1998

Urban by design: Guidelines for sustainable redevelopment on west Broadway Missoula Montana

Allison L. Handler
The University of Montana

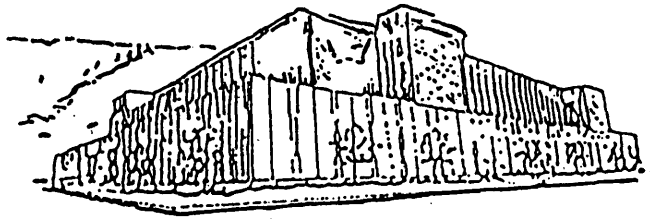# URBAN BY DESIGN

Guidelines for Sustainable Redevelopment

on West Broadway, Missoula, Montana

by

Allison L. Handler

B.A., Williams College, 1992

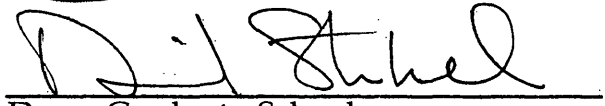presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

The University of Montana

1998

Approved by·

Chairperson

Dean, Graduate School

12-28-98

Date

UMI Number: EP40750

UMI®

Dissertation Publishing

UMI EP40750

ProQuest®

Handler, Allison L., M.S., December 1998   Environmental Studies

Urban by Design: Guidelines for Sustainable Redevelopment on West Broadway, Missoula, Montana (195 pp.)

Director: James Burchfield

Broadway Street in Missoula, Montana, runs roughly parallel to and just north of the Clark Fork River. Once the main thoroughfare through town, Broadway is now the "business loop" of Interstate 90 and carries heavy loads of traffic through the heart of the city. Outside of Missoula's downtown, Broadway has developed as a largely unplanned auto strip, dominated by automotive service businesses. In 1991, Missoula created an "Urban Renewal District II" west of downtown, which included West Broadway from Montana Rail Link's Bitterroot spur line west to Russell Street, to address blighting conditions found in that portion of the city.

West Broadway between Russell and California Streets ("the West Broadway study area"), one mile west of downtown, is five lanes wide, serves heavy traffic volumes moving at relatively high speeds, is generally scaled to the automobile and has few pedestrian facilities. Area business leaders and neighborhood residents have identified that safety and access for pedestrians crossing the street and for vehicles turning are problems on West Broadway. With the construction of a pedestrian footbridge planned to span the river at California Street and to link bicycle and foot paths along the north and south sides of the river, more foot traffic is anticipated. Redevelopment design on West Broadway can provide pedestrian access to the footbridge, to allow pedestrians on the north side of Broadway to cross safely to access the riverfront.

Through various surveys and public forums, business owners and residents of adjacent neighborhoods identified problems and opportunities for redevelopment on West Broadway. Nine principles proposed for sustainable redevelopment design on West Broadway derive from those locally defined issues as well as from professional design theory and practice, with a focus on the creation of a pedestrian-friendly streetscape that is also conducive to vehicular traffic movement. Public participation, through both formal and informal means, is a key element in redevelopment, particularly in defining problems and exploring solutions, and West Broadway offers a prime opportunity for such participation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The title of this paper, *Urban By Design,* was inspired by a book of a similar title by land use expert Randall Arendt. <u>Rural By Design</u> is a planning text whose chapters offer planners and developers practical applications of conservation planning. Arendt contrasts generic development patterns -- typical subdivisions, typical urban sprawl -- with the kind of careful design that maximizes open space while minimizing environmental impacts and protecting rural landscapes. <u>Rural By Design</u> plays with a notion: it suggests that rural landscapes are to be designed, or at least to be *designed for* while urban and suburban landscapes are being designed. "Rural by design" necessitates "urban by design."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables   **Page**

List of Illustrations

AN INTRODUCTION

"...I will put together, piece by piece, the perfect city, made of fragments mixed with the rest, of instants separated by intervals, of signals one sends out, not knowing who receives them. If I tell you that the city toward which my journey tends is discontinuous in space and time, now scattered, now more condensed, you must not believe the search for it can stop. Perhaps while we speak, it is rising, scattered, within the confines of your empire..."

Already the Great Khan was leafing through his atlas, over the maps of the cities that menace in nightmares and maledictions: Enoch, Babylon, Yahooland, Butua, Brave New World.

He said: "It is all useless, if the last landing place can only be the infernal city, and it is there that, in ever-narrowing circles, the current is drawing us."

And Polo said: "The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space."

--Italo Calvino[1]

The City as Center

Historically, people have come together in cities to share news, to conduct commerce, to find entertainment, to participate in rituals and ceremonies, to educate themselves, to create structures of governance. The city in history has been the center of its region: the nucleus of regional economy, the source of social activity, the locus of government. Although many ancient cities were ringed by the suburban villas and estates of their wealthier citizens, the city center remained the heart and mind of the community. It is only a recent social phenomenon that decentralizing socioeconomic and technological forces have begun to pull at the center, to transform and unravel the fabric of

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[1]Italo Calvino, <u>Invisible Cities</u>, San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, pp.164-165.

the city. In the United States in particular, the locus of regional economics and social activity has been shifting from city to suburb.

Urbanist William H. Whyte (1988) has argued eloquently that the center will hold, even in the face of powerful socioeconomic and political forces that threaten the vitality of the city. Indeed, the vitality of cities, of urban communities, is the subject of this writing. The vitality -- and centrality -- of American cities is threatened by the high social, economic and environmental costs of suburban sprawl. It is threatened by lack of coordinated transportation and land-use planning. It is threatened by poor air quality and by industrial contamination of urban drinking water and soil. It is threatened by toxic waste, and by the disintegration of urban neighborhoods. The poor condition of urban neighborhoods from which we have divested ourselves today demands redress. Unless we revitalize, reinvest in and renew the social, economic and physical structures that are failing in our cities, and make cities better places for human habitation, the center will not hold. We will instead inhabit a world of continuous, homogeneous suburb, lacking both the best qualities of cities and the natural character of rural areas and open space. Since rural spaces and the natural environment are the base upon which our cities rest -- from which we derive our food, our raw materials to produce goods, and our physical and even psychological and emotional sustenance -- maintaining healthy cities necessitates maintaining healthy rural lands.

Yet the two systems, urban and rural, feed one another: to preserve open spaces, we must preserve the centrality of cities. We have two primary tools by which to maintain the center, and to address the decentralization of suburban sprawl: "better planning of how we use our land; and using -- or reusing -- the capacity of older neighborhoods, towns, and downtowns to a greater extent than they are used now" (Moe and Wilkie, 1997: x). While both approaches are necessary, I will focus on the latter. I will argue that we must make cities people-centered: we must return to the areas of disinvestment and reinvest in them to create a sustainable urban community. City planning must promote the face to face interaction between citizens which has historically been the *raison d'être* of urbanism; urban design must bring the pedestrian back to city streets which have been largely given over to the automobile. Theorists from Kevin Lynch to Christopher Alexander have argued that the physical design of cities -- the layout of their streets; the form, mass and function of their buildings; the greenery and light they permit; the degree to which they facilitate human interaction for all the reasons humans have ever gathered in urban spaces -- is central to creating a sustainable social urban environment. To the extent that Americans insist that we focus on private property rights, we have neglected the public realm, those places where citizens come together to form a community. A city's streets are its most public spaces, the rivers to its center, and it is the street -- the traditional "main street," perhaps -- as quintessential public realm that will most interest me here.

This paper is organized in six parts. Part One distills from a multitude of eloquent works of urban history an historical context within which to view the decentralizing forces that pull at the cloth of the city. Describing urban processes of growth, decay, blight and recovery that follow one another in an almost ecological pattern of succession, the first chapter culminates with a discussion of theory and practice in urban recovery.

Suggesting ways in which the city might be guided along a path of more sustainable urban development necessitates an understanding of city ecology: the social and physical system, the organic, complex problem that is the city itself (Jacobs, 1961). Part Two explores this notion of urban ecology in terms of the sociospatial structure of urban neighborhoods, elements of good neighborhood design, and the role of citizens in land use planning.

While it is useful to speak generally of urban design, a place-based approach yields a finer-resolution image of urban life and thus more successful design solutions for site-specific problems. Parts Three and Four tell the human-scale story, detailing six city blocks located along West Broadway Street a scant mile from the downtown center of Missoula, Montana. Many of the larger urban trends moving across the American landscapes are captured in microcosm in these six city blocks: vehicular traffic dominates the street, commercial activity consists largely of automotive services, and structures are concomitantly scaled to the automobile rather than to the human being. People on foot seem to have been excluded from whatever planning, or lack thereof, brought the area to its present condition.

The area, identified by the City of Missoula as suffering from urban blight, offers an opportunity for redevelopment with citizen participation in the process. Redevelopment has already begun: mid-November 1998 saw the ground-breaking for the construction of a pedestrian footbridge across the Clark Fork River at California Street, connecting riverfront trails on both sides of the river. Redevelopment in Missoula's downtown has emphasized the riverfront in a way that has largely preserved the wildness of the river. Unlike other cities -- among them New York, Portland, and Boston -- that have developed their waterfronts with esplanades, apartments and port centers for commerce, Missoula has allowed wild nature to flow freely through the center of its built environment. To be sure, the Clark Fork is not entirely wild: dammed several miles upstream from Missoula, a section of its floodplain was back-filled in Missoula's downtown to build a city park. Still, the appearance of wildness has been preserved, and the river informs the city in a more intimate way than the mountains that ring the Missoula Valley.

With the construction of the California Street Footbridge, more pedestrian traffic is anticipated. As redevelopment proceeds along the western extension of Broadway, it will be both possible and necessary to create pedestrian facilities where none have existed, to address traffic safety concerns, and to promote citizen well-being through the physical form of this public space.

The West Broadway study area (also referred to as "the study area") is located within Missoula's Urban Renewal District II (URD II), an area west of downtown generally demarcated by the Bitterroot spur line, the Montana Rail

MISSOULA REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY
URBAN RENEWAL DISTRICT II AREA PLAN

TOOLE/BROADWAY AREA

CLARK FORK RIVER CORRIDOR

COUNTY LANDS AREA

RUSSELL STREET CORRIDOR

RIVER DISTRICT

McCORMICK PARK

3rd STREET AREA

BURLINGTON NORTHERN RAILROAD

Urban Redevelopment District II
Map produced by
Missoula Redevelopment Agency
Missoula, Montana, 1991

SUB-AREA BOUNDARIES

PLAN AREA BOUNDARY

SUB-AREA BOUNDARY

N

Link Switchyards, Phillips Street, Russell Street, South Fourth Street, and Orange Street (see map). URD II, which includes the West Broadway area under consideration in this research, was delineated after the Missoula Redevelopment Agency (MRA) had studied the area and determined the presence of blighting conditions there. The "Toole/Broadway sub-area," bounded by the alley between Cooper Street and Broadway, Russell, the Clark Fork River, and the Bitterroot spur, was found to "[contain] vacant and other property, not used to its full potential given its access to urban services. Many platted streets between Broadway and the river either do not exist or are not paved. Most of this area is also without curbs, gutters and sidewalks" (MRA, 1991: 38). The West Broadway study area constitutes the western portion of the Toole/Broadway sub-area, extending from Russell east to California Street, and from the alley between Cooper and Broadway south to the river. The study area is divided physically by Broadway, an arterial five-lane road stretching through the heart of Missoula's downtown.

West Broadway today is largely dominated by heavy commercial and auto-related business, as it has been for more than forty years, but the flavor has changed. The seedy atmosphere of the area once called "Shady Grove" is slowly giving way to new developments, including a youth home for at-risk youth, residential facilities for people with disabilities, and mental health housing. While it is unlikely that an area so dominated by automotive uses and services would become fully "pedestrianized," it will be interesting to

note the degree to which an influx of foot traffic brought by the footbridge changes the character of the place over time.

To frame this case study, I began with a series of questions about the West Broadway study area, which is primarily a commercial corridor, and the way it fits into the Westside neighborhood. What are the concerns, problems and opportunities perceived by West Broadway business leaders? How are they similar to or different from those perceived by neighborhood residents participating in the Northside and Westside comprehensive planning process? How do the concerns and needs of businesses in West Broadway mesh with those of residents there and in the surrounding residential neighborhoods? Do businesses located along West Broadway perceive themselves to be located in a "neighborhood"? Does the area need to be treated as such in order to offer opportunities for successful redevelopment? What would be an appropriate set of redevelopment goals for the area? And, finally, what opportunities are there for citizens to participate in developing redevelopment guidelines for the area?

This study includes findings, presented Part Four, which incorporate mapping and direct observation of land use patterns, including building coverage, road widths and connections, and building height, based upon figure-ground analysis, site analysis and elevation mapping. Determinations also draw upon information gathered from Northside and Westside residents through a citizen-initiated visual preferences survey, a citizen-initiated residents survey, neighborhood planning activities, and ongoing

neighborhood meetings. Part Four also presents findings from a survey conducted in autumn 1997 among business leaders in the study area. The survey was designed to determine the values and concerns of the West Broadway business community toward the neighborhood as well as the connections between neighborhood businesses and residents, and assess business leaders' perceptions of overall neighborhood economic vitality.

This slice of West Broadway offers an opportunity for a localized examination of the problems and opportunities posed by a street to its many users and would-be users. A multitude of architects and planners has presented guiding principles of urban design, and one might pull lessons from these ideas as well as from the physical outlay of cities from ancient Greece through post-modern Paris and New York. Recommendations in Part Five and concluding comments in Part Six are based on the findings in Part Four, as well as grounded in both the theory and the practice of urban design, and argue for the possibility of sustainable street redesign, with the intention of making Missoula, and the mythical "American city," a more livable, breathable, walkable urban landscape.

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The Infernal City

In the final paragraph of his allegorical novel, *Invisible Cities*, Italo Calvino offers a choice. We may choose to reside in the infernal city, the city of overconsumption, of death, apathy, filth, waste and horror. Alternatively, we may choose instead to "seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the

midst of the inferno, are not inferno," and to realize a more humane and more urbane way of living. The infernal city, Calvino suggests, is the place in which we live daily, which we create in our bromidic, stingy, egocentric, mean-spirited interpersonal interactions; the metaphorical cities that he describes -- indeed, aspects of our cities -- are by turns dull, precarious, nasty, wasteful, ringed by mountains of garbage, filled with monsters. The alternative city is that which we might create: a better city, a better humanity. Calvino's cities describe the human condition, each representing a different facet of modern, "civilized" urban living. *Invisible Cities* offers a bleak impression of urban life at the end of the twentieth century, leaving the reader to ponder the future of the post-modern city and the future of the civilization that has birthed it. At the same time, the author's final directive, to find those things that are "not inferno" and to "make them endure, give them space," holds out the hope that we may yet reside in a city which, while not Utopia, may yet not be Necropolis.

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The Industrial City

Urban decentralization and suburban sprawl in twentieth-century America have their roots in the Industrial Revolution and in the more recent post-World War II economic boom, as a nation largely comprising small rural communities rapidly became a nation of large industrial cities (Moe and Wilkie, 1997). An understanding of the situation of the post-modern American city requires a brief exploration of the turn-of-the-century urban situation that gave rise to the modern metropolis.

By the close of the nineteenth century, America's towns had been irrevocably transformed spatially, socially and economically by industrialization. The technological revolution that was spawned by the railroad had proved profitable both for long-distance transport of goods and people and for short commuter trips, and the railroads "opened up large land areas for speculation" (Spreiregen, 1965: 32). The physical form of the city, once contained -- even by walls, as were the fortified medieval towns -- was suddenly far less constrained by physical distances. If a distance of several miles could be traversed with relative rapidity and comfort, by coach or rail, one's options for place of residence expanded: one could work in the city and live in the "country," and have the best of both worlds. No longer was there a need to live within the confines of the city, if one had the economic wherewithal to move out.

And what person of means, in the nineteenth century, wanted to live in the industrial city? To be sure, the city throbbed with commerce and culture. At the same time, it was grey and polluted; its docks and streets were crowded with workers, clogged with noisy, odorous horse traffic -- and by the early years of the next century, automobile traffic as well -- and ran brown with mud and manure. Huge new factories, the heart of the industrial city, crowded along riverfronts and rail lines, discharged noxious effluents and gases into the smog-thickened sky.

By the nineteenth century, capitalism had inexorably altered the pattern of urban growth and development (Mumford, 1961). The growth of the capitalist city was predicated upon the notion of profit: "where profits were concerned, private interest was held superior, on classic capitalist theory, to public interest. ...Thus the city, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, was treated not as a public institution, but as a private commercial venture...." (Mumford, 1961: 426). As long as it resulted in rising land values, development was considered positive, in spite of the heavy toll such development took upon the natural environment and upon the quality of life in the city itself.

The price of urban expansion, of the concentration of factories in the central city, was truly a terribly degraded urban environment. Rivers ran with sewage and factory wastes , and "great mounds of ashes, slag, rubbish, rusty iron, and even garbage blocked the horizon with their vision of misplaced and unusable matter" (Mumford, 1961: 459). The social

environment was as befouled as the natural. As the throbbing, humming, clanging industrial city filled with immigrants seeking work, shanties and tenements sprang up to house the ever-growing population. The airless, dark tenement housing provided a fertile breeding ground for disease, and the city's atmosphere was thick with "chlorine, ammonia, carbon monoxide, phosphoric acid, fluorine, methane, not to add a long list of some two hundred cancer-producing chemicals" (Mumford, 1961: 467). Such conditions also proved fertile ground for social pathologies and crime (Moe and Wilkie, 1997). Kunstler (1993) notes that

> the squalor of the industrial city was not exactly a new thing, but the scale and intensity of it was: the roar of furnaces, the clank of machinery, the shrill steam whistles, the speed of locomotives, the coal smoke and the soot that fell like black snow everywhere, the frightening new size of new buildings, and the mushrooming population which strained the physical boundaries of cities everywhere. (p. 37)

It was this world from which the moneyed classes sought to escape, to the suburbs, to the green open spaces and the fresh air. Architects, land developers and, later, government policy facilitated the emigration from the urban centers to the countryside, as such visionaries, theorists and architects as Camillo Sitte, Le Corbusier and Ebenezer Howard responded to the call to "bring back fresh air, pure water, green open space and sunlight to the city" (Mumford, 1961: 475).

The City Beautiful, the Garden City and Other Suburbs

The "City Beautiful" era, from the last decade of the nineteenth century until the Great Depression, responded directly to the grime and filth of the industrial city. Turn-of-the-century city planners believed that "aesthetic and orderly environments were essential for the health and well-being of the people":

> A good and beautiful city was believed to mirror -- in fact, to shape -- a good society; it instilled civic pride and responsibility in its citizens, and promoted their moral and social development. (Banerjee and Southworth, 1990: 2)

Inspired by the late-nineteenth-century world's fairs, which created elegant pedestrian places with fountains, trees, sitting places, moving sidewalks and "civic art to match any of the wonders of modern Europe or ancient Rome," the City Beautiful movement envisioned a fresh face for American cities. The movement held up the notion that cities could be "far nobler" than rural towns, and that "the ugliness of our large industrial cities could be displaced by handsome works of civic art" (Spreiregen, 1965: 38). Public works of all sorts -- bridges, esplanades, classical garden terraces -- came to be regarded as possibilities for civic art. It was a period of great civic building -- courthouses, libraries, opera houses, museums -- as American architects sought to infuse their cities with an elegance and civic pride that had all but vanished from the American urban scene.

Where the City Beautiful movement responded to the industrial city by recreating its image, other notions were emerging that sought to escape the city. These responses focused instead on the creation of new towns and new

cities. Ebenezer Howard's (1898) plan for a "Garden City," for one, described the optimum population size for a central city, detailed the design of such a city, and established a ring of smaller satellite cities at its outskirts, for purposes of city growth.

Howard chose the term "Garden City" to describe "a city *in* a garden -- that is surrounded by beautiful country -- [as much] as a city *of* gardens" (Howard, 1898, 1965: preface). The Garden City, in Howard's design, would stand for everything that the industrial city was not: it fixed the ideal population at 30,000; at its heart lay a park, around which housing and gardens were arranged in concentric belts; six great avenues radiated out from the center, and several boulevard avenues laid out as ring roads facilitated the transport of goods and people to different parts of the city. At the outer ring of the city would be a ring of industrial activities, surrounded then by farms and ultimately by open green space. The Garden City would grow by "establishing ... another city some little distance beyond its own zone of 'country,' so that the new town may have a zone of country of its own" (Howard, 1898, 1965: 142). Howard believed that

> there are in reality not only, as is constantly assumed, two alternatives -
> - town life and country life -- but a third alternative, in which all the
> advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the
> beauty and delight of the country, may be secured in perfect
> combination. (Howard, 1898, 1965: 46)

He offered the Garden City as that perfect combination; other designs would follow.

The Garden City attempted to treat urban and rural development as two sides of the same coin. Mumford has written that the Garden City

> was not only an attempt to relieve the congestion of the big city ...; it was equally an attempt to do away with that inevitable correlate of metropolitan congestion, the suburban dormitory, whose open plan and nearer access to the country are only temporary... The Garden City, as Howard saw it, is not a suburb but the antithesis of a suburb; not a more rural retreat, but a more integrated foundation for an effective urban life. (Mumford, in Howard, 1898, 1965: 35)

In spite of Mumford's argument, the Garden City -- with examples such as Welwyn and Letchworth in England, and suburbs around Chicago and New York -- was not universally economically accessible, and became the upper- and upper-middle-class suburb in its most bourgeois form.

Radiant Cities

Like Howard in England, Le Corbusier (1929) in France sought a means of redressing the "menacing disaster" of the industrial towns. His response, not unlike those of Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius in Germany, was an experiment in socialist modernist city design, though almost inhuman in the extreme to which he carried it (Parfect and Power, 1997). Addressing the problems of population growth, traffic congestion, social congestion, and lack of open, green space and light in the industrial city, Le Corbusier presented his conception of a "Radiant City" at the 1929 World's Fair in Paris, to an astonished audience. The Radiant City was like nothing else imagined before: a great central Industrial City of three million inhabitants consisting of superblocks and mechanistic skyscrapers, a city of "machines for living" rising

from the green plain (Parfect and Power, 1997). Le Corbusier called for *"the legal establishment* of that absolute necessity, a protective zone which allows of extension, a reserved zone of woods and fields, a fresh-air reserve" (Le Corbusier, 1929: 162, emphasis in original). In order to increase population density at the commercial city centers, yet to increase the amount of open space and decrease travel distances, he concluded that "the centre of the city must be constructed vertically" (pp. 162-3). To that end, *The City of Tomorrow* describes a city center composed of twenty-four skyscrapers, each capable of housing 10,00 to 50,000 people, which would rise from an open park-like space. Surrounding the skyscrapers would be residential blocks housing another half-million inhabitants. The remainder of the population would live in satellite garden cities at some small distance from the central city.

In an attempt to redress the problems of traffic congestion, Le Corbusier's Radiant City offered a radically new street plan. Le Corbusier called for three kinds of roads, each supporting a different type of traffic: underground streets for heavy traffic, ground-level streets for lighter-goods traffic, and massive elevated arterial roads for fast traffic. The focus was entirely on motorized traffic, of which he wrote, "There need be no limit to the number of motor vehicles, for immense covered parking areas linked up by subterranean passages would collect together the host on wheels which camps in the city each day and is the result of rapid individual transit" (Le Corbusier, 1929: 188). He was so focused on the machine -- the machine for living, the machine for

moving -- that he entirely neglected the pedestrian, the human inhabitant of the city, whose physical, psychic and emotional health he claimed to address. Nowhere in *The City of Tomorrow* does Le Corbusier treat of the pedestrian.

Suburbia and the American Dream

Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky tacky
Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes all the same
There's a green one and a pink one and a blue one and a yellow one
and they're all made out of ticky tacky and they all look just the same.
<div align="right">-- Malvina Reynolds[1]</div>

Suburbia, and the flight of the upper classes to the green Eden of promise, is neither new nor, as we have seen, especially American (Donaldson, 1969). In *The City in History*, Lewis Mumford (1961) describes the earliest suburbs, which "be[came] visible almost as early as the city itself" around such great ancient cities as Ur in Mesopotamia (p. 483). Suburbanization is, after all, simply a step in the process of urbanization: as the city grows, organically, some portions of the population may find scattered residence outside the city limits, until the city grows to join and absorb them into itself. As the population density of the suburb grows, it slowly becomes urban, and the new suburbs appear farther out on the fringe of developed land.

Although suburbia was nothing new, at the end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth, an unprecedented number of city dwellers flooded out of the crowded industrial towns in search of a better life. Largely

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[1]Malvina Reynolds. From the song "Little Boxes." Words and music by Malvina Reynolds. Schroder Music Company, 1962.

built by the wealthy, the suburbs of the late 1800s were characterized by "historical architecture and picturesque landscaping"; the new suburban dwellers were welcomed by green, light, open spaces, America's reinvention of Paradise (Kunstler, 1993: 51). With a hefty minimum price tag of $3,000 for a one-hundred-by-two-hundred-foot lot in 1870, America's early suburbs were exclusionary, "socially one-dimensional," segregated communities; these features continue to characterize many American suburbs (Kunstler, 1993).

Today's suburban landscape did not truly begin to take shape until the rise of the automobile and its availability to the middle classes laboring in the city, who suddenly had the means to join their wealthier compatriots in the suburbs. Henry Ford's Model T was the first car affordable to the masses; in 1927, its final year of production, fifteen million Model T Fords were sold, and rode on a great wave of road building and city restructuring. Roads that at the turn of the century had been unpaved, poorly marked, impassable in deep winter snows and spring mud, and clogged with horse-drawn traffic, were suddenly paved and widened, their intersections lit with stoplights. The Federal Road Acts of 1916 and 1921 resulted in the improvement of hundreds of thousands of miles of state highways and local roads and created a national network of highways, managed by state highway departments and funded with federal money (Kunstler, 1993).

Meanwhile, in the cities themselves, a movement was afoot to snuff out public transportation opportunities to make way for the private car. General Motors Corporation busied itself with the purchasing and dismantling of

electric streetcar lines the country over; by 1950, GM had "converted more than one hundred electric streetcar lines" to gas-powered buses, ultimately making way for the private automobile. By the time a Senate investigation shed light on corporate motives, "only the lowest orders of society rode city buses. Everybody else was out on the freeway" (Kunstler, 1993: 92).

The private automobile transformed the landscape and the economy, creating auto-dominated suburbs that ate into the countryside and creating jobs in constructing roads and infrastructure to accommodate the car. Automobiles could be mass-produced on the assembly line, Henry Ford's legacy. It was not long before the assembly line was used to mass-produce weaponry for war, and ultimately -- in the post-war period -- housing. When it became possible for the average middle-class American family to afford their own home, and to own their own car to travel between home and work, the gates barring the entrance to suburbia were largely thrown open. The same government policies that made it easy to get a mortgage on a new home in the suburbs or in suburban "new towns" such as Vanport City, Oregon, or Levittown, New York, overwhelmingly disfavored old houses in crowded, often immigrant or black neighborhoods in cities. In the cities, whole neighborhoods were red-lined or disqualified from economic reinvestment by virtue of their demographics (Hayden, 1984; Kunstler, 1993). As housing in the suburbs bloomed, that in the cities declined.

The costs of suburban sprawl

Suburbia, as an alternative to an urban environment that was grim, foul, corrupt, crowded and poverty-ridden (Tuan, 1994), was very appealing to the post-war generation. Many Americans in the 1950s and 1960s could afford the American Dream -- a quarter-acre lot with a lawn, backyard, picket fence, station wagon. The result was a development pattern that was aesthetically attractive to many but which, "in insidious ways, breaks down society" (Duany, 1994) by isolating people through the building of freeways and cul-de-sacs, single-use zoning of activity (work at the office park, home in the subdivision, shopping at the mall), and forcing reliance upon automobiles for travel (American Architectural Foundation, 1996; Duany, 1994). The separation of residential from commercial uses by zoning has resulted in the "commuter lifestyle," where people live in a "residential" zone and work in a "commercial" zone or "central business district."

The zoning ordinances which have perpetuated suburban sprawl have also decreased rather than increased the functionality of many urban neighborhoods, through both the separation of land uses and the imposition of setback and parking requirements. A corner grocery store that served a small neighborhood becomes a non-conforming use when strictly residential zoning is adopted; should that business be destroyed in a fire, or otherwise leave the neighborhood, it could not legally be rebuilt as a business, and residents would find themselves forced to travel to another neighborhood for a stick of butter or a gallon of milk. The enforcement of building setbacks,

while allowing for more light and air to reach the street and mitigating against the formation of urban "canyons," has destroyed the street wall in some towns and prevented the possibility of even creating a street wall in other towns[2]. And the parking requirements imposed by many zoning ordinances -- to accommodate commuter cars from suburbia -- have resulted in the paving of what James Howard Kunstler (1993) has aptly called "parking lagoons."

The reliance on car travel for work commutes and shopping trips has resulted in increased air pollution and traffic congestion, and has spurred the widening of roads, construction of more highways, and paving of more parking lots . The problem of traffic congestion caused by suburban residents commuting to work continues to confound city engineers.

The suburban model may have been successful for a decade or two as an appealing compromise between city living and rural living for those who could afford it. Suburban living, however, has come at a high price; the fully reckoned costs have been borne by both the private individual and the public as a whole.

The environmental costs of suburban sprawl include the loss of farmlands, forests and wild, open spaces. Suburban development also levies a heavy toll in the form of environmental externalities: air pollution from automobile exhaust; soil erosion, degradation of riparian habitat, and water

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[2]If one thinks of a city street as an "outdoor room," then the buildings to either side of the street form the "walls" of the room. The degree to which the street wall functions as a "wall," in the sense of enclosing space, is a function of the height of the buildings, the distance between structures across the street and the distance between structures on the same side of the street. I will address this subject in Part Two.

pollution due to road-building and surface run-off from paved areas; ground and surface water pollution from nitrates from septic systems; in the American West particularly, increased pressure on a limited water resource; fragmentation of wildlife habitat; and wildlife deaths, particularly on high-speed roads.

The economic costs of sprawl are most "heavily exacted at the center" in terms of infrastructure for transportation, utilities and services needed at ever-greater distances from the city center (Kelbaugh, 1997: 142). It is more expensive to build new infrastructure for new construction on the periphery than to add to infrastructure at the city center (Kelbaugh, 1997). City emergency services are increasingly strapped as the number of residents in unincorporated areas and the suburban fringe grows, without a commensurate increase in funding (Smith, 1998). Likewise county budgets and services are increasingly stretched. Suburban residents who work in the city and demand city services, yet pay property taxes to the county and not to the city, leave the city with a service burden without the tax base to support it. Along with a shifting residential population, the commercial center has been shifting from city to suburb (Paumier, 1988). The proliferation of suburban development patterns, with their office parks and large shopping malls, since the 1960s (by 1992, there were 40,000 shopping malls nationwide) sounded a death knell for many downtowns, whose smaller, often independent and locally owned businesses could not compete (Moe and Wilkie, 1997: 144). As

businesses closed and economic activity declined, those downtowns became deserts of boarded-up shops and signs advertising close-outs. Downtown's Main Street was run over by the highway to the mall.

