rarely managed by those people who use them. And since buildings are a source of income, those individuals who own them are interested in management only in as far as it reflects on rental levels. It is sometimes in the owners financial best interest to let an apartment building deteriorate to the brink of condemnation rather than invest money to rehabilitate the property. Management in this instance is meaningless since the owner refuses to accept the responsibilities that go along with providing a service.

And public buildings suffer a similar consequence. Since they are managed by a bureaucracy that has no particular interest in a buildings condition or use, those who through misfortune or lack of choice must be a tenant of the government suffer as a consequence.

The urban poor are the ones who suffer the most - through bureaucratic indifference for buildings and programs, to the slum lord who charges exorbitant rents in buildings which are uninhabitable. An approach to these problems has been the creation of residents boards to manage the day-to-day operations of public buildings.

The Dana Whitmer Human Resource Center in Pontiac, Michigan*, is operated by a community board. The Center is

* Janet Bloom, "Street Scene School", in The Architectural Forum, Vol. 138, No. 5, June 1973, pp.39-45.
See Appendix D.

built on two levels - an elementary school for two thousand children on the lower level, and a "street" on the second level with storefront shops providing public services. There is a non-profit food co-op, a restaurant, an extension of the local community college as well as the usual federal and state service centers.

In essence the community board has rented the entire upper floor from the school board, and with it the responsibility to manage and allocate space and develop programs which the community needs. Different public agencies rent space in the Center, and other spaces are supported by grants. Board members are elected for two year terms, and they in turn appoint a full-time manager to coordinate and administer the Center.

The philosophy behind the Center's management is very simple - that to be useful and representative of the needs of the community at different moments in time, the Center should be under the control of the community. The programs and services provided by the federal and state governments are adjusted to meet local needs, and any shortcomings immediately taken care of. Community management, then, is not only promoted for the benefits that accrue through local control of facilities, but also for an increased effectiveness in the delivery of service programs.

An interesting statistic about the Center illustrates another benefit of community management. That is that vandalism at the Center is only 30% of that at other schools and service centers. Sociologists interpret this to mean that the residents have accepted the building into their community. They are proud of the building and what it represents - the integration of black and white communities about a shared facility, one which is in touch with the diverse needs of its users.

With increased entrepreneurship by community groups, local management is a natural outgrowth. This does not mean that similar problems won't arise or that rules will be any more lenient than for government management. In some places local developers have taken the opportunity to exploit their neighbors just as outsiders would.

Nevertheless, the ineffective bureaucratic management of public facilities and land is taken by residents to illustrate the neglect and disinterest of government to local problems. Community control and management of public facilities is seen as the first step towards enabling communities to become self-sufficient and responsible for their future.

Reprogramming

After an active life, a sound and attractive but otherwise technologically obsolete building may become a candidate for renewal. In essence the building is being programmed for a new life. This decision stage is not unlike the earlier programming stage. The same economic factors which prompted construction of the building in the first place are still in play. The only difference is that a new program must accept the constraints imposed by the existing building.

Some buildings may have real architectural or historic value which makes them worthy of restoration. Other buildings are perhaps not so outstanding, but they are solid enough, flexible enough and located in the right place so that re-use is possible. The economics of building have changed in recent years so that it is now feasible to extensively rehabilitate existing buildings for a similar cost to new building.

The aura surrounding old buildings has become a marketable item which improves the economics of rehabilitation. People are willing to pay well for an opportunity to move into an old house of generous proportions and fix it up. In most cases, whether the building is a house or an industrial building, the only necessary change to make them once again useable is to replace old service systems - electrical, water, sewerage and heat.

The Urban Homesteading Program initiated by the federal government several years ago is an interesting case of how solid yet abandoned housing can be brought back into the market. The program was begun in several cities including Baltimore and Wilmington, Delaware. Residents of low-income neighborhoods where many abandoned houses were located were offered the opportunity to become owners of a house. The cost was nominal, but they had to guarantee to put a minimum \$7000 investment into the house over a four year period. Low interest loans were available for those who qualified.

A similar approach was used in New York City where owners who otherwise would not have qualified for loans because of their low incomes were given credit for the work they put into the house. This "sweat equity" replaced the usual income collateral necessary to obtain a loan.

These programs enabled residents to benefit as a consequence of the failure of the market system. Because most of the buildings were technologically obsolete and required investment, the market was unwilling to retrieve them.

Larger buildings pose similar problems, although they are too big for individuals to take over and rehabilitate. The financing proposed to rehabilitate some of the old textile mills in Lowell, Mass. would permit mixed-use joint ownership as a way of promoting local investment. Whether this will work has yet to be proven.

Re-use

With reprogramming comes re-use. Houses are rehabilitated and used as housing again. Innovation has been in the re-use of larger buildings, usually commercial ones. The old Chickering Piano Factory in Boston was turned into artists' studios and apartments for less cost than new housing. Abandoned warehouses along Boston's waterfront are being renovated into high-income housing. The P&LE train terminal in Pittsburgh has become an expensive restaurant, with exclusive shops built along an indoor mall in the adjacent rail houses.

There are few examples of large-scale rehabilitation that have benefitted inner city residents. An old Pilling Mill in Lowell, Mass. was turned into housing for the elderly. And in Bedford-Stuyvesant, New York City, a cluster of old manufacturing plants including a milk bottling plant are part of a commercial/office/recreational complex promoted to make the area a "better place to live, not to leave."*

Re-use, because of the costs involved, remains a relatively unappetizing investment for most community groups. It is also the case that there are few readily accessible large buildings available. Many are still used and are

* America's Forgotten Architecture, p.275.

employers of local residents. Others are located in such bad areas that no-one will touch them.

On top of those reasons is an overriding rejection by low-income residents to be housed in rehabilitated buildings. To them there is little difference to living in public housing projects. Their dream is a single-family house, and there is usually plenty of cleared land around where they can build.

A similar attitude was expressed by residents of Lowell when planning for the National Urban Cultural Park* began. To residents, the old textile mills stand as a symbol of oppression and exploitation, of five generations of being committed to working in them. The life of the town centered on the mills. Indeed, the mill owners owned the town.

Lowell residents see little value in the mills being saved and re-used. Rather they want them torn down so that the city might develop a new image and life out from under the stigma of the mills. Such associations with history and the life of one's forebearers will probably remain for a generation or two. But the mills of Lowell have too important a place in the history of America's industrialization to be torn down, especially since there is no money to build something else in their place. And they do present an

* David Crane Associates & The Lowell Team, The Lowell Report: Lowell National Urban Cultural Park, Lowell Historic Canal District Commission, Lowell, Mass. 1976.

exciting opportunity for redevelopment and re-use which can benefit the present city residents.

Obsolescence

The last decision stage is that concerned with determining a building to be obsolete. Obsolescence can be interpreted in two ways. The first is a result of use, that a building is structurally and mechanically worn-out, beyond hope of revival. The second interpretation is a consequence of development economics where a building, although sound, is not exploiting the potential of its location.

Most of the changes we see in the built landscape are a consequence of the economic interpretation. In this characterization, obsolescence might be said to be relative - its not that something is bad but that something else could be better. Rarely does a building ever reach the worn-out stage; it is replaced well before that.

Those places that do have worn-out buildings are neighborhoods which fulfill the characteristics of being urban renewal areas. These are places where the economic processes that keep land speculation and development moving have stagnated. While there is demand for housing in these areas,

for instance, the price residents would have to pay for rehabilitated or new housing is too high for them to afford.

Policy towards obsolescence, as evidenced by the Urban Renewal Program of the sixties, reacted to the situation in solely economic terms. To encourage renewal, developers were given financial incentives and tax write-off's as inducement to invest in "obsolete" neighborhoods.

It is unfortunate that some of the country's most beautiful old buildings have been demolished because they were inappropriate for the site they occupied according to market economics. Only with buildings with unique architectural or historic value have managed to survive, and then only because they were able to be re-used innovatively. Some buildings such as Grand Central Station in New York City occupy valuable pieces of real-estate, and are buildings which are not easily reused. It is only because of the political influence of some of the preservationist supporters that the station has not been demolished. But its future is still uncertain.

On a smaller scale, a block of rowhouses near John Elliot Square in the Roxbury district of Boston have been bought by the Roxbury Action Program. These buildings have been abandoned for almost ten years, and some have been burned and gutted. For all intents and purposes they are considered useless by realtors and should be torn down. Since they sit

on a hill and have a clear view of several miles over downtown Boston, developers are interested in exploiting the site for new housing.

RAP has decided that any new housing that is constructed there could not supply the amenities needed by the people at a price they could afford. Careful rehabilitation could provide these amenities at a lower cost. This approach flies in the face of conventional development economics. Because RAP is a non-profit corporation they are uninterested in exploiting the potential value of the site. Rather they want to exploit the present value to provide reasonably priced housing for low-income residents.

With building economics as they are, it is often less expensive to salvage old buildings than build new ones. Buildings which are economically "obsolete" for the market may not be obsolete for the non-profit community developer. And at the same time, buildings which are apparently on the brink of collapse can sometimes be revived. Mechanical systems can be replaced, and structurally the buildings can be strengthened.

Community groups are increasingly more involved in working outside the conventional development market. For sure they are more able to provide housing of a kind wanted by residents than are developers, And with increased federal

development grants going to community groups, the end state will be the same - housing in these areas will be brought back into the market, and with stabilization outside investors will become interested once again.

Discussion

This elaboration on the building process illuminates some of the more important decisions made in each stage, and identifies those actors primarily responsible for making them. At the same time, innovative examples of community involvement illustrate some of the opportunities available.

More often than not, community involvement in the development process is motivated by a history of developers and government failing to understand the consequences of their actions on the needs of the community. As the several examples illustrate, community groups have been able to operate within some of the decision stages and undertake development themselves.

Only in cases when a community group is acting as the client is it likely to participate in all stages. But even then, since most of their projects are competitive and market operations, such as housing or commercial development, options are defined by the market. Non-profit community development corporations have somewhat more flexibility in that they are not profit motivated, but they still have to break even.

Having laid out the decision stages, the question should be put: in what stages is citizen involvement necessary to promote the kind of development they want and that fits into

their community? In answering this question the implications of three important "facts" are seen to define the extent of possible citizen involvement. They are the bureaucratic complexity and specialization typical of the planning process, the influence of market operations on the definition of choices and the impact at the local level of national government policies.

A little of the background as to why planning is such a specialized and regulated activity was provided in the introduction to this thesis. In part it is due to a reliance on social science methodologies for the identification and analyses of social problems. And it is the case that government has institutionalized planning models and strategies as a way of controlling and evaluating different performance of different programs and to help in budgeting for 'attacks' on particular social problems. Guidelines have been set by the government and the market which define the extent and kinds of planning that public money can support.

As a consequence of the growth of "expertise" planning, the community based planner is restricted in his opportunities to confront specific local problems. Government sees a need to coordinate planning policy and budgeting at the state and national level. Communities see the need for allocation decisions to be made at the local level where funds can be utilized for immediate and unique needs. Important decisions

underlying the planning process at the local level are handed down from above, and without the flexibility to permit adaptation of strategies to local needs.

To the resident the government often seems distant and uninterested in their problems. The planner has irritated the situation by discussing community issues in the same bureaucratic jargon as policy makers. The resident comes to see the participatory process as a snow job and loses interest in attempting to influence decisionmaking.

There is no ready solution to the problem at the bureaucratic level. But at the local level the involvement of architects and planners has to be concerned with educating and illucidating upon the opportunities and restrictions inherent in different funding programs, and in 'demystifying' the jargon and implications of normative planning. As communities grow more able to deal with local problems, there is likely to be increasing pressure for local control over funds.

The market, especially in the area of land transactions, has a profound influence on the decisionmaking process. The impact is to limit development opportunities on particular pieces of land. Some planning is for non-market activities such as schools and highways, but location of these facilities is nevertheless influenced by the market.

The commitment of resources to a project is at the expense of other investment opportunities. The private investor or financial institution is primarily concerned with maximizing returns and minimizing risks. Financial commitments are made to conservative or well secured corporations, and rarely to community groups.

The government can stimulate the market by underwriting financial transactions or undertaking innovative projects to prove their financial feasibility. Government has provided most of the funds for community development. But government support of a project takes considerable time to secure and has to be anticipated in advance so that it can be budgeted. And once realized, funds are burdened by many conditions that limit their use.

While resource allocation is the basis for most planning decisions, negotiations over funding is not a stage that residents are usually involved in, nor one they are immediately interested or able to become involved in. The worthiness of a project is not the only criterion for securing funds. Decisions are politically motivated and this is an area in which communities have little influence at the national or state level. Nevertheless, residents expect government support of development in their communities and bring what pressure they can to bear in order to secure funds.

Government programs are created to produce a desired effect on a national scale, only perhaps slightly benefiting the local community. A case in point is the current neighborhood improvement block grants. One in particular is directed towards urban communities with high unemployment. In Chelsea, Mass. for instance, funds pay for new sidewalks and street furniture, but the contractor who received the job is from another town and had to hire only a few Chelsea residents. Some shopowners and homeowners think the program is a complete waste of money. Perfectly good sidewalks are being torn up and replaced by brick, and elaborate street furniture and building decorations are being installed.

At the national level the goal is to offset unemployment in poor areas through public works type jobs. The idea was that spending money in these areas would improve the political climate by keeping people busy, and the towns would benefit through face-lifted downtowns as well. As the program is manifest in Chelsea, few residents are benefiting through jobs, and more important problems such as dilapidated housing are ignored. One resident questioned "What's the use of making the place look like Beacon Hill if no-one can live here?"*

* A study conducted by students in Spring 1978 as part of their fieldwork in Chelsea for a course at MIT called "Environmental Structure". Abstracted from unpublished report.

The local community development agency office finds itself increasingly consumed by the paperwork necessary to apply for and monitor federal and state funding programs. Their preoccupation is ironic in that they are supposed to be pursuing the best interest of the community. But their options are restricted by guidelines which define on what basis funding will be granted. Very little of the funds coming into Chelsea is to deal with the present problems of the place and its people. And the CDA office appears quite helpless to do anything about the situation.

Conclusions

In what stages of project decisionmaking is it important that community representatives be involved?

In the previous discussion some of the important considerations underlying the opportunities and restrictions on citizen involvement in decisionmaking were alluded to. The influence of market operations on the definition of choices and the impact at the local level of national government policies are seen to eliminate some of the decision stages by virtue of their inflexibility and complexity. In short, the government and the private market don't want a community project to upset the rationale underlying the use of resources as determined by the market.

The guidelines which define the use of public funds restrict opportunities to innovate within several of the decision stages. In so doing the guidelines protect the market from the effects of subsidized development by attempting to limit and direct its consequences. Those stages which are shielded from disruption are: Recognition of a need to organize space; resource allocation and purpose of the organization; and selecting a location.

Where community involvement in planning can be particularly effective is in promoting the innovative use of "human"

and "space" resources. With funds to support a project, communities have been able to plan combinations of uses and management schemes which are uniquely suited to the needs of the area. Service programs in particular, and multi-use housing and commercial schemes are projects communities have successfully developed at the local level.

