

Recentralizing the Metropolis

Steve Belmont



Making Density Work - San Diego - October 10, 2008

Jane Jacobs Revisited

“In Oakland, California, the worst and most extensive slum problem is an area of some two hundred blocks of detached one- and two-family houses ... Cleveland’s worst slum problem is a square mile of much the same thing.”

Jane Jacobs (1961)

Jane Jacobs Revisited

“Pseudosuburbs ... are ideally suited to rape, muggings, beatings, holdups and the like [unless] secluded from city life.”

Jane Jacobs (1961)

Jane Jacobs Revisited

“Anticity planning remains amazingly sturdy in American cities.”

Jane Jacobs (1992)



Charlotte Gardens, South Bronx

Anticity Planning

“Charlotte Gardens ... could well be the most important story of urban America at the dawn of the twenty-first century.”

Paul Grogan, *Comeback Cities* (2000)

Anticity Planning

“Surely cities do not have to reclaim all their lost glory—all the population, density, [and] economic mass of the first half of this century.”

Paul Grogan, *Comeback Cities* (2000)



Lyn Park, "The Suburb in the City," 1 mile from downtown Minneapolis



Bayport Village, Oakland



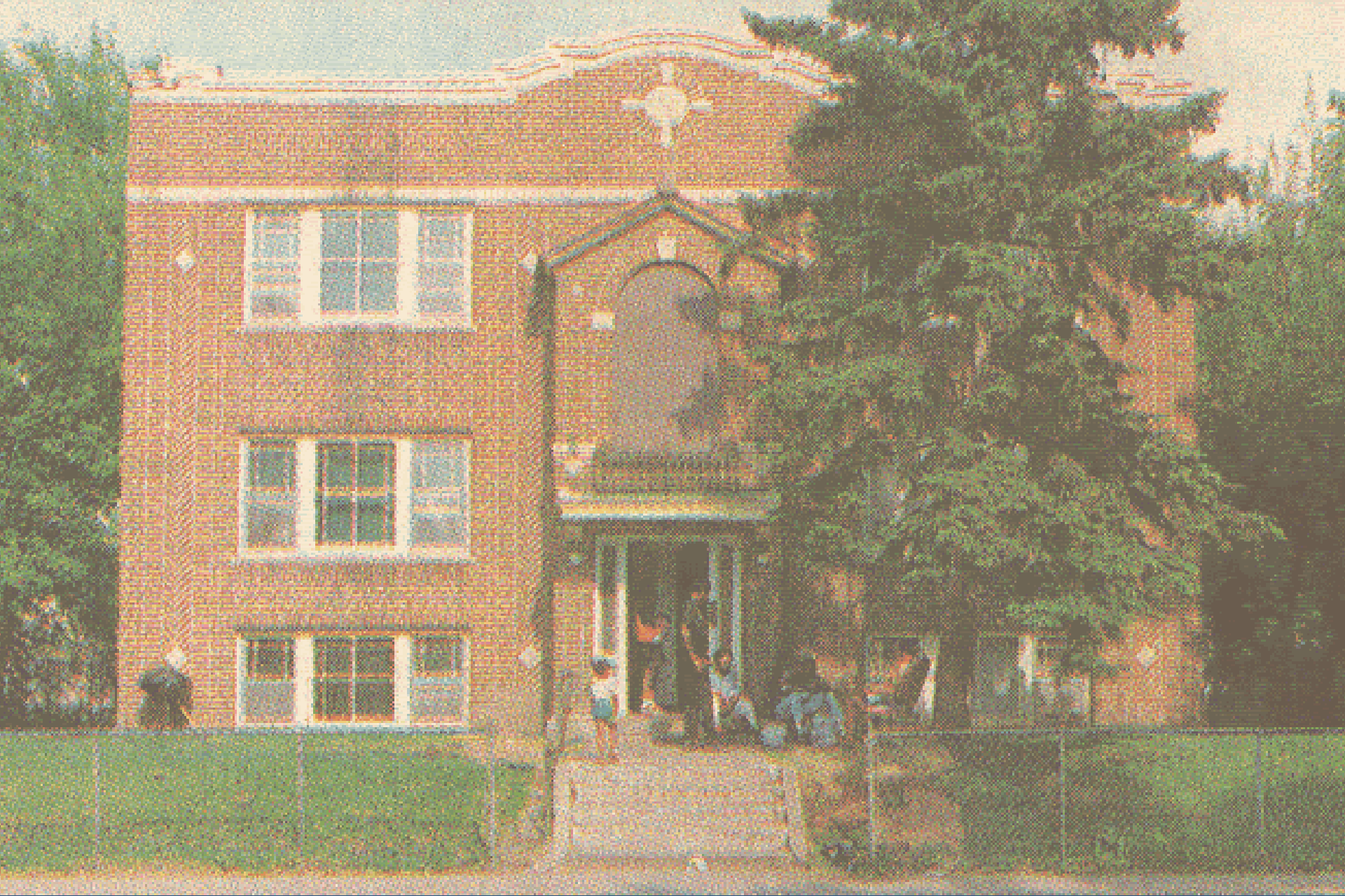
Victoria Park, Detroit



Brooklyn/Park, Kansas City



1030 Morgan Av N.



1030 Morgan Av N. (Photo credit: Minneapolis *StarTribune* 16 August 1996)



DSNI's turf, Roxbury, Boston



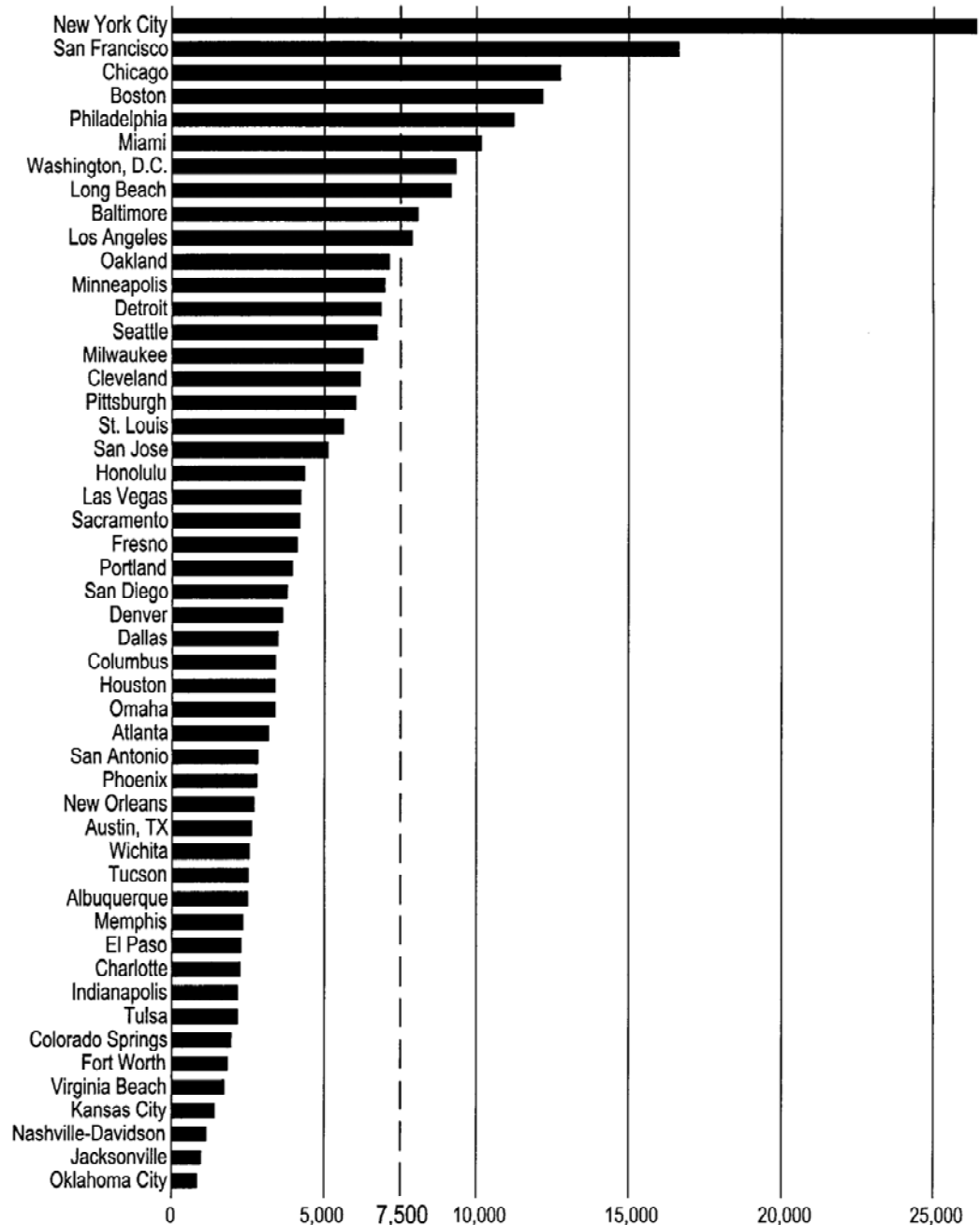
Cottage Street, Roxbury



Anthony's
RESTAURANT

The Density Deficiency of the American City