In addition to hefty environmental and economic costs, suburban sprawl carries the high cost of social isolation. Atomized in their cars, in their office parks, in their homes, suburban residents lack the diverse street life of successful urban neighborhoods (American Architectural Foundation, 1996). Further, because of the zoned separation of uses in suburbia, many suburban communities suffer from urban problems such as crime without having the social capacity to solve the problem that cities have (Jacobs, 1961): in mixed-use city neighborhoods, residents might keep an eye on the street at night and shopkeepers might do so by day; by contrast, suburban residential neighborhoods empty by day, and office parks empty at night, leaving both prone to vandalism or theft during the "dead" hours. The results for suburbia are security systems and gated communities. Meanwhile, in the abandoned city centers, societal dysfunctions concentrate: homelessness, unemployment, crime, racial segregation, violence, blight. Cities are thus doubly burdened by the need to correct these problems and to serve the suburban fringe (Kelbaugh, 1997).

Architecturally, suburban sprawl fashioned after Malvina Reynolds' (1962) "ticky tacky" boxes results in the "loss of architectural detail, loss of human/pedestrian scale, loss of local authenticity, and loss of building types" (Kelbaugh, 1997: 40). The suburban landscape is scaled to the automobile,

with bigger buildings spread further apart on larger lots, rather than to the pedestrian. The architecture is "formulaic, superficial, and divorced from place," often built speculatively and usually at the lowest possible cost (Kelbaugh, 1997: 41). The result is an architecturally impoverished environment, a placeless space, very different from the articulation and architectural interest of buildings designed with the human passerby in mind.

It is clear that the American public can no longer afford the costs of suburban sprawl (Katz, 1994; Duany, 1994). As American cities continue to sprawl outward, we continue to draw down the capital stock of our natural resources, and we sell the future for the present.

Rethinking sprawl: urban redevelopment

One means of addressing suburban sprawl is to make cities livable (Lennard and Lennard, 1995) -- to revitalize what is less healthy, to bring back amenities that are missing from cities. Jane Jacobs (1961) offers this choice regarding population growth:

> The increase can be dribbled out in suburbs, semisuburbs, and dull new "in-between" grey belts... Or we can take advantage of this metropolitan area growth and, with at least part of it, we can begin building up currently unfit city districts. (p. 219)

City rebuilding is not a new phenomenon. Renaissance Rome and the city-state of Ferrara both experienced redesigns, at the hands of no less able architects and planners than Biaggio Rossetti, Leonardo da Vinci and Domenico Fontana (Spreiregen, 1965). Rossetti's designs for Ferrara, in the late fifteenth century, addressed urban expansion, demonstrating his

understanding of the need both to rebuild the old city and to make way for new buildings, new streets and increased human traffic as the city grew. Not quite a century later, the problems with which da Vinci and Fontana grappled, as they sought to rebuild an expanding Rome, had largely to do with defense, water supply, sanitation and, above all, patterns of circulation: how to move religious pilgrims smoothly between sacred sites in the city. Fontana's redesign for the streets of Rome sought to address the notion of streets as connectors but also as components of a visual landscape: marked by obelisks that functioned as city guideposts, Fontana's streets connected plazas and activity hubs in the city.

Urban redevelopment has not always had its impetus in city expansion. Seventeenth-century London, razed by fire and hard hit by plague in 1666 and 1667, found itself faced with an opportunity to rebuild itself in a way that would address the changing needs of the modern city. Designs put forward by Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke and John Evelyn called for networks of avenues and plazas that would -- like the later Parisian boulevards -- connect major city hubs and fan out from them. Valentine Knight proposed a design that called for the more classic grid design formalized by fifth-century B.C.E. Greek lawyer Hippodamos, with river-related commercial activity located along streets radiating up from the river. While none of these plans were implemented, they "may have injected the idea of planning London as a whole city" (Spreiregen, 1965: 24).

Nineteenth-century Paris provides an example of urban redevelopment similar to the experiences of American urban renewal programs of the mid-twentieth century. At the behest of Napoleon III, Baron Eugene Georges Haussmann arranged for the purchase and redesign of the entirety of the old city, enabling Paris to acquire "boulevards, avenues and a beautifully elevated, instantly landscaped and socially safe, modern city style..." (Parfect and Power, 1997: 18). Haussmann demonstrated that urban redevelopment could finance itself while simultaneously increasing both land values and city amenities. His ideas were applied by Ildefons Cerda in Barcelona to good effect, allowing expansion while preserving the integrity of the medieval city core.

While Haussmann's bold new design for Paris left a legacy of stately, formal boulevard streets, it also resulted in the displacement of whole neighborhoods of the poor. His boulevard building, as with post-World War II redevelopment programs in the United States, is often associated with the "oblitera[tion of] earlier urban fabrics" (Jacobs, 1997: 36). Post-war urban renewal programs in the United States, which often displaced poor communities and communities of color (frequently one and the same), have been decried as programs of "urban removal." Urban recovery clearly poses problems in program implementation, which it is worthwhile to examine.

Problems in urban recovery

Because early attempts to redress the horrors of the industrial city focused either on ex-urbia or on monumental civic works, everyday urban places of business and residence remained problematic. Under the pressures of poverty, burgeoning population and industrial pollution, American central cities deteriorated into slums; blighted urban neighborhoods, suffering from economic disinvestment, were left to rot at the core as moneyed classes continued to hemorrhage out of the cities. Although Congress had appropriated funds for urban renewal as early as the 1890s, when it authorized the investigation of slums in cities with population of at least 200,000, it was not until the 1930s that cities began systematically to examine blighted urban areas (Willmann, 1966). And it was not until the postwar period that urban recovery programs were launched, expressly to "arrest and remove blight -- and to meet the needs of people living in the blighted areas" (Willman, 1966: 90).

Urban development patterns at the end of the second world war suggest normative shifts in attitudes toward cities and city dwellers, particularly poor and working class people left behind in the center city by the flight of the more affluent to suburbia. The increase in suburban development experienced by many American cities suggests that anti-urban sentiment remained strong; those who could afford to live in the suburbs often chose to do so. At the same time, many cities were beginning to excise the decaying portions of their neighborhoods, both the poor physical infrastructure and the

poor, marginalized populations it supported. Whereas in an earlier day cities had been deserted, left to the poor, the pendulum began to swing toward reclamation of urban centers for middle and upper class residents and businesses. More recently, a strong pro-urban bias has emerged, which "promotes the positive value of the street and of street life, which is to say public life." From this pro-urbanism, "the positive view of density and human diversity has made its way from a slightly eccentric, fringe point of view first promoted by Jane Jacobs (1961) to a virtual tenet of urban planning orthodoxy..." (Kasinitz, 1983: 9). In many cities, the new "orthodoxy" continues to neglect, discount or deliberately omit the needs of poor people.

Many different programs and approaches have come under the aegis of urban recovery. "Urban renewal," "urban revitalization," and "urban redevelopment" have focused variably on slum clearance, infill of underutilized urban spaces, and other community improvement projects; sought to build economic infrastructure and generate jobs; and responded to the presence of urban blight. Over a decade ago, the Cities' Congress on Roads to Recovery (initiated and organized by the College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University) defined urban recovery as

> a city's regained ability to compete with suburbs as a place to live; a regained favorable climate for investment and a consequent growth of jobs; and as a consequence of these two, a regained independence from external subsidies. (Porter and Sweet, 1984: xii)

While much of the literature on urban recovery programs and strategies profiles the successes of large cities and describes principles of urban

environmental planning at work in large cities, much that is meaningful can be extrapolated for application to neighborhoods in small cities.

Urban recovery in the postwar period

The Housing Acts of 1948, 1949 and 1954 marked milestones in federally funded urban recovery (Willmann, 1966). Largely focused on slum clearance and redevelopment, that legislation supported communities in their efforts to prevent and eliminate the slumming and blighting of urban neighborhoods. The Housing Acts followed trends from the Second World War: nearly one million units of public housing had been constructed to accommodate industrial workers producing munitions and ships for the war effort; later, loans to returning GIs allowed them to buy, renovate or build homes. "With the coming of public housing," writes architect Robert Goodman (1971), "whole sections of cities could be torn down and replaced by towers of brick and glass" à la Le Corbusier (p. 61).

Urban renewal in the United States, as in Haussmann's Paris, was largely a program of slum clearance, with a definitive class bias. Poor, working-class neighborhoods were targeted for wholesale leveling and replacement with public housing. At the same time that urban renewal had class connotations, it also strongly disfavored communities of color (Smith, 1996).

In order to justify programs that essentially targeted poor and minority people for removal to benefit wealthier people and business, "the disease metaphor was marched out":

the city was sick and had to be cured... The city as a body operates well, but now and then has some aberrations -- some cancers. Cut out the cancers, goes the argument, and the body will continue its proper functioning. (Goodman, 1971: 67)

Urban renewal programs in the 1940s and '50s were predominantly aimed at clearing slums for residential neighborhoods. By the 1960s and 1970s, however, the game had changed somewhat: the Interstate Highway System, authorized by Congress and signed into law by Eisenhower in 1954, was touted by its proponents as the best way of redeveloping blighted areas, to "'create neighborhood cells within which the city planners can work with confidence in redeveloping neighborhoods that have become structurally or functionally obsolete'" (Goodman, 1971: 80). The system of super-roads would ultimately have profound effects on urban design and urban transportation systems.

The "back to the city" movement that included efforts at urban revitalization has been motivated in part by an economic interest on the part of municipalities that recognize the economic, social and environmental damage of urban blight. In part, it has also been motivated by a recognition of the economic gain to be had by reinvestment in properties at the urban core. More recently, urban recovery has been spurred by historic preservationists, who argue for the protection of the historic architectural resource often found in the downtowns and along the main streets of (particularly older) American cities.

Urban blight: disinvestment and reinvestment

The notion of "urban blight" is troubling for several reasons, not the least of which is the choice of the word "blight" itself, a medical term par excellence. While a degraded urban environment is certainly neither healthy nor pleasant, the label "blighted" may further stigmatize a neighborhood already struggling with severe economic and social problems. Herbert Gans (1995) has written of the dangers of labeling poor people and poor neighborhoods with words such as "slum," "blight," or (more recently) "underclass," as these words further marginalize and stigmatize an already marginalized population. Such labeling of the poor has functioned as an excuse for a range of anti-poverty programs from "slum clearance," which we have discussed, to wholesale redlining of low-income neighborhoods by financial institutions and local governments. Redlining is the practice by which lending or insurance institutions deny loans or insurance to certain neighborhoods, generally based on race or income level, or make their services available only at exceedingly high interest rates (though it is exactly such services that could ameliorate the poverty of low-income communities).

The spatial stigmatization of a neighborhood as "blighted" may also, particularly in larger cities, make that neighborhood "eligible for other uses," including drug dealing and violence by gangs, siting of halfway houses by local government, and siting of incinerators and dumps (Gans, 1995; Smith, 1998). "Blight" thus becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

A "blighted area," as defined by Montana state law[3], is

> an area which is conducive to ill health, transmission of disease, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, and crime; substantially impairs or arrests the sound growth of the city or its environs; retards the provision of housing accommodations; or constitutes an economic or social liability and/or is detrimental or constitutes a menace to the public health, safety, welfare, and morals in its present condition and use. (§7-15-4206, *Montana Code Annotated*)

Blight is thus characterized by the presence of certain conditions or combinations thereof, including physical deterioration of a building or a site; "inadequate provision for ventilation, light, proper sanitary facilities, or open spaces"; "inappropriate or mixed uses of land or buildings"; population "overcrowding"; "unsanitary or unsafe conditions"; inadequate street layout; and "excessive land coverage" (§7-15-4206, MCA). One may note that some of these elements perpetuate the problem of suburban sprawl. The suggestion, for example, that "mixed [land] uses" are "inappropriate" underlies the separation of uses in current zoning ordinances that have contributed to suburbanization and sprawl, in Missoula County as elsewhere. Likewise, notions of population "overcrowding" and "inadequate open spaces" in blighted urban areas reinforce the lower dwelling unit densities and larger lot sizes planned for suburban areas.

The Montana legislature's definition also leaves open the question of what is meant by the "sound growth of the city or its environs." Missoula is currently struggling to identify the type of growth pattern to pursue, as it

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[3]The Montana Code Annotated provides a statutory framework for the West Broadway study area, which I will describe in Parts Three and Four.

copes with a growing population. Does blight impair the "sound growth" of the city or does it impair its sound development? Growth connotes physical expansion, whereas development connotes improvements in quality; blight would seem to impair the latter, rather than the former. The purpose of redevelopment is to focus on improvements in quality at the interior of the city *specifically because* growth, suburban sprawling growth, has become (to employ yet another medical term) cancerous on the landscape.

Having acknowledged these criticisms, we may examine the conditions that are said to constitute urban blight, and discuss several ways in which such conditions fray the fabric of the city. Despite its many problems, the term "blight" will be used here to avoid definitional confusion.

Urban blight has both indirect and direct impacts on the natural and built environment. I have already discussed the indirect effects of urban blight upon the natural environment felt at the urban fringe, as tracts of undeveloped rural lands are paved under for sprawling subdivisions. Direct impacts of blight include the polluting industry, toxic waste dumps and landfills overwhelmingly located in poor and minority neighborhoods (Smith, 1998; Bryant, 1995). Pollution problems may be exacerbated by poor infrastructure maintenance by both municipalities and private landowners; erosion, run-off and water seepage experienced elsewhere in the city may, in blighted areas, be worse and carry a heavier load of pollutants. The effects of blight on the built environment could be likened to socioeconomic peer pressure: "as real property depreciates and deteriorates, it is usually assessed at

a lower value, and thus the tax liability is reduced. ...[It] is the general decrease of tax assessment that deters upkeep and property maintenance" (Agapos and Dunlap, 1973: 143). Property owners thus have a disincentive to make improvements to their properties, as such improvements would, under the current system of property taxation, incur higher taxes. Blighting conditions in this way reproduce and extend themselves.

Blight hits the economy of a city in multiple ways. Blight at the city center -- boarded up shops, tenements and commercial buildings in disrepair, poor street condition -- discourages tourist and resident alike from patronizing the shops that remain open, and sends them instead to the suburbs. Thus the city loses consumers, and its sales tax base falls. To compound this problem, falling land values in blighted areas erode the municipal property tax base. Neil Smith (1996) suggests a schematic sequence in which falling land values in blighted areas offer landlords disincentives to invest in their properties. "Devalorization," or devaluation, of property is a natural outcome, he suggests, of market shifts that reflect modes and materials of building construction and style, and physical wear on the structure. A declining market may prompt some property owners to sell their property and move elsewhere, while others respond through undermaintenance of their property. Sustained undermaintenance leads to disinvestment by landlords, which in some neighborhoods of larger cities has been followed by disinvestment and even redlining of neighborhoods by financial institutions.

From a social standpoint, blighted areas have typically suffered from relatively high levels of poverty, unemployment or underemployment. Compounding failures of the job market are dysfunctions of the housing market: homelessness, homeless shelter housing, and tenancy in privately owned single room occupancy residential motels. Thus as the job market fails to provide jobs at living wages, the housing market fails to maintain an adequate supply of affordable, habitable housing. Related to and arising from these two sets of problems are a complex array of behaviors and pathologies, including street crime, commonly associated with poor neighborhoods -- grounded in statistical truths but again perpetuating the dangers associated with labeling of the poor as "criminal," "hopeless" or "undeserving" (Gans, 1995). I will not here undertake to address the multiple problems of urban poverty, except to note that "the social cost of inequities at least partially attributable to urban blight such as insufficient and poor education, inadequate health and sanitation programs, increased crime rates, and a stifling environment are incalculable" (Agapos and Dunlap, 1973: 143).

Neighborhood revitalization

The selection of the word "revitalization" suggests that the structure of blighted neighborhoods is weak and needs to be revitalized or rejuvenated. In the literature, there is a popular perception of slums as "socially disorganized" (Bellush and Hausknecht, 1967: 103). It has been argued, however, that areas labeled as "blighted" or "slum" neighborhoods in fact

may have a solid social structure and serve the social needs of their community. As Hudson (1980) points out, "low-income and ethnic neighborhoods...are not necessarily 'impoverished' communities -- they may well possess a set of viable social networks that function to meet the needs of the population..." (p. 406). In his study of a poor Italian community in Boston in the 1930s and 1940s, William Foote Whyte (1943) concludes that the community has a strong social organization, the primary problem of which is its "failure...to mesh with the structure of the society around it" (p. 273). Whyte's several years of observation and interviews with residents of the community are detailed in his book, *Street Corner Society*, and depict what he believes to be a complex social hierarchy of gangs, racketeers and political actors. As if to underline Gans' (1995) point about the dangers of labeling poor communities, Marianne Boelen (1992) has criticized Whyte's use of the term "slum" to describe the Boston Italian community; she suggests that its social patterns and structure were more similar to an urban village than a slum. Regardless of the specific term one might choose -- whether the loaded term "slum" or the more anodyne "urban village" -- both authors make it clear they believe that the community in question had a definitive social structure.

People living and doing business in poor or "blighted" neighborhoods have chosen those areas for a variety of reasons, including external factors such as economic affordability and internal factors such as social inertia. A social structure has grown up around the activities and persons of that

neighborhood -- businesses, churches and long-time residents (Jacobs, 1961). Kasinitz (1983) describes social structure of poor communities ironically supported by some of the very elements that we earlier outlined as symptoms of social dysfunctions. He argues specifically that single room occupancy hotels are important, providing functional accommodations for the elderly poor, seasonally employed single workers, the addicted and the mentally handicapped.

Jacobs (1961) contends that "the key link in a perpetual slum is that too many people move out of it too fast -- and in the meantime dream of getting out" (p. 271). One solution, she suggests, is to motivate people to stay and invest in the neighborhood, in order to foster social stability and create a sense of community. Revitalization of and reinvestment in blighted areas connote increased economic activity, whether in the form of loan funds, infrastructure improvements, or a city's encouragement of new businesses to locate in a community. The goal is to restore economic health -- and thereby social health -- in an area that has degenerated.

Much has been written about redeveloping and revitalizing downtowns that experienced economic downturn in the rush to develop suburban shopping malls. Cities have experimented with various design tools to make their downtowns economically and socially vital and diverse once again: investing in public gathering spaces such as waterfront parks, preserving historic character to emphasize downtown's "identity," creating private/public financial partnerships to renovate old buildings and

encouraging intensity of uses (Paumier, et al., 1988; Moe and Wilkie, 1997).

The revival of Main Street, encompassing both efforts at economic renewal and rehabilitation and preservation of historic buildings, is a relatively recent movement in urban and small town redevelopment programs. Part of this movement stems from an interest in stanching the flow of money out of the city center and in increasing land values at the center, and part stems from a recognition of the architectural resource available to a town in its stock of historic buildings. The architectural flavor of a town center creates a sense of "place" that cannot be found in the monotony of suburban malls. In describing the need for historic preservation, particularly in the "age of sprawl," Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie (1997) have written that

> the preservation of a neighborhood preserves more than buildings. It preserves people in a place, a community. When people stay, they make a statement that a place is worth inhabiting. (p. 103)

If reinvestment is the opposite of disinvestment, then it is certainly a welcome, positive move on the part of municipal governments, nonprofit organizations, private investors and citizens to halt the deterioration of neighborhoods. However, urban redevelopment and neighborhood revitalization programs raise their own issues about power and capital in decision-making, which merit critical review. A sustainable redevelopment program must address these concerns.

Three critiques of redevelopment

Redevelopment can be critiqued first from a Marxist perspective, through

an examination of issues of privilege and power. Redevelopment programs

are primarily driven by city governments. The agencies or offices of city

government possess political will and the economic ability to motivate

redevelopment in a given area, as well as the knowledge of professional city

planners. Redevelopment can thus be understood in this view as a top-down

program, driven and framed by the perceptions and needs of powerful

economic and social elites, serving their needs at the expense of those of the

poor. The power differential is clear: government holds the cards, and

neighborhood residents and businesses have little or no influence on the

course of redevelopment.

The power differential may manifest itself in elitism on the part of city

officials. The "expert" argument holds that

> since the people's ideas are narrow,...they need more of what the
> professional has to offer; rationalizing the status quo, *because of* the
> status quo, simply serves to maintain the status quo. ...[W]hen you live
> in a society with few incentives to develop skills for designing your
> own environment, you simply don't develop these skills. Seeing this
> lack of skills, this "inadequacy," our own self-image as professionals is
> reinforced and the cycle is perpetuated. (Goodman, 1971: 115, emphasis
> in original)

Citizens' limited knowledge or understanding of urban planning and design

is thus used by some government officials as a reason for limiting citizen

participation; the power differential is maintained. Where citizen

participation is encouraged, the Marxist critic sees this as "more co-optation of

the masses" (Guterbock, 1980: 436).

Above all, the Marxist critique perceives redevelopment as driven primarily by capitalism: "the spatial distribution of urban populations, the growth of cities, resource depletion, and other elements of the ecological order [are] determined by the needs of capital" (Guterbock, 1980: 435-6). Seen in this light, redevelopment really only serves to perpetuate existing inequalities, and to benefit the rich and powerful to the detriment of the poor.

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, a citizen-based movement in Boston's Roxbury neighborhood, is an example of bottom-up redevelopment driven by citizens of a poor, minority neighborhood, and is interesting for its contrast with the foregoing critique. DSNI became the first citizen-led neighborhood improvement initiative to apply for and receive private foundation grant money and to use the power of eminent domain. In Boston's poorest and most underemployed neighborhood, DSNI successfully organized the resources and energies of residents against the dumping of toxic wastes, garbage, abandoned cars, and construction debris in their neighborhood. DSNI reclaimed abandoned lots and organized to build affordable housing. In short, the community "turned the traditional top-down urban planning process on its head":

> Instead of struggling to influence a process driven by city government, Dudley residents and agencies became visionaries, created their own bottom-up "urban village" redevelopment plan and built an unprecedented partnership with the city to implement it. (Medoff and Sklar, 1994: 4)

The success of this initiative underlines the need to redress the issues raised by the first critique: "community development must begin by recognizing and

reinforcing the resources *within* the community" (Medoff and Sklar, 1994: 254, emphasis in original).

A sociological examination of the existing socioeconomic structure of poor neighborhoods provides a second critique of redevelopment. As previously noted, even "blighted" or poor neighborhoods have a social structure, and that structure may be well-suited in function to the form of the neighborhood. Furthermore, "mixed use" neighborhoods are often the most vibrant and diverse, as well as the safest, with many "eyes on the street" at different times of day (Jacobs, 1961): such temporal and use differentiation draws diverse people to the location for various purposes. This may in turn stimulate the development of further uses.

Redevelopment disturbs this structure both socially and economically. Legally defined "blight" may be someone's last stand financially, and the redevelopment of an area may cause serious social dislocation for poor people as they are forced from their neighborhood (Miller, 1997). This may be especially true of people who lack social networks to support them during times of transition or crisis, or people who are in poor physical health (Eckert, 1983). Renewal planning, in its disruption of city relationships, uproots people, destroys local business, "drives old-timers from their broken-down flats or modest homes and forces them to find new and alien quarters" (Salisbury, in: Jacobs, 1961: 137).

Jacobs (1961) cautions us to avoid what Reinhold Niebuhr has called "the doctrine of salvation by bricks," the belief that physical improvements in

infrastructure will of necessity result in improved social conditions (p. 113).

Social problems that persist because of inequalities created by a capitalist

economy, or because of the deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill (such as

happened on a large scale during the Reagan presidency), cannot be addressed

in physical planning.

A third critique of redevelopment is viewed through the lens of

gentrification theory. Gentrification is "the process ... by which poor and

working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of

private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters" (Smith, 1996: 32).

As the gentry come home, the poor are displaced; in ecological terms, this has

been viewed as an "invasion-succession" by the moneyed classes -- the same

classes that decades earlier had fled the inner cities (Hudson, 1980). In an

attractive area with thriving businesses and an in-migration of people,

property values, taxes and rent often increase. A poor area, affordable at its

current rent price, may for some become unaffordable with redevelopment,

as it suddenly becomes attractive for new business and new construction.

Increasing amenity values, by providing green spaces, sidewalks, street trees,

bike and pedestrian access, may resuscitate a neighborhood but carries with it

the consequence of disrupting basic neighborhood functions, as long-time

poor residents are relocated temporarily or permanently.

The literature is prolific as to the causes of gentrification. London, et al.

(1986) provide an analysis of demographic, ecological, sociocultural and

political-economic causes for gentrification. They suggest that a complex

interaction of population growth and composition (demographic),

neighborhood type and activity (ecological), social values, attitudes, and

lifestyles (sociocultural) and intergroup power relations, market forces and

supply and demand (political-economic) cause gentrification. They concur

with Smith (1996) that capitalist market forces are a significant contributing

factor. Smith (1996) argues that since the value of land and improvements

made to it depreciate with physical deterioration of land and structures over

time, ultimately a sustained devalorization will result in a "rent gap"

between "potential ground rent," if the land were put to its "highest and best

use," and the "actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use" (p.

67). When that rent gap is sufficiently wide, gentrification may be initiated by

private developers, lending institutions, government, or a partnership

thereof. Gentrification is, in this way, a "back-to-the-city movement ... but ...

by capital rather than people" (Smith, 1996: 70).

Taking his cue from Marxist-school perspectives, Hudson (1980) refracts

gentrification through an ecological prism. His analysis centers on the notion

of ecological invasion and succession of one community by another, and

concludes that

> an ecological analysis of inner-city revitalization would emphasize
> that, in certain neighborhoods, a *homogeneously* high-status
> population has succeeded a *homogeneously* low-status population; in
> other words, a more *powerful* social class has displaced one less
> powerful. (p.406, emphasis in original)

There is disagreement in the literature as to the significance of

gentrification. Bourne (1993) argues that the significance of gentrification as a

force of urban change has been exaggerated. It is prominent, he argues, in the social and spatial restructuring of the inner cities of a few large cities, but even in those cities its importance is waning. More important, he believes, is the number of poor neighborhoods that have not experienced gentrification and which have declined further as places to live. By contrast, Smith's (1996) discourse on gentrification broadly defines gentrification as "part of a larger redevelopment process dedicated to the revitalization of the profit rate ...[and] is thereby part of the social agenda of a larger restructuring of the economy" (pp. 88-89). That is to say, gentrification, and redevelopment projects more generally, is deliberately encouraged by agencies charged with increasing the taxable value of properties within the city. Viewed this way, gentrification is clearly occurring in more cities than the few major cities that Bourne cites; viewed this way, gentrification is happening in Missoula, Montana.

Like earlier urban renewal programs, gentrification has class and racial dimensions, increasingly recognized by even its supporters, who employ a more and more "anodyne terminology -- 'neighborhood recycling,' 'upgrading,' 'renaissance,' and the like to blunt [those] connotations of 'gentrification'" (Smith, 1996: 32). The current "new image of the inner city [which] celebrates the pedestrian street as a kind of permanent festival" excludes "people who, for whatever reason, made middle class people feel uncomfortable" -- including the homeless, mentally ill, transients, eccentrics, "bag people" and others who have "made the downtown streets their home" (Kasinitz, 1983). The new city, thus revitalized, has been "cured" of the

"disease" of the poor. Originally, residential neighborhoods were gentrified to provide improved housing for middle- and upper-income newcomers, who were usually white. Smith (1996) suggests that gentrification is no longer limited to housing, but "has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavor: the class remake of the central urban landscape. It would be anachronistic now to exclude redevelopment from the rubric of gentrification..." (p. 39).

In light of the above suggestion that redevelopment is subsumed by gentrification, with its associated problems, the question of who benefits and who pays the costs of such redevelopment becomes very pertinent: are the needs of residents coherent with the needs of businesses (whose customer base may, after all, be local, regional, national or international), and if not, what is the best compromise? are the beneficiaries of redevelopment neighborhood residents and neighborhood businesses, or the city's entire citizenry? are local businesses and residents forced out by economic exigency, as rents and property taxes rise and as new, more affluent residents and businesses move in to the redeveloped neighborhood?

These questions suggest that successful redevelopment strategies should include citizen input in a participatory process of community planning. Citizen participation allows for citizen partnership and "ownership" in redevelopment, and allows for greater success (Moore Lappé and Du Bois, 1994). A participatory process is a slow road. There are many actors, each with a different agenda or "vision" for redevelopment, and establishing

relationships and procedures for collaboration may be lengthy processes unto

themselves. Nonetheless, highly successful examples of community

revitalization, from Chattanooga to Seattle, have involved asking the citizens

to generate ideas and to be involved, and the citizens have risen to the task

(Lerner, 1995). In the process of rebuilding their physical communities,

citizens have helped build their social communities. As they come together

to design solutions to common problems, they have built the "common" in

community.

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PART TWO: THEORY

What is it that makes a space *become a* place, *that magical something that we might call 'placeness'?*

-- David Engwicht[1]

City ecology and neighborhood design

Given that a primary, historic function of cities is, as David Engwicht (1993) has argued, to maximize exchange and face-to-face interaction among citizens, urban redevelopment should seek to design places which maximize such human interaction. Physical design of streets and buildings must consider and reflect city ecology -- who uses what portions of the area and for what purposes; how many users there are, and why and when they are there --as well as desired or intended functions: for what activities might this place be used? Physical design necessitates an examination of demographics and patterns of human movement in the built environment: uses of streets and sidewalks, uses of buildings, diversity of land use "niches," diversity of choices. An understanding of city ecology, and of the way the form of a structure or space relates to its function, is a crucial underpinning of any design endeavor.

Thus design requires both a general understanding of the components of a "neighborhood," as both a physical and social construct, and a specific understanding of the problems and opportunities posed by a particular site.

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[1] David Engwicht, Reclaiming Our Cities and Towns: Better Living with Less Traffic, Philadelphia, New Society Publishers, 1993, p. 34, emphasis in original.

This chapter will address generalities of site design, with an eye to sustainability. It will also describe the role citizens can play in the design of their place.

Sustainable design is that design which weds ecology with sociology and economics, considering the relationship between environmental quality and land use. Redevelopment may be a response to a change in market value, or it may be an acknowledgment of an earlier failure -- whether a failure of market capitalism, of design, or of social understanding -- and an attempt to redress this failure. Sustainability must therefore be articulated as a primary goal of redesign, if planners are to create a place that is socially, economically and environmentally sound far into the future. The notion of sustainable development provides what Janis Birkeland (1994) has described as a "(meta)paradigm, ... a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding our socio-ecological problems." Birkeland's "metaparadigm" will undergird redevelopment design guidelines to be proposed for West Broadway in Part Five.