While residents are at the present time effectively excluded from decisions about resource allocation and priority setting, through the local planning process they have opportunities to exert influence over the use of funds received at the local level. Even when funds are specifically designated for a project, in its planning residents can promote innovative solutions which meet their needs. This leads to the suggestion that the decision stages of programming and management are most important to residents if they are to influence the development and continuing use of a facility.

The programming stage is pivotal in overall project planning. Programming decisions necessarily influence the utilization of resources and sometimes the location of a project. In this stage residents are able to influence the organization and purposes of development, and oversee the negotiations between different actors. And programming

decisions begin to suggest three-dimensional organization and structure which is carried through into the design and constructing stages.

Participation in management is a logical outgrowth of programming. Without control over management decisions there is no guarantee that over a building's life, commitments made to the community about programs and space will be upheld. But more importantly, management influence is necessary to promote changing activities and programs to meet the community's needs. Through local control, the facility generates an area organization and political base which can be used to exert influence over future changes in the community.

THE DYNAMIC OF TIME AND CONTINUITY

To date the design of participatory processes has stressed membership, representativeness and consensus building as concerns of paramount importance. The concentration has been on assuring equal access to the process of decision-making.

Sometimes the participatory process itself, though, can hamper the effectiveness and opportunities available to participants. This chapter raises some questions that are of consequence to the participation of community residents in a planning process. The issues are loosely grouped under the headings of "time" and "continuity".

During the extended period of time necessary for a large-scale project to be realized, the usefulness and appropriateness of a participatory process can come into question. The passing of time can promote reduced participant commitment to the process and also affect resource commitments. The immediacy of individual initiative is dulled and the urgency, spontaneity and spirit removed from participant's ideas. And time promotes changing circumstances which can invalidate previous decisions.

Extended participatory processes also affect continuity of membership and continuity of information. Changing membership can compromise the decisionmaking ability of a participatory process through the introduction of new

attitudes and opinions causing previous agreements to be upset. A continuing flow of information is necessary between participants to enable them to operate effectively and not at a disadvantage. And continuity is important in the sense of relating a new project to an existing place with its many unique qualities and conditions.

This chapter will speculate on the impact of these variables in the participatory planning process. Whereas the roles of different actors and the stages of building development are relatively static and unchanging, the variables of "time" and "continuity" are dynamic. There are implications for the planning process as to whether these variables are controlled or not, how they might be controlled, and what the implications of them being controlled are.

Resource Commitments

The commitment of resources is affected by time, especially financial resources. Whether funds for a development are coming from private sources or the federal government there are restrictions on its use and disuse. Sometimes the time frame for decisionmaking is dictated by the period during which funds are guaranteed.

In the case of banks, they are unwilling to guarantee an interest rate for more than six months, or to a special customer perhaps a year. Unless interest rates are declining, the developer is going to try his best to have the project finalized, approved and under construction by the end of the year. Otherwise he stands to increase the cost of the project considerably by having to negotiate another loan at a presumably higher rate. There is also the possibility that after six months or a year the bank may no longer have money available for loan.

Private investors, especially individuals looking for a tax loss on the current year, have to have their money invested by a certain deadline or else pay heavily to the government. They will keep their money in the project so long as planning is on schedule, otherwise they are likely to withdraw their support and look for a tax loss elsewhere.

The consequences of these funding restrictions and requirements is to often force planning processes to operate under crisis conditions. Funding guidelines require a phase of community participation in the making of plans but because of the funding deadline, the phase may be limited to professionals informing residents about what will be included in new development.

Those individuals or agencies which have control or influence over finances are in an extremely powerful position.

Financiers are able to negotiate for concessions, perhaps having a specially designed office in the building or one of the towers named out of them in return for investing or guaranteeing an interest rate.

The government, through the control of funds, is able to leverage for and against particular uses and activities. In return for extending the funding deadline they might want some demands by citizens to be dropped, facilities for residents to be provided in the building or the demolition of several houses to be permitted.

Funding deadlines, since they are not under the control of residents or perhaps even the local development agency, necessitate the smooth organization and conducting of a planning process. It is in the developer's and the city's best interest to keep as tight a reins as possible on discussion so as to minimize chances for disruption. On the other hand, if citizens feel they are not being served by new development their best chance to gain concessions is to threaten disruption of the process and so jeopardize funding.

Changing Circumstances

Typically, plans for a development are conceived at one moment in time and several years are spent attempting to

realize them. As time passes, though, the conditions which at one time supported development may no longer be so attractive. After years of planning, a project might not be realized. And sometimes a project is realized which is no longer needed - at least not as it is.

If development is sponsored privately, the market plays an important role in determining what facilities should be provided. Market studies are undertaken and the results used as a basis for generating a program. The developer and the financial backers are in the position of making most decisions about proposed development themselves.

In a publicly supported project, the decisionmaking process is organized quite differently. To begin with, if the project is under urban renewal it is being subsidized. Some intended activities are to meet community needs, such as housing and shopping, while other components are speculative, such as offices and high-income housing. Private development opportunities are generated by the market and public development is often in reaction to the market. Whereas private development is under the control of only a few individuals, public development is under the control of many.

The interrelationships of groups and commitments in public development is very tenuous and easily disrupted. The decisionmaking process becomes increasingly consumed with

each incremental step and its many problems, and tends to lose sight of the larger consequences of development. Since there is little accountability to the market for program decisions, choices are made as a consequence of negotiations between different groups and actors.

The Queensgate Town Center provides a good example of this problem. Although there were general use and activity guidelines established by Cincinnati's urban renewal plans, a specific program was developed out of negotiations amongst many different interest groups. A developer was brought into the process, but after a market study determined the proposed program to be unfeasible without massive subsidy, the developer backed out.

Seemingly undeterred, the Queensgate task force continued detail planning of the project while searching for funds to support it. The only funds forthcoming were to support public facilities. None of the desired community facilities were realized.

One can argue that the plans were so grandiose and speculative that it was unlikely that they could ever be realized. In a smaller project perhaps the community facilities could have been supported, but a reduction of the project's scale was never considered.

When federal funds dropped out with the HUD moratorium of 1972, the reaction was to break development into three

phases. Many commitments and agreements had been made and to change the scope and scale of the project would have doomed it. Rather the task force felt it was better to foster a slim hope that the project would be realized than to retreat to a smaller one which might have had a better chance, but would have upset the apple cart.

The problem with Queensgate, and so many other projects like it, is that the planning process involved many people participating in an extremely long series of negotiations. The larger the project the more interests are likely to be affected, the longer are the negotiations and the more complex and inflexible are final plans.

Inflexibility in adapting to changing circumstances is a definite liability. Most planning processes do not seem structured to provide the flexibility necessary to absorb changing information and participation. It is difficult to guarantee, however, that participating representatives will remain representative of their constituency or that information collected earlier will remain valid for the duration of the process.

Participant Commitment

To retain citizen interest in the planning process, results of participation must soon be in evidence. The time schedule for residents is generally shorter than for other actors. Once the planning process begins residents expect to see progress and do not have the patience to sit through extended negotiations. As meetings drag on and topics become more technical, residents begin to think that perhaps the project will never happen.

It is difficult to determine what is an optimum amount of time for a participatory process so that continued community involvement is assured. Obviously the time varies according to the project, the conditions the process operates under, the availability of representatives and the topics under discussion.

A more useful approach is to establish minimum and maximum amounts of time for participation. The minimum amount of time is determined by the responsibilities representatives take on in the planning process. They need time to be appraised of all information collected to date, the implications of the information as the professionals see it and decisions and conditions which have already been established that limit the range of possible options.

A second block of time is needed for discussion of the purposes of development as the community sees it. There has to be time for representatives to talk with their constituencies and present information and receive reactions. A third block of time is necessary for representatives to establish their positions in the process from which to negotiate for or against particular outcomes. In order for representatives to perform these tasks a minimum of four months is considered necessary.

Having entered a process, a representative may be willing to commit a further six months to meetings and discussions. But only so long as there is movement and his participation is, in his eyes, necessary and rewarding. If details of a project cannot be worked out during this time, the representative has cause to believe that they never will be worked out. As time passes, stamina and enthusiasm decrease and the representative is subject to increasing pressure from his constituency to get the project moving. If there are results to be seen soon after decisions are made, participants may be willing to commit longer than 10 months to a project.

For smaller projects, on the scale of a community center, for instance, participation may be for less than four months. A "games" approach such as that utilized in planning for the Gananda Neighborhood Center, allows for the collection and

discussion of information and the presentation of different viewpoints. Such an approach might be used a couple of times with different constituencies or at different stages in the planning process. After the "games", forums could be held each month to show and explain how work is progressing and to make changes based on peoples' reactions.

Whether the participatory process is only a couple of months or a year long, there are a few aspects to their organization which are common and critical to the continuing involvement of citizens. The most important of these is that there must be a clear articulation of the purposes and goals of the process. Secondly, there must be an agenda for the duration of the process which sets the topics to be discussed. The agenda may be modified during negotiations, but it is important for participants to know at different times where they are in the overall planning process.

It is important that a set of rules be established at the outset to govern the way in which discussions are held. This is not to suggest that Roberts' Rules of Order are to be used - they aren't. But rather that there should be ways to keep the agenda moving and to prevent individuals from monopolizing the floor. Constant disruptions and lack of organization will undermine participants willingness to continue in discussions and could mean the end of the process.

At the same time, it is important not to overburden the operation of the process with rules. Participation depends on discussion and negotiation between different interest groups and should be kept unbridled. The other extreme is to formalize the process to the point that community residents feel unable and unwelcome to attend. The representatives and the process become institutionalized, and the openness of decisionmaking can be questioned.

Responsiveness of the Participatory Process

Participatory processes are not a forum where many interests come together to subjugate their own needs for a common good. Planning processes which are based on this premise of self-sacrifice must inevitably fail. There is little if any information to indicate that participants enter a process with such an attitude.

Rather the opposite is true. Participants enter a process and stake out a position and then proceed to negotiate around that position seeking support. They are willing to give some ground, but only so long as their initial goals are not compromised to the point of being doubtfully realizeable.

Negotiation is to find a common ground amongst the many interests represented that will allow each of them to gain as a consequence of development. Some interests may gain directly. Shop owners will surely get more business if a high-rise apartment is built nearby. But neighboring homeowners may object to the shadow that will be cast across their property or the amount of new traffic generated on local streets.

These people will want to be compensated for the "negative externalities". The impact of development will have to be ameliorated before residents will support the construction of apartments. It may be the case that the developer has to find new houses for some of the home owners, or pay them damages if they stay. But in the end, neither party will come out of negotiations considering himself a "loser" in the bargain.

If a community is discussing reasons to support new development, one of the more obvious reasons is that it will provide 'opportunities' for residents. Such an opportunity may be the chance to move into one of the new apartments or a place to sit in the new park. Perhaps a training program will be established for local shopowners to help them manage their new stores. Or perhaps sidewalks around the project will be replaced and enhance the existing business area.

These are concerns of a different scale than most discussed in the planning process. They are concerns of the individual and are not easily represented in the kinds of 'important' decisionmaking that happens in a participatory process. But these concerns are no less important to residents, and support the contention that a place is a reflection of the many large and small actions undertaken by people over a long time. Participatory processes must necessarily operate at different scales, open to discussion about small issues as well as the big ones. The responsiveness of the participatory process to the concerns of individuals and groups is as important as finding common ground amongst participants on which to build support for the project. In fact there may be little difference.

Continuity of People in the Process

On the one hand the intent of participatory planning is to include those individuals and interests who will either benefit or suffer as a consequence of proposed change. And on the other hand there is a need to provide continuity of membership throughout the planning process.

It would seem that there has to be a delicate balance between the two; between uncontrolled and unorganized

advocacy by the individual and highly organized, controlled and so closed and repressive decisionmaking by a group. Without being quite so extreme, the two approaches to participation evidenced in open-ended and closed-ended models tends towards those ends.

Open-ended processes are concerned primarily with educating participants or influencing a change in behavior. They are ongoing without specific end and tend to be self-fulfilling. An educating process may show citizens how to go about solving problems through discussions and meetings. Or a behavior change process may approach representatives of different community groups as a key to influencing changed attitudes within their constituencies, orienting them towards more commonly shared goals.

Closed-ended models are generally goal directed, and use participation as a means to attain the goal. Participants may be used as resources and consultants in the making of plans for neighborhood improvements, or perhaps trained to become managers of public facilities. In the first instance the goal of participation is the involvement of citizens in a planning partnership, and in the second citizen control.

Cooptation is also a strategy for participation. It can take many guises, but is toward the same goal: absorption of potentially threatening and destabilizing elements into the dominant group. Cooptation is used to difuse confronta-

tion by delegating power to those who are powerless yet threatening. Legitimization of the plans of the powerful can be gained through inclusion of community leadership in the planning process. Something like acceptance through association.

Different participatory models are used for different tasks. In a city which has well organized community groups, the planning process might be structured less towards "educating" participants and more towards involving them in a planning 'partnership'. On the other hand, in a community of politicized and competing groups there may be a move to 'coopt' the leadership and influence the 'behavior' of residents so that an organized approach to community problems can be undertaken. In a community with little organization, participation may include both 'education' and 'cooptation' strategies. As residents grow more aware of the opportunities available to them, the process would be directed towards undercutting emerging power groups and steering discussion along a predetermined route. There is the risk that community participants might become alienated and react through confrontation.

In the 'education' and 'behavior influence' strategies of participation, the participant is the focus of attention and the tasks are secondary. The participant is being "programmed" so that he can effect change and influence

others. This form of participation is most utilized by community organizers as a way of improving the capability of residents to solve local problems. The residents self-confidence is improved, and hope and optimism is inspired as he learns how to operate within the system.

Task related strategies such as would be used in planning new development see the participant as either a "partner" or as an influence to "coopt". There is the realization that the participant is a source of information and opinion that is useful or should be repressed, and that in either case, he must be a part of decisionmaking.

As has sometimes been the case, individuals who strive to be appointed representatives are not always so. They may have little influence within the group they are representing, and not a leader in a situation that requires leadership. The individual may benefit from the political exposure, supposedly advocating for the needs of his constituency but in fact acquiescing to the decisions of other actors as a way of securing his position and support in the group.

Depending on the constituency's strength and commitment, they may attempt to remove their representative. He may not adequately represent the opinions of his constituency or perhaps his acquiescence is understood to mean that he has

sold-out. Of course, the representative may also lose interest in the process and stop attending of his own will.

But no matter what the reason, a change in membership of the decisionmaking body can send ripples of discontent, disruption and concern through a participatory process. If indeed the past representative has inadequately or incorrectly represented the needs of his constituency, or acquiesced in the hope of future reward, the constituency will not want earlier decisions to stand.

How that problem is solved is not easily answered. It may be the case that plans have gone forward and no changes can be made. Or even if changes can be made, other participants may be unwilling to reopen discussion and negotiate another agreement. The problem is one which should be recognized at the outset of planning, and countered by modeling a process which provides for accountability to each constituency beyond that afforded by its representative.

Some participatory processes distribute information to residents by way of flyers and newspapers. Others hold open meetings on a regular basis to present their work and to solicit comments and reactions before embarking on the next stage of negotiations. A different approach keeps residents directly involved in decisionmaking by scheduling intensive

meetings at the beginning of each stage. A representative would be appointed to pursue the constituency's expressed needs through each stage of negotiations.

Continuity of membership is necessary to provide stability to the decisionmaking process, and to assure a continuing flow of information back to each constituency. Lack of continuity can disrupt negotiations, prolong the planning process, undercut the influence of a constituency and in so doing threaten the representativeness and support for a planning effort.

Continuity of Information

So that each actor in the participatory process is able to operate as a decisionmaker, there has to be a continuing flow of information into the process and between participants. Many actors bring their own information and technical assistance with them into the process. Community representatives are not so lucky. They are often in the position of having to react to information supplied by other actors. Their positions and negotiations are built around data not necessarily reflecting the range of their concerns or needs. Without the ability and technical assistance to question the

assumptions or information of other actors, the community representative is severely restricted in the role he can play.

Two kinds of information are necessary to provide continuity in participatory planning. The first is information about the existing environment. It is used to establish a context - physical, social and economic - that is the basis for negotiating and understanding the impacts of proposed changes. The second is information which comes out of negotiations between actors over the course of the planning process.

The constituency and its representatives must direct the collection and analysis of information about their neighborhoods. This work includes the collection of quantitative information such as traffic, population, utilities and the like, as well as qualitative information supplied through observation and discussion. Typically the planner and architect is responsible for collecting the quantitative information, but alone he cannot capture the importance of the place for its residents.

The collection of a body of place-related information requires the partnership of trained professionals and neighborhood residents. Together they help in gathering and interpreting information, and in translating a constituency's ideas and goals into a set of guidelines within which new

development should evolve. Whether new development is intended to change or preserve conditions, the connectedness of different factors that together help in explaining the unique qualities of the place are essential to know before the impact of different proposals can be understood.

As decisions are made in each decision stage, there is a growing body of information that is pulled through the planning process, and which limits the range of possibilities in each succeeding stage. Those actors who have a continuing interest in project planning, such as the developer and perhaps several public agencies, are in a stronger negotiating position than an actor who enters the process for only one or two decision stages.

The developer, through past experience, has developed an expertise which enables him to operate more effectively than inexperienced residents. Sitting in on each meeting, the developer is able to remember past discussions or statements by individuals that suggest ways in which he should plan his negotiating strategy in each stage and for different actors.

City agencies, too, have experience in negotiating that is passed along, either because the same individual is involved in each project, or more likely, there is documentation in the form of letters, memoranda, agreements, studies and

graphics that enable successive city planners to sustain a negotiating approach through the years, if they want, and particularly during a single project.

The resident is at a disadvantage in extended planning processes. In some cases representatives remain throughout the planning process, but it is more often the case that representation will change the longer a process extends beyond a year or so. With each change in membership there is a step away from past events and negotiations. Updating new representatives does not illuminate the compromises that were made or provide insight into some of the assumptions underlying each actors position.

For the citizen in particular, and for other actors who might enter the project at different periods and for different durations, the planning process should carry with it a body of information which is generated as a consequence of discussions and negotiations. Each actor carries this information with him through the process in different ways. The citizen is in the position of having to rely on the information of others, if its available, or on the observations and interpretations of past representatives to build a larger view of the environment within which discussions are operating.

There are many ways of documenting information and meetings such as through written memoranda, sound recordings or video. And the documents that are produced as a result of

negotiations in the form of agreements and designs also provide insights into the process. But there are few ways of providing a continuous and evolving sense of the negotiation process with its many nuances for those who are not in attendance. Memoranda and minutes do not adequately represent the emphasis actors place on different issues, or perhaps their resistance to negotiating openly.

These documentation methods are all geared around end-state conditions, reporting on the product of discussion rather than the process. Video offers an excellent opportunity to document the process as it happens, and provides a means for involving residents more fully in the decisionmaking process. If the representative played a video of each planning meeting to his constituency, they could discuss current issues and lend direction.

In some places, such as Dayton, Ohio, cable television enables residents to watch and even participate directly in discussions. Either by telephone or by pushing a "yes" or "no" button on their television their votes can immediately be tabulated. Through technical innovation more people are able to become a part of the planning process. And at the same time the entire public process can be recorded for future reference.

THREE WAYS TO PROMOTE RESPONSIVE PLANNING

By now grounds have been established for participatory models which are "responsive" to the needs and limitations of community residents. To be "responsive" a planning process should be directed towards creating opportunities for increased community control over change, the enfranchising of residents and local interest groups in the negotiating process and an implementation strategy which provides for quick response to decisions made as part of project planning.

This last chapter, while not proposing a new participatory model, suggests three areas that require particular attention if the role of citizens in planning is to be increased. There are many participatory models in existence, some perhaps better than others in supporting citizen involvement. But there is room for improvement in them all.

The following three suggestions outline what some of these improvements might be:

- 1) Strengthen the role of citizens in the decision stages of "programming" and "management",
- 2) Introduce participant-based "references" or "premises" as an aid to decisionmaking, and
- 3) Organize decisionmaking around an "adaptive" implementation strategy.

Adoption of just one of these suggestions can have a beneficial influence on citizen participation and the representation of local concerns in the planning process. Suggestions are intended to strengthen the involvement of citizens in decisionmaking while reducing the influence of "time" and "continuity" on planning and managing large-scale projects.

- 1) Strengthen the role of citizens in the decision stages of "programming" and "management".

In concluding the chapter "The Eleven Decision Stages of Building", the position was taken that citizen involvement should focus on the two stages of "programming" and "management". Involvement in these stages supports citizen attempts to control the creation and ongoing administration of facilities in their neighborhoods.

But there are more reasons why these two stages are important; they are stages in which resource allocation is dealt with. While most allocation decisions are made at the state and national level, citizen involvement in programming and management enables influence over funding decisions at the local level. The programming of activities and facilities cannot be separate from the allocation of resources to support those plans. And management includes allocation decisions in support of new facilities and programs as well as existing ones.

Most importantly for the future of citizen control, local management works to create a political base around a facility or program. Some facilities, such as community centers, may not have large budgets, but their programs touch many different residents and constituencies. The organization created

around a facility can provide powerful leverage in furtherance of local control and discretion over funds.

Not all facilities are easily managed by citizens. Nor can citizens be expected to manage facilities and programs themselves. Housing, for instance, is very difficult to manage and does not provide the political leverage as would a community center. Since residents are managing the housing of other residents, there is the potential for illwill and more problems than a local management group is probably willing to accept. In most cases of citizen controlled facilities, they have hired a professional manager who operates the facility for them.

The focus on "programming" and "management" stages, then, is not only to gain control over change at the community level. These stages also provide an opportunity to establish a political base in the community and an opportunity to begin to exert influence on the allocation of resources. But what are the barriers that effectively prohibit citizens from participating in these stages now?

Over the years the architecture and planning professions have developed a specialization and mystique in their methods which excludes the untrained from participating in planning decisions. As government got involved in setting standards

and priorities for growth, development and renewal on a national level, so local decisions were increasingly dictated by bureaucratic requirements.

But the situation is changing. Citizens in urban areas especially have demanded and received more control over the planning of change in their communities. Local citizens groups and public agencies have to advocating community needs, and to confronting private developers and the government to force them to act responsibly. In both the programming and management of new development citizens are pushing for increased influence.

There are a few, scarce cases of communities actually being able to take a responsible role in both planning and managing public and private facilities. The success of these endeavours is tied to "educating" participants to the roles of planners, architects and managers.

The innovative planning "games" undertaken to program the Gananda Neighborhood Center have already been mentioned. While being only two days in duration, the games nevertheless enabled 200 participants to gain enough experience and insight into the programming process to be able to make important decisions about the future of the Center. Between each game the architects and planners explained the consequences of different participant suggestions, relating them to the emerging physical and managerial form of the building.

In the Queensgate planning process "word" diagrams were devised to relate different activities. As the diagrams evolved, physical forms and relationships were suggested between planned and existing activities. This was an early (1971) attempt at including participants in the design process as designers. The idea was that by using design as the medium for discussion, different participant suggestions could be translated into physical forms and their consequences explained.

Over the course of the 18 month planning process thirty different designs were produced, each moving a little closer to the concept of a town center on which everyone could agree. And from each design emanated a program of facilities and uses which were discussed and modified, forming the basis for a new design.

The Riverdesign* planning process undertaken in Dayton, Ohio in 1976 began as a storefront operation. The intent was to realize the potential of the Miami River as it passes through Dayton by developing amenities along the river banks. Even though after two months in the storefronts the architects had received over two thousand suggestions, they felt the popular support necessary to implement a plan was not there. The architects decided it was necessary to reach more people,

* Chad Floyd, "Riverdesign", Process: Architecture, pp.151-164.

making them aware of what was happening and getting involved.

The result was a series of six hour-long television "designathons" whereby viewers were able to telephone architects and other experts in engineering, market research and the like. Viewers called in with comments and ideas which were sketched and discussed on the spot; newspaper questionnaires were employed to gauge public reaction to the proposals. In front of television, the experts quickly had to learn how to make themselves understood. And via the medium of television, viewers had little activity relating to the architects and participating in the planning process.

These are three unusual examples. But there is a common thread which extends to other projects. What is apparent is that the architects all opened to public scrutiny the processes, assumptions and tools they used to make decisions and designs. Through explaining and relating decisions and consequences verbally and through design, they were able to open the planning process to the influence of citizens.

Professional mystique and specialization was uncovered, and competence came to the fore. The architects relied on the tools that they have always had at their disposal. What was new were ways to communicate their need for information and to publicize their work. The professionals and the citizens were all educated by the experience, and in each

instance a development program was produced which quickly gained the political and financial support necessary for implementation.

Citizen involvement in management is a similar proposition. Involvement does not require that new management strategies necessarily be developed, but rather that citizens be educated to the considerations underlying management decisions so that they can effectively participate.

The Human Resource Center was mentioned earlier as having a management board composed primarily of local citizens. They in turn appointed a full-time administrator to carry out the board's dictates. Funds for the Center are supplied by the city's school board and from money collected through rental of some of the Center's storefronts.

Management meetings are held in public, and different groups can move to have programs begun or discontinued. Rules concerning the use and hours of the Center are made by the management board. And if enough residents feel that the board is no longer responsive to the needs of the community, they can approach the school board to have new elections called. This would be unlikely though. Residents are able to bring sufficient political pressure to bear on the Center's board without having to depend on the school board.

Gananda newtown has a similar community controlled management body called the Community Facilities Corporation.

The Corporation is responsible for management of all town-wide facilities. At the neighborhood level there is a Neighborhood Facilities Association which reports to the Corporation, but which controls neighborhood centered facilities such as the school, library, cultural activities and even space for the garden club among others. Local citizens sit on the neighborhood board and receive management assistance when necessary from the community corporation.

In both these projects, community management boards have successfully operated for several years now. And residents consider them active and important influences in their communities. What enabled these boards to operate effectively is that they have a clear sense of their roles and responsibilities. They have technical assistance when necessary, and have assurance that decisions they make will be implemented.

Community management boards that operate most effectively are ones established for new projects; ones which were planned for and initiated along with the facilities they control. Community management boards which are set up within existing management organizations, such as tenants groups for public housing, seem to have little influence over decisionmaking. Without the entire management structure being overhauled,

modifications are motivated more by political necessity than the need to enhance effectiveness of a program or facility.

Still, even with citizen management organizations within larger management organizations, citizens have established a political base from which to begin to effect change. While citizens groups may establish their capability in managing facilities, there are legal responsibilities which enable a housing authority or a city administration to exert its right to have the final say over what decisions and changes are made or not made. So long as political bodies retain control over management decisions, there is little opportunity for citizens groups to act in more than an advisory capacity.

- 2) Introduce participant-derived "conditions" or "references" as an aid to decisionmaking.

The introduction of "conditions" or "references" is a way of focusing negotiations on the issues that have to be resolved before a project can go forward. They provide a means of establishing the position of each actor towards development. This approach to consensus building attempts to raise all the relevant issues at the outset of negotiations so that meeting time can be used effectively, and the participatory process directed towards resolving specific issues.

The comment was made in an earlier chapter, that other actors in the development process, such as developers, administrators and institutions bring a body of information with them into negotiations. It is information prepared specifically for each project such as financial pro-forma's, building and land-use restrictions, square footage requirements for marketing and other things. They are considerations that each actor is putting forward as the reason why something should or should not be done. These considerations might be characterized as "references" which serve to direct different actors in the decisions they make throughout the planning process.

Yet it is rarely the case that community participants or constituencies are able to put forward a set of "conditions"

or "references" which define their attitudes towards development. This second suggestion, then, is that as part of the information collection procedure that precedes a planning process, a set of "conditions" are generated for each actor which reflect the extent of concerns and the position of that actor towards development. Professional assistance would be available to each of the community participants to help them develop their negotiating "references".

The belief is that not only do the "references" provide a visible articulation of the range of concerns of actors, but they also define a range of solutions somewhere in which the best solution resides. And while providing a means of communicating between actors, the "references" can also be used to evaluate the impacts of different proposals on the community. The idea is not unlike that of the Environmental Assessment; proposed changes advocated by each group are evaluated against the existing environment and provide a basis for negotiating the range of outcomes acceptable to all parties.

Different actors are putting forward "conditions" which are discussed and negotiated over. In fact what is being discussed is their possible impact on the community. Put together, the sets of "conditions" can produce a number of alternate development schemes, each one reflecting the interests of one or more actors. Negotiation is towards

eliminating some of the "references" and modifying others to promote an acceptable solution. In the course of negotiations, perhaps new "references" are evolved, and become the basis of a final agreement.

The agreed upon set of "references", provides guidance for the professional through the various stages of implementation. There would be programming references, design references, management references and perhaps location and resource allocation references. The eleven decision stages provide a framework within which references are placed, and where task oriented participatory groups can further refine their meanings.

An example of this process is provided in programming for the Queensgate II Town Center. After the coordinating task force had, over the course of several months, determined generally what the components of the Town Center should be, they organized several working task forces within six different program areas. These working task forces further refined the general program through meetings with specialists and citizens, and developed a set of specific recommendations to be pursued in project planning.

One of the design references for the Pilot Center was the area's brick rowhouse. Residents in the participatory process decided that they liked the scale and character of the street provided by the rowhouse. Rather than tearing down

many ho^uses to make way for the new community center, they wanted the buildings to be built as infill, respecting the scale and the qualities of the existing neighborhood. Consequently the new center was designed around a contemporary interpretation of the rowhouse, using the same materials and proportions, but with different detailing and windows. Although the center spanned three lots along the street, the old lot-lines were reflected in different height copings and ground level entrances that reflected a little of what once existed on the site.