Analyzed ecosystemically, a city and its neighborhoods exhibit several major ecosystem functions: *energy*, in the form of goods and people, flows into, out of and through the city; a *diverse community* of users occupies different use "niches"; community members are *interrelated* through social and commercial networks; and over time, communities *change* in what could be viewed as successional fashion. All of this human interaction in the

built community nests within the biotic environment, which influences and ultimately limits human choice.

Physical planners, designers and geographers have emphasized the physical components of neighborhoods, while sociologists and social planners have focused on the social components. Some planners have sought a comprehensive framework that addresses both physical and social aspects of neighborhoods, and still others have argued that the idea of "neighborhood" is moot as citizens have become increasingly oriented to the city, state or national level. Milton Kotler's (1969) definition of "neighborhood" as a "political settlement of small territory and familiar association, whose absolute property is its capacity for deliberative democracy" (in Hester, 1975: 13) includes both spatial and social concepts and, more important, suggests that participation is a key element.

The physical and social neighborhood

David Engwicht (1993) divides urban neighborhood space into two realms (p. 43). "Movement space," or pathways, includes trails and footpaths, streets, sidewalks and "street furniture" such as benches, lamps, trash cans, etc. "Exchange space" comprises buildings, plazas, workshops, homes and other places of human interaction. The function of movement space is to bring people and goods together for the task of exchange; urban *spaces* become urban *places* when people engage in exchange.

Urban exchange, which William H. Whyte (1988) has called "the social life

of the street," is richly detailed in Whyte's book City (1988) and in Jane Jacobs'

The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961). Whyte and Jacobs have

shown themselves to be keen observers of American urban life, particularly

in terms of the "users" of a given neighborhood. Since their works are largely

about mixed commercial neighborhoods, and the West Broadway study area

is such an area, it is worthwhile to summarize a few of their observations.

For Jacobs, sidewalks and streets serve several purposes. Sidewalks

provide places for pedestrians to walk and hence invite human presence or

"eyes on the street," thereby increasing safety. Her presumption is that empty

streets are unsafe streets; when streets are unsafe, people take refuge in their

vehicles, stay behind walls and fences on their own "turf," stay off the streets

and allow an atmosphere of danger to prevail (Jacobs, 1961).

Whyte agrees: "in other cities, the central business districts are among the

safest of places during the hours that people use them. Conversely, among

the most dangerous places are the parking lots of suburban shopping malls"

(p. 55). Sidewalks also provide a forum for the "assimilation" of children,

where adults "can, and on lively diversified sidewalks they do, supervise the

incidental play of children and assimilate the children into city society. They

do it *in the course of carrying on their other pursuits"* (Jacobs, 1961: 82,

emphasis in original). Sidewalks thus become places of learning,

acculturation and socialization for the city's young people.

In <u>City</u>, Whyte's (1988) study of sidewalks and their users in New York City details different types of interaction among people meeting in the street. Using time-lapse cameras to study several street corners over a two-week period, Whyte observed both planned and chance meetings on the sidewalk, the culture of "street people" (vendors, entertainers, "public characters," whores, criminals and beggars, for whom sidewalks may be both home and stage) and the relation between form and function of sidewalks (i.e., sidewalk width in relation to carrying capacity for pedestrians).

Corroborating Jacobs' observations, Whyte finds that the sidewalk is the quintessential public space for face-to-face encounters. He observes that the "great bulk" of conversations lasting more than two minutes which his study cameras recorded were held in the center of the pedestrian flow, in the "100 percent location." He suggests that this is because "what attracts people most is other people," and the desire to maximize the possibility of interaction with other people underlies this habit of standing "smack in the middle" (Whyte, 1988: 8-10).

If sidewalks serve to bring people into contact with other people, as both Jacobs and Whyte contend, this function has been undermined by the propensity of city planning to privilege cars over pedestrians. Separation of car traffic from pedestrian traffic, Whyte argues, is for the benefit of motorized traffic so it can move faster; pedestrian overpasses make it possible for cars to move freely without having to stop to allow pedestrians to cross. Based on his camera observations of traffic movement and pedestrian flow at

intersections in New York City, Whyte suggests that traffic lights are "rigged against pedestrians," who cross one intersection and walk the length of the block to find themselves arriving at the next intersection just as the "Don't Walk" sign flashes to solid and the light turns red for pedestrians (p. 68).

As corridors of movement from one place to the next, streets and their sidewalks are defined as "outdoor rooms" by the fronts of the buildings which line them to form a "street wall." The place where the building meets the sidewalk forms an important edge to the "room," and delineates the urban space. The quality of the streetscape is informed by the orientation and placement of the building on the street, and also by the diversity and number of visual stimuli presented by the building wall to the eyes of passersby. Whereas a blank wall is uninviting, and may even offer a disincentive to travel on that sidewalk, a street-level shop window may capture the eye with lively and interesting displays. In observing window-shoppers in New York, Whyte notes that "how many become buyers is harder to tell, but the number of lookers and buyers does correlate with the numbers of pedestrians" (p. 83).

Whyte describes the elements of a "good street" as follows:

> Buildings flush to the sidewalk. Stores along the frontage. Doors and windows on the street. ... Second-story activity -- with windows, so you can see it. A good sidewalk, it should be just broad enough so it's slightly crowded at peak. ... Trees. Big trees. Seating and simple amenities. ... What's needed are simple benches, placed in relation to use; such basic amenities as clocks and drinking fountains, and trash containers that work. (p. 102)

A "good street" invites people to walk along its length and provides for their entertainment and their comfort. Good streets encourage pedestrian activity, and pedestrian activity involves people meeting and addressing each other face to face. Thus good streets support the city's highest purpose: to bring people together in face-to-face exchange.

Successful urban districts, Jacobs (1961) argues, not only maximize exchange, they maximize diversity. That is to say, they offer a variety of activities, available at different times of the day, which appeal to different users: "the point of cities," she says, "is multiplicity of choice" (p. 340). To generate urban diversity, Jacobs writes, four conditions must be met. First, she notes that "the district must have more than one primary function,...to insure the presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules...and for different purposes" (p. 151). A neighborhood with multiple functions -- shops, offices, theaters, homes, cafés, diners -- will have a greater variety of users who will come at different times of the day.

Theorist and designer Kevin Lynch (1962) corroborates this point, noting the need to analyze "linkages" between different uses and to consider how convenient each use should be to other uses: the need for convenient "linkage" between schools and residences, for example, underlies citizen arguments in opposition to closing neighborhood schools. "Nothing in the land use technique," Lynch has written, "requires that all uses of one type must occur in one location, or that they must not be intermixed with other uses... Mixtures of uses may be most desirable for reasons of contrast or

continuous use of a site, or to allow for linkages that cannot be foreseen" (p. 29).

For Jacobs, the second precondition for urban diversity is short city blocks, to diversify the choice of travel paths. Diversity of travel paths in the city is as important as diversity of travel activities, for reasons of increasing choice and decreasing traffic congestion. Moreover, a greater number of intersecting streets provides more location opportunities for small stores. Engwicht (1993) would agree, but argues that increasing the number of intersecting streets (effectively increasing "movement space") must not come at the price of decreasing the number of corner stores, delis, workshops, or homes (components of "exchange space"). He cautions against the privileging of movement space over exchange space: the building of new roads and the widening of existing roads in urban areas often entails tearing down houses, shops, or community spaces; this obliteration of exchange opportunities impoverishes the city. Since the main purpose of cities is to concentrate people and facilitate exchange, this transferal of exchange space to movement space actually increases the distance people must travel in order to reach the remaining exchange opportunities, which are now further spread out. While I would agree with Engwicht's general point that movement space must not take precedence over exchange space, I support the notion of an integrated travel network with multiple pathways to increase choice.

Jacobs' third criterion for urban diversity is that buildings must vary in age, to take advantage of variable economic yield. Since the use and reuse of

existing old buildings offsets the cost of new construction, Jacobs writes that we need "ingenious adaptation of old quarters to new uses" (p. 193), as in this adaptive reuse of an old building:

> Consider the history of the no-yield space that has recently been rehabilitated by the Arts in Louisville Association as a theater, music room, art gallery, library, bar and restaurant. It started life as a fashionable athletic club, outlived that and became a school, then the stable of a dairy company, then a riding school, then a finishing and dancing school, another athletic club, an artist's studio, a school again, a blacksmith's, a factory, a warehouse, and it is now a flourishing center of the arts. Who could anticipate or provide for such a succession of hopes and schemes? (p. 195)

While Jacobs' link between old buildings and urban diversity is weak, adaptive reuse of old buildings does save significant amounts of both money and energy: generally speaking, it costs less to retrofit or reuse an old building that is still structurally sound than to build an entirely new one.

The fourth ingredient Jacobs feels is necessary to generate urban diversity is sufficient population density. Dense concentrations of people are needed to support cultural and economic diversity in cities. Density as a descriptor gives scale to a land use plan. Density can be described for a particular site (such as floor area ratio, which is the proportion of gross floor area to the square footage of the site), for a building (persons per square foot), for a neighborhood or zoning district (families or dwellings per acre), or for the city as a whole. There is not necessarily any "ideal" density: urban densities exist at 5 or 6 dwelling units per acre in Missoula and range into the hundreds of units per acre in New York City. Different densities are needed to support different uses, as Lynch (1962) points out:

> ...for any given use, there is a range of densities outside of which development is likely to be substandard and within which there are a number of breakpoints marking a shift from one character with its particular advantages to another with other advantages. (p. 31)

Density may be a function not only of the particular site but of the surrounding areas, and the site planner must be in the habit of examining the land use patterns that surround her site. Particularly close to the city center, for example, where cultural and commercial opportunities are concentrated and where is found, most often, the historic city center with the city's architectural identity, it is advantageous to increase residential density. Not only does increasing urban density near the core provide more potential consumers for downtown businesses, but the proximity to downtown also increases the possibility that people will choose to walk or bicycle rather than drive to their downtown destinations. The use of "green modes" of travel further facilitates the exact sort of face-to-face exchange which cities must maximize; the more people living in the city, the more "eyes on the street," to use Jacobs' term, and the more face-to-face human interaction.

Jacobs, Whyte and Engwicht have each suggested key elements of design which might create diverse, successful urban spaces where exchange might take place. I turn now to the design process itself.

Design: site analysis

Site analysis is the first step in any design process. The designer must first identify what forms and types of spaces and structures exist in and around the site being studied, before determining the problems and opportunities posed

by the site and the goals for design. Kevin Lynch describes this process in <u>Site Planning</u> (1962) as essentially one of physical problem-solving:

> Site analysis, which may be preceded by site selection, starts with a general unoriented reconnaissance, continues through a systematic check of factors of suspected significance, and ends with an analysis leading to a concise statement of the site's essential character and its major problems and potentialities. (p. 115)

Generally, the kinds of goals a site planner may set include "functional adequacy" of the site for a given activity; optimal exchange of people, goods and information; adaptability of site for re-use; site aesthetics; low cost; and maximized individual choice. For a site where it is difficult to predict the needs or wishes of site users, Lynch notes that it is common to set a general goal of choice: to provide as many possibilities at the site so as to allow users to choose their own services, activities or "habitat." However, he cautions that "such an objective is rarely served by laissez-faire, or random order. Normally, the necessary variety, the ease of selection and access, and the degree of individual control required by this goal are all attainable only by careful planning" (p.12). To state a more specific purpose for a given site, a planner must conduct a thorough analysis of the site and its surroundings, paying attention to natural environment and social setting: land use, circulation patterns and architecture.

The natural environment

Engwicht (1993) has suggested exchange space and movement space as two categories of urban space. It would seem, however, that in site analysis, the

natural environment deserves treatment as a separate category, one that embraces and contextualizes the first two. Typical site analysis (Lynch, 1962) includes an examination of the soils, landform, vegetation, climate, water drainage patterns and wildlife of an area; for urban sites, it also incorporates the built environment, including buildings and infrastructure, zoning, building codes, rights-of-way, easements, liens, covenants and other land use restrictions. Even in urban sites, ecological factors such as endemic or endangered species, fragile ecosystems, and cumulative or "downstream" effects of development should be considered, as well as the environmental cost accounting described in the first chapter.

While the need to analyze the natural environment of a site might be more clear for undeveloped land, site analysis for redevelopment should consider the relationship of built environment to natural environment. This might be accomplished through landscaping choices, such as the use of native plant species; through building choices, including materials and orientation of structures for solar exposure or views; or through a deliberate highlighting of a natural feature, such as a hill or a river.

Land use patterns

Two basic patterns are recognizable in urban design, and these hark back to the earliest human settlements built thousands of years ago (Spreiregen, 1965). Pastoral peoples, seeking the most economic means of enclosing their herds and fencing out predators, created defensible circular settlements.

Agrarian peoples farming in the floodplains of the Nile, the Ganges and the Euphrates built rectilinear settlements, seeking efficiency in dividing the land into plots for farming. Radial and rectilinear patterns of town form followed from these earliest examples, from the star-shaped "Ideal Cities" which expressed Renaissance ideals of artistry, intellectual innovation and rationality (Spreiregen, 1965) and Ebenezer Howard's concentric Garden City, to axially oriented towns and cities built on the Hippodamian grid.

Layered onto the pattern of city form is the "grain" of development: the extent to which different kinds of activities are separated from one another or mixed together, "how finely those differing classes are mixed, and how sharp the transition is between them" (Lynch, 1962: 34). Coarse-grain development results from the separation of uses into different zoning districts (residential, commercial, industrial), and minimizes individual choice because it forces people to travel to particular locations to satisfy particular needs. Coarse-grain development is supported by current zoning ordinances, in Missoula as in many American towns and cities. Finer-grain development, such as that in Missoula's Central Business District, supports more diversity of use and activity, and thus maximizes choice.

Thus an important component of site analysis is a mapping of uses occurring at the site as well as in surrounding areas. This is particularly cogent for urban redevelopment, which entails redesigning a site surrounded by developed neighborhood: what is the market of potential users for the site? what types of uses would be compatible with surrounding uses? how does the

site relate to surrounding areas and to the city as a whole? Planners,

developers and architects need to change the way we look at site

development, to consider not only the micro-level health of the site but also

the macro-level. Engwicht (1993) has described the city as a fractal, a

geometric shape that repeats itself at increasingly smaller scales *ad infinitum*.

As a river is to a creek is to a stream is to a spring, so a city is to a district is to a

neighborhood is to a single street block. When redeveloping the street block,

then, a planner must consider how the street block relates to the

neighborhood, district and city.

Architect Christopher Alexander (1977) has presented the notion that

design is comprised of elements -- "patterns" -- that describe possible

solutions to problems in the built environment. In his book, <u>A Pattern</u>

<u>Language</u>, Alexander presents the patterns in order from macroscale to

microscale, from "regions and towns, ... down through neighborhoods,

clusters of buildings, buildings, rooms and alcoves, ending finally with details

of construction" (p. xii). Together, the patterns form a "language" for

construction, with each pattern nested between certain larger-scale patterns

that precede and certain smaller-scale patterns that follow in the language. As

no word can stand in isolation if it is to be used in a sentence, no pattern can

stand in isolation if it is to be incorporated into a successful design. For good

design, then, attention must be paid to both the larger scale (how the street

functions in the network or hierarchy of streets throughout the city, how

pockets of activity in the city are connected by paths of movement) and the

smaller scale (street width, sense of enclosure, placement of buildings on the street, sidewalk design, crosswalks, paving, greenery).

Paths of movement

Travel networks may be described in terms of their form and their function. Streets may be organized as capillaries, snaking around the contours of landforms; as a grid or modified grid of through-streets; or as what architect Andres Duany (1994) has called the "drowned worm" cul-de-sac of suburban subdivisions. The function of the street depends upon its capacity for traffic movement, its accessibility for different transport modes, and the degree to which it facilitates mobility within the area. Thus a hierarchy of streets might be described: principal arterials are "corridors with the highest traffic volumes and longest trip lengths," minor arterials are used for moderate-length trips, and collector streets move traffic from the arterials to local streets, which provide direct access within neighborhoods (Missoula OPG, 1996). Local streets are the smallest-scale streets, besides the alley, and even alleys which have houses or small businesses located on them perform an important transportation function.

Urban streets function essentially as channels of space through which people and vehicles circulate. The quality of city streets as urban spaces is determined by one limiting factor: their sense of enclosure. Enclosure is a fundamental aspect of urban space: in cities, we expect either *to be* physically

enclosed (by walls) or *to feel* enclosed (by the mass and structure of

buildings). In <u>The Concise Townscape</u>, Gordon Cullen (1961) has written,

> Enclosure sums up the polarity of legs and wheels. It is the basic unit
> of the precinctual pattern; outside, the noise and speed of impersonal
> communications which comes and goes but is not of any place. Inside,
> the quietness and human scale of the square, quad or courtyard. This is
> the end product of traffic, this is the place to which traffic brings you.
> Without enclosure traffic becomes nonsense. (p. 25)

I would argue that enclosure is not only a quality of courtyards and squares,

but is also a de facto characteristic of successful urban streets. The degree of

enclosure one feels on a city street is determined by the height of the

buildings which front it in proportion to the observer's viewing distance

(Spreiregen, 1965: 75). When the building facade height is equal to the

distance to the observer, the facade is the primary object perceived; a one-to-

one ratio gives an angle to cornice of 45 degrees, and a feeling of complete

enclosure. When the facade height equals half of the distance to the observer,

the angle to the cornice is 30 degrees, which coincides with the upper limit of

the normal range of human vision. This is the "threshold of enclosure." As

the distance to height proportion increases to a three-to-one ratio, the

observer perceives objects behind the facade -- trees, mountains, other distant

land forms -- as much as the building itself; the angle to the cornice is 18

degrees, the minimum limit of enclosure. Standing at a distance of four

times facade height, an observer sees the top at a 14 degree angle, and there is

no enclosure; the space "leaks out."

A sense of enclosure on a street is also a factor of the evenness of the

cornice line and of the continuity of the street wall (Spreiregen, 1965). If two

cornice height = 40'

VIEWER-TO-OBJECT DISTANCE

RATIO = 1:1

angle to cornice = 45°

40'

"FULL ENCLOSURE"

cornice height = 30'

RATIO ~ 4:3

40'

cornice height = 20'

RATIO = 2:1

angle to cornice = 30°

40'

"THRESHOLD OF ENCLOSURE"

cornice height = 14'

RATIO ~ 4:1

angle to cornice = 14°

55'

No ENCLOSURE — SPACE "LEAKS OUT"

cornice = 14'

tree height = 20'

angle to top of tree = 30°

angle to cornice = 14°

41'

55'

TREES HELP CREATE ENCLOSURE ON A WIDE STREET

ENCLOSURE
ALONG THE
STREET

buildings in a row are one story tall but the surrounding buildings are three stories tall, and the street is fifty feet wide, space may "leak out" through the gap in the cornice line. Similarly, if there are too many gaps between buildings, the street wall may not be sufficiently continuous to contain space in the street. The buildings along a street must articulate a sense of enclosure for the street through their form, their relief and their relation to each other and to the street.

Architecture

It is precisely this responsibility of buildings to define the street that motivates designers Sim Van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe (1986) to write that architects and planners need to "reexamin[e] the assumptions of modern architecture, moving beyond simple internal functionalism to a philosophy of contextualism. Buildings have a responsibility beyond their walls" (p. 32). Thus urban buildings, through their mass and their orientation, should not only create a sense of enclosure along the street, they should also pay homage to the street by facing it and engaging it in a kind of architectural dialogue. Buildings should be designed to relate meaningfully to neighboring buildings.

A particular site or neighborhood may have its own architectural identity -- as does, for example, the historic railroad district of Missoula's Northside neighborhood -- and that architecture should be capitalized upon. From the standpoint of architectural integrity and identity, a plain, boxy Modernist

structure might ruin a downtown streetscape in which all of the existing structures are turn-of-the-century brownstones with intricate facade detailing and architectural interest. Architectural design considerations should extend as well to the materials chosen for construction, in terms of aesthetics, production methods, durability, and geographic source of the materials, as well as to energy conservation within the building.

Principles for sustainable design

If each person driving occupies an area 100 times as large as he does when he is on his feet, this means that people are ten times as far apart. In other words, the use of cars has the overall effect of spreading people out, and keeping them apart.

-- Christopher Alexander[2]

The notion of sustainability would seem, by its common usage, to lie at the root of land use planning: we plan for the future of our towns and our rural spaces because we wish to sustain a high quality of life. And yet so often, planning is damage control, negative policy-making and narrow-minded decisions made without an eye to the "big picture" or to the distant future. "Visioning" planning looks out twenty years; what about one hundred and twenty? what about one thousand and twenty? Human scale is about five to six feet tall and one hundred years old at best, and planners use this term often. Yet we rarely talk about what truly sustainable planning would mean.

[2]Christopher Alexander, A Pattern Language, New York, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 65, emphasis in original.

The Inca built Macchu Picchu high in the Andes, of Andean rock. They split the rock with wooden wedges driven into cracks and seams in the stone, using simple physics: insert a dry wedge, soak the wedge so the wood expands, drive the wedge deeper, repeat the process until the stone splits. That is city planning. The Inca ultimately went the way of most indigenous peoples in the face of European colonization, but the walls of their city still stand. That is sustainability.

Because redevelopment offers in effect a "second chance," successful redesign should take a long-term approach. In the context of street design and pedestrian accessibility, I advocate sustainable design, and consider "sustainability" from an ecological, social, economic and political standpoint.

Sim Van der Ryn and Stuart Cowan (1996) have argued for the necessity of "ecological design" in their book of that title, calling upon designers, architects and planners to make ecology the basis for design. The authors suggest several guiding principles for design: that it be place-based and grow organically in response to local environmental conditions; that it involve "ecological accounting" in reckoning the full costs of any project; that it work with nature instead of against or over it; that it be participatory; and that it make nature visible. Thus ecological design supports the use of renewable energy sources, employs materials that are durable and easily recycled or reused, minimizes pollution, accounts for "a wide range of ecological impacts over the entire life-cycle of the project," draws upon a wide knowledge base, and responds to bioregional conditions (soils, climate, etc.) (pp. 26-27).

For ecological design to be "place-based," the built environment must respect and pay homage to the land. Such respect may come in the form of vernacular architecture or in the design and siting of buildings so that they fit into the landscape unobtrusively: while buildings should be constructed to take advantage of views, they should also take care to preserve those views. Ridge lines can be preserved, for example, through the construction and siting of buildings low to the land and below the ridge, so that the cornice does not interrupt the ridge line when viewed from below.

For buildings to respect the land, they must also pay attention to local climate, to such details as vegetation, ventilation and solar access for buildings. In rural areas, plants absorb solar energy and release moisture to the atmosphere as part of their metabolic process, cooling the atmosphere. In cities, the "urban heat island" phenomenon, caused by the retention of solar energy by non-absorptive surfaces such as asphalt, cement and brick, results in temperatures being several degrees higher than in surrounding rural areas. Landscaping -- boulevard street trees, shrubs and grass -- in cities is critical, if only to help moderate the hotter urban microclimate; trees both reflect excess solar energy and release cooling moisture, and they also create shade so that solar energy doesn't heat paved surfaces (U.S. Department of Energy, 1993).

Designers can create cooler cities through landscaping; they can also take advantage of natural air movement. For good ventilation, urban sites should be designed to facilitate movement of air through a city's street and alley "canyons." It is important, therefore, for designers to study air and wind

patterns and to know the direction from which a city's weather generally comes.

In northern climes, heating and energy savings may as important as cooling: buildings should therefore be oriented to maximize solar exposure. Whyte (1988) describes the use of "solar zoning," in which "zoning envelopes have been devised for residential construction so that each house will let plenty of sun fall on neighbors' rooftops and solar collectors" (p. 258). He continues that solar access in the city center is important as well: height limitations should reflect winter insolation and sun angles, as well as the potential shadowing of the street and other buildings by new buildings under construction.

Choice of building materials can influence the quality of light in the city, too, as sunlight is reflected off building surfaces. Whyte (1988) sketches a portrait of New York City's Fifth Avenue between Fiftieth and Sixtieth Streets: it is "a splendidly lit place, and one reason is the prevalence of limestone and travertine in the facades. The play of light on these surfaces is reflected on their surroundings and the street and the people on it, and a pleasant and flattering light it is" (p. 272).

A design solution that is ecologically sustainable considers by what mode of transportation people travel, and whether travel patterns or modes would change if people could meet their needs closer to home. Ecologically sustainable design seeks to promote environmentally sound transportation alternatives that result in the least environmental degradation or pollution.

Perhaps the primary issue in land use and transportation is not, in fact, the best way to move people to their needs, but rather the best way to bring people's needs closer to where the people are. In other words, do we widen a highway from two lanes to four lanes in order to make it easier for commuters to get to work, or do we provide more work opportunities with good wages closer to where those commuters live? Thus ecologically sustainable design addresses basic social concerns: how far people must travel to meet their needs (buy food, shop, recreate) and how far they must travel to their place of work. Environmentally sustainable design would emphasize clustered developments, grouping buildings together to avoid sprawl and to preserve open space; it emphasizes the creation of small communities. Design that is environmentally sustainable is, therefore, also socially sustainable.

A socially sustainable design takes into account social connections and relationships between people, places of residence, places of commerce or business, and places of recreation. Seeking social sustainability in urban planning necessitates an examination of who lives in, works in, and visits the neighborhood and for what purpose, and whether people can meet their needs close to home. It supports mixed use neighborhoods with "shop/house buildings," and gives preference to infill construction and redevelopment in the city over development at the periphery (Lennard and Lennard, 1995).

Socially sustainable design seeks to build community cohesion as well as foster neighborhood stability, in terms of longevity of residential and

commercial uses and commitment to remain in the community. Socially minded design identifies important "social landmarks" in the city -- the local bookstore, the diner, the coffeehouse -- and seeks to preserve those as gathering spots for local residents. It supports a lively, creative city center, with public festivals (Lennard and Lennard, 1995) and opportunities for citizens to meet one another and "be seen," perhaps at the farmers market, perhaps at a crafts fair, perhaps at an outdoor musical event. Socially sustainable design creates a streetscape that is safe, accessible and inviting to pedestrian and bicycle use, as these forms of travel permit human interaction; at the same time, socially sustainable design is considerate of how the neighborhood relates to the rest of the community, and seeks street design that is conducive to motorized travel.

Socially sustainable design must acknowledge that design affects behavior: well-lit streets invite human presence, whereas tall fences, high walls and barbed wire offer disincentives to human presence (Jacobs, 1961). Through design, architects and planners have the capacity to direct human activity. A successful city park is so because it is well-designed, not because it is a city park; the multitude of unsuccessful city parks bears witness to this fact. Likewise, a home feels pleasant to its occupant not because it is a home, but because it is well-designed: for its occupants, its form fits its function. Again, where it is difficult to identify user needs, good design will emphasize diversity to maximize choice.

That land use design affects behavior is apparent in changing human

behavior patterns as the United States has become increasingly suburban.

Peter Calthorpe (1993) describes the rise in automobile dependence, noting

that the number of car trips generated per household per day has risen from

eight in 1969 to twelve in 1990: "We are driving twice as much as we did"

twenty years ago, he says, "yet the result seems to be less mobility and more

frustration" (p. 49). He observes:

> Land use patterns are the foundation upon which the viability of travel
> cost, time, and investment factors depend. If land use primarily
> supports the auto, then increasing the costs of operating cars and
> allowing congestion to grow will only result in pain, not a
> fundamental reorientation of travel behavior... On the other hand, if
> land use configurations support alternatives to the car, then many
> results are possible: people may choose to walk, bike, and use transit
> more often; they can combine trips more easily; there may be shorter,
> more direct routes to local destinations; they may actually be able to
> reduce the number of cars they own; and because of these changes,
> reduced congestion on highways and arterial roadways is possible.
> (p. 46)

Because design has the potential for so tremendous an impact on

behavior, redevelopment must proceed with an eye to the type of human

behavior that is the intended outcome. If the goal is to create a healthy

human community, design should focus on creating spaces that thrive with

diverse uses and users; which invite the presence of humans by creating a

stimulating, pleasant, safe and accessible atmosphere; and which facilitate the

interaction of humans with each other and with the natural world.

An economically sustainable design considers commerce along the street,

income levels in the community, and self-sufficiency of the neighborhood. It

supports people's ability to buy products and services offered by neighborhood

businesses; in short, it supports affordability. It also examines the longevity of existing structures and infrastructure, as well as the longevity and cost of proposed replacements. In addition, economically sustainable design considers the community's environmental "amenities," such as open space, riverfronts or wildlife, and their socioeconomic value.

Economic sustainability is not necessarily considered the purview of planners, who more often focus on physical infrastructure and its social implications. Nonetheless, in order for urban design to be successful, it must take a broad view: the "public welfare" which planners are charged with protecting is as much economic as social and environmental. Economically sustainable design demands, if nothing else, that city agencies develop strong working relationships with each other, with the business community and with labor, in order to be responsive to the needs of multiple "stakeholders."

Alongside environmental and socioeconomic concerns, truly sustainable planning includes a political component. This requires policymakers who are in tune with the needs of citizens. If input from residents and businesses is welcomed in the process of redevelopment, in partnership with city government, planners and developers, community participants may have a greater personal investment in the process because they perceive it is responsive to their needs. A participatory planning process involves citizens potentially most affected by redevelopment in designing solutions to their own problems. It may further help ensure the success of the end product, simply because the design for redevelopment will be jointly owned by

community members who contributed, by private investors, and by city officials who provide political or financial assistance for redevelopment (Moore Lappé and Du Bois, 1994).

If one of the overt goals of this work is to build community -- physically as well as socially -- then the design process here must be a process which builds community and which draws upon the commitment of some residents and business leaders in investing in their neighborhood and rebuilding their community.

. Taking a leaf from Christopher Alexander's (1987) <u>A New Theory of Urban Design</u>, design should seek to create "wholeness," not only through "the repair of existing wholes which are there already, but also [through] the creation of new wholes" (p. 22). Alexander et al. (1987) argue for organic urban growth: although development is piecemeal, "every increment of construction must be made in such as way as to heal the city," where "to heal" is understood to mean "to make whole" (p. 22). Part of the healing process involves identifying what a place wants for itself -- the incremental piece of construction that would best complement what is already present at the site -- and part involves identifying what its users want for their place. "We must emphasize that visions are *necessary* for producing wholeness," Alexander et al. (1993: 58) have written. Whole visions can only be elucidated when everyone living in the whole is given an opportunity to participate.

Sustainable design principles have been articulated in various forms by Sim Van der Ryn and Stuart Cowan, Peter Calthorpe, Christopher Alexander

and others. The New Urbanism movement, the latest in a line of visions, offers principles that are less focused upon reinventing community design than upon reviving earlier patterns of development that were socially, economically and environmentally successful. Spearheaded by architects Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Peter Calthorpe, the New Urbanism is perhaps neither new nor necessarily urban: its principles are old ones -- it is for this reason also called "neotraditional design" -- and its focus is on suburban redevelopment as much as on regional design, new towns design, and inner city redevelopment. The Preamble to the Charter for the New Urbanism states:

> The Congress of the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge. (in: Kelbaugh, 1997: 131)

New Urbanists have directly tackled the social, environmental and economic costs of sprawl, and offered a different, sustainable vision. Neotraditional principles -- that "neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population," that "communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as for the car," that architecture and landscape design should reflect and "celebrate local history, climate, ecology and building practice" (Gabor, 1997) -- are as conservative as they are radical. Conservatively, New Urbanists call for a return to the compact, walkable neighborhood as the primary unit of development: according to architect Andres Duany, one-quarter mile from center to edge is the approximate limiting distance within

which people will walk rather than drive (Katz, 1994). Conservatively, they call for a continuous network of through-streets, to avoid overburdening the collector street. Conservatively advocating the reuse of old buildings, supporting a mix of compatible uses on the same parcel or close together , and calling for a sociable, livable environment (accessible public spaces, narrow streets, front porches that relate meaningfully to the street), New Urbanism radically gets to the root of the problems presented by zoning ordinances that have perpetuated suburban sprawl. New Urbanists believe that affordable housing results from affordable communities: smaller, more efficient households in more compact communities designed to "subdue the automobile" (Kelbaugh, 1997:48).

Critics of the New Urbanism have suggested that it is elitist, not place-based (offering instead a cookie-cutter set of design guidelines), and ineffective in addressing auto-dependence. Architect Doug Kelbaugh (1997) responds that the movement "was never intended to be like the contemporary, open-ended conference or symposium, which typically asks more questions than it answers and often ends up in pluralist confusion"(p. 133). Further, he contends that New Urbanist design "recognizes and celebrates what is unique about a place's history, cultures, climate and architecture" (p. 134). And finally, Kelbaugh recognizes that policy changes as well as pedestrian-oriented and transit-friendly design must be implemented in order to "change as deep a pattern as auto-dependence" (p. 136). If zoning

can incrementally destroy the "placeness" of a place, then other policies and practices can incrementally heal it.

New Urbanism has offered one vision of sustainable design, and it is a laudable one. It emphasizes true participatory planning and design, and that may be its most sustainable principle. If sustainability is, as writer Robert Gilman says, "the ability to keep going over the long haul," my interest is in creating a redesign for West Broadway that will be successful for the community's social and economic health over the long haul (Barnett and Browning, 1995). Based upon the above assumptions made in defining sustainability, the intent here is to create a design that invites and facilitates pedestrian activity; that protects natural amenities; that reduces pollution; that invites economic investment and diversity; that reflects local needs, and that invites local participation.

Users of neighborhood space

Neighborhood space is used by a multitude of different kinds of people: those traveling to the space as a destination and those passing through, those there for commerce (whether shopkeepers or consumers) and those for residence, those there by day and those by night. Residents use public outdoor space near their homes differently from public outdoor space near places of work: they might repair the car, do carpentry, play, bicycle, sit on the porch, tend the garden, attend a meeting to protest a city policy, plan a park or simply

move from place to place. In commercial areas, people might eat, read the paper, "people-watch," sell wares, shop, or have a smoke.

The gender, age, ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, and cultural values of neighborhood users influence allocations of neighborhood space for various uses: a neighborhood with lots of young families with children, for example, may emphasize its parks and use its streets as play space for neighborhood children. Users may perceive themselves to have collective ownership over their neighborhood; this may be especially true of those who reside there or who perceive themselves to be strong "stakeholders" in the quality of neighborhood life. These types of considerations underline the need for addressing social factors in design.

Randolph Hester (1975) makes a compelling case for the need for citizen participation when he writes,

> The user often perceives site characteristics differently than the designer. [For example,] the designer may consider a swale as a serious drainage problem, but a young child may regard it as an excellent place to sled. Similarly, the user may not be concerned about soil conditions except when the grass does not grow in the outfield, or about the water table except when the ground is too soggy to play football... (p. 87)

Hester's research strongly suggests that users and designer professionals emphasize different aspects of a space. He finds that users are more concerned with the social atmosphere (whether potential for privacy or for social exchange), the setting for the activity, access to nature, and safety. By contrast, he finds designers emphasize "settings, aesthetics, safety, physical comfort and convenience ... but tend to give less consideration" to people, nature, "symbolic ownership" of public spaces (street corners, alleys,

sidewalks, paths, front steps, conservation easements, open space) by the

community, land use policy and admission cost than users do (p. 108).

Furthermore, designers are more concerned with construction costs and

methods than are users.

In their analysis, designers and physical site planners traditionally give

more consideration to what types of activities a site can physically support,

based upon an analysis of soils, slopes, hydrology and climate. What is

physically present on a site is, after all, more clearly defined than social needs.

Realizing the tendency of planners to privilege both the physical site and

their own values, Herbert Gans (1968) has written that "planning must be

user-oriented; the goals toward which planners work must relate to the

behavior patterns and values of the people for whom they are planning, and

not just their own values" (p. ix, emphasis in original). Hester (1975) agrees,

arguing that designers need to involve potential users -- residents, business

leaders, visitors -- of a neighborhood space in the design process, to insure

that user needs most pertinent to the space are in fact met.

Participatory Planning

"Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.
                                                                    " --Jane Jacobs[3]

Involving the users of a neighborhood space in designing that space

increases the potential for meeting user needs: as Jane Jacobs (1961) has

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[3] Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Random House, 1961, p. 238.

written, "Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."

Citizen participation in land use planning and design is needed for several reasons, not the least of which is that citizens have a basic right to participate in decisions that affect their environment. Moreover, professionals and "experts" have consistently failed either to solve tough problems or to gain public support for their solutions (IPMP, 1997). Lay people may offer creativity and a fresh perspective in problem-solving, particularly when the problems are familiar and "down home." From a practical standpoint, the localized, empirical knowledge of the users of a neighborhood space about that space and their needs in relation to it calls for their participation in design. Citizens are also more likely to accept solutions if they have been part of the process of designing those solutions. Citizens' perception of a decision-making process as a fair one may be more important than the end result; if the public feels the process was inclusive, it may be willing to compromise on a solution. Conversely, if public officials attempt to impose decisions on the public, they may find themselves faced with significant roadblocks: many stakeholders have the power to protest, even block, a decision that potentially affects them. Truly democratic citizen participation -- not ratification of agency decisions at the end of an exclusive process -- deals directly with potentially controversial projects, allows all citizens to air their concerns, and builds support for a solution which no side may find optimal but which the majority can accept (IPMP, 1997).

The geometry of citizen participation

In describing what he calls "guerrilla architecture," architect Robert

Goodman (1971) presents a radical form of citizen participation. The erection

of "tent cities" by squatters' communities in New York City in the 1960s, as a

means of appropriating abandoned land or of resisting the construction of

new expensive residences, was guerrilla architecture, citizen participation at

the grassroots level. With guerrilla architecture,

> ...the people either win their demands or at least expose the oppression
> of those who control the environment. At the very least they don't
> waste their time in a ritual of participation which they can't control.
> Guerrilla architecture...begin[s] to break the traditional bond between
> people and professionals in the creation of an architectural
> environment... Popular participation in environmental decisions
> begins to emerge. (p. 198)

This radical stance implies that more formal mechanisms of public

participation may lose themselves in empty "ritual," paying mere lip service

to the notion of truly participatory democracy. However, participation takes

place on many levels, and where there is a role for direct action of this type,

there is also a role for formal public process. It is such a process that John

Torma (1989) has in mind when he argues persuasively that planning,

politics and public participation go hand in hand in a healthy democracy. He

suggests that the notion of democracy as "caretaker" results in a citizenry that

has abdicated all its responsibility to publicly elected officials, to whom it has

entrusted all policy decisions, public resource management, and the

protection of private rights. Borrowing a term from Benjamin Barber (1984),

Torma argues that in order to have "strong democracy," based on an "active and informed citizenry," there should be a formal mechanism through which citizens can participate in the political process.

Randolph Hester (1975) has suggested that "the capacity for deliberative democracy is one unique property of the neighborhood. Residents are able to meet face to face, debate issues that affect their environment, and accept a collective responsibility for the outcome" (p. 16). However, Francis Moore Lappé and Paul Martin Du Bois (1994) have observed that *"we as a people don't know how to come together to solve...problems.* We lack the capacities to address the issues or remove the obstacles that stand in the way of public deliberation" (p. 9, emphasis in original). Therefore, "if our goal is ongoing improvement, then [that] requires *building people's capacities for problem solving* so problems can be addressed directly by the people most affected" (p. 39, emphasis in original).

City planning and design are essentially exercises in physical problem-solving: what is the best way to move traffic and people? what is the proper width of a sidewalk? how tall should buildings be? how should buildings relate to the street? These are social questions as much as physical ones. The real "experts" on these issues are in many ways the citizens, the people who use the environment on a daily basis: for them, "needs grow out of much more tangible and sometimes seemingly mundane aspects of how environments are used, not their visual appearance as a justification for an aesthetic theory" (Goodman, 1971: 121). It is those "local experts" -- residents,

merchants, visitors to the neighborhood -- who need to be invited to participate in design.

Professional planners and citizens come to the table with variable perspectives, goals and methods. They may differentially define the boundaries of the neighborhood, hold different values toward both the land and the planning process, identify and/or select different alternative choices. While not doomed to failure because of these differences, a collaborative effort between citizens and professional planners may be fraught with difficulty. As Mark Gottdiener (1983) points out, planners may "feel that they should be entrusted with the responsibility for these broader decisions as professionals." By the same token, however, planners "are limited in their ability to implement their schemes. They need the public's (or at least the politicians', homeowners', and business community's) support for their ideas. They must include representative resident participation in the planning process at some stage if the master plan is to be accepted by local government" (Gottdiener, in: Pipkin et al., 1983: 313).

At the 1973 Environmental Design Research Association Conference in Blacksburg, VA, architect Sam Sloan described ten reasons for user participation in design. He believes that user participation

(1) Relieves the anxiety of the unknown; (2) Aids in self-actualization; (3) Produces a design more related to the balance of the user's values; (4) Allows a setting in which a range of values and preferences can be uncovered; (5) Provides a democratic climate and individual responsibility; (6) Creates an awareness of the design process which the participant can use elsewhere; (7) Dispels the idea that nobody cares; (8) Builds a better relationship between artifacts and the individual human being; (9) Deals realistically and openly with conflicts and

resolves them through positive complementarity; (10) Provides a logical framework for interdisciplinary actions to complement each other rather than contend for dominance. (Sloan, *in:* Hester, 1975: 129)

Citizen participation is clearly important for a whole host of reasons. It is also time consuming and requires a high level of commitment from government, professional planners and designers, and citizens.

Techniques

Hester (1975) has described a variety of participatory techniques employed to determine user needs with regard to neighborhood space. Among his examples, three broad categories are especially relevant here: the "town meeting" or neighborhood forum, the "design charrette", and questionnaires and surveys (a fourth technique, direct observation, is also critical to site analysis although it is not participatory). These techniques, which comprise only four of a broad range of possible means of determining user needs, have been used in the comprehensive planning process in Missoula's Northside and Westside neighborhoods and in the study of possibilities for the redesign and redevelopment of the West Broadway study area.

Town meeting or neighborhood forum. A town meeting is typically a public meeting open to neighborhood residents. Discussion is facilitated and recorded (often by two different people) and oriented to identifying residents' priorities or solving a neighborhood problem. As suggested earlier, residents' priorities or perceptions of neighborhood issues may be influenced by differences in age, race, ethnicity, income level or gender.

A neighborhood forum can operate on a large scale and function as a single, one-time "jump-start" to a neighborhood planning process. Such a jump-start was Chattanooga's "Vision 2000," launched in 1984 to "[bring] together Chattanoogans from all walks of life to build a consensus about what the city could be like at the turn of the century" (Lerner, 1995: 23). In a series of community "visioning" sessions, some seventeen hundred participants generated thousands of ideas, which they distilled down to thirty-four goals. From those goals, 223 project ideas were born; within eight years, "85 percent of the original thirty-four goals had been met" (Lerner, 1995: 24). Vision 2000 held out the promise of a facelift for Chattanooga, a city with an industrial legacy of pollution; the process was so successful that in 1993, the community initiated Revision 2000.

In comparison with such large-scale, time-limited workshops as Vision 2000, neighborhood meetings can also operate on a more on-going basis. Neighbors may meet regularly, whether formally or informally, to address community concerns or work on a community plan.

Design charrette. The etymology of this phrase explains something of the significance of this method of citizen participation. The term derives from the French *charrette*, meaning "wagon," and comes to us from the Ecôle Des Beaux Arts in Paris. There, architecture students worked feverishly on their drawings until the arrival of the wagon that had been dispatched to the student quarter by their professor to pick up their designs, "even to the point of running after and jumping on the wagon" (Kelbaugh, 1997: 13-14). Thus to

be *en charrette* was to draw till the last possible moment, even on the wagon itself.

A design charrette is an illustrated brainstorm session that often takes the form of an intensive workshop, in which participants produce rapid, conceptual drawings to translate design ideas from text to picture. In a charrette, citizens may work on land use designs together with design professionals and planners. The charrette model has been used successfully several times in Missoula. Women's Opportunity and Resource Development (WORD), a Missoula nonprofit organization that works in part to develop affordable housing for women and their families, held a "community housing design charrette" in April 1997, in which participants designed housing of which they would be the inhabitants (WORD, 1997). At a University of Montana conference in October 1997, Steve Loken, then director of the Missoula-based Center for Resourceful Building Technology, facilitated a community design charrette in which participants were challenged to design "green," environmentally sustainable housing. The housing was to be adapted to Montana's climate and constructed of materials whose production and use would minimize impact on the environment (Loken, 1997).

Questionnaires and surveys. These techniques may be used to obtain specific information about attitudes and values that residents might hold about their neighborhood. While close-ended questions (multiple choice, yes/no) are easier for a researcher to quantify, open-ended questions may lead to interesting insights about neighborhood values and user needs. Further,

they allow residents to have a voice in the process of defining neighborhood goals; through open-ended questions, residents are invited to tell their own "story," which in microcosm is the story of the neighborhood.

Direct observation. Observation of a neighborhood often includes site mapping, both in elevation view and plan view, as well as surveying citizen behavior. Mapping, photography and sketches of a neighborhood's visual characteristics help provide graphic answers to questions regarding the site's physical layout, the most-used spaces, the least-used spaces and people's behavior in particular spaces.

What William H. Whyte (1988) essentially did in his research for City was to observe the life of city streets and record human behavior in a variety of situations and spaces. His research team, comprising university students, used video cameras to record their observations. One advantage to this was that their subjects -- New Yorkers interacting with each other on city sidewalks -- were unaware they were being observed; another advantage was that recorded observations could be reviewed multiple times, slowed down to catch minute details of interaction between subjects, or even frozen to a still image for the same purpose.

In a brilliant series of photographs, Whyte illustrates the adaptive uses and reuses of the ledges along a bank building in New York's midtown district. Whyte first recorded people using these ledges for various activities including sitting, reading, sorting groceries, kissing and "people-watching." He then recorded what happened when the bank, in an effort to remove the

ledges from these "public realm" uses, placed a series of foot-long vertical spikes along the ledges at sufficiently close intervals to make sitting impossible; the photoseries shows that the ledges were shortly appropriated by street artisans for the display of paintings and other framed works of art, which hung quite nicely from the spikes.

Critics of participatory processes will be quick to point out the slow, laborious and often tedious nature of participatory decision-making. They will point out that it is nearly impossible to generate a process in which truly everyone participates -- the process, they may conclude, is exclusionary. Critics will argue that lay citizens lack technical knowledge, and may need to be educated. These would not be unfair criticisms. However, such criticisms fly in the face of three things.

First, to discard a process merely because one cannot guarantee everyone's participation is to discard our entire governmental system. One cannot mandate participation, one can only establish a democratic process that is open to the public and that invites their involvement. It is unfortunate that frequently it is the non-participants who step up at the close of a process to voice their dissatisfaction with the outcome. This is not to be helped: while it is not possible to satisfy the needs of every stakeholder, those who voice their concerns are more likely to have those concerns addressed.

Second, to reject a process that is slow and that requires mutual education between citizens and local government "experts" is to reject the notion of

democracy. The "technical expert" argument is elitist and untenable: if government's mandate is to work for the health, safety and welfare of "the public," it has a responsibility to discover what that "public" -- or, more correctly, those multiple "publics" -- considers good for its health, safety and welfare. Only with that input regarding real needs can government make decisions for the "public good."

Finally, as Daniel Kemmis (1990) has eloquently argued, the very notion of "citizen" implies a certain public responsibility toward the *civitas*. The act of participating in the public realm is what distinguishes a "citizen" from, say, someone who simply happens to reside at a particular address. There is a certain sense of inhabitation that builds from participation; Kemmis argues that we need to cultivate a "politics of inhabitation" (p. 123). In short, he contends, citizens need to participate in local politics in order to live in place.

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PART THREE: METHODS AND SITE DESCRIPTION

A city is more than the sum of its inhabitants. It has the power to generate a surplus of amenity...

--Gordon Cullen[1]

A thorough site analysis, following Kevin Lynch (1962), necessitates gathering information from multiple sources. I gathered physical and historic information about the West Broadway study area by consulting zoning maps, aerial photos, historic photos, city business directories and old fire insurance maps. These sources painted a picture of how the study area developed over the last sixty years. Drawing one's own maps is as critical as consulting prepared ones. I made several site visits to sketch my own maps and take photographs of current land uses and structures. Later, I converted my notes and sketches into diagrams by land use, using different colors to represent different activities or uses, and by land coverage, representing structures in black and spaces in white in order to analyze space utilization and street definition.

Maps and photos tell the physical story of a place. I needed other layers: I needed economic, social, political and normative information about the Northside and Westside neighborhoods as context for studying opportunities for redevelopment along West Broadway. Census data from the 1990 Census for tract 2.01 which includes the Northside and Westside provided

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[1]Gordon Cullen, The Concise Townscape, New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1961, p.7

information about demographics, education, poverty and income levels, home ownership and employment.

To fill in the portrait of a neighborhood, a planner must put flesh on the dry bones of maps and census data by identifying citizens' values toward their neighborhood and their needs and concerns about neighborhood issues. The Northside/Westside neighborhood planning process provides a context for the West Broadway study area, since the comprehensive plan growing out of that process will include recommendations for West Broadway. I needed to understand Westside residents' perceptions, values and concerns, regarding both their neighborhood generally and West Broadway particularly. And because the study area is primarily commercial, I needed to know business leaders' perceptions of West Broadway and their values and attitudes toward the larger Westside neighborhood.

To that end, I drew information from five primary sources: monthly neighborhood comprehensive planning meetings which I attended from summer 1997 through fall 1998; a visual preferences survey conducted among residents in spring 1997; an informal door-to-door survey, designed to elicit neighborhood attitudes and values, conducted by residents in 1997; a neighborhood design charrette facilitated by the Missoula City/County Office of Planning and Grants, held in November, 1997; and a survey which I conducted among business leaders in the study area in fall 1997, including verification of survey findings in fall 1998.

The Northside and Westside neighborhoods

The Northside neighborhood (see zoning map) is bounded to the north by Interstate 90, to the south by the railroad tracks, to the east by the intersection of the railroad tracks and Greenough (Duncan) Drive, and to the west by a line just west of and running parallel to North Russell Street, north of the railroad corridor. The Westside neighborhood (see zoning map) is bounded to the north by the railroad tracks, and to the west by the same line just west of North Russell, south of the railroad corridor; its southern boundary is the Clark Fork River, and its eastern boundary is North Orange Street. For purposes of neighborhood planning, Travois Village (a residential area west of Russell and situated generally in the railroad corridor) was included by the Office of Planning and Grants in the neighborhood planning area.

History

The railroad corridor which angles southeast-northwest through the neighborhoods is the industrial heart of the neighborhood. Many of the homes in the historic section of the Northside to the east of Worden Street -- small, squarish wood frame and brick houses with hipped roofs -- hark back to the heyday of Missoula's railroad era from the 1880s through the early part of the twentieth century, when they housed the city's population of railroad workers. Historically, Northern Pacific and Burlington Northern rail lines were two of the top employers in the Northside neighborhood.

Northside/Westside Zoning-
Map produced by Erik Benson
Office of Planning and Grants
Missoula County, Montana
December 1, 1998

P-II

Missoula
Cemetery

P-II

P-II

P-II

I-II

P-II

UZ

D

D

White Pine Sash Site

D

OR

OR

St.Mary
Cem.

Northside

Northside

Village

VI

Travois

Dept. of
Transportation

C

C-II

R-II

C

C

C

C-II

Westside

R-II

Lowell

R-III

R-II

D

R-II

C

B

C

B

B

B

B

Ballfield
Gardens

OTIS STREET

PULLMAN STREET

RODGERS STREET

CHARLO STREET

PALMER STREET

TURNER STREET

COOLEY STREET

STODDARD STREET

DEFOE STREET

HOWELL STREET

PHILIPS STREET

SHERWOOD STREET

COOPER STREET

TOOLE AVENUE

BROADWAY STREET

CEDAR STREET

RODGERS STREET

CHARLO STREET

TURNER STREET

COOLEY STREET

DEFOE STREET

HOWELL STREET

PHILIPS STREET

CBD

C-I CLB

PUD

PUD
PUD

B

BROADWAY STREET

St. Patrick's
Hospital

While the Northside grew up around the railroad, the Westside grew up around St. Patrick Hospital, founded in the neighborhood in 1876. St. Patrick bought General Hospital on the Northside in 1985, and became as binding a force for the two neighborhoods as the railroad seam that joins them. The hospital is a major employer for the city as a whole, not just for the neighborhoods, and has traditionally invested in neighborhood projects that contribute to community health. In 1996, the hospital hired a Northside resident as the facilitator for a newly formed "healthy neighborhood project," focusing on the Northside, Westside and downtown.

The railroad corridor today is home to trucking companies, an oil recycling operation, Louisiana Pacific's particle-board manufacturing plant, and the now-defunct White Pine Sash Company. On a mill site in operation for one hundred years, White Pine Sash employed some 150 people in the production of window framing and sash (Scholl, 1998); when the factory closed its doors in 1996, it sent home 80 workers and left a site polluted with pentachlorophenol, diesel, dioxins and furans from wood treatment processes (Missoula White Pine Sash Co., 1998).

Since the latter half of the last century, the railroad has been one major transportation artery serving Missoula; Broadway Street has been the other. Stretching from the Missoula International Airport through the heart of downtown to the eastern tip of the city, Broadway was at one time the main thoroughfare through Missoula. Following a portion of the wagon trail laid out by Captain John Mullan in the 1860s, Broadway runs more or less parallel

to the Clark Fork River, the primary natural feature of the Westside neighborhood as well as of Missoula itself. The street was originally called Cedar Street, and was paved with cedar bricks which were known to shatter during the spring thaw and "send wood fragments flying into the air" (Koelbel, 1972: 119). Aerial photos from the 1950s show the intersection of Russell and Broadway as the edge of town: west of Russell (then called Lincoln Street) was largely open and agricultural lands, with sparse residential development.

Historic maps, photos and business listings from the 1950s show West Broadway, then a two-lane highway, as a fairly spare road occupied primarily by automotive repair businesses, trailer sales and used car lots, gas stations and motels (Polk, 1948, 1952, 1955; Sanborn Map Company, 1958). Nonetheless, other neighborhood services were available: the Safeway supermarket a quarter-mile east of the study area was built in the early 1950s, across the street from Graehl Motor Service (University of Montana, K. Ross Toole Archives); the present-day St. Patrick Hospital was built on its current site just east of Safeway a few years later. The 1960s saw a neighborhood pharmacy, a realty office, a hardware and equipment store and a family-style restaurant on West Broadway (Polk, 1964-1997).

West Broadway today is in many ways the same as it was thirty to forty years ago, though many of the old motels have been converted to housing or have been torn down. With more "edge of town" characteristics than "downtown" or "town center" characteristics, this area still tends to draw

more industrial, heavy commercial and auto-related activity. The interesection of Toole and Broadway has seen a chain of convenience stores for several decades; an arts and crafts hobby shop which recently opened replaced an alignment shop; a plastics fabricating business replaced an upholstery shop, which had replaced a metal works shop.

Demographics

The 1990 Census for census tract 2.01 (see census map) yields a broadbrush view of the neighborhoods. The image is rounded out by information gathered through the 1997 residents' survey. Together, the two neighborhoods are mostly urban and white (as is most of Missoula as a whole) and have low home ownership, high renter transience, low income and a high percentage of persons living below poverty.

In 1989, the population of census tract 2.01 was just over 4,800 and overwhelmingly concentrated (99.6 percent) in urban parts of the area: the Northside and Westside neighborhoods (henceforth statistics presented will refer to these neighborhoods, with the recognition that a fraction of one percent resides in rural portions of tract 2.01). More than half the residents over 25 years of age had at most a high school education, and 17.1 percent of the population had a bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990a).

In 1989, of 4,340 persons ages five years and over, 1,340 (31 percent) had lived in the same house five years earlier (U.S. Department of Commerce,

Census Tract 2.01
Missoula County, Montana
1990 Census
U.S Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

5

4

8

9

Yellowstone

10

2.01

Missoula
Cemetery

St.Mary
Cem.

St.Mary
Cem.

17

16

15

MISSOUL

3

22

20

21
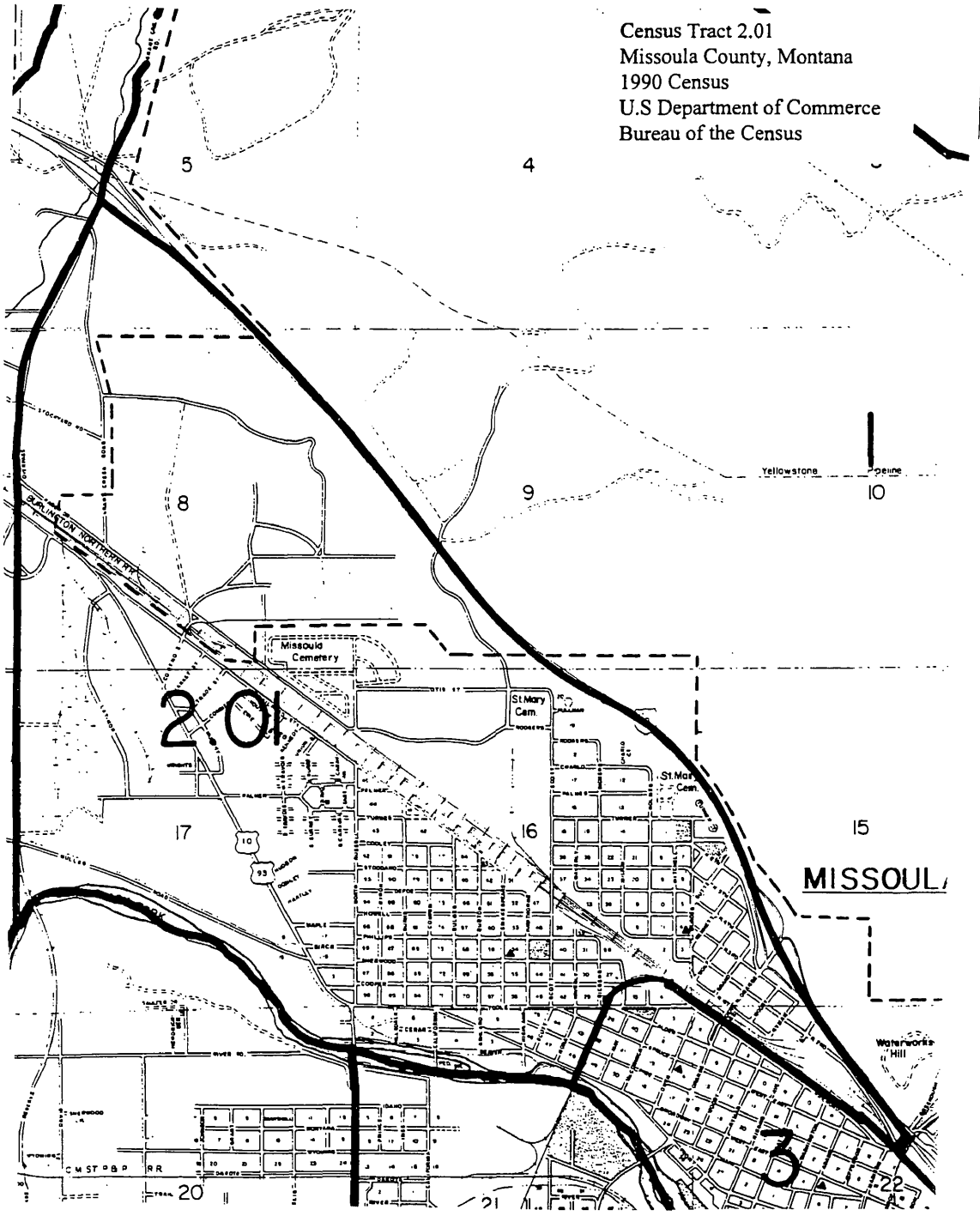
1990a). Eight years later, the findings of the informal neighborhood residents' survey were not so different: in 1997, two-thirds of the residents had lived in the neighborhood for five years or less, and more than one-third intended to move again within five years (NWNA, 1997a: 1). Northside and Westside residents, over half of whom are renters, are fairly transient: the census reports that 70 percent of neighborhood householders had moved into their units between 1985 and 1990 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990a). There are differences between the two neighborhoods, however: Westside residents have lived in the neighborhood slightly longer than have Northside residents, and there is a higher degree of home ownership among Westsiders (NWNA, 1997a: 2). Nonetheless, it is telling that nearly two-thirds of the student population of Lowell School in the Westside turns over every year.

Not only is the neighborhood characterized by high population turnover, but also by high poverty. According to the 1990 Census, the majority of rental units went for $300-499 in 1989, and nearly half of Northside and Westside renters spent 35 percent or more of their household income on rent (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990a). Again, the residents' 1997 household survey revealed differences: nine percent of Westsiders reported they spent more than half their income on rent or mortgage payments, compared with 15 percent of Northsiders. Only 35 percent of Northside and Westside residents reported that they spent less than 30 percent of their income on rent or mortgage payments. Affordable housing is commonly defined as housing

available for less than one-third of income; by this definition, most Northsiders and Westsiders do not have affordable housing.

Median household income in 1989 was $14,750 for census tract 2.01, well below the median for Missoula ($21,033) or the state of Montana ($22,988) (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990b). There are disparities between and within the two neighborhoods. Median household income was significantly lower in portions of the Northside: $13,857 in Block Group #2 (the Interstate south to Cooley Street) and $10,737 in Block Group #3 (Cooley south to the railroad tracks) of census tract 2.01 (*in:* Oaks, 1995). Similarly, Block Group #5 in the Westside neighborhood (the southerly portion of the neighborhood) had a household median income of $12,250 and included 83 percent low and moderate income residents; by comparison, Block Group #1 in the Westside (the contiguous area west of Russell) had a household median income of $19,187, and Block Group #4 (the northern portion of the Westside) had a household median income of $18,357. Between the two neighborhoods, over one-third of residents lived below poverty level in 1989. One in four persons 65 years and over, nearly one in three persons 18 years and over, and one in two children under 18 lived below poverty in the Northside and Westside neighborhoods (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990a).