In the Human Resources Center a management reference was found in the typical shopping center. The concept for the Center was of an open mall lined by "service" shops. Rather than accumulating all the services under one roof, the idea evolved of designing a street through the building with a series of storefronts. Different services could move in and out of the stores as they wanted, and the independent shop-like spaces provided flexibility in administrating and operating the Center for its management board and tenants.

The presentation of "conditions" by each participant in the planning process is not a new idea. Citizens groups already enter negotiations with particular results in mind. This new approach suggests to illuminate the "conditions" at the outset of negotiations, using them as a way to promote

an acceptable solution, rather than starting with a solution developed by the city or the developer and having to negotiate around it.

In this new approach the participant is enfranchised in the planning process from the beginning, able to propose and advocate a position on those issues considered most important by his constituency. The final development proposal grows out of the negotiating process, reflecting the range of concerns and interests rather than one scheme being bent into compliance.

- 3) Organize decisionmaking around an "adaptive" implementation strategy.

An "adaptive" implementation strategy is one which is sensitive to the consequences of the passing of time. Unless there is a good possibility that a participatory planning process will result in promoting new development, citizens are not likely to participate wholeheartedly in the process. As time slips by their willingness to continue and their belief that anything will happen subsides.

The passing of time can also undermine the basis for previous decisions. People will be replaced in the planning process the longer it drags on. With new people come different opinions and perhaps changed attitudes towards agreements already made. And changes in information, as time goes by, can negate the basis for agreements.

Some of the restraints imposed by time on the planning process were raised earlier in this thesis. They include the period of time community residents can be expected to commit to a planning process (4 to 10 months), and the period of time financial commitments and quantitative information can be guaranteed (3 to 12 months).

The implication is that a development which is expected to take longer than 10 to 12 months from planning to construction has less chance of being realized than one which can be

planned and constructed in less than a year. But the fact is that many large-scale renewal projects require several years of planning and design before they receive the commitments and approvals necessary for construction to begin. If previous agreements are not to be undermined, and outdated information utilized as the basis for decisionmaking, the planning process should be organized to minimize the impact of these variables.

The key to "adaptive" implementation is continuity of decisionmaking tied to ongoing execution. In the case of large-scale development this would suggest two approaches. One would break the overall development program into a number of quickly realizable phases, and the other would institute a "fast-track" development process whereby planning runs almost parallel with execution.

Both approaches recognize the volatility of resources and commitments. The first model is predicated on using those resources and commitments available at one moment in time to undertake development in an incremental fashion. The other model proposed is intended to generate inertia and extended commitments by translating plans and decisions into action almost immediately.

The incremental model might be considered "phased" or "as needed" implementation. A planning project for such

development would be composed of two parts. The first part would set overall development plans, perhaps as performance guidelines. And the second part would be a recurring participatory process through the various decision stages to develop each phase. As it became necessary, the guidelines would be revised to reflect changing needs and values.

The second model might be considered to be "continuous" implementation. Here too there would be two parts to the planning process. The first part would be the same as for the "phased" model with the setting of overall development guidelines, but the second part would be different. Several participatory processes would be happening at once about different aspects of the project. Some may be working on buildings, others on activities and still another on public space. The various groups would have to move in tandem through the decision stages so as to keep supplying the planners and architects with information.

Both models would require a coordinating task force to oversee the process. The task force would be responsible for contact with people and institutions outside the process, and would revise and interpret development guidelines as necessary. It would provide or arrange for technical assistance to the groups when required, and keep discussion moving.

Continuity of participation and information flow in the planning process is controlled in two ways in these models.

In the first model development is limited in scale by the period of time resources and information can be guaranteed. In the second model, since decisionmaking and implementation is evolving in parallel, there is built in flexibility which enables decisionmaking to react to changing circumstances as they occur.

The Cincinnati and Gananda projects are good examples of each approach. In Cincinnati the West End Task Force developed a general program for renewal in the Queensgate area, then set up separate project oriented task forces to follow through on the program. One task force was responsible for a 348 unit high-density housing development and another task force was responsible for the Town Center.

The housing was realized four years later in 1971 and planning for the Town Center continued into 1973 before a first phase was constructed. And the Town Center itself was broken down into a number of planning processes; one to determine what the scope of development should be, then several task forces pursuing different parts of the project.

In Gananda the neighborhood center had to be constructed in seven months, from planning to completion, so that it could open in time for the first residents to occupy the newtown. Programming was initiated with a series of planning "games" and then over the course of the next three or four months steering committee meetings refined the activity

requirements and space needs as the Center was under construction. The Center was completed on time and was well received by its users.

The smaller the pieces of development, the more manageable the development process becomes. But manageability has to be weighed against the leverage lost through incremental development. If mixed-use development is broken down into essentially single-use development phases, the opportunity to leverage community facilities, for instance, assigned to a second phase of development, against public facilities, developed in the first phase, is lost.

The Queensgate II Town Center is a perfect example. Funds were available for public facilities but none were available for much needed community facilities. Rather than attempting to leverage the community facilities against the public ones, the public facilities were developed alone. With that went the chance to realize the community buildings. Each piece of the development package was considered independent, and funds sought to promote each piece. Those pieces that were readily funded were the only ones constructed.

While there can be no set rule as to how a multi-use development should be realized, it is often the case that some pieces of a development package are less attractive to investors than others. But the only way to develop these

less attractive pieces, such as community buildings, is to tie them to attractive pieces. On a smaller scale, such as with incremental development, this same approach should be followed. Otherwise there is the real possibility that the easily funded facilities will always be constructed and the more difficult ones never will be.

APPENDIX A QUEENSGATE II TOWN CENTER

During the past sixty or seventy years, the historic character of the Queensgate community has undergone dramatic change. As a result of urban renewal programs and expressway construction, the heart of the community had been ripped out. Over the years the remaining streets decayed. There was nothing unusual in their pattern of decay. It was caused in part by the lack of land-use controls in the early years of the twentieth century, when commercial-industrial developments were allowed to be mixed haphazardly into the already declining poorer residential neighborhoods of Millcreek.

Gradually the area became uniformly impoverished and predominantly black. By the late 1930's a large area of the old Queensgate was demolished to make way for the kind of institutionalized public housing that was built in so many of the larger cities in the United States after World War II.

Considerable clearance for each of these projects was necessary. And many additional acres of rundown residential structures were demolished in Queensgate under the slum clearance provision of urban renewal. Hundreds of low-income families were displaced during the 1950's and early 1960's - between 1960 and 1968 the population dropped from

4600 to 1200. But apart from industrial development in Queensgate I, nothing was built due to lack of federal funds. Large sites remained vacant. And citizens' frustrations mounted.

In 1966, in response to citizen pressure, the City Manager established the West End Task Force. The Task Force was composed of citizens representing various economic and social interests in the West End; officials representing City Hall; and representatives from the Metropolitan Housing Authority and the Board of Education. Its purpose was to prepare a general plan for the entire West End community, with particular emphasis on Queensgate II and III.

The new plan, incorporating inputs from the residents themselves, was aimed at increasing diversity and options. The master plan identified two projects for immediate detailed planning and implementation: 1) high density residential development to provide housing for families already displaced, and also to encourage the integration of families of differing income and social backgrounds; and 2) a Town Center, to be located at the edge of Queensgate adjacent to the Music Hall.

As the new master plan for Queensgate II and III was progressing during the months preceding its adoption, it was becoming clear that a mechanism for implementing the plan's recommendations would be needed. The West End

Development Corporation (WEDCO) was therefore brought into being in 1970 as the citizens' non-profit arm of the Task Force.

Late in 1970, WEDCO proceeded with architectural studies, and in 1971 entered into a joint venture with a private sector developer. Today Queensgate Center, as the Queensgate II component in the city's inner ring of new housing is called, is in place. The first phase of 348 high-density residential units and 40,000 square feet of commercial space is substantially complete and occupied.

Yet the real focus of the Queensgate master plan is the Town Center. The community called for its own town center "to build a new focus of community identity, a place symbolizing its character and aspirations as a community within the city."

In selecting a site on Central Parkway at Music Hall where the Parkway could be bridged, the Task Force found a location which couldn't not only act as a joint focus for Queensgate and Over-the-Rhine, but could be a metropolitan focus as well.

According to the architect, the goal was the development of a Town Center so rich in its diversity -- in its shops and offices, its cultural and educational facilities, its plazas and festivals -- that it would breathe life into the restoration of historic streets, and provide a range of living and career options that would

uplift the local communities and act as a magnet to new families of all incomes, backgrounds, and walks of life.

In 1971 work on the Town Center began with orientation meetings between the sub-committee and various agencies. At the meetings, inventories of needs and uses for the Town Center were laid out and lists of people and groups to be interviewed were drawn up.

Throughout the Spring of 1971, interviews were conducted with hundreds of people. The interviews were sometimes held formally with groups; but more frequently they were storefront meetings with people dropping in to talk with the planners and architects, or with people met on the sidewalks, on their front porches, in their homes, at churches, in shops, restaurants and bars, in workshops and in the parks and play areas. The interviews ranged from the directors and staff of agencies to elderly people in the public housing, from professional men and women to the owners of small businesses, from cultural groups to housewives and students.

The purpose of the interviews was to examine critically, from the point of view of the future users of the Town Center, the inventories of need prepared by the Task Force. But an important product of the interviews was the perception of the people, how they viewed themselves and their community, how they saw its future, and what they felt its most urgent priorities to be.

As a result the architects learned that to the elderly the provision of bus shelters and tree-shaded walks was of considerable importance. Other people talked at length about the good old days, the past heterogeneity of Queensgate, and the need for social mix, for plurality, for a community which, in spite of diversity and richness, had a sense of identity.

For many citizens, the remaining historic streets were important links to a rich past, representing an emotional anchor for the community, a sense of continuity at the threshold of new and dramatic changes in Queensgate. They talked about the social and income mix of the past, how rich and poor, industrialists and artisans, shared the same churches, parks and schools; and they compared this perception of the past with today's isolation by income, race and status.

The architects also learned that both Queensgate and Over-the-Rhine had important cultural contributions to make to that future. Citizens in both communities repeatedly drew attention to their cultural richness; the jazz and bluegrass music; street theater; black history; the folklore of Appalachia; mountain crafts; soul food; the rich idioms of local speech; the poets and painters; the rich and individual cultural expressions of both communities.

Citizens called for the University of Cincinnati to be involved in a higher education center. Music Hall

was frequently the focus of discussion. Both communities felt excluded. Music Hall had become a metropolitan cultural center for classical music and ballet. In the past, of course, Music Hall was an integral part of the cultural life of the community which lived around it. But today there was little or no dialogue between Music Hall and the cultural richness and needs of the inner city.

The citizens saw Music Hall itself providing one bridge, by opening itself up to community arts programs and programs of community interest, jazz, bluegrass, and even rock. But they saw another bridge in educational television. The goal of bringing together local and metropolitan culture, and thereby breaking down social and cultural barriers was a stated objective of WCET-TV, Cincinnati's community and educational television station. Television as an art form and as a communications medium is shared by all of the groups the Town Center wished to serve.

Based on the inventory of needs established by the Task Force, the interviews, and the urban design analyses, a series of word diagrams was made to show how various ideas formed clusters of uses on the site.

These early word diagrams spawned a series of urban design themes which remained constant throughout the subsequent four-year design process. For example, the word diagrams separated traffic flows, access to the site, and parking, from pedestrian flows that would link Queensgate

and Over-the-Rhine without conflict for the first time in the history of the two communities. This was to be done by means of pedestrian decks and bridges over the main traffic arteries and parking decks.

In June 1971, on the basis of the work done to date, particularly in the interviews with citizens, the West End Task Force asked each working task force to concentrate on programs and definitive recommendations within their areas of concern. Each task force consisted of a combination of citizens and agencies.

Following are the recommendations from each task force:

Health and Social Services: The Town Center's unique location at the fulcrum of community activities and transportation made it ideal for the social services and health facilities which rely on easy accessibility from the entire Basin area. In considering a health and social service center, the task force recommended counselling, consumer education, senior citizen services, psychiatric counselling, job opportunities, training for health and social service careers, and group medical practice, as components.

Cultural Center: The Cultural Center was conceived by the task force as having three major areas of concentration: creative arts workshops for the visual arts, the literary arts, music and drama; a performing arts and exhibition center; a library and resource center for local/national

distribution of cultural resources, artifacts, and history.

Education: The task force called for the University of Cincinnati to be involved in a higher education center. Citizens asked specifically for business education, education in arts management, educational programs to link high school graduates with professional careers, high school equivalence programs for adults, adult mid-career training programs, and non-degree general programs, particularly in the arts.

Commercial Facilities: This working task force emphasized options for the small businessman, to respond not only to local needs, but also to attract commuting visitors from metropolitan Cincinnati. It identified these two categories of commercial uses, and developed the unit types and square footages and inventories of businesses.

Housing: The task force on housing concentrated on three categories of housing: 1) Subsidized family housing; for rent and sale. The task force endorsed the Urban Renewal Plan figures for the Town Center of 350 zero and one-bedroom units, and 75 family units. 2) Middle and higher income market housing: rental and sales. The task force emphasized the many relocatees who would move back into the community if housing options would be available. Also, the Town Center would be an attraction to young middle-income professionals. 3) Rehabilitation of historic

residential streets. The task force called for leadership from the City and Cincinnati's history and landmarks foundation for leadership and revolving fund programs.

Recreation and Public Open Space: This working task force asked that the City and Housing Authority consider a series of parklets along pedestrian routes into the Town Center. The task force also urged the upgrading and enlargement of athletic facilities for Taft High School, since many prominent professional athletes come out of the West End. The Ann Street Park was considered to be an appropriate location for outdoor theater activities, particularly in relation to Music Hall.

In concept the Town Center was perceived as the fulcrum of a network of pedestrian activity and pedestrian movement, linking people and resources throughout the Basin area with the Town Center. To accomplish this the urban design provided for a well-structured sequence of identifiable urban spaces for people approaching it from various quadrants; the West End, the Over-the-Rhine, Queensgate Center, the downtown or the metropolitan region.

The Town Center itself was seen as a "man-made hill", a series of ramps and mezzanines rising from local streets to the plaza levels above the parking decks. These mezzanines would be lined with small shops, small residential units, social service functions, and offices. At the top of the "hill" the pedestrian walks out onto a multi-level square which in turn terraces down into Ann Street Park.

People coming to the Town Center by car would park in the decks within the "hill" and exit into this terraced square, walking up or down past a series of shops and cultural facilities designed to serve both the local and metropolitan markets. The design itself was governed by the confluence of the inherited grids of streets in Queensgate and the Over-the-Rhine section.

The programs which were developed by the working task forces, together with summaries of square footages and preliminary urban designs were used as the basis of market studies. These studies showed that neither the commercial areas nor the housing could be built without public subsidy. In the case of the commercial areas, the analysis showed that the small businesses which would be displaced by the widening of Central Avenue could not be relocated in new facilities within the Town Center at rentals comparable to those presently being paid in the obsolete structures they now occupy without public subsidy.