The primary occupations in the neighborhoods in 1989 were service jobs (excluding protective and household services) and administrative/clerical occupations, followed closely by sales jobs. The retail trade industry was the top employer by a large margin, with over 600 employees ages 16 and over; by

contrast, the next highest number of employees was in manufacturing, with

some 200 employees. Three-hundred and fifty households (with an aggregate

total of over 1,000 persons) in the neighborhood received public assistance;

450 received Social Security income, and 140 had retirement income (U.S.

Department of Commerce, 1990a).

Neighborhood planning

*Frequently a sense of neighborhood arises when all the residents of an area
are threatened by an outside force such as a disruptive beltline expressway,
and they must act collectively to save their home environment.*

--Randolph Hester[2]

Citizen planning group

The first stirrings of a Northside/Westside comprehensive planning

process came in April 1995, when two Northside residents attempted to

initiate a process to "identify neighborhood assets in order to maintain and

preserve them and... identify neighborhood needs in order to fulfill them"

(Northside Neighborhood Association, 1995). Their application for Title I

funds through the City of Missoula was denied, and neighborhood planning

was put on the back burner.

The following year, the Northside Neighborhood Association and the

newly-formed Westside Neighborhood Association joined in opposition to a

proposed highway interchange at the north end of Russell Street, in the

northern portion of the neighborhood. With the realization that city

[2]Randolph Hester, Neighborhood Space, Stroudsburg, PA, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1975, p. 17.

planning could drastically affect their neighborhood, several residents

organized to initiate a formal neighborhood comprehensive planning

process. City Council respresentatives from the neighborhoods took the

neighborhoods' request for a neighborhood comprehensive planning process

to the Missoula Office of Planning and Grants, which in turn took the request

to the Planning Policy Committee. The Committee, which sets the work plan

for the Office of Planning and Grants, placed the Northside/Westside

neighborhood comprehensive planning process on the work plan, and the

planning process began in autumn 1996.

Facilitated by the Office of Planning and Grants, the Northside/Westside

participatory planning process is to some extent an exercise in the kind of

"localized self-government" described by Jane Jacobs (1961):

> we [need to] think of city neighborhoods as mundane organs of self-
> government... Our failures with city neighborhoods are, ultimately,
> failures in localized self-government. And our successes are successes
> in localized self-government. (p. 114)

It is part of a formal mechanism by which citizens can develop specific goals

and implementation tools to guide future land use and development in their

neighborhood.

Starting in autumn 1996, residents met once a month in a large working

group and compiled information about neighborhood needs and concerns. A

core group of some two dozen residents participated regularly in planning

meetings, and another thirty to forty individuals attended on an irregular

basis (by fall 1998, the number of residents who had attended at least one

meeting was more than two hundred). A city planner was assigned by the

Office of Planning and Grants to work with the neighborhoods. Taking a generally laissez-faire approach to neighborhood planning, he looked to the citizens to lead the process. In early summer 1997, he left the planning office, and new planning staff with a different work style joined the process mid-stream. In an effort to rectify what they perceived to have been a flawed planning process, the new city planning staff tried to backpedal, but residents wanted to keep the process moving forward, using the work that had already been done as a base.

Since summer 1997, Northside and Westside residents have continued to meet once a month -- and in spring 1998, once every three weeks -- in a large group, a forum open to all neighborhood residents and business leaders, as well as other interested parties including service organizations, government agencies, nonresident neighborhood landowners and developers. Citizens initially identified several objectives, including preserving the neighborhoods' historic character and economic diversity, maintaining a sense of community, building a healthy and safe environment, increasing desirable affordable housing opportunities, and improving pedestrian connections in the neighborhood (NWNA, 1997b: 5). Those initial goals have diversified into more specific aspects of an overall comprehensive plan, including transportation and infrastructure, economy, community character, land use, natural environment and the use of buffers between non-complementary adjacent land uses. At each working meeting, subgroups addressing these specific subjects report their work to the large group.

Gathering information from neighborhood residents

Resident-conducted surveys

Recognizing the need to involve more of the 4,800 persons residing in the neighborhood than those few dozen who participated on a regular or semi-regular basis in the planning meetings, the neighborhood associations conducted two neighborhood surveys. The first was a door-to-door survey conducted by residents in February and March 1997 to gather information about neighborhood values and concerns. During weekday evenings and weekends, resident volunteers knocked on the doors of 1,533 of the 2,174 households in the neighborhood; volunteers were able to talk to and leave surveys with householders at 847 of those households, and ultimately 603 surveys were completed and returned (Maiorano, 1998). The Office of Planning and Grants and the North Missoula Housing Partnership provided staff support and funding for the citizen-initiated research. The findings -- that residents value the neighborhood's diversity and its mix of residential and commercial uses, but are generally more focused both on residential livability (described in greater detail in Part Four) -- have been reflected in drafts of the neighborhood comprehensive plan which is being composed piecemeal by multiple writers and researchers. By July 1997, some nine months into the comprehensive planning process, the neighborhood associations were well into the first draft of their plan, "mapping [their]

vision for the next ten years in the Northside and Westside neighborhoods" (NWNA, 1997b: 5).

The second survey was a "visual preferences" survey conducted at community gatherings in 1997.[3] The visual preferences survey consisted of pairs of comparative photographs, mounted on movable boards, depicting scenes from the neighborhood. The photographs were grouped categorically, showing residential structures, commercial structures, industrial sites, parking facilities, streets and vacant lands. Residents were asked to indicate their preference between a given pair of images and to explain why. The survey was intended to gather "residents' impression of the present community image and to build consensus for its future character" (Nelessen, 1994). Not suprisingly in a neighborhood where residents favor walkable, livable streets, landscaping, human scale architecture and a pedestrian-friendly streetscape were indicated by survey participants as preferred elements of site design.

Design charrette

Very early on in the planning process, Northsiders and Westsiders identified West Broadway between Russell and Orange Streets as an "entry into the heart of our city":

> We would like to encourage changes that invite traffic to slow down once they cross Russell, as they enter our neighborhood. We would

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[3]The "Visual Preferences Survey" is research and visioning technique developed by Anton Clarence Nelessen. The neighborhood associations adopted this program for their use. Nelessen's technique is described in detail in his book, Visions for a New American Dream, Chicago, Americann Planning Association, 1994.

like to see future commercial development that encourages pedestrian use of the sidewalks, with storefronts facing the street and parking in the rear. We would like to see this area become an extension of downtown, rather than an expanded strip development. (NWNA, 1997b: 5)

This focus on West Broadway intensified as the Missoula Redevelopment Agency moved forward with plans for a pedestrian footbridge across the Clark Fork River at California Street, three blocks east of Russell and south of Broadway. The bridge will offer a pedestrian connection for the residents of the portion of the Westside located south of the river. Westside and Northside residents expressed their concern that the footbridge would be inaccessible to neighborhood residents living north of Broadway, since Broadway's width and heavy automobile traffic present a barrier to pedestrians.

Issues of pedestrian access and transportation were raised at a Northside/Westside design charrette conducted in November 1997 by the Office of Planning and Grants (Missoula OPG, 1997). Some twenty-five residents attended the workshop, which was held on the first Saturday of the month, and spent the morning translating ideas into diagrams. After a facilitator set ground rules for the morning, participants established their expectations, hopes and concerns regarding the outcome of the morning's activities.

The bulk of the workshop consisted of small group exercises, in which participants worked to design solutions for specific problem areas identified by residents in earlier neighborhood meetings. One small group focused on

transportation, another on neighborhood land use, a third on the northwest corner of the neighborhood (comprising vacant lands, the Missoula Cemetery, lands owned by Louisiana Pacific, and the White Pine Sash site), a fourth on community character and a fifth on the West Broadway area. The key concern that arose in the West Broadway group was that Broadway is a barrier to pedestrian travel, preventing residents on the north side of the street from having access to the riverfront. Small groups met for two hours and then presented to the large group; planners who facilitated the charrette provided a summary at the end of the four-hour workshop, elucidating common threads in the groups' presentations and helping the residents identify next steps for the neighborhoods' comprehensive planning process.

The West Broadway study area

Site analysis

West Broadway as an urban space -- an "outdoor room," to use the parlance of architects and planners -- remains spatially undefined with wide expanses of paved parking, though buildings have filled in some of the gaps. A figure-ground analysis, showing structures drawn in black and open spaces in white (see map), reveals a scanty street wall with many gaps between the buildings and little definition or "edge" to the street. From this map, it is difficult, though possible, to identify Broadway and Toole Avenue; however, California, Cowper, Burns, Byron and Hillsdale are lost in ill-defined black and white space, and Cedar Street lacks streetwall definition entirely. It is

N ←
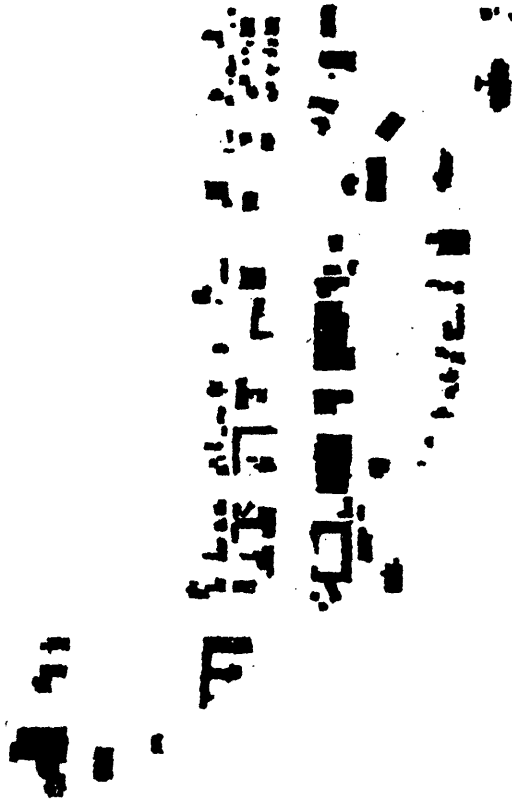
Figure-ground map of West Broadway study area. Structures are shown in black, spaces are shown in white.

STREET WALL DEFINITION

clear from the image that the development pattern of West Broadway is very different from that of downtown Missoula. Whereas downtown's growth was much more planned and defined, that of West Broadway was largely the type of undirected, haphazard strip development that has been cresting the automotive tide since the 1960s.

Most of the buildings in the study area are single-story structures, and the majority are set back from the street to allow for parking in front of the structure. There is no sense of enclosure along the street, due to the combination of street width (eighty feet curb to curb, with another fifteen feet of right-of-way to either side) and low street wall structures. The lack of landscaping, the underutilization of the lots, and the preponderance of cluttering signage add to the placeless, "Anywhere, U.S.A." character of the area.

Businesses

Thirty-three businesses, the majority service and retail, are located in the study area along Broadway, Cedar Street, and cross streets including the east side of California Street (Handler, 1997b). Over one-third of these (13 of 33) are automobile-oriented businesses.

While Broadway is characterized largely by commercial uses, some residential uses exist in interstitial spaces in the study area: a bungalow-style house (Massey and Maxwell, 1996; Mathews, 1998) built in the 1930s, sandwiched between an auto rental agency and Blakney's Glass Shop is the

house in which the Blakney boys were born and raised; two small apartments

are occupied by business owners adjacent to their businesses; two old motels

have been converted entirely to one-room apartments, while a third motel

rents out twenty-one of its thirty-three rooms on a weekly or monthly basis

(Handler, 1997b). On Cedar Street, five businesses share the street with ten

residences. All told, there are approximately sixty dwelling units in the study

area, of which fifty are single-room occupancy (SRO) dwellings; the residents

of the SROs are among the lowest-income of Westsiders (many are supported

by public assistance, pensions or veterans' benefits, and account for the low

median household incomes reported for Block Group #5 of census tract 2.01).

Transportation

Paths of movement in the study area include an arterial road, a collector

street, local streets, alleys and a bicycle/footpath, and will soon also include a

pedestrian footbridge. The business loop of State Highway 200, Broadway is a

principal arterial. With an average daily traffic count of 23,400 vehicles in

1996 (projected to rise to nearly 27,000 within ten years), the interesection of

Russell and Broadway is now one of the most heavily trafficked intersections

in the city (Missoula OPG, 1996)[4].

At its intersection with California Street, Broadway also meets Toole

Avenue, a collector street, which heads due east as Broadway angles off at

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[4]At a Northside/Westside neighborhood meeting held on October 22, 1998, City Engineer Steve King
reported that the intersection of Broadway and California Street currently receives 31,000 vehicles per day,
considerably higher than the numbers reported in the *Missoula Transportation Plan Update*.

roughly a thirty-degree angle to the southeast. West of this intersection, Broadway widens from four to five lanes; at one point, the center turning lane was occupied by a median strip. Between California and Russell, four local streets running north-south form tee-intersections with Broadway. Parallel to Broadway to the south, Cedar Street is an unimproved local street which has its western terminus at Hillsdale Street.

California Street currently terminates at the river, and continues again on the opposite shore. At the cul-de-sac where California meets the river, cyclists, joggers, and walkers can pick up part of a riverfront pathway which will ultimately connect with a riverfront trail network and the California Street footbridge.

Over the Westside as a whole, 39 percent of blockfaces contain sidewalk (Missoula OPG, 1996), but most of West Broadway from Toole to Russell lacks sidewalks, curbs and gutters. Pedestrian facilities are notably lacking: there is a pedestrian crosswalk at Russell and Broadway, and the next closest one is one-half mile away at Burton; the only street lights are highway-scale lights; there is little landscaping. The study area is definitively car-oriented, and there is little at present either to draw people on foot or to make them feel safe. With the completion of the California Street footbridge, that situation is expected to change.

A small portion of the southeast section of the study area lies within the one-hundred year floodplain. An irrigation ditch angles northwest from California Street, crossing Cedar between Hillsdale and Russell. South of this

ditch, between California and Hillsdale, is one-hundred year floodplain; west

of Hillsdale, floodplain occupies the space between the Clark Fork River and

the alley south of Cedar Street. Floodplain is therefore not a consideration in

street redesign along Cedar or West Broadway within the study area.

The regulatory framework

Zoning ordinances were initially adopted in cities such as New York in the

early twentieth century in order to safeguard sufficient light and ventilation

for public health, and to prevent overcrowding. Zoning is generally

preventative -- it can prevent poor or inappropriate development, and

regulates the placement of different types of land uses. Insofar as it is a

powerful land use control, zoning is an important regulatory tool; however,

as Spreiregen (1965) observes, "zoning is neither planning nor design. Ideally

it is a set of specifications that accompany a plan... But city plans are seldom

officially 'adopted' and, when they are, they have no legal status. They are

only guides and descriptions of an idea. Zoning, on the other hand, has legal

status" (p. 177). For this reason, it is important to understand both the

implications of zoning in place in the study area now, and consider zoning as

part of a prescription for redevelopment.

Zoning was adopted along West Broadway in 1932 when the McCormick

and School Additions -- comprising the West Broadway study area -- were

annexed into the City of Missoula. Zoning in the study area is generally

commercial, a mixture of C-I (the lightest of Missoula's commercial districts),

C and C-II (heavy commercial) (see map). Because Missoula's zoning

ordinance is largely pyramidal in structure, with uses in less intensive

districts permitted in more intensive districts, commercial zones may

function as mixed-use zones, with residential uses interspersed (see

map/illustration). That is to say, residential uses are permitted in

commercial zoning districts. The entirety of the south side of Broadway from

Russell to California is zoned C-II; even here, the uses include residences as

well as heavy commercial activity such as automotive sales and services.

In addition to the commercial zoning districts in place in the study area,

there are several planned unit developments (PUDs). A planned unit

development is a special zoning district created specifically to permit a

planned configuration of land uses and designs that do not fit neatly within

the constraints of existing zoning. West of Hillsdale is a PUD called "West

Cedar Street," created for Blue Ribbon Autobody; Missoula Youth Homes on

California Street was also created as a PUD, as was the housing development

called Eagle Watch Estates, built slightly further east along the river for people

with physical disabilities.

Gathering information from the business community

Business survey and follow-up meetings

In October, November and December 1997, I conducted a survey among

business leaders in the West Broadway study area. Of 33 businesses located

COOPER STI

C

C-II
0.2181

C-I/CG
Ord. 2372
w/condition

BROADWAY STREET

C-II

PUD
W. CEDAR ST.
Ord. 2852
7/7/1983

C-II

C-II o

C

CEDAR STREET

C

PUD
Ord. 8788 S

Park 6/11/90

R-III/
PUD
Ord. 2292

PUD
EAGLE WATCH

UZ

see Res.6076 1/5/1998
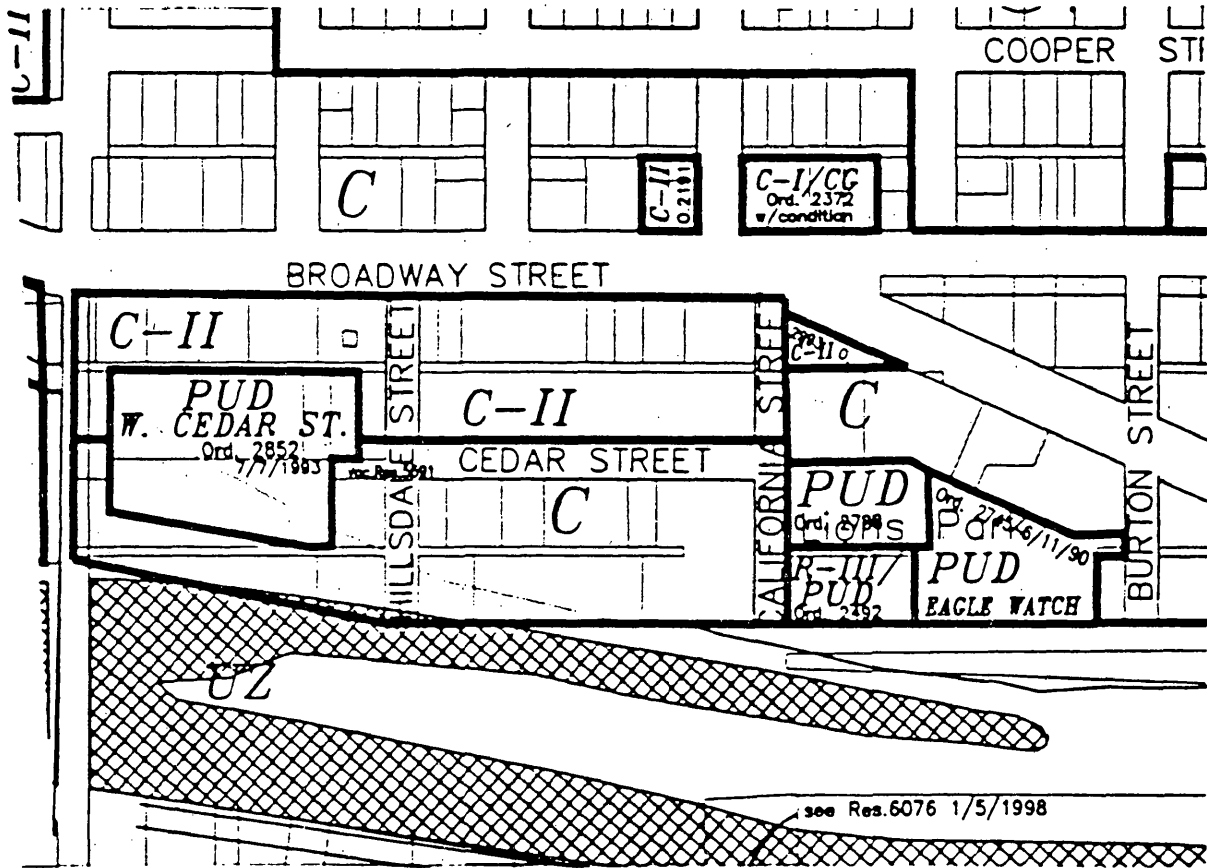
West Broadway Study Area Zoning
Map produced by Erik Benson
Office of Planning and Grants
Missoula County, Montana
December 1, 1998

LAND USES ALONG *WEST BROADWAY*

KEY TO LAND USES

- single-family residential
- multi-family residential
- light commercial
- heavy commercial
- manufacturing
- parks/open/green space
- water

TOOLE

BROADWAY

COWPER

WEST BROADWAY

BURNS

BYRON

RUSSEL

CALIFORNIA

CEDAR

HILLSDALE

CLARK FORK RIVER

Blue Path

A. HANDLER

RUSSEL STREET BRIDGE

residential
single-family and
duplexes

Corn Court Apts

0   100   200 FEET

N

within the study site, 26 participated in face-to-face interviews which contained both close-ended and open-ended questions. The purpose of the survey was to gather information about the West Broadway commercial corridor, to identify opportunities for economic reinvestment and redevelopment. In order to be able to identify opportunities -- or set goals -- for redevelopment, I needed to answer a series of fairly basic questions:

- who does business on West Broadway and why?

- how profitable is business there?

- what is the level of connection or commitment that business leaders feel toward their neighborhood, and do they even perceive that they are part of a "neighborhood"?

- what are their concerns about the neighborhood as a place to do business?

- do they see room for improvement?

- what relation do they perceive they have to the Westside and Northside neighborhoods, or to the rest of Missoula?

These were the research questions that led me to my findings (Part Four).

I designed the survey with three sets of questions. Some close-ended questions indicated physical and economic constraints: how much ground-floor square footage does the business occupy? what is the monthly rent? how many floors does the building have? how many off-street parking spaces does the business have? Other close-ended questions helped determine relations with the neighborhood: how many years has the business been at the current

location? what percentage of business customers live or work on the Northside? the Westside? does the business have employees, and where do they reside? where does the business owner reside? Finally, open-ended questions helped identify values and concerns: why did the business owner choose to locate here? what would improve this neighborhood as a place to do business? what factors affect profits? what factors would encourage the business to stay? to leave?

I tabulated survey results during spring and summer 1998, and in fall 1998 invited business leaders who had participated in the survey to attend one of two follow-up meetings. The purpose of the meetings was to report back and verify the survey findings, to ask whether the results still seemed relevant, and to discover whether there were any additional concerns business leaders wished to voice. The meetings were held in the neighborhood, in the conference room of Mountain Water Company; I scheduled one for a late weekday afternoon and the other for the following morning, to try to accommodate differences in people's work schedules. At the meetings, I distributed a summary of the survey findings, maps of Urban Renewal District II and of area zoning, and the latest update on the Northside/Westside Comprehensive Planning Process, prepared by the Office of Planning and Grants. Five business leaders attended the scheduled meetings; a sixth met individually with me the following week.

There are doubtless more layers of information that a planner might choose to discover about a site. I chose, for example, not to investigate air pollution levels, street noise levels or crime rates. I did not interview the residents of the single-room occupancy motel rooms located in the study site, but instead relied upon City agencies and the reports of the managers and owners of the SROs to help identify the interests of the residents.

Ultimately, as the dust settles upon piles of papers, reports, survey data, notes, maps, sketches and files, a planner might sit quietly listening, to hear -- underneath the static of information -- what the place might want for itself.

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PART FOUR: FINDINGS

If we create pedestrian access, we create a place where people like to be and the other stuff follows. The first thing you have to do is create opportunities for pedestrians. If people are able to come to the area, businesses may find the area more attractive to locate.
      -- resident participating in neighborhood design charrette, November 1997

It will be clear from the following presentation of findings that the needs of some West Broadway businesses are in conflict with the needs of other businesses, and that the needs of businesses are in conflict with the needs of residents. Part of the conflict issues from market-driven changes in the neighborhood: new types of businesses -- Missoula Youth Homes, mental health housing, Natch's craft and hobby shop, Wooden Images art gallery -- seeking affordable land and building prices have moved into the area and are slowly changing its flavor from automotive to residential and small retail. And part of the conflict derives from a situation imposed upon the neighborhood by the City: the construction of a footbridge across the river at California Street brings to a head the issue of pedestrian access, a concern which residents have expressed for several years but which is of less import to businesses and which has not been addressed by the City until now.

My purpose in talking with business leaders and with residents was to identify who uses the neighborhood and how, and to understand the concerns of those neighborhood users. While I looked for common concerns to underpin my recommendations in Part Five, I also of necessity gave preference to concerns about pedestrian access and creating a pedestrianized streetscape, because the construction of the California Street Footbridge -- and

the death of a salesman on Broadway at California Street in autumn 1998 --

demands that the access issue more than any other be prioritized.

The business community of West Broadway

Twenty-six out of 33 businesses in the study area participated in the business

survey in autumn 1997. Ten of those businesses (38.5 percent) identified

themselves as primarily service businesses; the next largest category of

businesses was retail, with seven shops (27 percent) in the study area. The

area also includes two wholesalers, two nonprofits, two motels converted to

apartments, one motel with some rental rooms, one manufacturing

operation, and one business which does mixed sales (Table 1).

Table 1. *Business types*. (Handler, 1997b)

Business types surveyed	Number (Percent)	Business types not surveyed	Number
Service	10 (38.5%)	Service	4
Retail	7 (27%)	Retail	3
Wholesale	2 (7.7%)	Total	N=7
Nonprofits	2 (7.7%)		
Residential motels	2 (7.7%)		
Motels with some residential rooms	1 (3.8%)		
Manufacturing	1 (3.8)		
Mixed sales, other	1 (3.8)		
Restaurants	0		
Total	N=26 (100%)		

The customer base for most businesses in the study area lies outside the

Northside or Westside neighborhood. Eleven of the businesses surveyed

indicated that less than one-quarter of their business is from Northside or

Westside residents. Nonetheless, businesses do rely to some extent upon

walk-in customers rather than appointments: eleven businesses reported that they had more than five walk-in customers per day (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. *Reliance of businesses upon walk-in customers.* (Handler, 1997b)

Number of walk-in customers per day	Number of businesses
none or low	4
1-5 per day	7
5-15 per day	6
15-30 per day	3
more than 30 per day	2
unsure of number	2
N/A	2
Total	N=26

Table 3. *Percentage of customers who live or work in Northside or Westside.* (Handler, 1997b)

Percentage of customers	Number of businesses
less than 25%	11
25-50%	2
51-75%	4
more than 75%	2
unsure	2
N/A	5
Total	N=26

In fall 1997, eighteen of the businesses surveyed had employees, and four others reported that they hire on a seasonal or temporary basis. Twelve businesses had less than five employees, three had between six and ten employees, and three had over ten employees. Eleven of the eighteen businesses with employees hired employees from the Northside or Westside: seven businesses among them hired sixteen employees from the Northside, and five businesses among them hired eight Westsiders (Table 4).

Table 4. *Employment.* (Handler, 1997b)

	Number
Businesses that have employees	18
Businesses that have no employees	4
Businesses that have seasonal or temporary employees	4
Total	N=26

Table 4. *Employment.* (Handler, 1997b) (continued)

Number of employees	Number of businesses
1-5 employees	12
6-10 employees	3
over 10 employees	3
variable number of employees	3
number of employees not specified	1
Total	N=22
Neighborhood employment	
Number of businesses hiring from Northside	7
Number of individuals hired from Northside	16
Number of businesses hiring from Westside	5
Number of individuals hired from Westside	8

Unlike the residential Northside and Westside, where there is low home ownership, business leaders in the study area largely own their commercial property: eighteen of 26 businesses surveyed (69 percent) are property owners (Table 5). Business leaders seem invested in the neighborhood to the extent that there is a correlation between longevity and ownership: eight business owners who own their property have been at their present site for over ten years, whereas only one renter has been at his present location for over ten years (Table 6). Twenty-one of 26 businesses surveyed (80 percent) have owned their business as long as it has been at its present location. The eight business owners who rent their commercial space reported low to moderate rents: one business pays less than $500 per month, while four others pay between $500 and $1,000 and two pay between $1,000 and $1,500 per month. Only one renter pays over $1,500 per month. Two-thirds of the businesses

occupy small commercial spaces, varying from 1,000 to 5,000 square feet

(Tables 7 and 8).

Table 5. *Ownership.* (Handler, 1997b)

Property ownership	Number of businesses
Own	18
Rent	8

Table 6. *Relationship between property ownership and the number of years the business owner has owned the business at its present location.* (Handler, 1997b)

Property ownership	Number of businesses *in business at present location*				
	<one year	*one year*	*2-5 years*	*5-10 years*	*10+years*
Owner (N=18)	2	1	5	2	8
Renter (N=8)	1		2	4	1

Tables 7 and 8. *Rents and floor area.* (Handler, 1997b)

Rent (occupancy, dollars per month)	Number of businesses	Ground floor area (square feet)	Number of businesses
less than $500	1	1,000-1,999	7
$500-999	4	2,000-4,999	10
$1,000-1,499	2	5,000-9,999	3
$1,500-1,999	1	10,000-19,999	1
N/A	18	unsure or N/A	5
Total	N=26	Total	N=26

While there appears to be a core of stability in the neighborhood, with twelve businesses in the neighborhood longer than ten years,[1] there is nonetheless rapid turnover of commercial uses. At the time of the survey, several shops had closed or were planning to close soon: an appliance business had closed on the death of the owner; one automobile service station was closing within a few weeks, the property having been bought by the City for purposes of road widening; the owners of both Blakney Auto Glass and

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[1]These include the three single-room occupancy motel/apartment complexes, five automotive businesses and four service businesses.

Cats on Broadway veterinary clinic planned to retire and sell their businesses; and one service station owner planned to move to a new location. Two other businesses -- an auto repair and a secondhand clothing store -- had just opened within the six months prior to the survey; both have closed in the nine months since the survey was completed. It appears from the first set of findings that automotive businesses were slightly more predisposed to long-term success on West Broadway than other types of business. However, the fact that four of seven businesses that turned over in the months just preceding and just following the survey were automotive businesses suggests that dominance of such businesses on West Broadway might be waning.

Business values and concerns

While West Broadway business leaders do not appear per se to perceive themselves as a discrete neighborhood unit, they hold common values toward the area (Handler, 1997b). "Location" was a primary reason given by eleven businesses for their having located in the study area, and it is what thirteen businesses said they like most about the neighborhood as a place to do business. Business leaders specifically noted they like the visibility and exposure their businesses have on a busy street; for several business owners, the study area is their home neighborhood. Six business leaders indicated that one primary reason they located in the study area was its affordability; four business leaders cited "affordability" as what they like most about the neighborhood, and several said that their businesses would fold if their costs

increased. Six businesses located in the study area simply because space was available there; one already owned the building. Three others took over existing businesses, and three others found a building that suited their needs (Tables 9 and 10).