The analysis similarly showed that although market rentals and sales of housing could be stimulated by the amenity of the Town Center and its adjacency to downtown, it is unlikely that a developer would be found who would take the full risk of this market without a reasonable percentage of units guaranteed by public subsidy.

1972 was not a good year for the Town Center. Although there were already signs of a downward plunge in

the nation's economy, few people at the beginning of 1972 foresaw the major cutbacks in domestic federal programs which began in the Spring of that year, the cuts in Neighborhood Development Program (NDP) funding in May, 1972, and the HUD moratorium. The impact of these cuts on the Town Center was severe. With the collapse of the possibility of HUD funding to assist with the parking decks, and with the HUD moratorium in FHA 236 housing, it seemed that the Town Center was doomed.

The Sub-committee and the City's Department of Urban Development decided to do everything possible to overcome these setbacks. The City agreed to "write-down" the cost of the site, and allocate funds for the air-rights deck and plazas over the parking garage, providing other funding sources for the parking decks could be found. By mid-1973, financial support had been secured for Phase 1 of the revised, scaled-down design.

1) Parking Garage: A three-level parking garage, funded by the Corbett Foundation at a cost of \$1,086,725.00, built to accomodate 575 cars.

2) Air Rights Deck: A deck over the parking garage to carry air-rights development in Phase Two, funded by the City at a cost of \$1,600,000. This deck extends across Central Avenue.

3) Crosley Telecommunications Center: This building houses television and radio facilities and headquarters

for the WCET-TV Community Television station. The Center is built on an air-rights deck over the parking garage, the deck funded by HUD at a cost of \$520,370. The cost of the Center is \$3,640,000, mostly from private foundations.

4) Careers Center: A new vocational education center, open to high school students on a city-wide basis and to adults in the surrounding community. The Center is being built by the Board of Education at a cost of \$3,500,000, and the bridge is being funded jointly by HUD, the State, and the City.

5) Park and Outdoor Theater: The trees of Ann Street Park were retained to form the nucleus for landscaping, and a spiral ramp linking the Park to upper level walkways built to enclose a circular outdoor theater which will be converted to a skating rink in the winter. The \$195,000 cost was funded by the Neighborhood Development Program.

6) Pedestrian Bridge: A glass-canopied pedestrian bridge across Central Parkway linking the Town Center with Music Hall. This bridge is funded by the Corbett Foundation at a cost of \$448,000.

7) Glass-Roofed Arcade: The glass-canopied pedestrian bridge continues as an arcade and bandstand at a cost of \$783,330, funded by HUD.

8) Music Hall Arcade: The southern wing of Music Hall is remodelled to provide a public arcade linking the bridge

to future development on the Over-the-Rhine side of Central Parkway. This arcade includes a new entrance for Music Hall and connections to the street level, and is funded by the Corbett Foundation at a cost of \$318,870.

The program for Phases Two and Three, to be developed at a later time is as follows:

Phase Two:

1) High Rise Housing: Two residential towers of 150 rental or condominium units each are to be built, one adjacent to Ann Street Park and the other south of Music Hall.

2) Mid-Rise Housing and Townhouses: A cluster of mid-rise rental or condominium apartments and family townhouses, totalling approximately 150 units, will be built as a link between the Town Center and other Queensgate development south of the project area, adjacent to City Hall.

3) An Office Tower for the Trade Unions: Approximately 30,000 square feet of offices, with a small conference center, will be built on the air-rights deck built in Phase One.

4) Center for Higher Education: Approximately 30,000 square feet of seminar rooms, a resource center and library, offices, workshops and auditorium for the Consortium of Colleges and Universities.

5) Shops: Forty units including restaurants, bookshops, food shops, boutiques, beauticians, etc. will

form part of the ground floor of the structures surrounding walkways and plazas throughout the Town Center development.

6) Covered Market: A covered year-round market, on the deck bridging Central Avenue, forms part of the pedestrian link between Queensgate and Over-the-Rhine through the Town Center development.

7) Police Academy and Girls' Club: The police have asked for a location in the Town Center where their training programs can benefit from the facilities and programs of the Careers Center and the Consortium. The Girls' Club seeks a location which provides ease of access by public transit, adjacency to the Queensgate residential areas, yet will be part of the mainstream of Town Center life.

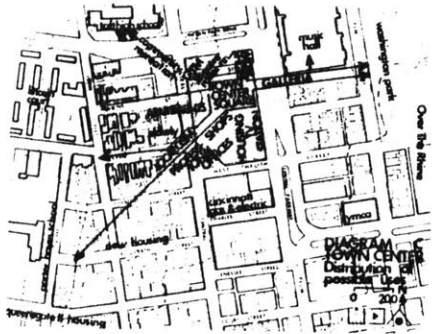
8) Professional and Corporation Offices: Lawyers, doctors, banks, and corporation offices are located south of Music Hall and in a tower block south of WCET on Central Parkway.

9) Metropolitan Reference Library: A regional reference library is located at a central point of the higher education center, yet at a key position for public pedestrian and automobile access.

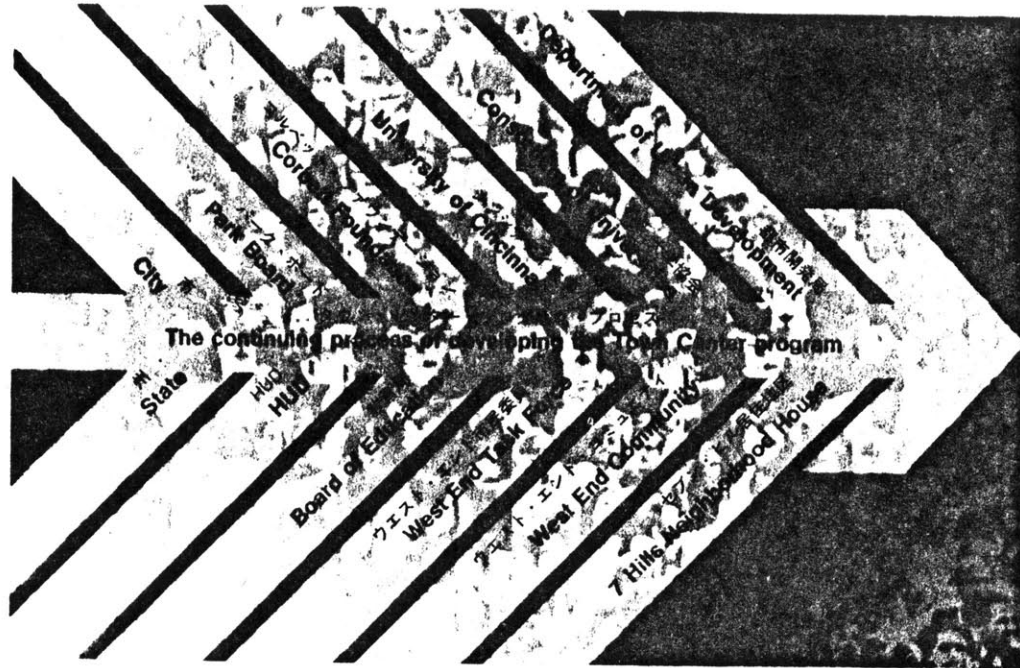
10) Historic Townhouses: A total of 51 historic townhouses are available for renovation and restoration as residential units or for conversion to office or commercial use. These are among the oldest in Cincinnati.

Phase Three programming is as follows:

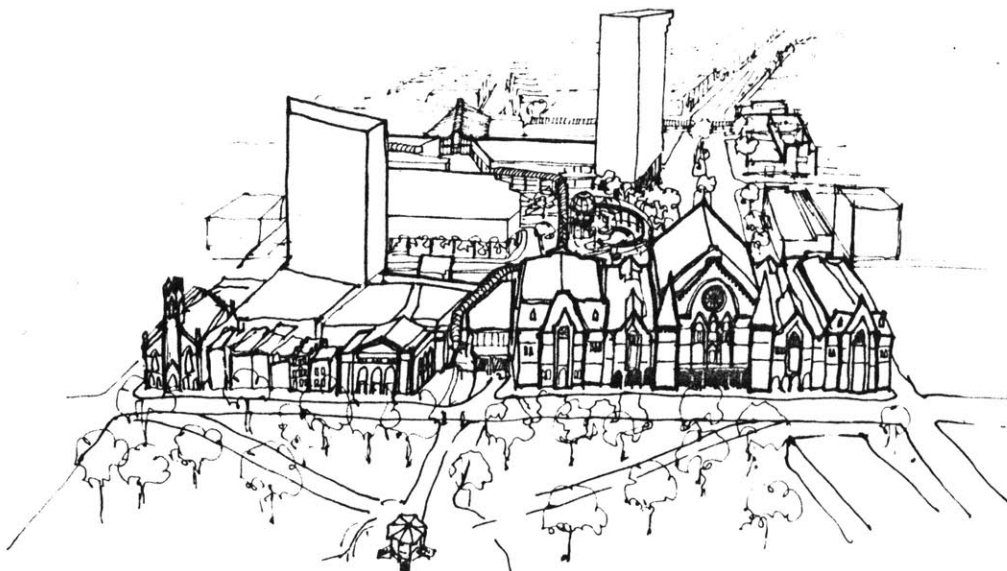
- 1) Parking Garage: South of Music Hall will be a development similar in land uses as Phases One and Two. The base is a 600-car garage with a deck to carry air-rights development.
- 2) Galleria: The air-rights deck will be at the same elevation as the Music Hall Arcade and the bridge across Central Parkway. The barrel-vaulted galleria will therefore extend the Town Center's pedestrian circulation system to Washington Park.
- 3) Commercial: On each side of the Galleria there will be two levels of shops and offices.
- 4) Apartment Tower: Facing Central Parkway there will be a 17-story tower containing 15 floors of apartments over offices at Galleria level and lobby, service, and parking at ground level. In form this tower will be a twin to the tower in Ann Street Park.
- 5) Historic Buildings: Historic buildings such as the Hamilton County Civil War Memorial theater, the residential and social service buildings on Elm and Twelfth, etc., are integrated into the design.
- 6) Commercial and Residential: This block is bisected by the pedestrian link between the Town Center and the new residential areas to the south. It is therefore a mix of ground-floor shops with residential uses over, and includes a sequence of townhouses surrounding a court and relating to restored historic townhouses on Elizabeth and Chestnut Streets.

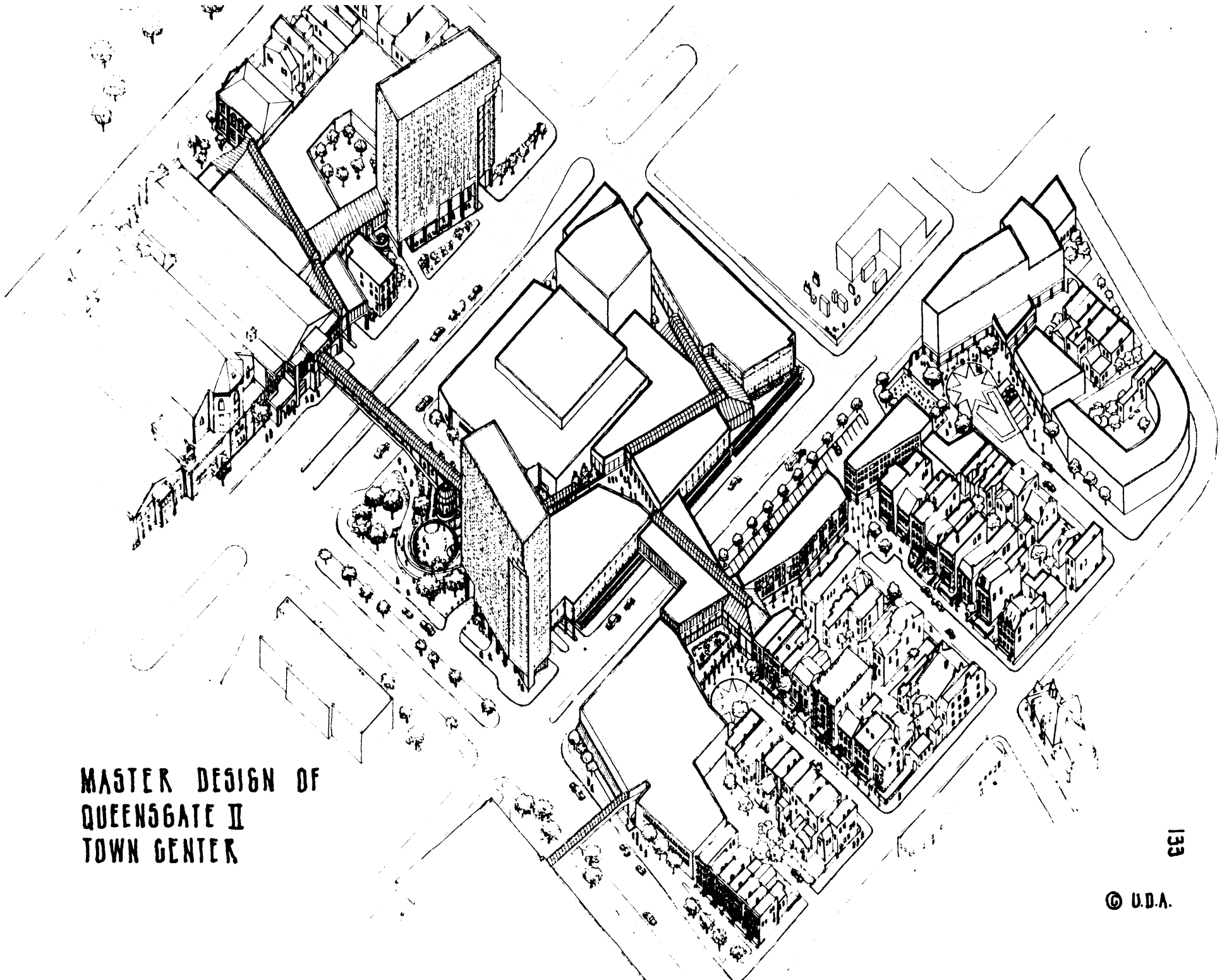


'WORD' DIAGRAMS

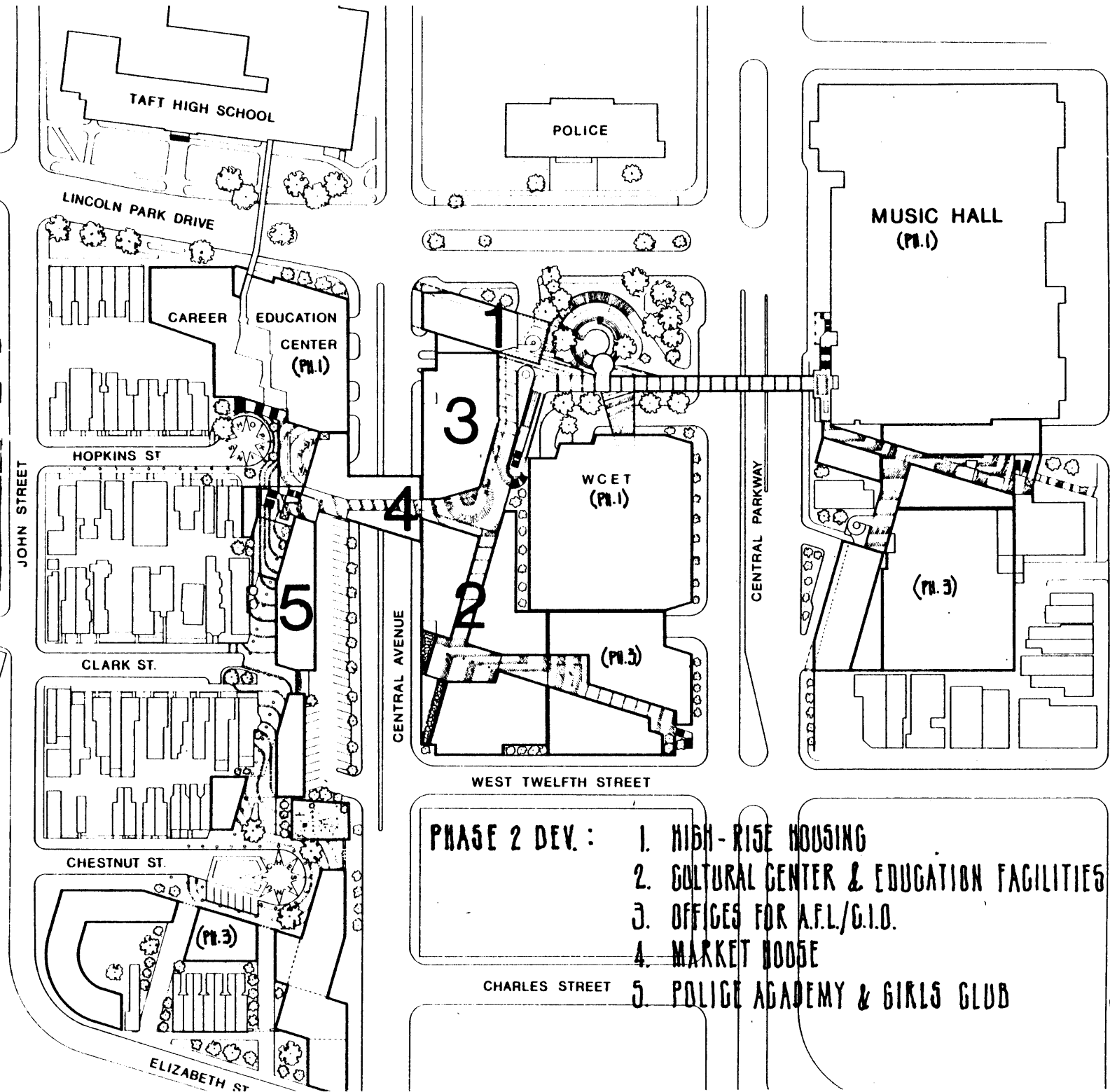


PARTICIPANTS IN PLANNING PROCESS





MASTER DESIGN OF
QUEENSGATE II
TOWN CENTER



- PHASE 2 DEV. :**
- 1. HIGH-RISE HOUSING
 - 2. CULTURAL CENTER & EDUCATION FACILITIES
 - 3. OFFICES FOR A.F.L./C.I.O.
 - 4. MARKET BOOSE
 - 5. POLICE ACADEMY & GIRLS CLUB

APPENDIX B

GANANDA NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER

Gananda is the name of a newtown for 80,000 planned for upper New York State, twenty miles southeast of Rochester. The Neighborhood Center was the first building undertaken in Gananda, and because the developers later ran into financial problems, it may be one of only a few to be constructed.

The firm of Urban Design Associates was commissioned to undertake development of the neighborhood center, and set about initiating a design process which would include people from many walks of life. While Gananda was at the time gently rolling fields, woodlands and streams, it was not a place without a community. Many participants existed who could be a part of planning and design for the center.

So in early 1975 a planning process was begun which included over two hundred participants. They included elected officials from the region; administrators of local, county and state agencies; rural people who lived in the area; and a sample of the "market", including businessmen, professionals, home builders and families. The process was like a town meeting.

The Gananda games were financed by the Educational Facilities Laboratories and lasted two days. Many of the

participants reconvened periodically to act as monitors as the programming and design process continued. It should be borne in mind that the participants not only will provide the future governance for the community, but also its social and cultural groups and its conservationists. And the public officials at metropolitan and state levels with whom the governance will have to deal long after the buildings are built and the population arrived are also involved.

Following is a description of each of the games played as part of the Gananda planning process:

Game 1: Developing an Inventory

The first game was devoted entirely to inventories of the uses and facilities which can properly be described as central, public or common in a community. These are considered in three columns: Inventory of spaces; How the space is used; How the space is serviced for those uses.

Game 2: Basic Activities

For the second game the multitude of words and phrases which fill up the second column of Game 1 (How the space is used) are examined for repetition and reduced to approximately one hundred. Players are asked to form groups of three or four and to apply these words and phrases in the appropriate column on a large sheet of paper. The

columns are headed by the following words, which are intended to describe why anyone might want to go to the center at all: Self-identity; Self-expression; Self-place; Skill development; Colloquia.

Although what these words mean was intended to be self-evident, the architects found that Self-place (physical identity with a center, physically being there, knowing that a physical center to the community exists) and Colloquia (meeting people, discussing, gossiping, attending formal and informal occasions) needed explanation.

This game demonstrated to the players that simple spaces and simple activities can be rich with personal and individual meanings, and assisted to condition the players, many of whom came from highly specialized and/or bureaucratized daily backgrounds, to think more openly, freely and creatively in the games which followed.

Game 3: Basic Human Relationships

In this game the same one hundred words and phrases as those used in Game 2 were used again, only they are spelled out twice this time, in caps and lower case. The same groups and teams are asked to place them according to first and second preferences against the following categories of basic human relationships: one to one; one to zero; one to object; many to object; one to many;

many to one; many to many; and one among many ones.

Game 4: Time

The players were asked to form eight equal groups, one for each of the categories of basic human relationships identified in Game 3. Each group dealt in this game only with the activities which in Game 3 were identified by all the players in its particular category: viz. the group many to object deals with all the results in that category and so on. The group then responds on the gaming sheet, by writing in the activity and drawing a horizontal line across the appropriate column. Where activities are continuous the horizontal lines will form a continuous line.

Game 5: Size:Enclosure

The process for this game is the same as Game 4. In the game for Size there were four categories: many people-large space; few people-large space; few people-small space; many people-small space. Many people was considered to be a range from 25 through 50, 75, 100, 250 to 500. Few people was considered to be a range from 3 through 5, 10, 15, 20 to 25. Activities were listed and horizontal lines drawn in the appropriate columns as the likely range of participants.

The Enclosure: Indoor/Outdoor game illustrated 17 different conditions from most open to most closed.

Participants decided what was a desired range of openness and closedness for each activity.

Game 6: Source of Resource

The previous game indicated the relationships of indoor activities to the outside, and relative degrees of seclusion. Game 6 attempted to increase that sense of indoor/outdoor relationship by indicating that some activities within the center may have special relationships with resources outside it. Players were asked to write the activities with which they dealt in previous games wherever they felt it might be appropriate within the four areas of: natural; neighborhood; urban; and metropolitan. Participants were also asked to draw a line in coloured pencil around those activities which they thought, as a result of their experiences in the previous games, should be clustered.

Game 7: Cluster: Public/Private

This was also a cluster game played in the same way as Game 6. In this game players were provided with a large target. At the center of the target was the word Public and at the edge the word Private. Players were asked to cluster activities in what they considered appropriate interrelationships on the target.

Throughout the games there was a secretary for each team who made notes on the discussions which were usually continuous and sometimes heated, sometimes humorous, sometimes extremely inventive. At the end of the games the players were asked to enter into a general discussion for an hour and a half or so.

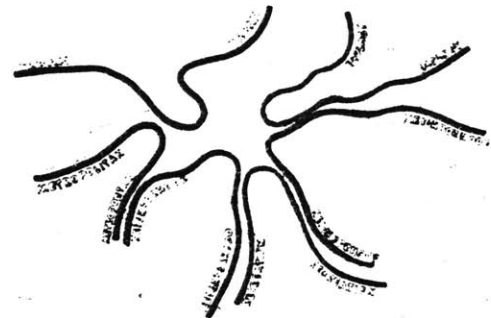
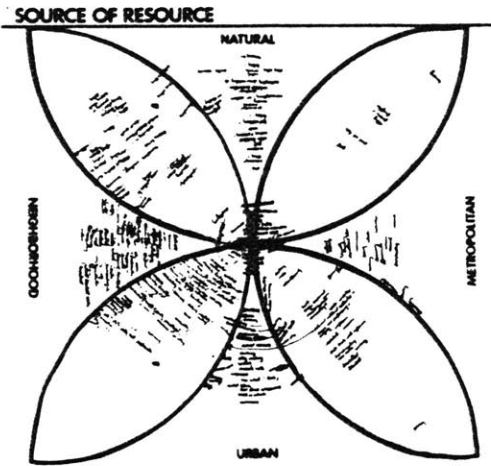
An outgrowth of the games was a new administrative form; a Community Facilities Corporation responsible for the center and for collecting revenues for its administration and maintenance from all the agencies, societies, religious groups and so forth which use it. In this way citizens themselves become responsible for the center's governance via a Neighborhood Facilities Corporation.

GAME 2: BASIC ACTIVITIES	
1. Self Identity	
2. Self Expression	
3. Self-Place	
4. Skill Development	
5. Colloquy	

GAME 3: BASIC HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS	
●	one to zero
●—●	one to one
●—○—●	one to one
●—○—●	one to Object
●—○—●	many to Object
●—○—●	one to many
●—○—●	many to one
●—○—●	many to many
●—○—●	one among many ones

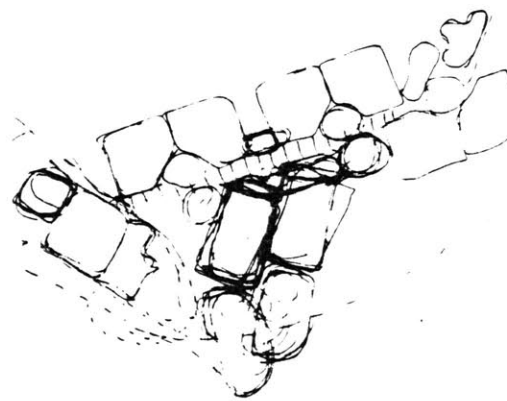
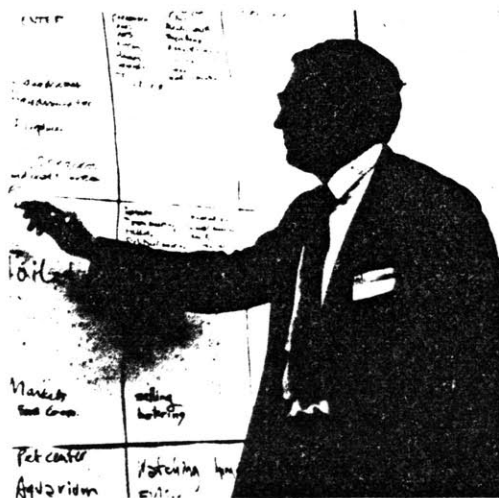
GAME 1: DEVELOPING AN INVENTORY																			
INVENTORY OF SPACES	HOW THE SPACE IS USED	HOW THE SPACE IS SERVICED FOR THOSE USES																	
GAME 2: ACTIVITIES RELATED TO RESOURCES																			
ACTIVITY	COMMUNITY CENTER	PROGRAM CENTER																	
	resource presently available	resource new resource																	
		resource presently available resource new resource																	
GAME 4: TIME																			
ACTIVITY	WEEKDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY																
	mon. noon other evening	mon. noon other evening	mon. noon other evening																
GAME 4: TIME																			
ACTIVITY	child	adult	elderly	people	eng	mass	afternoon	light	evening	night	week	fall	winter	spring	summer	break	day	week	
GAME 5: SIZE																			
ACTIVITY	many people	large space	few people	large space	few people	small space	many people	small space											
GAME 5: ENCLOSURE INDOOR/OUTDOOR																			
ACTIVITY																			