Table 9. *Reasons businesses chose to locate in the neighborhood.* (Handler, 1997b)

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Location *(exposure, visibility on busy street, centrality, access to downtown, home neighborhood*	11
Affordability	6
Availability	6
Business opportunity	5
Appropriateness or prior ownership of building	4
Took over existing business	3
Neighborhood demographics	1

Table 10. *What business leaders like most about the neighborhood as a place to do business.* (Handler, 1997b)

	Number of businesses
Location *(exposure, visibility on busy street, convenience)*	13
Demographics *(customers, neighborhood characters/personalities)*	5
Good relations with other merchants	5
Affordability	4
Safer neighborhood	2
High traffic volumes	1
Being own boss	1
Quiet neighborhood	1

Generally, business leaders reported they are satisfied with the neighborhood as a place to do business (Tables 11-12). Twenty-one business leaders (80 percent) said they are satisfied; seven of these (33 percent) said they are very satisfied. Again, "location" was a primary reason stated: in their responses,

business leaders cited specifically the "centrality" of the location, "visibility

and exposure," the ease of giving directions to customers, the proximity to

their customer base, and the proximity to their own place of residence.

Business leaders also reported that they like the neighborhood's

demographics (including "neighborhood characters") and the good working

relations between merchants in the area.

Table 11. *Satisfaction with the neighborhood as place to do business.*
(Handler, 1997b)

	Number of businesses	Percentage
Satisfied	21	80.8%
very	7	33%
moderately	10	48%
slightly	1	5%
not specific	3	14%
Unsatisfied	3	11.5%
very	2	66%
moderately	1	33%
slightly	0	
Unsure	1	3.8%
N/A	1	3.8%
Total	N=26	99.9%

Table 12. *Reasons for satisfaction with the neighborhood as a place to do business.* (Handler, 1997b)

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Location *(exposure, visibility on busy street, centrality, access to downtown, home neighborhood*	10
Affordability	2
Neighborhood potential	2
Traffic	2
California Street footbridge	1
Neighborhood	1

Even with all these positive indications, business leaders (including those who reported they felt "satisfied" with the neighborhood) perceived a number of problems with the area (Tables 13 and 14), including traffic patterns, a weak neighborhood economy, inadequate parking, nuisances such as noise, dirt and dust from the road, and neighborhood problems, such as vandalism. Vandalism, theft and vagrancy were reported as problems primarily by businesses on the south side of Broadway that are close to the riverfront; only one business on the north side of the street noted problems with vandalism or theft, but three businesses on the south side of the street had experienced such problems.

Table 13. *Reasons for dissatisfaction with the neighborhood as a place to do business.* (Handler, 1997b)

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Traffic nuisances *(noise, smell, dirt/dust from the road, alley use)*	4
Problems in the neighborhood *(vandalism, alcoholism, vagrancy)*	2
Weak neighborhood economy	2
Business doing poorly	2
Lack of landscaping	1
Inadequate parking	1
Difficult traffic access	1
Not enough traffic	1
Would rather be in another location	1
Inadequate street infrastructure	1
Government regulations too tight	1

Table 14. *What business leaders like least about the neighborhood as a place to do business.* (Handler, 1997b).

	Number of businesses
Nuisances *(abandoned cars, noise, traffic, air pollution, litter)*	8
Traffic patterns, including accidents, real or perceived	6
Unrecognized location *(nothing to attract people here, not good for retail)*	5
Weak neighborhood economy	4
Character/appearance of buildings	2
High rental turnover	1
Insufficient parking	1

Two-thirds of business leaders (20 of 30 individuals, or 67 percent) reported that they and their employees commute to their place of work by car (Table 15). They are very sensitive to issues relating to traffic patterns and parking: thirteen business leaders surveyed perceived that vehicle access is a problem, because they have direct personal experience with the traffic patterns (Table 16). Businesses indicated that the high volume of traffic, traveling at relatively high speeds, was problematic (even though many had also indicated that they liked their business' visibility along a busy street), particularly since that combination results in difficult ingress to and egress from parking lots. Turning against traffic at rush hour (now morning, noon and evening) is "out of the question," according to one business owner.

Table 15. *Travel modes for commuting to work, business owners/managers and their employees.* (Handler, 1997b)

Commute modes of owners and managers	Number of individuals (percent of total)	Commute modes of employees	Number of individuals
Drive	20 (67%)	Drive	16
Take the bus	1 (3.3%)	Take the bus	1
Walk	1 (3.3%)	Walk	1
Bike	1 (3.3%)	Bike	4
Carpool	1 (3.3%)	Carpool	1
Lives on site	3 (10%)	Lives on site	None
N/A	3 (10%)		
Total	N=30 (100%)		

Despite the plenitude of paving, as elsewhere in Missoula parking in the study area is perceived as a problem, though it was not reported as frequently as traffic patterns as a problem to be addressed (Tables 16a and 16b). In contrast to residents' perceptions of Broadway as a barrier to pedestrian movement, business leaders were more likely to perceive pedestrian and bicycle access in the study area as good: fourteen of 26 business leaders surveyed reported that pedestrian and bike access are "positive," with several specifically noting the riverfront footpath and the planned California Street footbridge. Nineteen business leaders perceived transit access is good, though only two business leaders reported that they or their employees take the bus.

Table 16a. *Access along West Broadway, normative perceptions.* (Handler, 1997b).

Rating	Number of businesses rating access			
	Car parking	Vehicle access	Pedestrian/ bike access	Transit
positive	17	11	14	19
negative	8	13	8	2
varies	0	2	1	0
N/A	1	0	3	5

Table 16a. *Access along West Broadway.* (Handler, 1997b) (continued)

Specifics indicated as negative:	Number of respondents
traffic	13
pedestrian needs	9
parking	3
inadequate City snow removal program	2
street infrastructure	2
access for traffic turning	1
abandoned cars	1

Table 16b. *Off street parking spaces available.* (Handler, 1997b)

Number of parking spaces	Number of businesses
none	1
1-5	5
6-10	7
11-15	2
16-20	2
more than 21	5
unsure, N/A	4

At the same time that business leaders described problems in the neighborhood and expressed their desire that those problems be addressed, they were by and large unwilling to pay for improvements: "Affordability is my number one concern," said one business owner, "I've got a conflict of interest -- I'm saying crime is a problem, but I'm also saying I don't want to pay for [measures to fight] it" (Handler, 1997b). The two largest areas perceived as needing improvement are pedestrian facilities (such as sidewalks and crosswalks) and traffic patterns, especially at the intersection of California and Broadway, which several business leaders perceive as a dangerous intersection (Table 17). One of the business owners who participated in the autumn 1997 survey said that he and his business partner, who owned a car lot on the corner of California and Broadway, were just waiting for someone

to be killed at that intersection; he was killed crossing Broadway at that

intersection eleven months later.[2]

Four business leaders noted that the appearance of neighborhood

buildings needed improvement: one business owner noted,

> I would like a professional appearance. If you didn't change the image
> of this area, I don't know how you'd attract people here... This
> neighborhood was fairly rough for a long time -- Shady Grove -- now
> we have new handicapped housing. If this neighborhood were more
> pedestrian friendly, with boulevards, it would look a lot better, it
> would improve our property value. (Handler, 1997b)

Table 17. *Neighborhood improvements needed.* (Handler, 1997b).

Improvements cited	Number of businesses
Traffic patterns (i.e., traffic flow; light at California Street)	8
Pedestrian needs	6
Improve appearance of buildings; keep architectural identity coherent with downtown	4
Nice affordable housing	3
Landscaping	2
Commercial development	2
Better infrastructure	2
Better parking	1
Fewer sign restrictions	1
Provide for kids' needs	1
No improvements needed	1

Overall, business leaders did not perceive any relationship between

neighborhood aesthetics and their own profit margin (Table 18). They

generally felt that with improvements to the area, costs would rise, but profits

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[2]The assets of the car lot were liquidated three weeks after the owner's death, and his wife
invited the Northside and Westside Neighborhood Associations to set up an informational
table at the lot, to provide information on the neighborhood planning process and on
transportation and pedestrian issues. This was the first demonstrated connection that I had
witnessed between residents and a member of the business community supporting one another in
a common concern.

would not necessarily rise as well. Fifteen business owners (58% of the survey group) stated that their business was profitable, but when asked to list factors affecting their profitability, they largely indicated factors not related to location. At the same time, when asked to describe factors that would induce them to leave the neighborhood and incentives to remain, several business leaders listed location-specific factors (Tables 19a and 19b).

Table 18. *Factors affecting profitability.* (Handler, 1997b)

Factor stated	Number of businesses
Location	5
Investment into property	3
Regulations	1
Other factors, not related to location	16

Table 19a. *Incentives to stay in the neighborhood.* (Handler, 1997b)

	Number of businesses
If business succeeds and grows	6
No intention of leaving	5
Good location (visibility, feels like home)	4
If had improved access	4
If had improvements to building or neighborhood	3
If had more leniency with signage and other regulations	1
If reduced noise and other nuisances	1
If had higher neighborhood incomes	1
"It's fine as it is"	1
"We intend to leave"	1

Table 19b. *Incentives to leave the neighborhood.* (Handler, 1997b)

	Number of businesses
Nothing would discourage us from staying	6
If increased cost (rent, property tax)	5
If lack of sales, or business decline	3
If it became inconvenient, due to regulations	3
If physical facility proved insufficient for business needs	2
If increased crime	2
If traffic worsened	1
"They're widening Russell"	1
If neighborhood continues to shift to residential	1
If bad relations with other merchants	1
Personal reasons	1

At follow-up meetings in September 1998, business leaders reiterated several concerns and raised new ones (Handler, 1998). In contrast to results from a year earlier, when traffic patterns and access seemed more pressing issues than parking, business leaders in autumn 1998 focused on parking as a problem, particularly for businesses with Broadway frontage. They perceived the problem to be compounded by the issue of snow removal: "they don't haul it away like they do in downtown; they pile it up [at the street edge] and it takes away my on-street parking." On a street where access is already difficult, business owners have the responsibility of clearing their parking lot entrances of snow piled there by City plows. One business owner noted that "the City never plows Hillsdale, and it's a City street." All agreed that Cedar Street is also a problematic road, particularly since the sewer main that runs down the center of the street is above ground: the westbound portion of Cedar is several feet higher than the eastbound portion, and the street is unpaved.

Spring mud makes this road very difficult to negotiate, if not impassable, one business owner on Cedar reported (Handler, 1998).

Several business leaders expressed concern about safety and lighting along the bike trail, especially at the California Street footbridge once it is in place (Handler, 1998). "We need lighting for the bike trail, for safety -- right now it's got problems with vandals and vagrants," said one business owner; another expressed concern that "California Street will be a getaway for vandals." One businessman described a footbridge that crossed the river at California Street years ago, and that was used as such a "getaway": vandals would get drunk at a bar on the south side of the river, cross the bridge to rob a store, and escape back across the bridge. At the same time that business owners called for riverfront lighting to be installed for safety reasons, they noted that such property improvements would be costly: "as you develop with lighting, that's going to raise the taxes." This conflict between affordability and amenities was a recurrent theme.

While business leaders agreed that the intersection of Broadway and California Street is dangerous, they were reluctant to support the installation of a traffic light there. "Crossing is a risk, but you can't interfere with traffic," said one, "I don't know that a light will fix things [at California]. You'd have traffic backed up to Russell." When traffic is particularly heavy, they reported, it tends to overflow onto local streets -- Cooper, Sherwood, Phillips -- and even onto alleys. This presents a problem for businesses that double-front on the alleys, such as the Sleepy Inn, where residents' back doors open

onto the alley. Business owners on both sides of Broadway perceive alley traffic to be increasing in both speed and volume, and they are concerned about dangers to their clients.

Business leaders noted several changes that they perceive to be improvements to the neighborhood, including building renovations, new construction in the Shady Grove area and the paving of Hillsdale Street (Handler, 1998). One business leader commented, "It's a lot easier to sell a product with professionalism. If you want to turn your place into a profit center, make it look good." Neighborhood image, he said, "needs to be cleaned up. If it gets trashy looking, guess what you're going to collect."

A brief summary of business values and concerns (number of respondents in parentheses):

What business owners value about the neighborhood:
- Location: visibility, convenience (13)
- Demographics: customers, neighborhood characters (5)
- Good relations with other merchants (5)
- Affordability (4)
- Safer neighborhood (2)
- High traffic volumes (1)
- Being one's own boss (1)
- Quiet neighborhood (1)

Business concerns about the neighborhood
- Nuisances: abandoned cars, noise, traffic, air pollution, litter (8)
- Traffic patterns: volume, speed, traffic accidents (real or perceived) (6)
- Unrecognized location, nothing to attract people here (5)
- Weak neighborhood economy (4)
- Character/appearance of buildings (2)

Businesses were also concerned about
- High rental turnover
- Insufficient parking
- Neighborhood safety
- Vandalism, theft, other crimes

- Affordability (especially affordable housing opportunities)
- Access for pedestrians and bicyclists

Regarding access for motorized and non-motorized traffic, businesses cited the following specific problems:
- Traffic (13)
- Insufficient attention to pedestrian needs (9)
- Parking (3) (this was also mentioned at the 1998 follow-up meeting)
- Inadequate City snow removal program (2) (this was also mentioned at the 1998 follow-up meeting)
- Street infrastructure (especially Cedar Street) (2)
- Access for traffic turning (2)

Areas needing improvement
- Traffic patterns (8)
- Pedestrian needs (6)
- Improve appearance of buildings (4)
- Nice affordable housing (3)
- Landscaping (2)

Neighborhood residents' values and concerns concerning West Broadway

Residents' values and perceptions concerning the study area overlap with those of the business community only to a very small extent. Like business owners, residents are concerned with affordability. They value neighborhood safety, and are concerned about vandalism, theft and other crimes. Some business leaders echoed residents' sentiments when they voiced their desire for more people out on the street, "looking out" for one another and for the neighborhood. However, where business leaders are for the most part satisfied with West Broadway, perhaps because of the car-based nature of their businesses and their customer base, residents are dissatisfied with West Broadway on a number of levels.

Although most Northsiders and Westsiders travel by car, even within

their neighborhoods, residents are concerned with access for pedestrians and

bicyclists (NWNA, 1997). They perceive Broadway as a barrier to pedestrians,

having a "totally different character from the neighborhood," and are

interested in the possibility that "we could take back Broadway as a

neighborhood" (Missoula OPG, 1997). One participant in the design charrette

noted that West Broadway is "[a] highway, and I want to change the flavor of

it. It should be part of the neighborhood. The people on the south side of

Broadway are really disenfranchised" (Missoula OPG, 1997). Residents

perceive the area holistically and systemically: they conceive of West

Broadway as an integral part of their neighborhood, an area to be reclaimed as

such so that it functions socially and economically for a greater portion of the

population than motorists alone. "If we create pedestrian access," said one

participant in the 1997 design charrette,

> we create a place where people like to be and the other stuff follows.
> The first thing you have to do is create opportunities for pedestrians. If
> people are able to come to the area, businesses may find the area more
> attractive to locate. (Missoula OPG, 1997)

In contrast to business leaders, who did not conceive of themselves as

being part of a neighborhood, Westside and Northside residents perceive

West Broadway businesses definitively as a component of the neighborhood.

Residents feel that business leaders "need to understand that they're not just

plunked down in our neighborhood -- they are *part* of our neighborhood"

(Missoula OPG, 1997). Because residents view businesses as having

membership in the neighborhood, they perceive a connection between

investment in the area and quality of social and economic life in the neighborhood: "If it's a better, more appealing area, more people will take time to do business here. We're invested in our community here because we live here. I'm not here 8 to 5, I'm here 24 hours a day" (Missoula OPG, 1997).

Residents perceive West Broadway not only as a part of their neighborhood, but as a neighborhood "gateway" (Missoula OPG, 1998) -- not necessarily a physical landmark, as in a physical arch or gate, but a distinct delineator of a qualitative difference between areas. A gateway -- anchored at its corners by a pair of trees, twin gardens bordering an intersection, an information kiosk -- clearly demarcates an entrance to a different kind of neighborhood. The intersection of Russell Street with Broadway could be thought of as a gateway: North Russell roughly coincides with the western boundary of the Westside and Northside neighborhood, and from its intersection with Broadway, the residential neighborhood is visible. Even more striking as a "gateway," however, is the intersection of Broadway with California and Toole: as Broadway slants off southeastward, Toole continues straight east as a clearly residential, tree-lined collector street. However, while these intersections may hold the potential to function as gateways, nothing in their character clearly defines them as such: a gateway intersection needs to have strongly anchored corners, built to human scale, that define the edges of the intersection.

From the November 8, 1997, planning design charrette, it became clear that residents perceive West Broadway not only as a "gateway" to the

Westside neighborhood, but also as a "gateway" to the City of Missoula itself.

The curve in the highway at the intersection of Russell and Broadway "makes

this a natural place to think of as the start of the City" (Missoula OPG, 1997).

As a gateway to the City, West Broadway should convey to drivers and

pedestrians alike a sense of "arrival" in a place, and should establish a clear

distinction between what is City and what is not City. An early volume of the

Northside/Westside News neighborhood newsletter envisioned the gateway

this way, inviting its readers to

> Imagine a beautiful July day. Imagine drivers coming into Missoula
> from West Broadway. They cross Russell St. and enter a landscaped
> corridor with interesting store fronts on one side of the street and a
> riverside walkway on the other. The wide, shaded sidewalks on both
> sides are busy with pedestrian life. Some people sit and talk on
> sidewalk benches. ... The drivers slow down because, all of a sudden,
> there are things to see and do. They realize they are now in a vital
> neighborhood of a thriving community. Some pull over to park and
> become part of the scene -- to explore. (NWNA, 1997b: 3)

Westside and Northside residents emphasize the importance of safe access

for pedestrians, bikes and cars along West Broadway. They perceive that the

bridge at California Street will be an asset to the neighborhood, particularly

for pedestrians and bicyclists looking for a better way to cross the river than

the narrow and heavily trafficked Russell Street Bridge. Residents want

access not only to the California Street Bridge, but more generally to the Clark

Fork River, which they perceive as the central natural feature of their

neighborhood, indeed of the City itself. They feel the Westside has

tremendous potential for connection with the riverfront trail system, and

want to ensure safe pedestrian access to the waterfront.

While access clearly tops the list of citizen concerns with respect to West Broadway, residents are also concerned with the overall design of their neighborhood, in terms of both aesthetics and function. Through the neighborhoods' 1997 visual preferences survey, residents identified key components of visually appealing site design with respect to site planning, parking, landscaping, building form and architectural detail, and historic character (NWNA, 1997c). Residents value landscaping, particularly to break up the appearance of "miles of concrete" in parking areas and to soften the edges in commercial areas. They favor a mix of commercial and residential uses, but value locating smaller businesses, rather than large ones, adjacent to residential areas to preserve the residential character of the neighborhood. Their architectural and site design preferences -- residents noted such details as awnings and window shapes -- emphasize the human scale at which residents perceive their surroundings.

Residents of the Northside and Westside tolerate and even encourage businesses of various types, integrated with residential uses, and perceive the neighborhoods' substantial mix of residential and commercial uses as a strength (Missoula OPG, 1998). Commercial and industrial uses in both · neighborhoods are concentrated around the railroad corridor and along the major collector streets and arterials (Broadway, Toole, Spruce and Orange Streets). Residents see many opportunities for business in the neighborhood; some are interested in finding ways to encourage alley businesses and neighborhood "cottage industry." When asked about what specific types of

businesses or services belong in the neighborhood, half of those surveyed indicated they would support a small grocery in their neighborhood, and child care, coffee shop and health care services all received the support of over 30 percent of residents surveyed (NWNA, 1997a: 4). West Broadway and Orange Streets, as "gateways" to the neighborhood, are of particular interest in terms of commercial development.

Although they support commercial uses in the neighborhood, even some integrated with residential uses, residents are concerned about the interface between commercial activity and adjacent residences. During the comprehensive planning process, residents have raised concerns about noise, dust, light and air pollution from trucking and freight companies adjacent to residences in the railroad corridor, and about the need to protect residential uses from some of the nuisances associated with commercial and industrial activity. Such concerns are equally relevant to West Broadway, which offers opportunities for affordable housing in the form of single-room occupancy motels but which also presents safety and human health issues because of the heavy traffic volume and relatively high speeds.

Residents are generally less focused on neighborhood commercial opportunities than on residential amenities: they perceive their neighborhoods' most significant strengths to be "the diversity of people, parks and recreation, location, transportation, neighborhood involvement, and community gardens" (NWNA, 1997a: 4). Westsiders were more likely to identify location and transportation as neighborhood strengths (Northsiders

rated all forms of transportation -- pedestrian, bicycle, bus, and automobile -- lower than did Westsiders, though both indicated that transportation quality for bicycles and pedestrians was only average), whereas Northsiders emphasized their community gardens and parks. Residents of both neighborhoods were fairly even in their identification of safety and housing availability as areas needing improvement. Over two-thirds of neighborhood residents surveyed identified "affordable rentals" as the most pressing housing need in the neighborhood (NWNA, 1997a: 2-3).

Neighborhood schools and other services received substantial support from residents: 57 percent of residents surveyed indicated they felt that their neighborhood should have a preschool, and two-thirds felt the neighborhood should have an elementary school. Residents also support health care services closer to their neighborhood; one in five residents is uninsured, and nearly half do not have a personal physician even though one in three households reported that a household member has a health problem that regularly needs medical treatment. While a number of community services -- including health care, housing and tenant rights advocacy, crime victim advocacy, and parent cooperative day care -- are available to Northsiders and Westsiders, residents are for the most part unaware of most of those services, with the exception of the Head Start program (NWNA, 1997a: 6-7).

A brief summary of residents' values and concerns

What residents value about the neighborhood:
- Mix of residential with small business
- Clark Fork River as natural amenity

- Diversity of residents
- Community gardens and parks, landscaping
- Affordability
- Human scale architecture
- Walkability
- Neighborhood design
- Neighborhood schools and neighborhood services

Residents' concerns about the neighborhood
- Access for pedestrians and bicyclists
- Interface between residential and adjacent commercial/ industrial uses
- Affordability (especially affordable housing opportunities)
- Traffic volume and speed, especially regarding safe pedestrian access
- Neighborhood safety
- Vandalism, theft and other crimes
- Connection between community investment and quality of neighborhood life

Residents' perceptions about Broadway
- Broadway is part of their neighborhood
- Broadway is out of character with the rest of the neighborhood
- Broadway is a gateway to the Westside and to Missoula as a whole

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Problems and opportunities

The task of Part Five is to outline prescriptive redevelopment design solutions to some of the problems described here. Clearly, the problems and opportunities perceived by neighborhood residents differ in many ways from those perceived by local businesses, though there is, to some degree, overlap. Both groups like the affordability of the neighborhood. Both identified traffic access and conditions (primarily traffic speed and volume) and access for pedestrians along and across Broadway as problems deserving immediate attention. Both are concerned with neighborhood safety. Business leaders, however, were more focused on problems along the street which affect their business success -- including limited parking, poor street lighting, vandalism

and inadequate snow removal -- while residents tended to examine the spatial relationship between the residential neighborhood, the commercial uses on Broadway, the proposed footbridge and pedestrian connections to the neighborhood south of the river. Residents were also more interested in the visual quality of the environment, and perceive the Broadway corridor as visually uninviting as well as unsafe. Nonetheless, issues of affordability, safety and travel access, while viewed from slightly a different angle by businesses and residents, are common concerns which may provide an opportunity for stakeholder collaboration.

For the purposes of establishing design guidelines, I take the following as givens: first, traffic patterns on Broadway present barriers to safe vehicular and pedestrian travel; second, the creation of the California Street Footbridge as part of a dedicated bikeway and trail system will provide a positive travel opportunity for pedestrians and bicyclists, as well as access to the Clark Fork River; and third, bicyclists and people on foot have the right to safe and easy access to those amenities. Redesign should be responsive to those concerns, as well as to related issues identified by businesses and residents.

While I will attempt to address most of the many concerns raised by neighborhood businesses and residents, I will focus in Part Five on the redesign of the West Broadway streetscape to increase general welfare and safety and to provide pedestrian opportunities. Pedestrian opportunities on Broadway deserve particular attention for several reasons. For one, a city's streets should provide for the needs of all its citizens, not only the ones in

vehicles. From the standpoint of environmentally sustainable design, the

public realm of the street should provide opportunities for nonmotorized

travel. Further, a city's streets and sidewalks should be conducive to face to

face human interaction; this most public of the city's public realm is the place

where people go to people-watch and to be seen, and to interact with one

another. Broadway in the heart of downtown has a colorful, vibrant human

streetlife; Broadway at Russell has none. However, this area is slowly

changing in character, and presents the City with an opportunity to remake

this street with a fresh image, guided by socially and economically sustainable

redevelopment design. To that end, in Part Five, I offer nine principles as a

framework for redevelopment on West Broadway.

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Having sketched a physical and social picture of the West Broadway study

area and identified problems faced by people living and working in the area

and in the surrounding Westside neighborhood, I am now able to put

forward a framework for sustainable redevelopment.

In Part Two, I suggested four primary categories for site analysis: natural

environment (including landscaping, solar exposure, views, and natural

features), land use patterns (including form, grain, scale, activities, and

relationships), paths of movement (including travel networks, scale, and

enclosure) and architecture (including mass, orientation, enclosure,

relationship to the street, and architectural identity or style). These categories

provided a grounding for my physical site analysis of the study area. In this

section, I suggest nine principles for redevelopment design on West

Broadway; these principles derive in part from the physical site analysis and

in part from social and economic exigencies.

The nine principles are as follows:

1. *Involve citizens in design.*
2. *Design a core for the neighborhood.*
3. *Design a walkable core, built to human scale.*
4. *Design the streetscape for both people and vehicles.*
5. *Encourage mixed uses.*
6. *Maintain affordability.*
7. *Establish a gateway.*
8. *Design with nature in mind.*
9. *Create a whole.*

Described briefly in generally normative terms, each principle is followed by a set of problems and opportunities as identified by residents, business leaders and City agencies. Each problem is framed by its context and followed by a goal, stated as an **intent.** Each intent is followed by specific design **guidelines,** which may be used to frame redevelopment projects. Some of the guidelines include more quantifiable standards or concrete elements of street design that can implement the values put forward in the intent; standards are presented in bullet format.

These nine principles are interdependent: "affordability," for example, is related to a "core" that is "walkable" and that supports "mixed uses," both because intensive use of space (i.e., housing above commercial) is more cost effective and because walking is more cost-effective than driving. Because the principles build upon and refer to one another, the removal of one principle has consequences for the others. They should be applied as a package to any redevelopment proposal for West Broadway.

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Principle One: Citizen participation is necessary.

Problem: Citizen participation in land use decision-making is low, due to time constraints, frustrations with process, feelings of disempowerment, and personal inertia. It is also low because of a lack of formal and meaningful mechanisms for participation; in Missoula, citizen involvement has very often involved public response to a city plan or project presented by city

agencies, rather than citizens' initiating or participating in the design of the project from its inception.

Participation is not only low but also not representative of the population as a whole. The business community generally has been underrepresented in the Northside/Westside comprehensive planning process, and residents along West Broadway have not been represented at all in the planning process. Many of the West Broadway business owners who participated in the business survey in autumn 1997 were unaware that their neighborhood had been included in Urban Renewal District II, and did not know what implications that inclusion might have for their business. Part of the problem of low citizen participation has to do with education and communication, and part has to do with building relationships between citizen groups and between citizens and government.

Opportunity: Citizen voices are needed in order to solve community problems. The users of a space are experts regarding what the space needs, and there are multiple ways to get citizen input. West Broadway presents multiple, complex issues that affect both commercial and residential activities along the street; it is therefore crucial to identify and solicit the input of as many "stakeholders" as possible, in order to create neighborhood designs that address the needs and concerns of a broad range of interests.

Intent	*To encourage the interaction of existing neighborhood businesses and residents to identify needed services and development opportunities.*

Guidelines Establish and maintain formal communication lines between

local government and landowners and tenants in redevelopment districts.

Encourage the formation of an Urban Redevelopment District II Business Association, West Broadway Business Improvement District, West Broadway Neighborhood Association, or other formal means of local participation.

Through that Neighborhood or Business Association, encourage businesses to work with residents to identify common needs and concerns. For example,
- roundtable discussions on neighborhood safety, access for pedestrians and vehicles, and neighborhood economic development

Use multiple participatory planning techniques to reach multiple possible participants.

Set small goals first, so small successes may be counted, before attempting larger projects.

Intent   *To promote equity, by ensuring that the needs of traditionally excluded groups are considered.*

Guidelines Weight objectives "toward those that affect the community as a whole, or large groups within the community, with emphasis on groups that are normally less vocal in community decisions."[1]

Take into account the "'human consequences' of urban design and planning decisions, especially for children, youth and the elderly."[2]
- identify who is living in the neighborhood
- ask them to identify their needs and concerns (i.e., residents of Eaglewatch facility for people with physical disabilities; low income people; single parents)
- address those concerns in redevelopment design

[1]Kevin Lynch, "Quality in City Design (1966)," *in:* Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth, eds., City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1990, p. 432. [2]Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard and Henry Lennard, Livable Cities Observed, Carmel, CA: Gondolier Press, 1995, p. 107.

Principle Two: The neighborhood needs a commercial core and community focus.

Problem: West Broadway suffers from lack of definition and identity as a neighborhood. It is a strip with no clear beginning or end, and no clear node of intensified activity. There is no one particular place where people gather to talk (such as a plaza or park), exchange news over a cup of coffee (such as a diner or coffee shop), or conduct primary business (such as a grocery store or post office). While business owners do not perceive West Broadway as a "neighborhood," Westside residents do; they specifically perceive it as part of the Westside, and have an interest in "taking back Broadway."

Opportunity: "Every community must have a core or community focus."[3] Such a focus could be created along West Broadway, and the street could be integrated more smoothly into the fabric of the Westside neighborhood as a commercial core providing both citywide and neighborhood services.

Intent   *To encourage the establishment of a core.*

Guidelines   Encourage a balance of residential and non-residential uses, with employment opportunities, retail opportunities, neighborhood services and housing in proportion to and integrated with one another:

"A certain minimum proportion of uses is required to stimulate pedestrian activity and to provide economic incentives for developing with mixed-use patterns. The proportion of uses is based on site area, not density of building intensity. It does not preclude additional, different uses on upper floors."[4]
* 5-15% public uses

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[3]Anton Clarence Nelessen, Visions for a New American Dream, Chicago, American Planning Association, 1994, p. 179.
[4]Peter Calthorpe, The Next American Metropolis, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1993, p. 63.

- 30-70% "job-generating" uses
- 20-60% residential uses[5]

Transit and access for pedestrians should be integrated with access for private vehicles[6]:
- the central transit location should be "accessible to all residents within a 1,500 foot radius or approximately a five minute walk."[7]

Encourage intensive site development: set a high floor area ratio (FAR, or proportion of ground floor square footage to total parcel square footage) to encourage more complete site utilization (i.e., a .50 FAR would be a one-story building covering one-half of the site; a 1.0 FAR would be a one-story structure covering the site or a two-story structure on half of the site[8]):
- establish a minimum 1.5 FAR (a three-story building on half the site)

Principle Three: Design a walkable core the dimensions of which are scaled to the pedestrian.

Problem: As an edge-of-town strip, West Broadway has grown up scaled to the automobile. This is apparent in the spacing of pedestrian crosswalks at half-mile intervals, in the large building setbacks and the width of paved road. Westside and Northside residents perceive this as a problem: they value safe access for pedestrians and bicyclists in their neighborhoods. The Missoula Redevelopment Agency is also concerned about safe pedestrian access to the California Street Footbridge. With at least sixty people living in the area, and a greater number of people expected to visit the area to access the footbridge, walkability needs to be addressed. Further, there is little in the study area that is scaled to the pedestrian or which would draw the attention

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[5]Calthorpe, p. 63.
[6]Nelessen, p. 179.
[7]Nelessen, p.185.

of people traveling on foot. The environment lacks both opportunity and interest for pedestrians.

Opportunity: Walkability is largely a matter of providing pedestrian facilities and amenities, and creating an environment that is built to the scale of a human being traveling 3 to 5 miles per hour rather than to that of a car traveling 35 to 40 miles per hour. Such scale differences manifest themselves in signage size and location, streetlamp height, building massing and facade detail, entryway placement and number, and street furniture (benches, planters, trash cans, etc.). Residents of the Northside and Westside envision redevelopment projects that create a pedestrian-friendly environment that draws visitors to the neighborhood to patronize its businesses. The footbridge will draw foot traffic; redevelopment can retain that foot traffic, giving people on foot a reason to pause in the neighborhood rather than merely pass through, by addressing pedestrian scale and encouraging a diversity of uses.

Intent   *To enable people to walk to neighborhood services rather than use their cars.*

Guidelines Double-front existing structures:
- "[turn] what is now 'the back door' of strip-oriented facilities into a front door that is reached by foot or bicycle from the residential neighborhood behind" Broadway.[9]
- "As neighborhood shopping becomes more oriented to the neighborhood behind it, buildings can begin to cluster together into nodes rather than as isolated elements on a linear auto access route. As activities shift more toward pedestrian, bicycle or neighborhood mini-vehicle access, need for devoting so much space to parking is severely reduced."[10]

[8]Calthorpe, p. 78.
[9]Sim Van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe, Sustainable Communities -- A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs and Towns, San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1986, p. 43.
[10]Ibid.

Intent   *To provide "visual interest" to people on foot.*

Guidelines   Prohibit blank walls.

Require varied and articulated building facades on new construction.

Require "street level windows and numerous building entries... in the core commercial areas."[11]

Intent   *To provide human-scale street furniture.*

Guidelines   Provide street lights rather than highway lights:
* limit streetlamp height to twelve feet.[12]

Provide planters, benches and trash cans.

Intent   *To support efficient, convenient transportation alternatives.*

Guidelines   Integrate transit and pedestrian facilities with access for private vehicles[13] *(see Principle Two above).*

Clearly identify the transit stop.
* provide a bus shelter and clear signage so that bus riders will know where to wait and can find shelter from inclement weather.

Increase residential density in the neighborhood; dense urban populations are needed to support efficient and convenient transit.[14,15]

Provide bike lanes and pedestrian facilities. Connect these with the same downtown, so that a continuous network of pedestrian and bicycle paths is available.
* with on-street parking, bike lanes should be five (5) feet wide and striped

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[11]Calthorpe, p.80.
[12]Nelessen, p. 205.
[13]Nelessen, p. 179.
[14]David Engwicht, Reclaiming Our Cities and Towns: Better Living with Less Traffic, Philadelphia, New Society Publishers, 1993.
[15]Van Der Ryn and Calthorpe.

Principle Four: Design the streetscape for both people and vehicles.

1. Access

Problem: West Broadway is a principal arterial, with relatively high traffic speeds and heavy volume. This may have been appropriate when this neighborhood was still the "edge of town," and Broadway functioned to feed vehicular traffic to the downtown heart of the city. However, the city's heart is expanding to include this area, as recent development trends have tended toward more residential uses. The riverfront trail system and the California Street Bridge are anticipated to increase use of the riverfront by pedestrians and bicyclists. With heavy traffic loads moving rapidly, West Broadway presents a barrier and a hazard to people on foot who want to access the riverfront. It also presents a barrier to vehicular traffic turning onto and off Broadway; business leaders observed that ingress and egress from business parking lots, as well as access from side streets intersecting Broadway, is particularly difficult during peak traffic flow at rush hour.

Opportunity: California Street is a natural connection point for people on foot and on bicycle. Residents on the north side of Broadway have a right to safe access to the riverfront and the pedestrian footbridge. Conversely, residents of Eagle Watch and the mental health housing, on the south side of Broadway, have a right to safely access services on the north side of the street. Redevelopment of the West Broadway corridor can create safe pedestrian access, by integrating Broadway as a seam -- rather than as a barrier -- between the northern and southern portions of the Westside neighborhood. In the

Central Business District, Broadway moves roughly two-thirds of the traffic

volume that it does at Russell; it does so at two-thirds to half the speed in a

pedestrianized environment in which traffic entering Broadway from alleys

and intersecting streets can safely merge with oncoming vehicles. West

Broadway can provide safer access for pedestrians and vehicles in each other's

presence and can support transportation alternatives while also

accommodating a rise in vehicular traffic. While the "mathematical

modelling of traffic behaviour and traffic volumes is an important

preparation for decision-making," it should not be "stretch[ed] beyond its

validity."[16]

Intent   *To increase pedestrian access to the area, and encourage better pedestrian circulation within the area.*

Guidelines Provide clearly marked zebra striped pedestrian crossings:
- provide crossings at a maximum of every quarter-mile.[17]

Provide a traffic signal at the intersection of California Street and Broadway:
- provide wheelchair-accessible push button for crossing
- provide weight-sensitive pads for traffic turning from California Street.
- erect "no turn on red" sign for right-hand turns from California Street onto Broadway, to minimize hazards from eastbound Broadway traffic around blind curve

Provide boulevard sidewalks:
- provide sidewalks at least 8 feet wide, and preferably 10 to 16 feet wide[18] if the hard surface includes the boulevard setback (the boulevard might be paved with a different textured

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[16]Lennard and Lennard, p. 77.

[17]Andres Duany, "Towards an Architecture of Community: Rethinking Urban Sprawl," summer lecture series at Boise State University, Boise, ID, 1994. Video.

[18]Nelessen, p. 203. Calthorpe (1993) suggests that sidewalk width "should be determined based on location, context and role within the area," but writes that sidewalks generally should be at least 5-10 feet wide (p. 96).

surface), in anticipation of pedestrian foot traffic to retail and other core commercial activities.
- provide conduits for irrigation line under sidewalk, in anticipation of street trees.

Intent   *To provide a buffer between pedestrians on the sidewalk and vehicular traffic on the street.*

Guidelines   Provide on-street parallel parking: this helps to "'civilize' the street for pedestrians by creating a buffer between moving cars and the sidewalk."[19]

Provide striped bike lanes *(see Principle Three).*

Provide landscaping:
- new construction must improve the boulevard along sidewalk; this may be paved, but must include the installation of one street tree per thirty (30) feet of street frontage
- provide median island "crossing refuges," with cuts for vehicle turns and access
- "landscape species used... should be indigenous or proven adaptable to the local climate." Use drought-tolerant and pollution tolerant species.[20]
- provide redevelopment funds for installation of street trees in front of existing structures

Intent   *To accommodate vehicular traffic safely and at speeds that are reasonable for pedestrian access across the street.*

Guideline   Slow traffic: less head room between cars is necessary when cars are moving slower, because less room is needed for stopping distance. This allows more cars to pass through per lane per day, because cars are traveling closer together. It also facilitates merging traffic at street intersections.
- reduce posted speed limit to 25-30 mph

Intent   *To design intersections to "facilitate both pedestrian and vehicular movement."*[21]

Guideline   Minimize curb radius at the intersection through the use of curb

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[19]Calthorpe, p. 97.
[20]For Missoula's climate, these might include Burr Oak or Hackberry.
[21]Calthorpe, p. 97.

bulb-outs or pedestrian crossing refuges. This will minimize the crossing distance for pedestrians while also slowing traffic by effectively narrowing the road.

2. Street wall definition

Problem: There is no sense of enclosure or "edge" to the street: space "leaks out" across parking lots and over the tops of low buildings.

Opportunity: The definition of the streetwall can be addressed through infill development and additions on existing structures. It can be mitigated through the installation of street trees as well.

Intent   *To create a sense of street enclosure.*

Guidelines Bring buildings to the street, to give a sense of narrowing the street and to establish an edge to the street wall:
- establish overlay zoning district with a minimum setback of zero (0) feet and a maximum setback of five (5) feet[22]

Encourage existing structures that are set back to develop "'out buildings' close to the street that contain shops, services and restaurants."[23]

Encourage infill construction to build multistory buildings:
- with right-of-way at 110 feet, need building heights of 55-60 feet (four to five stories) for maximum sense of enclosure, 40-45 feet (three stories) for threshold of enclosure, or 25-30 feet (two stories) for minimum enclosure[24]

Provide boulevard street trees as an inner edge to the street. This gives the appearance of narrowing the space.

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[22]City of Orlando, Florida, Draft: "Design Standards in MU-1 and MU-2 Mixed Use Corridor District," 1998, Section 62.620.
[23]Design guideline from Bozeman, Montana, *in:* Ruth Eckdish Knack, "Park and Shop: Some Guidelines," *Planning,* May 1992: 18-21.
[24]Paul D. Spreiregen, Urban Design: The Architecture of Towns and Cities, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

3. Street environment and pollution

Problem: The heavy traffic, including heavy commercial and industrial trucks, along West Broadway results in particulate air pollution from car exhaust and road dust, as well as noise. Residents of the single room occupancy motels on Broadway, as well as business leaders, identified the fumes, dust and noise as problems.

Opportunity: Landscaping can buffer people on the sidewalk and people living in the neighborhood from the nuisances associated with heavy traffic. Slowing traffic will assist in reducing noise, though it may result in increased air pollution as the street carries more vehicles per day.

Intent *To enhance the livability of the street by buffering heavy uses from lighter ones.*

Guidelines Street trees, shrubs and other landscaping will help filter air pollutants to some degree.

Residential uses should be placed above commercial uses, to reduce exposure to street-level fumes and pollutants.

Reduce posted speed limit.

4. Parking

Problem: Parking facilities for some businesses, particularly those that front on Broadway, are perceived as inadequate. Because so many businesses have a driveway access onto Broadway and because these multiple access points are close together, on-street parking is restricted because it would block visibility for traffic exiting parking areas. Most of the existing curbs are painted yellow to prohibit on-street parking.

Opportunity: Parking can be provided in a variety of ways while maintaining a pedestrian-friendly streetscape. Joint parking in small lots with sufficient separation between access points to allow for sighting distance for cars exiting from the parking area would permit on-street parking to be incorporated.

Intent	*To encourage joint parking facilities.*

Guidelines Support joint parking proposals:
- conduct feasibility study, based on business hours of operation and hours of peak parking demand for different uses.[25]
- identify parking "spillover" mitigation measures to protect adjacent residential neighborhoods.[26]

Intent	*To provide on-street parking opportunities.*

Guidelines Joint parking may reduce the number of driveway access points, making on-street parking feasible.

Permit parallel parking on both sides of Broadway.
Road width is 80 feet curb-to-curb:
- with four driving lanes at 12 feet each, and two bike lanes at 5 feet each, two parking lanes can be provided at 10 feet each (8-foot parking lane plus two-foot curb) with no road improvements other than striping.
- if driving lanes are narrowed to 11 feet each, and then a series of 6-foot "crossing refuge" islands could be provided in the center of the road, in addition to 5-foot bike lanes and 10-foot parking lanes, with no other road improvements.

"Parallel parking... should count as part of the total parking requirements."[27]

Intent	*To provide off-street parking opportunities.*

Guidelines Permit off-street parking facilities only to the rear of the principal structure. Prohibit parking in the front yard.[28]

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[25]Calthorpe, p. 109.
[26]Calthorpe, p. 109.
[27]Nelessen, p. 209.
[28]City of Orlando, Florida, Section 62.622(a).

Parking as a principal use should be a conditional use. In this case, encourage:

(a) "pocket parking" lots: small parking facilities rather than large asphalt-covered areas.

- where pocket parking is provided, it should constitute no more than 75 feet or one-third of the street frontage on a block[29]

(b) structured or underground parking, with other uses above.

- structured parking should have street-frontage retail, so parking doesn't dominate the street.[30]

Parking areas provided as a principal use should be effectively screened:

- screening from all adjacent street right-of-way and adjacent properties should comprise at least 75% living material that provides at least 75% year-round opacity, such as evergreen hedges.
- screening should be at least three feet high and no more than five feet high[31]

Principle Five: Design for mixed land uses, a range of incomes, and vertical as well as horizontal development.[32]

Problem: The uses on West Broadway have not been designed to complement one another: the needs of automotive service-based businesses conflict with the needs of residents, many of whom are very low income people. In addition to lacking spatial complementarity, the Missoula Redevelopment Agency has identified that land along West Broadway is underutilized in terms of both lot coverage and intensity of use (i.e., vertical development).

Opportunity: This is a mixed use corridor which is envisioned to serve the larger neighborhood and community needs with retail and other commercial

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[29]Calthorpe, p. 110.
[30]Calthorpe, p. 112.
[31]City of Orlando, FL, Section 62.624(a).

uses, while also providing opportunities for affordable housing. Residential

opportunities on Broadway must be designed to address concerns about air

quality. Air pollution from cars tends to hang low in the street canyons;

residences that are constructed on the upper levels of buildings, above street-

level commercial uses, will have less exposure to street-level fumes, more

solar exposure, and greater access to viewsheds. In addition, more intensive

use of land through vertical development (housing above commercial space)

is more cost-effective for developers.

Intent	*To support a mix of land uses.*
Guideline	Encourage a balance of residential and non-residential uses, with employment opportunities, retail opportunities, neighborhood services and housing in proportion to and integrated with one another *(see Principle Two)*.
Intent	*To encourage new construction to provide residential space above or on the same parcel as retail space.*
Guidelines	Reduce or exempt off-street parking requirements for commercial uses which provide on-site residential space.

"On shopping streets with single story shops construct residential accommodation above the shops."[33]

Require that multi-story buildings on the south side of Broadway retain solar access for the street and for buildings on the north side of the street[34].
- establish setbacks for upper stories to permit solar access in winter: above three stories, set each story back fifteen feet to compensate for the winter sun angle in Missoula (23 degrees).

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[32]Nelessen, p. 134.
[33]Lennard and Lennard, p. 231.
[34]William H. Whyte, City, New York: Doubleday, 1988, p. 258.

Principle Six: Affordable housing and commercial opportunities should be maintained.

Problem: Missoula lacks affordable housing. The West Broadway corridor provides some of the lowest cost housing in the city; unfortunately, this is also some of the most substandard of Missoula's housing stock. Much of the housing available along West Broadway that is affordable for people living on limited income consists of older, converted motels.

As land values in Missoula have risen, affordability has become a critical issue in terms of both housing and commercial space. As an area like West Broadway becomes gentrified through land improvements, it may become unaffordable for some residents and business owners who specifically chose the district because costs were low.

Opportunity: Economic reinvestment may require creative approaches to affordable housing and affordable commercial space. The tax increment district (Urban Renewal District II) should provide funds to support piecemeal improvement projects as determined by the neighborhood. Cooperative housing or government-subsidized housing offer opportunities for addressing Missoula's dearth of affordable housing, and for ensuring that gentrification does not drive low-income tenants out of existing housing opportunities in the neighborhood. The need is to provide tenants on West Broadway with improved housing, whether through rehabilitating existing housing or through transitioning tenants into better housing.

Intent   *To retain affordable residential and commercial spaces while*

also providing amenities to the area.

Guidelines   Retain small hotels and single-room occupancy hotels "to
provide a greater choice of accommodations near potential
transit destinations and to provide needed housing."[35]

Provide economic incentives to make exterior and interior
improvements to existing housing accommodations.
* provide low-interest loans for such improvements

"Plug the leaks"[36]: identify specific services as needed or desired
in the area, and encourage and facilitate their location there.
* "establish essential shops and services within walking
distance"[37]. As an example: Ole's Country Store #2 on North
Orange Street opened a laundry as part of a small
neighborhood services plaza, in response to a call for such a
service by neighborhood residents. The business has been
very successful there.

Encourage cooperative business ventures, such as shared
commercial space, shared responsibility for maintenance and
upkeep (i.e., of jointly purchased landscaping), and joint parking
(see Principle Four).

Encourage cooperative housing projects.

Principle Seven: Establish West Broadway as a clearly identifiable gateway to

the City of Missoula.

Problem: The intersection of Russell and West Broadway is perceived by

Westside and Northside residents as a "gateway" to Missoula. "Gateway"

does not necessarily imply a real gate or archway at the entrance to the

neighborhood, though some communities have chosen this type of

landmark. "Gateway" here conveys a sense of having arrived in a

neighborhood; such a sense of arrival is physically suggested through

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[35]Calthorpe, p. 77.
[36]Michael Kinsley, Economic Renewal Guide, Rocky Mountain Institute, Snowmass, CO, 1996.
[37]Lennard and Lennard, p. 231.

distinctive design, signage, lighting, and/or landscaping. This particular

intersection lacks any of the above, and thus is not recognized as an entrance

to the City.

Opportunity: This intersection offers a mix of uses, including neighborhood

services (veterinary clinic) and residential uses. There should be a sense, as

one approaches this intersection from the west, that one is about to enter a

qualitatively different space, a mixed use residential and commercial

neighborhood. In a large sense, it could function as a gateway leading to

downtown.

Intent   *To establish the intersection of Russell and Broadway as a gateway which delineates space, the quality of which is markedly different after one has moved through the intersection.*

Guidelines   "Places in the environment should not only be diverse, but have a clear perceptual identity: recognizable, memorable, vivid. A street should not look like all other streets... But this quality of identity, or a 'sense of place,' is the cornerstone of a handsome and meaningful environment. Without it, an observer cannot make sense of his world, since he cannot distinguish or remember its parts."[38]

Therefore:
Provide strong "anchors" on each corner of the intersection, in scale with the intersection and with nearby buildings. An "anchor" is an object of appropriate height and massing to define the corner (see discussion of height-to-width ratio), to function in a sense as a "gatepost." Strong anchors will encourage through-traffic on Broadway to slow and will effectively narrow the street to create a sense of enclosure.
• plant moderate to tall-sized trees (i.e., Burr oak or American linden).
• bring buildings to the street (zero setback)
• provide human-scale streetlamps

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[38]Kevin Lynch, "City Design and City Appearances (1968)," in: Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth, eds., City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1990, p. 470.

- utilize public art at the corner

Provide clearly marked pedestrian crossing at the gateway
- stripe pedestrian crossing
- this is a major intersection: provide stop line for traffic twenty feet before pedestrian crossing

Principle Eight: Design with nature in mind.

1. Ecological design

Problem: Design should work with nature rather than against it, and should make nature apparent and available to a city's residents. Along West Broadway, there is little sense of nature, not even that there is a wild, free-flowing river not one hundred yards south of the street. Missoula residents value the river as a natural feature of their city, yet West Broadway prevents many of them from interacting with it.

Opportunity: Redevelopment design can make the river accessible to Northside and Westside residents who currently perceive themselves as disenfranchised by West Broadway. Further, not only can nature be articulated and made accessible through streetscape redesign, but redevelopment can and should be environmentally and socially sustainable (*see Principal Three, "walkable core"*).

Intent   *To make nature apparent and accessible.*

Guidelines   Establish California Street as a "greenway":
- provide landscaping along California continuous with Broadway

Provide street trees and flower planters along Broadway to shade the street and soften the edges.

Housing in the upper stories of multistory buildings should take advantage of views along West Broadway: north to the North Hills, south to the river.

Housing in the upper stories of buildings on the south side of Broadway especially should take advantage of southern exposure for passive solar heating and natural lighting.

2. Safety

Problem: The river is the Westside's primary natural amenity. However, the

riverfront trail is perceived as unsafe for both pedestrians and businesses that

occupy lots adjacent to the trail because the area is unlit and because

vandalism has been a problem in the past.

Opportunity: The portion of the riverfront trail along West Broadway should

be as safe as possible for people on foot, and hours of safe use should not be

limited to daylight hours. The footbridge at California Street should likewise

facilitate a safe and inviting environment. Design standards can assist in the

creation of a safe atmosphere for trail users and for area businesses.

Intent *To provide for the safety of recreationists and travelers on the riverfront trail system, as well as to protect residential and commercial properties.*

Guidelines Provide lighting along the riverfront trail, such as that in downtown. Lampposts should be spaced in such a way as to prevent stretches of trail from being left in shadow. There is less ambient light from city buildings at night in the West Broadway area than in downtown, and there are fewer people. Improved lighting along the West Broadway section of the riverfront can compensate for both.
- limit streetlamp height to twelve feet[39]
- space lights at sixty (60) foot intervals, placed diagonally with lights located across the trail.[40]

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[39]Nelessen, p. 205.

Provide lighting across the California Street footbridge.
* light the entrance to the bridge.

Encourage business types which draw clientele in the evening hours (such as coffee shops, diners, taverns) and the early morning (such as bakeries, coffee shops, newsstands) to bring "off-hours" life to the area. Such businesses are important for twenty-four hour safety, since they provide "eyes on the street."

Encourage residential uses on Broadway: this also provides "eyes on the street," and supports neighborhood safety.

Principle Nine: Redevelopment strategies should create a whole.

Problem: Piecemeal development without attention to the whole has resulted in a visually and spatially disorienting street environment on West Broadway. Unless redevelopment projects identify and seek to provide what is actually needed or desired by the neighborhood -- whether in terms of services, physical infrastructure or community character -- the result may only be a different sort of chaos rather than a contribution to the healing of the whole.[41] Part of the problems stems from the atomized structure and function of local government, with multiple agencies planning separately the infrastructure, economy and architecture of a single place; lack of coordinated planning stymies the holistic creation of *places.*

Opportunity: Redevelopment can fill in underutilized space with uses and structures that are needed by the neighborhood and which will contribute to the reconstitution of the "placeness" of the street. Redevelopment should proceed in such a way that each increment complements and heals the

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[40]Nelessen, p. 205.

organic whole[42]. Design should proceed with an eye to the unfolding of future development.

Intent	*To plan for redevelopment along West Broadway as part of a coherent whole, with small projects contributing to what is needed in the neighborhood.*[43].

Guidelines Encourage new construction and proposed land uses to consider the neighborhood as a whole.

Encourage reinvestment projects to create a pedestrian-friendly streetscape:
- install sidewalks
- install street trees
- renovate buildings

Encourage participation of businesses and residents through informal and formal processes, so that planning of the "whole" is holistic.

Coordinate holistic planning among City agencies:
- encourage interagency team-based planning
- coordinate different types of plans (transportation, redevelopment, comprehensive plan etc.) so they are consistent with one another

Intent	*To ensure that redevelopment proceeds in a future-oriented, sustainable fashion.*

Guidelines New construction should anticipate additional stories, and should have load-bearing walls and foundation.

Commercial development plans should include strategies for infill of underutilized space as "walkable, mixed-use districts," and shared and structured parking.[44] The linear strip should gradually be restructured into a dense, intensively used mixed-use zone.

Allow for fluidity and organic growth: redevelopment should be "judged for the way [it satisfies] a changing set of criteria

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[41]Christopher Alexander et al., A New Theory of Urban Design, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
[42]Alexander.
[43]Alexander.
[44]Calthorpe, pp. 65-68.

throughout an entire time period."[45] The further out a plan is projected, the greater the degree of fluidity needed.

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[45]Lynch, 1966, p. 448.

PART SIX: A FINAL WORD

Metro reconstruction is not just a nice idea. It is the central spatial dimension of any productive, egalitarian, democratic order."

-- Daniel D. Luria and Joel Rogers[1]

Governmental inertia and bureaucratic unresponsiveness are our main nemeses.

-- Northside resident[2]

One mile west of downtown Missoula, the intersection of Russell and Broadway suffers from the same plague of unplanned placelessness that has dulled urban landscapes across this country. A patina of pavement lies over the land, and the human feet that would polish the surface with their stride do not tend to tread there. The wide, treeless street bears platoons of cars, but bars pedestrians and cyclists from safe passage. The public domain of this street has been given over almost entirely to the automobile.

Reclamation, however, is possible. The heavy commercial character of the neighborhood is slowly giving way to a mix of residential and lighter commercial uses; a recreation trail along the riverfront, linked to a pedestrian footbridge at California Street, will bring people on foot to this area dominated by motorized traffic for forty years. These changes invite us to imagine a different, more sustainable future for West Broadway. We can envision a street whose physical design would support a lively streetlife, whose mix of uses would provide a safe environment both by day and by

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[1]Daniel D. Luria and Joel Rogers, "Saving Our Cities." *Boston Review,* February/March 1997.
[2]Supporting document for Northside Neighborhood Association's grant proposal to the City of Missoula, requesting Title I funds to initiate neighborhood planning process, April 1995.

night, and whose public space would facilitate the kind of human exchanges that the greatest city streets have permitted.

In Part Five, I proposed a set of redevelopment design guidelines, to promote this sustainable vision for West Broadway. I responded in part to concerns and issues raised by citizens -- residents and business owners alike -- about the quality of life in the neighborhood. My recommendations drew upon the ideas of theorists and practitioners of sustainable urban design, seeking ways to apply what really are old notions -- housing above retail, sidewalks and street trees -- to the redesign of a single street in Missoula. These guidelines are merely a starting point, a frame of reference, and yet I would argue that such guidelines are a necessary first step in the healing not only of this particular place, but of Missoula as a whole. Missoula has a healthy, strong downtown, but the entrances to that downtown -- the gates to the city -- are utterly unmemorable, insipid auto strips, cluttered with excess commercial signage and congested with traffic. Russell is the west gate to Missoula; it should be definitively marked as such, and the quality of the urban space there should be marked by an intensive mix of land uses that are scaled to the citizens who are the city's building blocks.

As much as formulating a set of recommendations for redevelopment design in the West Broadway study area, I have argued for the necessity of citizen participation in land use planning and decision-making. In spite of my conviction that participatory planning is far superior to top-down technocratic processes, I find it worthwhile to make one last critique. This

critique concerns relationships among citizen stakeholders, between citizens and government, and within government.

One problem with any citizen process is that it is more than likely to represent only a slice of the population — perhaps those citizens with sufficient income to have leisure time, perhaps those most committed to their neighborhood, perhaps those who are retired, perhaps those without children or other family obligations. There are multiple reasons for citizens' participation or non-participation in a neighborhood planning process, not the least of which may simply be social inertia. Even within a group of citizens who participate by attending meetings or roundtables, some will choose to voice their concerns and some will be silent; thus the process is weighted not only toward those with the time, energy or inclination to participate but also toward those who make themselves heard.

The Northside/Westside planning process had its inception when citizens came together to oppose a highway interchange in their neighborhood. But the crisis that galvanized the neighborhoods proved inadequate to sustain the interest and commitment of more than a few dozen citizens over the course of the next two years, as citizens worked to create a vision for neighborhood development. Since roughly half of the households in the Northside and Westside neighborhoods are high-turnover rentals, whose tenants tend to have less investment in the neighborhood, participants have found it difficult to involve more than twenty to thirty "regulars" in the planning process. Very few neighborhood business leaders have participated, in spite

of repeated invitations to do so; residents have wondered whether the business community perceives the planning process as an exclusively resident-focused process. While residents feel that they made a concerted effort to consider business needs as well, the direct participation of the business community has been, for the most part, lacking. Thus the neighborhood planning process has been largely self-selected toward identifying residential values, needs and concerns.

While one certainly cannot mandate participation, the skewing of a process toward one group of stakeholders over another raises questions of inclusivity and ownership. Who among the neighborhood citizens owns the process if only 25 to 30 people participate on a regular basis? For that matter, if the participants are primarily residents, and if neighborhood business leaders perceive the process to be a resident process, how inclusive, how truly "comprehensive," is the planning process? Is this process truly participatory if entire groups of stakeholders perceive themselves to be excluded?

As a corollary to this set of questions, a proponent of participatory planning must consider the conflicts that ultimately arise when the needs of various stakeholder groups differ. The business community and the residents of the Westside and Northside neighborhoods have some common concerns which present opportunities for collaborative problem-solving: the death of a West Broadway businessman in autumn 1998, killed crossing Broadway at California Street, could serve to catalyze discussions between residents and business leaders about safety and access on Broadway. At the

same time, residents and business owners tend to differ in defining what constitutes a problem for the neighborhood. For the residents, pedestrian access is a prime concern; it is less a concern for business owners, who are more focused on and attuned to problems with vehicular access. To accommodate such differences requires that stakeholders meet to discuss and settle their differences where possible, and that policymakers make decisions in the best interest of the larger "public" (or "publics") rather than in the best interest of one particular group.

To my mind, transactive planning[3], where "experts" and citizens engage in a process of mutual education, may offer the most effective way to resolve conflicts in participatory planning. As members of the public talk with one another and with planners and policymakers at roundtables, in workshops or through ad hoc committees, on-the-ground real-life experience may join with theory and technical knowledge to produce more practical solutions to complex problems. To be sure, some differences will not be able to be resolved; government proponents of participatory planning should be aware of that, and should strive to meet the needs of multiple publics insofar as possible without compromising their ability to protect the greater public health, safety and welfare.

It is clear that one problem with participatory planning lies in the relationships among citizen stakeholders. A second problem lies in the

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[3] Transactive planning is described by J. Friedmann in Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning, Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1973.

relationships between citizen stakeholders and government. Government --

city councils, county commissions, redevelopment agencies, city planning

offices -- has the responsibility, the legal ability and the financial wherewithal

to adopt and implement neighborhood plans. Citizens, meanwhile, have the

ability to block plans from adoption or implementation. A collaborative

planning process between citizens and local government necessitates careful

negotiation of roles and responsibilities in order to preserve a working

relationship.

The involvement of the Missoula Office of Planning and Grants as

facilitator and technical guide in the Northside/Westside planning process

has been beneficial, both because it lends a certain amount of legitimate

power to the citizen effort and because the technical knowledge and

experience of the planners has lent the effort greater depth and increased

practicability. At the same time, the relationship has experienced growing

pains as staff turnover and differing expectations have led to frustrations, and

again to questions of ownership. What exactly is the role and extent of

commitment on the part of the planning office? Who owns a citizen-

initiated planning process if the citizens expect professional planners to

translate citizen ideas into planners' parlance, as Northside and Westside

participants have asked of Missoula city planners? Who owns the process if

Missoula city planners lead the meetings? How can a city planner act as a

"neutral" facilitator when the planner has to represent City goals and

concerns as well as neighborhood goals? As much as neighborhood residents

function as a special interest group, with a specific focus on their particular neighborhood, so, too, do city planners represent an interest group, which is "the public" at large. The City determines what would be in the interest of "the public," and City agencies -- including planners -- are charged with protecting the welfare and safety of that "public." What happens when neighborhood goals conflict with "the public interest," and is what the City determines to be in "the public interest" necessarily in the perceived best interest of the neighborhood?