SELECTION OF THE 'GAME' SHEETS



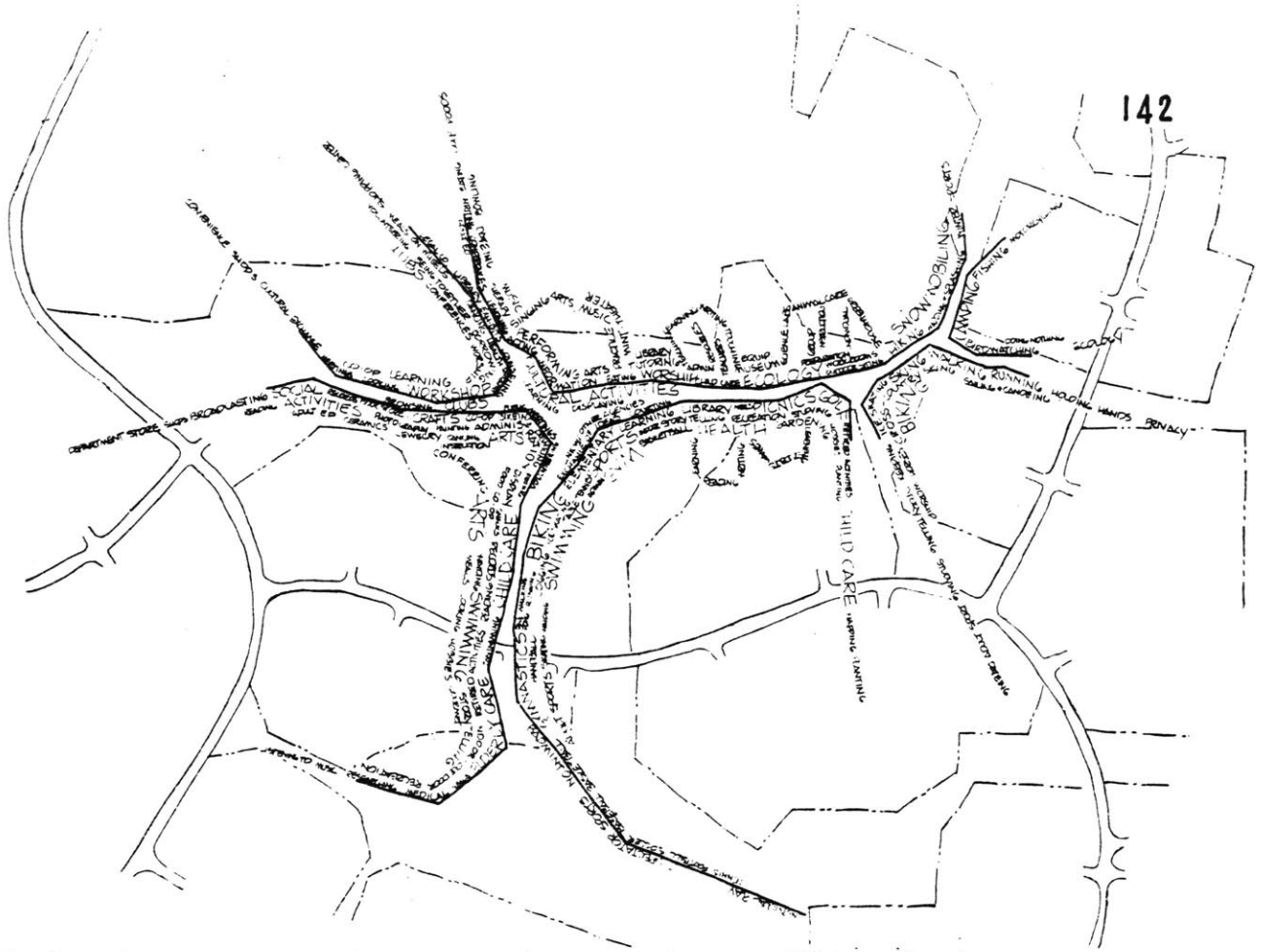
GAME 6 AS COMPLETED

SITE AMONGST ACTIVITY TYPES

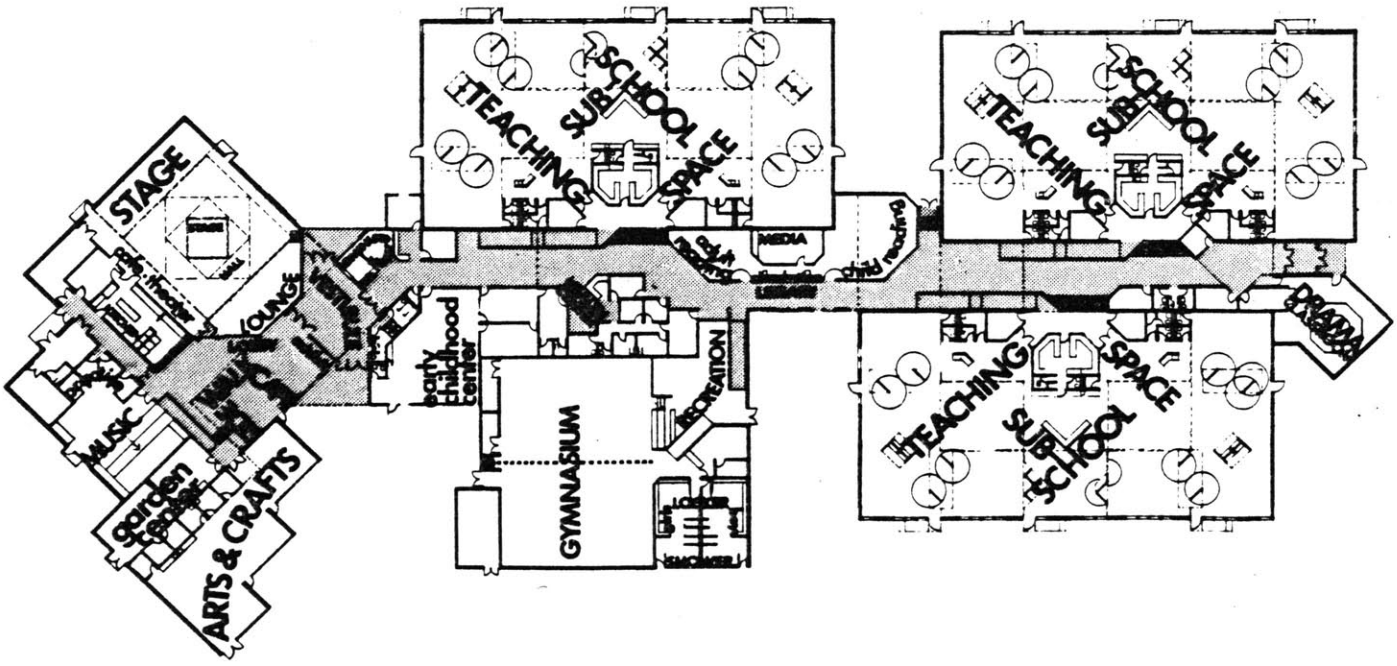


PLAYING GAME 1

ARCHITECT'S SKETCH DESIGN
©U.D.A.



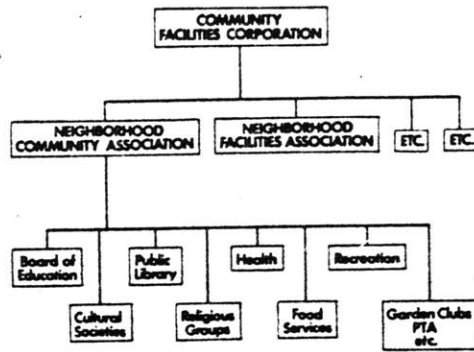
ACTIVITIES ARRANGED ON NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER SITE © U.D.A.



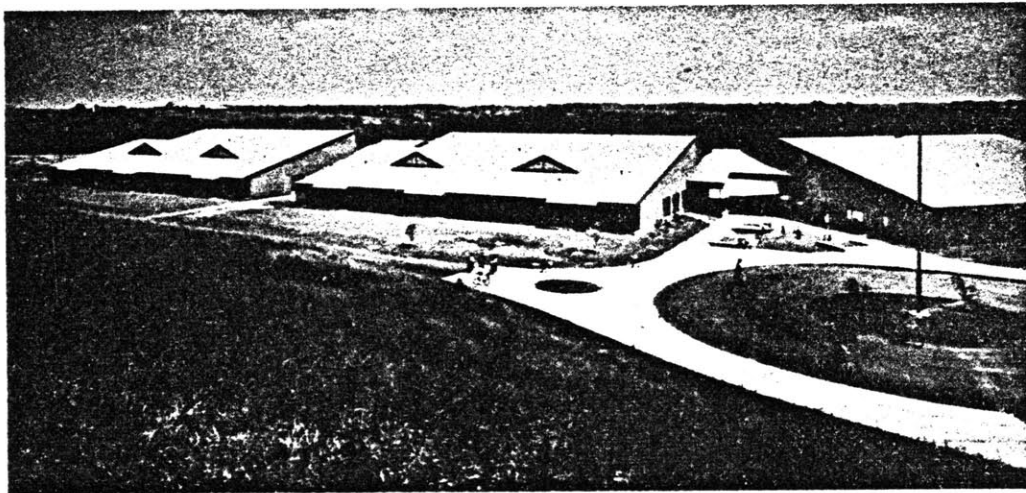
PLAN OF GANANDA NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER © U.D.A.



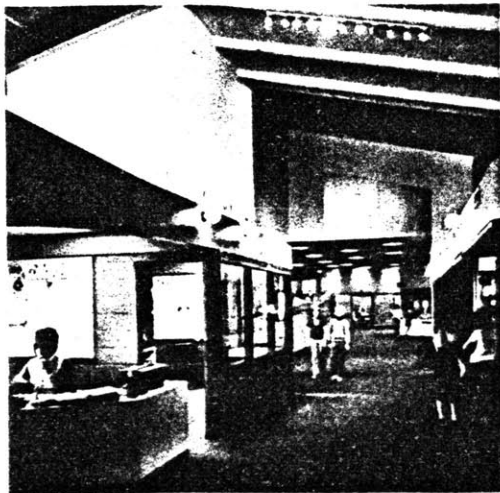
PLAYING THE 'GAMES'



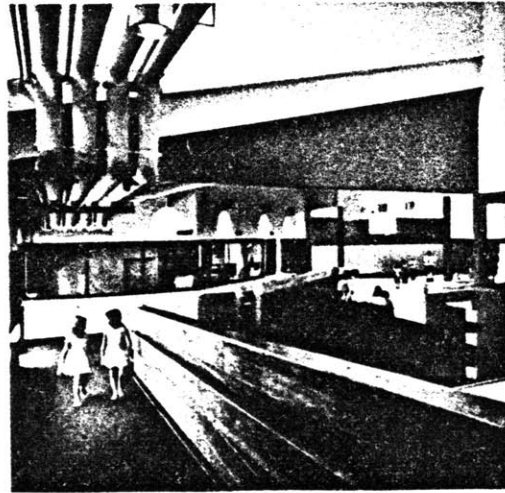
MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE



REAR ELEVATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER



INTERIOR 'STREET'



RECREATION AREA

APPENDIX G PILOT CENTER

In the second half of the nineteenth century immigrants from many parts of Europe poured into the industrial cities of the United States, looking for jobs and a new world for their children. Cincinnati, on the Ohio River, became the new home of a large number of German immigrants. Because of a canal which existed then, the part of the city they settled became known as "the Over-the-Rhine".

During the past fifty years the Over-the-Rhine has declined. Yet even today it is not difficult to find German evidences in the markets and shops, and in the architecture of the churches and townhouses. In 1970 the citizens of Over-the-Rhine and the City appointed Woollen Associates to perform three interrelated tasks. The first was to make an overall plan for the Over-the-Rhine. The second was to make a detailed urban design of the Findlay Market area. And the third was to design a community center, to be known as the Pilot Center.

The architects opened an office in an empty shop facing Finlay Market. The bustling Market draws people from all over the city as well as the neighborhood, and it was not long before the store-front office was a community center of sorts.

Many individuals dropped in during the day and some discussed their lives in the neighborhood, their social and economic problems, and what they thought the future held in store. Architectural scale models were placed in the store window where once sausage had been displayed. The citizen board met regularly in the store to review the evolution of the designs. They sought the opinions of other groups and brought them to bear in these sessions.

It soon became clear that it was the local community which, in spite of its poverty, most respected its close-knit 19th century urban fabric and sought infill rather than large-scale change. The urban design plan called for new housing for the elderly, a new playground for the children, a parking garage to help get stationary cars off the streets, infill housing, the renovation of Findlay Market, and the Pilot Center.

In 1971 the plan was officially accepted. The Pilot Center has been built; the Market House has been renovated; and the parks and play areas been installed. But other parts of the plan have not been carried out, due to the country's financial recession.

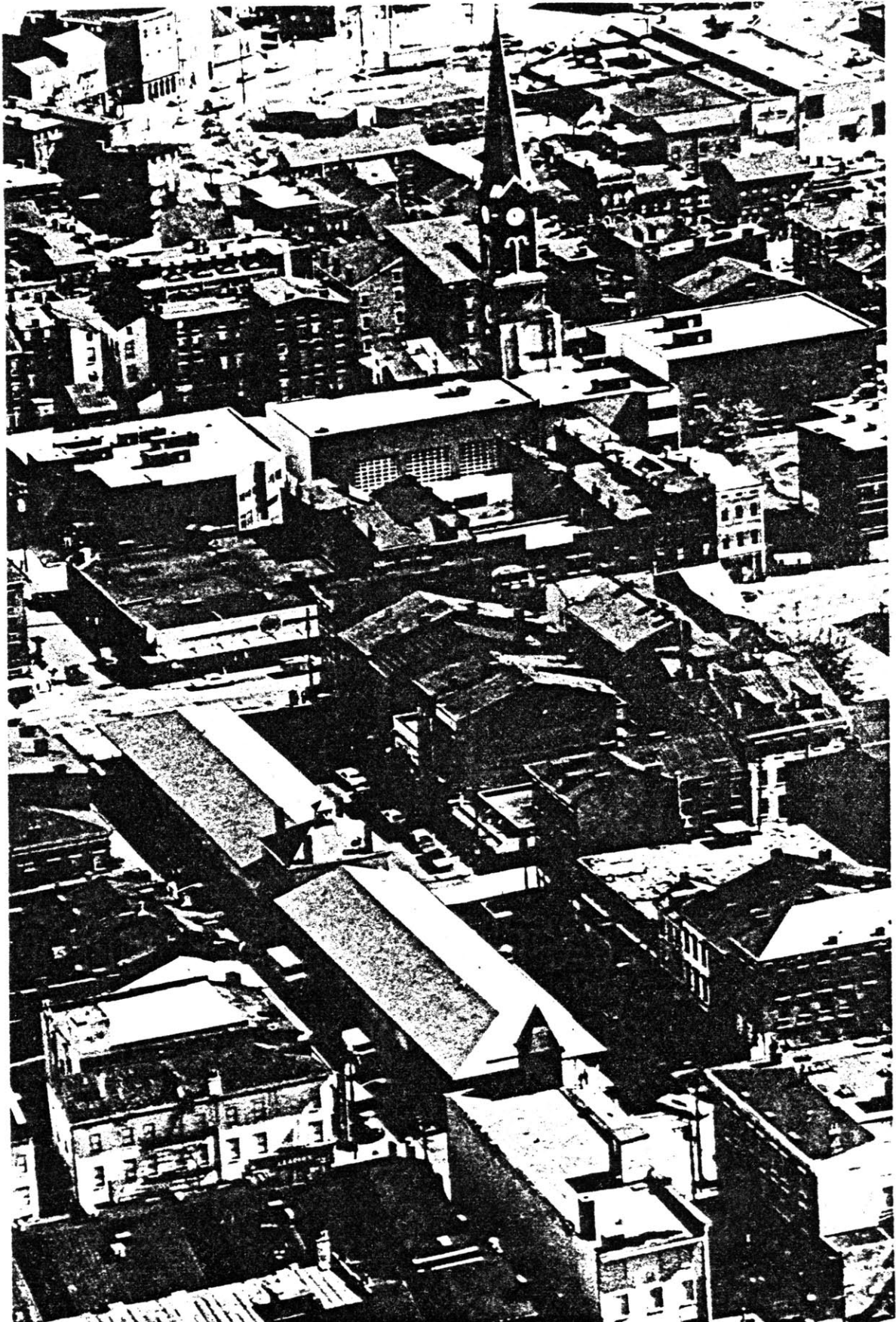
The site for the Center is in a dense area of the Over-the-Rhine. Most of the buildings are nineteenth century brick three and four-story structures. City officials anticipated the demolition of everything on the site, to make way for an "impressive" architectural

statement. But the community wanted as much retained as possible.

The result was a design which retained as much of the existing street frontage as possible, while weaving the Pilot Center into the back part of the site. Originally the community and the architects wanted to convert an abandoned church into a recreation building, but the City refused to permit this. The church tower was retained, however, as a symbol of the new community center.

The largest of the four new buildings is for recreation. It contains a skating rink, games room, gym and swimming pool. Across from the pedestrian common from the recreation building is the senior citizen center; it provides low-cost meals, recreational and educational facilities for the elderly.