As the comprehensive planning process has moved along slowly for the past two years, even committed participants have felt their energy flag, and the number of participants has dwindled. At the same time, new residents have joined the effort midstream; to some degree, city planners have backpedaled in an effort to include newcomers in the process, and this has led to frustrations among neighborhood residents. As with any collaborative effort, the relationships among collaborators and the process in which they are engaged must be nurtured carefully in order for the product -- here, the comprehensive plan -- to grow successfully.

While the Office of Planning and Grants seems to have made good faith efforts to facilitate citizen participation in land use planning, it has fallen short of the mark in terms of providing an adequate citizen participation process. The inadequacy is due in part to insufficient staffing to handle assignments; citizens suffer when administrative meetings and tasks prevent planners from taking more time to work directly with the public. And in

part, the inadequacy has to do with inconsistency -- for example, differences in work style between the planner who worked with the Northside and Westside neighborhoods for the first six months and the planners who picked up when he left. That inconsistency set the neighborhoods back and left residents feeling frustrated.

More to the point, Missoula's city and county government as a whole have not risen to the task of creating a formal citizen participation process. The inadequacy of current processes has therefore to do not only with understaffing and inconsistency, but with a failure on the part of government to build strong, healthy relationships with citizens. Citizens and governing bodies frequently interact in confrontational settings such as public hearings, clashing over controversial issues. Some citizens perceive that government is insensitive to the specific needs and concerns of their neighborhood; for their part, government agencies perceive that because citizens are so focused upon their own interests, they can't see the forest for the trees. For residents of the Westside, the intersection of Broadway and California Street is so problematic it constitutes a crisis; for the City Department of Engineering, that intersection is only one of several very problematic intersections (though the recent pedestrian fatality there has made this intersection somewhat more a priority for the City). Whether in large forums or small meetings, government and citizens seem so often to be talking at each other and past each other, but not hearing each other. In this failure to build trust between government and citizens, the words of one Northside resident ring sadly true:

"Governmental inertia and bureaucratic unresponsiveness are our main nemeses."

One business leader who participated in the West Broadway business survey emphasized the need for community involvment: he identified the "need to get folks excited -- especially residents" (Handler, 1998). I wondered whether he was aware that neighborhood residents have struggled for two years to raise the level of neighborhood participation. The business leader who raised this question of community participation has himself participated in planning processes for this area in the past. He expressed his frustration that citizen concerns seem most frequently to fall on deaf ears, which has led him -- and others like him -- to be wary of participating in City-sanctioned neighborhood planning. If local government has been remiss in maintaining open lines of communication and building positive, honest relationships with the business community in this neighborhood -- and, for that matter, the low-income residential community there as well -- the result may be disaffection on the part of those stakeholders. Without the participation of those stakeholders, redevelopment in this area may not reflect the needs and concerns of important interests.

Stakeholders may be more likely to participate in redevelopment planning if they perceive that something is actually being done, as opposed to being discussed. Endless meetings at which much is said but little is implemented may discourage citizens; definable projects, on the other hand, may be considered successes. Two examples stand out in the Northside and Westside

neighborhoods. One is a tool lending library, from which neighborhood residents may borrow hand tools and power tools from hammers to chopsaws, that was established in 1997 in a resident's garage. The tool library is staffed by a resident who is knowledgeable about tools; the availability of a shared tool resource, including costly power tools, frees residents from the need to purchase their own tools to do home repairs. The second example is a community playground built at Lowell School in the Westside in fall 1998, designed by children at Lowell, coordinated by Westside and Northside residents, and built by people from all over the greater Missoula area. It is an artistic, creative playground built by neophyte and professional carpenters alike, and stands -- like the tool library -- as a physical example of a solid, well-coordinated effort. The playground project is not unlike the lovingly crafted carousel, built by hand by members of the community, that stands in Missoula's downtown. Downtown has other, much smaller, examples: redevelopment there has brought decorative wrought metal flower baskets that hang from the street lights not far above eye level, each slightly different from the others; artistic metalwork at the base of each of the locust treets that line Higgins and Broadway; building facade renovations; trash cans that read "Toss here, Missoula!" It is projects through which people come together to meet and to plan and to build that physically build community. These are the small participatory successes that lead to the larger success of a thriving city.

Missoula has in place a political framework to facilitate a formal public participation process: in 1997, the City enacted an ordinance to create

"neighborhood councils" comprised of renters and property owners who would represent neighborhood concerns to their elected officials. However, while the neighborhood councils establish a structure within which residents can participate in government, they place the onus upon residents to extend themselves in a relationship with government. There is no mandate for government to extend itself to citizens in the same fashion. Missoula could certainly establish such a mandate for itself, and I would argue that it should.[4]

While building strong working relationships among citizen groups, as well as between citizens and government, should be a basic tenet undergirding any participatory planning process, the relationships between government agencies are equally fundamental. Planning in Missoula is pursued by multiple agencies, each from a slightly different angle: the Departments of Public Works is trying to accommodate traffic, address pedestrian issues and improve roads and infrastructure, while the Missoula

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[4]Spokane County, Washington, provides one model of an effective citizen participation process which Missoula might emulate in some fashion. Washington's Growth Management Act (1990) requires all cities and counties in the state to do land use planning and to involve citizens in decisionmaking. To that end, Spokane County solicited public input through multiple means, reaching thousands of County residents through telephone surveys, small town meetings, public service announcements, an educational video and a web site on the Internet. The County also developed a portable "vision wall," which officials took to libraries, public schools and citywide events, and upon which citizens were encouraged to write their visions for the County. Spokane County established four citizen work groups to develop a vision for the County, identify issues that had not been adequately addressed in earlier planning processes, and develop strategies to address those issues. Eighty public work group meetings were held between May and December 1997, with approximately three hundred interested citizens participating; the work groups produced detailed reports which they gave to the Planning Commission to use in creating a draft comprehensive plan. After the draft plan was created, the Planning Commission sent it back out to the public for review and comment. The plan is currently under review, with May 1999 as the deadline for adoption. Spokane County's citizen participation process has been compared favorably with nealy three hundred citizen participation programs from cities and counties across the United States. I would suggest that a critical aspect of this process is its built-in feedback loop: welcomed to join at any point in the process, citizens participated intensively and are now evaluating the County's initial efforts at translating their goals and directives into a comprehensive plan. In allocating money and staff time to so intensive a process, the County took the opportunity to build relationships with its citizens. *Source:* Matt Tollefson, "Big Sky or Big Sprawl? Montana at the Crossroads," conference on growth management held in Helena, MT, November 20-21, 1998.

Redevelopment Agency considers economic reinvestment strategies; the Housing Authority is working to address issues of housing affordability, while the Office of Planning and Grants tries to produce a "big picture" plan working within the regulatory framework provided by the City's zoning ordinance and City codes. Rather than a team-based approach in which officials from multiple agencies are assigned to generate solutions to a particular problem (i.e., redevelopment on West Broadway), the City takes an atomized and stratified approach which is at once cumbersome, unfocused, and difficult for citizens to navigate. It is equally difficult for government officials to navigate: multiple City and County agencies have produced a plethora of plans -- a County Comprehensive Plan, neighborhood plans, a Transportation Plan, an Urban Renewal Plan -- which are not necessarily consistent with one another.

The lack of coordination, beyond interagency reviews and memoranda regarding specific projects, renders impossible Christopher Alexander's call for the "healing of the city as a whole."[5] It also creates turf conflicts, as agencies come to regard the solving of particular kinds of problems as their purview in their own realm of expertise, and resent the input of other interested agencies and parties. Thus the "expert" ideology extends not merely from government officials "down" to the public, but also from government agencies toward each other. The end result, I would suggest, is the same: agencies risk losing breadth and vision by excluding ideas based

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[5]Christopher Alexander, A New Theory of Urban Design, New York, Oxford University Press, 1987.

upon the education and professional standing of their source rather than

based upon their virtue.

$$\bullet\bullet\bullet$$

Marco Polo describes a bridge, stone by stone.
"But which is the stone that supports the bridge?" Kublai Khan asks.
"The bridge is not supported by one stone or another, " Marco answers,
"but by the line of the arch that they form."
Kublai Khan remains silent, reflecting. Then he adds: "Why do you speak
to me of the stones? It is only the arch that matters to me."
Polo answers: "Without stones there is no arch."

-- Italo Calvino[6]

My critique has concerned relationships at three levels: relationships

among different groups of citizen stakeholders, those between citizens and

government, and those of city agencies to each other. Each of these

relationships involves the delineation of roles, grounded by principles of

equity, inclusivity and open communication. In response to these concerns, I

would make three final recommendations for West Broadway.

The first is for local government to implement Principle One of the

redevelopment design guidelines, to break down "bureaucratic

unresponsiveness" by involving citizens directly in the redesign of West

Broadway. The Missoula Redevelopment Agency and the Office of Planning

and Grants (or a nongovernmental third party, such as the WORD center,

whose staff has experience conducting design exercises) might stage a

Broadway design charrette, held in a Broadway meeting space, to bring

together business and resident interests. The City might call for interested

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[6]Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, p. 82.

businesses and neighborhood residents to participate in a West Broadway redevelopment task force, and make recommendations to the redevelopment agency and the planning office. Missoula has participatory planning only by virtue of the city and county planners' commitment to citizen participation, since there is no formal citizen participation policy and no formal process. Yet one of the biggest challenges facing West Broadway as redevelopment occurs will be gentrification, and it remains my firm belief that this might best be addressed through citizen participation in planning and problem-solving.

The second recommendation involves a move toward restructuring how the City tackles the problems presented by redevelopment on West Broadway. While there is certainly a case to be made for continuing to take a citywide approach to problems -- such as a broad study of affordable housing across Missoula or a comprehensively produced urban transportation plan -- I would argue that the complexities of an area such as West Broadway between Russell and California requires a coordinated "team" approach to problem-solving. When transportation planners and engineers talk with housing experts and economic strategists, they may develop a set of integrated principles that address traffic issues by way of non-engineered solutions: Peter Calthorpe's transit-oriented development design, for example, offers fewer engineering solutions than socioeconomic and transit solutions to issues of land use and transportation[7].

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[7]Peter Calthorpe, The Next American Metropolis, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1993.

Missoula is struggling between two competing ideologies: an ideology of conservation and an ideology of development and growth. The camps are firmly entrenched, and each feels threatened by the other. Advocates of open-space conservation decry the suburban sprawl that is spreading across the Missoula Valley; advocates of growth cry foul at the suggestion that sprawling development -- which, after all, represents economic development, tax dollars, jobs -- should be curbed.

Does redevelopment offer a "win-win" situation, in which Missoula can have development where it should be -- on land that is already urbanized and that already provides urban services -- while also preserving open and agricultural lands? For a time, I would argue, it does just that. Clearly, the picture is more complicated: as a growth-based economic system, capitalism will ultimately call for development to push further and further out into undeveloped lands, or further and further upward into high-rise buildings.

Nonetheless, my third recommendation is for Missoula to agressively pursue redeveloment programs within City limits, focusing on infill development and more intensive uses of City lands. Building upon the success of Missoula's downtown, which benefited from the establishment of a redevelopment district supported by tax-increment financing, such districts can and should be established in other neighborhoods in Missoula. The boundaries of Urban Renewal District II, which includes the West Broadway-Russell area, should be extended; more than that, a vision for redevelopment

should be developed. I have offered one vision for West Broadway, and suggested a framework to guide that vision.

In a word, sprawl costs, but redevelopment pays. Many cities and towns in the American West, Missoula included, are experiencing rapid population growth, with concomitant pressures for housing and infrastructure. From a practical standpoint, redevelopment can at least buy us some time.

•••

As the bridge in Marco Polo's example is not supported by any one particular stone, so could it be said of a city that it is not supported by any one particular neighborhood, or by any one particular street, or by any one particular citizen. And yet the cumulative actions and interactions of citizens, the interconnection of streets, the relationship of neighborhoods to each other all support the bridge. Where a stone weakens -- a neighborhood decays, a street dies -- the bridge weakens. The health of the whole depends upon the quality of each stone, and upon the care with which the mason crafts the arch. "Without stones, there is no arch," Polo says. A city's citizens are both its stones and its masons.

BROADWAY : A POSSIBLE FUTURE?

35' to cornice

40' to cornice

Centerline of road

4 driving lanes @ 12' each

110' RIGHT-OF-WAY

sidewalk and Boulevard

Parking (on-street)

bike lane

12' 12' 12' 12'

5' 8' 6'

bike lane

parking curb

boulevard
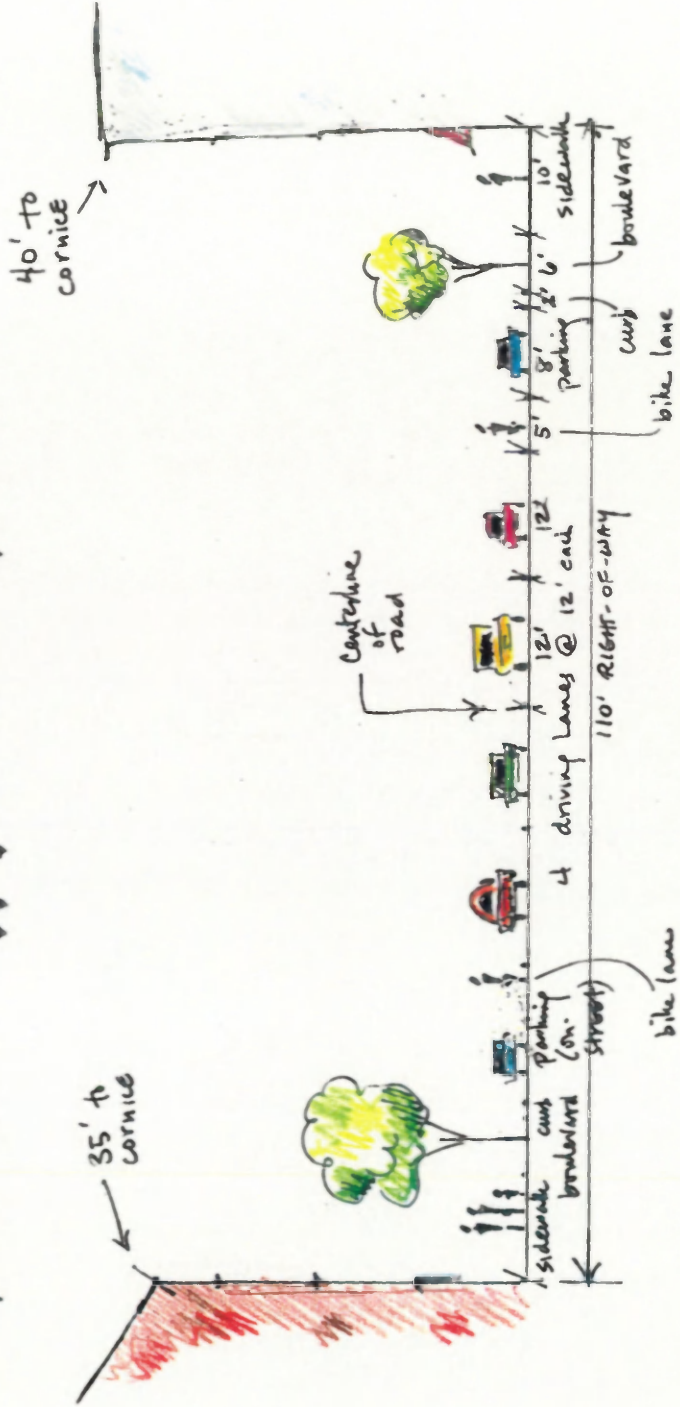
10' sidewalk

STREET SECTION -
FOUR DRIVING LANES, BIKE LANES, ON-STREET PARKING
and BOULEVARD SIDEWALKS

< 110-FOOT RIGHT-OF-WAY FOR ROAD >

SCALE : 3/4" = 10'

0 5 10

APPENDIX 1. Survey questions, West Broadway business survey, October-December 1997.

Q1. Is your business primarily....
   1. retail
   2. wholesale
   3. service
   4. restaurant
   5. hotel (IF BUSINESS IS A HOTEL, GO TO Q2. IF NOT A HOTEL, Q5)
   6. other

Q2. What is the nightly rate?

Q3a. What was your occupancy rate for September 1997?

Q3b. How did that compare with last year (September 1996)?

Q3c. Is that typical for that month?
   1. higher than normal
   2. lower than normal
   3. about the same

Q3d. What accounts for the difference?

Q4. Do you have any rooms that you rent out on a weekly or monthly basis?
   1. yes (IF YES) How many do you have?
   2. no
   99. refused

Q5. What are your business hours?

Q6a. How much walk-in traffic do you generally get?
   1. none
   2. about 1-5 customers per day
   3. about 5-15 customers per day
   4. about 15-30 customers per day
   5. over 30 customers per day
   6. unsure

Q6b. What percentage of your customers lives or works in the Northside or Westside neighborhood? (SHOW MAP)
   1. none
   2. less than 25%
   3. 25-50%
   4. 51-75%
   5. over 75%
   6. unsure

Q7. How do you attract customers to your business? (circle all that apply)
   1. Word of mouth
   2. Business signage
   3. Billboards
   4. Ads in the phonebook
   5. Ads in newspapers
   6. Direct mail solicitation

7. Coupons in newspapers
8. Other

Q8. Do you have any employees?
    1. yes (IF YES) How many do you have?
    2. no   (IF NO, SKIP TO Q12)

Q9. What qualifications do you require your employees to have? (indicate all that apply)
    1. retail/service skills (operate a cash register, stock shelves, help customers, etc.)
    2. housekeeping skills (perform janitorial duties, wash dishes, clean rooms, etc.)
    3. ability to perform manual labor (loading, lifting, shoveling, etc.)
    4. reception skills ("people skills": greeting, receiving, or assisting customers)
    5. trade skills (carpentry, plumbing, electrical, etc.)
    6. specific skills

Q10. Are any of your employees residents of the North side? (SHOW MAP)
    1. yes How many are residents of the North side?
    2. no
    3. unsure

Q11. Are any of your employees residents of the West side? (SHOW MAP)
    1. yes How many are residents of the West side?
    2. no
    3. unsure

Q12. Do you rent or own this building?
    1. rent
    2. own

*IF RENT:
    What is the owner's name?
    Where does the owner reside?
    Are you leasing this building to purchase it?
    1. yes *IF YES, Who will be the lender or mortgage-holder?
    2. no

Q13a. What is the ground floor square-foot space of this building, to the nearest 100 square feet?
    1. (amount)
    2. unsure

Q13b. How many floors are there in this building?
Q13c. How are the floors utilized?
    1. main floor:
    2. lower level(s):
    3. upper level(s):

Q13d. How many off-street parking spaces do you have?
(IF RENT, Q14; IF OWN, Q15)

Q14a. What is your monthly rent?
    1. more than zero but less than $500
    2. $500-$999
    3. $1000-$1499
    4. $1500-$1999
    5. $2000 or more
    99. refused

Q14b. Is that a triple-net lease, covering rent as well as insurance on the building, or just occupancy?
    1. triple-net
    2. occupancy
    99. refused

Q15. Why did you choose to operate this business in this location?

Q16a. Would you say you are generally satisfied or not satisfied with this neighborhood as a place to do business?
    1. satisfied   Are you slightly, moderately or very satisfied?
    2. not satisfied   Are you slightly, moderately or very unsatisfied?
    3. unsure
    99. refused

Q16b. Please tell me why you answered this way.

Q17a. In terms of "positive" or "negative" for different kinds of access, how would you rate the accessibility of this location for business?

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. parking	_____	_____
2. vehicle access	_____	_____
3. pedestrian/bike access	_____	_____
4. public transportation	_____	_____
5. other	_____	_____
6. other	_____	_____

Q17b. Please tell me why you answered this way. (Why is ***** negative in this area? etc.)

Q18a. What do you like most about doing business in this neighborhood?

Q18b. What factors would encourage you to keep your business in this neighborhood?

Q19. What do you like least about doing business in this neighborhood?

Q19b. What factors would discourage you from keeping your business in this neighborhood?

Q20. What do you think would improve this location for your business?

Q21. How long has this business been here?
    1. less than a year
    2. one year
    3. 2-5 years
    4. 5-10 years
    5. more than 10 years
    99. refused

Q21b. How many years have *you* operated this business here?
    1. less than a year
    2. one year
    3. 2-5 years
    4. 5-10 years
    5. more than 10 years
    99. refused

Q21c. What kind of business was here before your business was here?
    1. unsure
    2. description:

Q22. If a business in this neighborhood (you can imagine any business between Russell and California along Broadway) went out of business, as a business person, what would you prefer to see that space used for?

Q23. One thing I'm interested in is the economic vitality of this location as a place for business. Since you've been in business in this neighborhood, has your business been profitable, break-even, or unprofitable?
    1. profitable (GO TO Q24)
    2. break-even
    3. unprofitable (GO TO Q23b)
    99. refused

Q23b. (IF UNPROFITABLE): I'm really concerned about that. When was the last time your business was profitable?

Q24. What factors, over time, have affected your profitability?

Q25. Under what circumstances would you be likely to expand or change your business?

Q26. (IF OWN) Might that involve additions or remodeling on the building?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. unsure
    99. refused

Q27. How would you finance such a change to your business?

Q28. Under what circumstances would you consider adding employees to your business?

Q29. Do you live in the North or West side, or another part of town?
    1. North side
    2. West side
    3. Another part of town

Q30. How do you generally get to work? (indicate all that apply)
    1. drive
    2. ride the bus
    3. walk
    4. bicycle
    5. get a lift with a friend
    99. refused

Q31. How do your employees generally get to work? (indicate all that apply)
    1. drive
    2. ride the bus
    3. walk
    4. bicycle
    5. get a lift with a friend
    99. refused

Q32. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    1. high school or equivalent
    2. college
    3. vocational school (specify if you wish)
    4. post-college (specify if you wish)
    99. refused

Q33. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about how you feel doing business in this area, and changes that might help business here?

If this leads to anything, would you be interested in participating in a planning process for this neighborhood?
    1. yes notify of November 8 charette (if timely)
    2. no

APPENDIX 2. Selected data from survey of West Broadway businesses.[1]

Table 1. *Business types.*

Business types surveyed	Number (Percent)
Service	10 (38.5%)
Retail	7 (27%)
Wholesale	2 (7.7%)
Nonprofits	2 (7.7%)
Residential motels	2 (7.7%)
Motels with some residential rooms	1 (3.8%)
Manufacturing	1 (3.8)
Mixed sales, other	1 (3.8)
Restaurants	0
Total	N=26 (100%)

Business types not surveyed	Number
Service	4
Retail	3
Total	N=7

Table 2. *Reliance of businesses upon walk-in customers.*

Number of walk-in customers per day	Number of businesses
none or low	4
1-5 per day	7
5-15 per day	6
15-30 per day	3
more than 30 per day	2
unsure of number	2
N/A	2
Total	N=26

Table 3. *Percentage of customers who live or work in Northside or Westside.*

Percentage of customers	Number of businesses
less than 25%	11
25-50%	2
51-75%	4
more than 75%	2
unsure	2
N/A	5
Total	N=26

Table 4. *Employment.*

	Number
Businesses that have employees	18
Businesses that have no employees	4
Businesses that have seasonal or temporary employees	4
Total	N=26

[1] Allison Handler, "Determining business satisfaction: a survey of West Broadway businesses," Missoula, MT, 1997b.

Table 4. *Employment.* (continued)

Number of employees	Number of businesses
1-5 employees	12
6-10 employees	3
over 10 employees	3
variable number of employees	3
number of employees not specified	1
Total	N=22
Neighborhood employment	
Number of businesses hiring from Northside	7
Number of individuals hired from Northside	16
Number of businesses hiring from Westside	5
Number of individuals hired from Westside	8

Table 5. *Ownership.*

Property ownership	Number of businesses
Own	18
Rent	8

Table 6. *Relationship between property ownership and the number of years the business owner has owned the business at its present location.*

Property ownership	Number of businesses in business at present location				
	<one year	*one year*	*2-5 years*	*5-10 years*	*10+years*
Owner (N=18)	2	1	5	2	8
Renter (N=8)	1		2	4	1

Tables 7 and 8. *Rents and floor area.*

Rent (occupancy, dollars per month)	Number of businesses
less than $500	1
$500-999	4
$1,000-1,499	2
$1,500-1,999	1
N/A	18
Total	N=26

Ground floor area (square feet)	Number of businesses
1,000-1,999	7
2,000-4,999	10
5,000-9,999	3
10,000-19,999	1
unsure or N/A	5
Total	N=26

Table 9. *Reasons businesses chose to locate in the neighborhood.*

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Location (exposure, visibility on busy street, centrality, access to downtown, home neighborhood	11
Affordability	6
Availability	6
Business opportunity	5
Appropriateness or prior ownership of building	4
Took over existing business	3
Neighborhood demographics	1

Table 10. *What business leaders like most about the neighborhood as a place to do business.*

	Number of businesses
Location (exposure, visibility on busy street, convenience)	13
Demographics (customers, neighborhood characters/personalities)	5
Good relations with other merchants	5
Affordability	4
Safer neighborhood	2
High traffic volumes	1
Being own boss	1
Quiet neighborhood	1

Table 11. *Satisfaction with the neighborhood as place to do business.*

	Number of businesses	Percentage
Satisfied	21	80.8%
very	7	33%
moderately	10	48%
slightly	1	5%
not specific	3	14%
Unsatisfied	3	11.5%
very	2	66%
moderately	1	33%
slightly	0	
Unsure	1	3.8%
N/A	1	3.8%
Total	N=26	99.9%

Table 12. *Reasons for satisfaction with the neighborhood as a place to do business.*

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Location *(exposure, visibility on busy street, centrality, access to downtown, home neighborhood*	10
Affordability	2
Neighborhood potential	2
Traffic	2
California Street footbridge	1
Neighborhood	1

Table 13. *Reasons for dissatisfaction with the neighborhood as a place to do business.*

Reason cited	Number of businesses
Traffic nuisances *(noise, smell, dirt/dust from the road, alley use)*	4
Problems in the neighborhood *(vandalism, alcoholism, vagrancy)*	2
Weak neighborhood economy	2
Business doing poorly	2·
Lack of landscaping	1
Inadequate parking	1
Difficult traffic access	1
Not enough traffic	1
Would rather be in another location	1
Inadequate street infrastructure	1
Government regulations too tight	1

Table 14. *What business leaders like least about the neighborhood as a place to do business.*

	Number of businesses
Nuisances *(abandoned cars, noise, traffic, air pollution, litter)*	8
Traffic patterns, including accidents, real or perceived	6
Unrecognized location *(nothing to attract people here, not good for retail)*	5
Weak neighborhood economy	4
Character/appearance of buildings	2
High rental turnover	1
Insufficient parking	1

Table 15. *Travel modes for commuting to work, business owners/managers and their employees.*

Commute modes of owners and managers	Number of individuals (percent of total)
Drive	20 (67%)
Take the bus	1 (3.3%)
Walk	1 (3.3%)
Bike	1 (3.3%)
Carpool	1 (3.3%)
Lives on site	3 (10%)
N/A	3 (10%)
Total	N=30 (100%)

Commute modes of employees	Number of individuals
Drive	16
Take the bus	1
Walk	1
Bike	4
Carpool	1
Lives on site	None

Table 16a. *Access along West Broadway, normative perceptions.*

Rating	Number of businesses rating access			
	Car parking	Vehicle access	Pedestrian/ bike access	Transit
positive	17	11	14	19
negative	8	13	8	2
varies	0	2	1	0
N/A	1	0	3	5

Specifics indicated as negative:	Number of respondents
traffic	13
pedestrian needs	9
parking	3
inadequate City snow removal program	2
street infrastructure	2
access for traffic turning	1
abandoned cars	1

Table 16b. *Off street parking spaces available.*

Number of parking spaces	Number of businesses
none	1
1-5	5
6-10	7
11-15	2
16-20	2
more than 21	5
unsure, N/A	4

Table 17. *Neighborhood improvements needed.*

Improvements cited	Number of businesses
Traffic patterns (i.e., traffic flow; light at California Street)	8
Pedestrian needs	6
Improve appearance of buildings; keep architectural identity coherent with downtown	4
Nice affordable housing	3
Landscaping	2
Commercial development	2
Better infrastructure	2
Better parking	1
Fewer sign restrictions	1
Provide for kids' needs	1
No improvements needed	1

Table 18. *Factors affecting profitability.*

Factor stated	Number of businesses
Location	5
Investment into property	3
Regulations	1
Other factors, not related to location	16

Table 19a. *Incentives to stay in the neighborhood.*

	Number of businesses
If business succeeds and grows	6
No intention of leaving	5
Good location (visibility, feels like home)	4
If had improved access	4
If had improvements to building or neighborhood	3
If had more leniency with signage and other regulations	1
If reduced noise and other nuisances	1
If had higher neighborhood incomes	1
"It's fine as it is"	1
"We intend to leave"	1

Table 19b. *Incentives to leave the neighborhood.*

	Number of businesses
Nothing would discourage us from staying	6
If increased cost (rent, property tax)	5
If lack of sales, or business decline	3
If it became inconvenient, due to regulations	3
If physical facility proved insufficient for business needs	2
If increased crime	2
If traffic worsened	1
"They're widening Russell"	1
If neighborhood continues to shift to residential	1
If bad relations with other merchants	1
Personal reasons	1

Additional data from the survey:

Business owners were asked to identify the type of business that had been at the location before their business occupied it.

Previous business type	Number
Retail	9
Service	7
Hotel	4
Wholesale	2
Restaurant	1
None had existed	3

Previous business	Number
Automotive-related	8
Not automotive-related	15
N/A	3

Owners were asked to identify the their preferences for the use of a space or structure in the neighborhood if a local business were to close. Responses included specified preferred uses or activities, as well as qualities of such uses (i.e., "nice" or "walkable"), and also undesirable uses or activities.

Preference	Number
Use or activity	
Commercial	9
Residential	3
Family restaurant	3
Park, green space	1
Entertainment	1
Community/public use	1
Undesired use	
Casino	2
Health/human services	1
Convenience store	1
Service station	1

Preference	Number
Quality	
Walkable	2
Nice	2
Doesn't require parking	1

Some business leaders live in the Northside or Westside neighborhood, but the majority live in other parts of Missoula or out of town.

Place of residence	Number
Northside	2
Westside	6
Another part of town, out of town	16
N/A	2