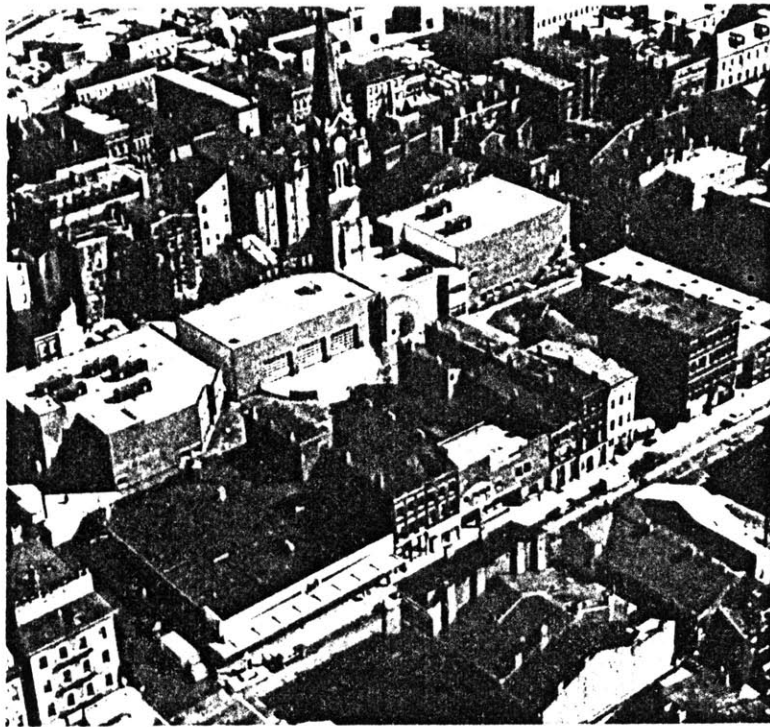
Also across from the recreation building is a parent-child facility that house a Montessori school and a day-care center. The HUB services center is the heart of Pilot Center; it contains a large community room for local meetings, parties, weddings and movies. In addition, the building provides employee training and placement services, a free store, a small health center and a post office. The Pilot Center has provided a focus for the social and political life of the neighborhood.



FINDLAY MARKET (FOREGROUND) & PILOT CENTER (MIDDLE)

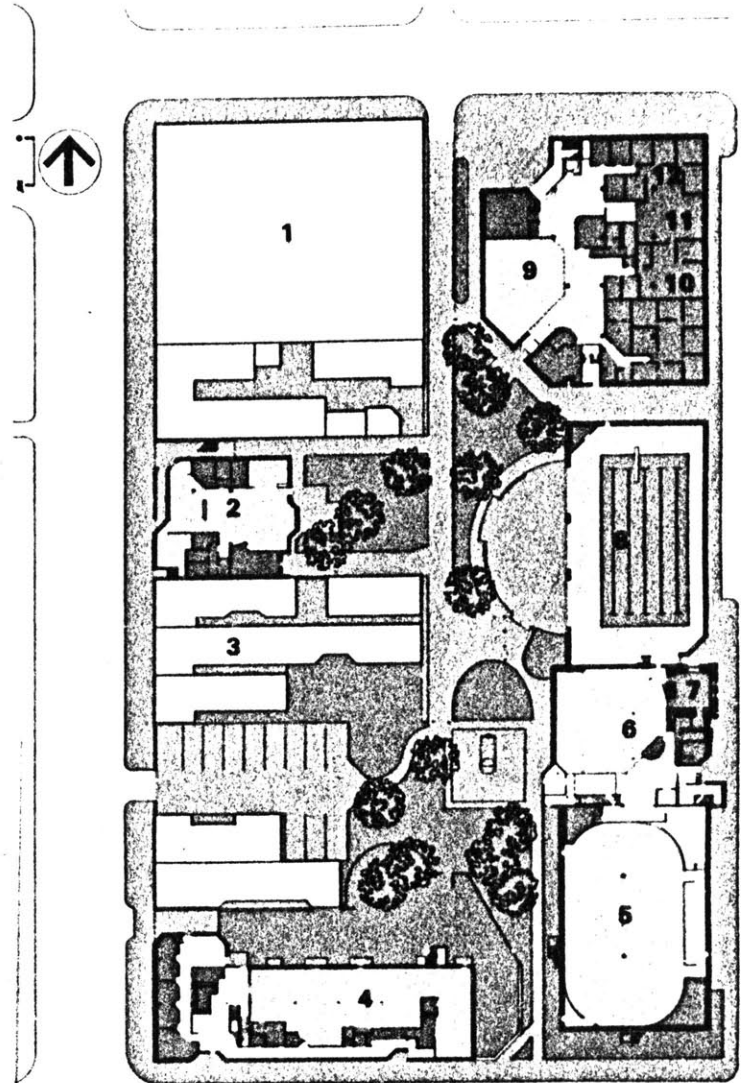


PILOT CENTER - INFILL ALONG RACE STREET



PLAN OF PILOT CENTER

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1- SUPERMARKET | 7- ST. JOHN'S TOWER |
| 2- SENIOR SERVICES CENTER | 8- POOL |
| 3- HOUSING & SHOPS | 9- 'HUB' SERVICES |
| 4- PARENT-CHILD CENTER | 10- CLINIC |
| 5- ROLLER RINK | 11- LEGAL AID |
| 6- TEEN LOUNGE | 12- WELFARE |



APPENDIX D

DANA WHITMER HUMAN RESOURCE CENTER

The Dana Whitmer Human Resource Center in Pontiac, Michigan, was constructed in 1972 after a planning process which took 5 years. The HRC provides wide-ranging education programs: a pre-school and nursery with child development training for mothers; individualized instruction on a continuous progress (rather than graded) basis for 2,000 children from kindergarten through fifth grade levels; special bi-lingual instruction for children and adults from all over the city; special education programs emphasizing the integration of the handicapped into the regular program; teacher and para-professional training in conjunction with three universities; after school and summer classes and recreation; classes for adults and out-of-school youth including high school and college credit classes and a wide range of non-credit classes.

And there are many agencies installed and operating out of the HRC: the Michigan Employment Securities Commission dealing with the disadvantaged; Pontiac Youth Assistance Agency of the county juvenile court offering family counselling and a delinquency prevention program; Center for the Education of Returned Veterans; cooperative extension service of the Michigan State University which

primarily aids parents in budgeting, meal planning, etc.; the Boy Scouts; the Oakland County immunization clinics, well-child conferences and dental clinic; Detroit hearing clinic for deaf adults and their friends or relatives; and a cooperative grocery which enables families to save one third on what they would pay in local stores. There is also a free nursery and a community run restaurant.

The Pontiac Area Planning Council (PAPC) was formed to site and program the center. The PAPC was chaired by the mayor and composed of 34 of his appointees, ranging from officials of General Motors to representatives of the Pontiac Organization of Black Youth. The Executive Committee consisted of the directors of each major city agency. All meetings were held publicly with the press in attendance. Another group appointed by the Board of Education in 1966, consisting of 30 parents from the four schools the HRC would replace, worked on specifications for the center, and made regular reports to the PAPC. They made thirty three recommendations and all but one, a swimming pool, became part of the plan.

In close collaboration with the PAPC, the architects mapped the area population, economics, land use, physical obsolescence, health, employment and transportation. Their analyses showed that Pontiac residential areas are islands separated from each other - and consequently economically and racially segregated - by radial highways and railways.

It became apparent that lack of housing and employment options, health, recreation and social services and adequate public transportation along with the location of the schools reinforced the divisions. The architects found the districts of the four oldest schools formed a slightly S-shaped area three miles long that would be naturally integrated. They proposed the HRC to be right in the middle.

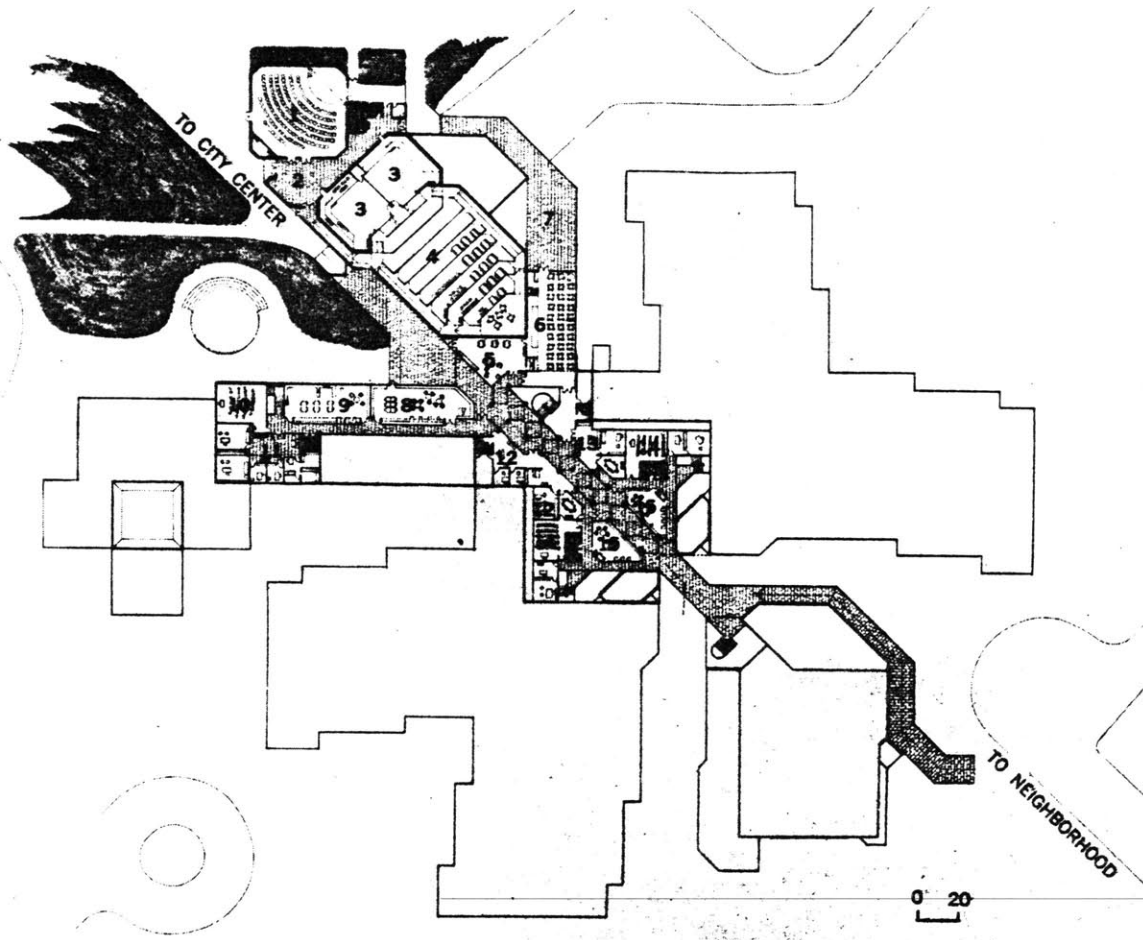
HRC is the first multi-use complex in the U.S. to be financed by federal, state, county, city and Board of Education funds on a ratio of usage basis. The total construction cost of the building and site was approximately \$6.2 million. As the largest user, the Board of Education contributed \$4.4 million from bond issues.

When a program and building developed that cost more than the bond issues, EFL suggested going to HUD which had funded wings or separate sections of school buildings before. For the HRC they made a major policy change and awarded \$1.6 million on a ratio-of-usage basis for neighborhood facilities.

The theater with lobby exhibition area , community lounge, adult library, adult home economics area, community college classrooms, community health center and preschool were funded entirely by HUD. The restaurant and dining terrace were jointly funded. The school paid for 60% of the gym while HUD paid 40% and they shared the cost of the arts and crafts area on a 50-50 basis. The County gave

\$155,000 towards special education and the City gave \$250,000 towards site work. Mott Institute and Ford Foundation grants totaled \$15,000. No community agencies provided building funds, nor do they pay rent.

An indication of the HRC's success is that after the busing strife of 1972, a Board of Education bond issue failed to pass citywide by a vote of three to one but was favoured three to one in the HRC district. A more modest statistic is that HRC's attendance rate - with three to four percent absenteeism - is twice as good as other Pontiac schools. And the administrator of HRC claims vandalism is only a third of that at other schools.



COMMUNITY LEVEL

- 1 THEATER
- 2 LOBBY, EXHIBITION AREA
- 3 CHORAL ROOM/DANCE HALL
- 4 CAFETERIUM
- 5 COMMUNITY LOUNGE
- 6 PUBLIC RESTAURANT
- 7 OUTDOOR DINING TERRACE
- 8 LIBRARY/ADULT STUDY CENTER
- 9 ADULT HOME ECONOMICS
- 10 COMMUNITY COLLEGE CLASS-ROOM
- 11 COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER
- 12 COMMUNITY OFFICES
- 13 DIRECTORS' OFFICES
- 14 DEMONSTRATION CLASSROOMS
- 15 TEACHERS' LOUNGE



STUDENT LEVEL

- 1 20-40 STUDENT TEACHING AREA
- 2 WET AREAS
- 3 INDIVIDUAL WORK AREAS
- 4 MATERIALS RESOURCE CENTER
- 5 SPECIAL EDUCATION
- 6 ETHNIC MUSEUM
- 7 MINI THEATER
- 8 MUSIC ROOM
- 9 ARTS
- 10 CRAFTS
- 11 MEDICAL SUITE
- 12 COMMUNITY COLLEGE EXTEN-
SION OFFICES
- 13 PARENT EDUCATION
- 14 PRE-SCHOOL
- 15 LARGE GROUP KINDERGARTEN
(ACTIVE)
- 16 SMALL GROUP KINDERGARTEN
(QUIET)
- 17 HIDEAWAY
- 18 LOWER CAFETERIUM/STAGE
- 19 BACKSTAGE
- 20 FOOD SERVICE
- 21 KITCHEN
- 22 MOTOR LEARNING LABORATORY
- 23 SPECTATOR GYM

CREDITS

Appendix A: Queensgate II Town Center

Along with the author's personal knowledge of the Queensgate project, the following sources served as references:

Urban Design Associates, Queensgate II Town Center: Urban Design Report March 1971 - July 1975.

Jules Gregory and David Lewis, Process: Architecture, p. 69-82.

Illustration Credits:

- p. 132 from Process: Architecture, p. 73.
- p. 133 from Queensgate II Town Center. p. 2.
- p. 134 from Ibid., p. 35.

Appendix B: Gananda Neighborhood Center

Along with the author's personal knowledge of the Gananda project, the following sources served as references:

David Lewis, "A Community Determines What its Center Is", in The Inner City, p. 221-228.

Jules Gregory and David Lewis, Process: Architecture, p. 98-105.

Illustration Credits:

- p. 141-143 from Urban Design Associates.

Appendix C: Pilot Center

Along with the author's personal knowledge of the Pilot Center, the following source served as reference :

Jules Gregory and David Lewis, Process: Architecture, p. 49-60.

Illustration Credits:

- p. 147 from Process: Architecture, p. 49.
- p. 148 from Ibid., p. 56.
- p. 149 from Ibid., p. 54.

Appendix D: Dana Whtmer Human Resource Center

Along with the author's personal knowledge of the HRC, the following source served as reference:

Janet Bloom, The Architectural Forum, June 1973, p. 38-45.

Illustration Credit:

p. 154 from The Architectural Forum, p. 41.

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