Population densities in America's 50 most populous cities in the year 2000 (residents per square mile)



Jefferson County's *Cornerstone 2020* land-use plan advocates greater density in the urban core.

"[Louisville's aldermen] said the plan gives too much emphasis to the environment and not enough to the automobile."

"The aldermen have proposed amendments ... aimed at preserving single-family zoning in city neighborhoods."

Louisville *Courier-Journal*
18 September 1996

New land-use plan still needs scrutiny, aldermen contend

Neighborhoods could be harmed, committee says

By NINA WALFOORT
The Courier-Journal

Saying the proposed countywide land-use plan could harm Louisville's traditional neighborhoods, a committee of aldermen called yesterday for an extensive review of the plan.

The aldermen said they fear the plan — known as *Cornerstone 2020* — advocates greater density in the "urban core" and takes away the Board of Aldermen's power to prevent unwanted land-use changes.

They also said the plan gives too much emphasis to the environment and not enough to the automobile.

"We do find somewhat startling the

line that has been mapped out seemed to be way too fast."

Working with their attorney, David Banks, the aldermen have proposed 64 amendments to the objectives. Many of them are aimed at preserving single-family zoning in city neighborhoods.

Alderman Tom Owen said many neighborhoods in his 3rd Ward, including parts of the Highlands, have fought to "downzone" their community, thus limiting the number of apartments or condominiums that can be built.

And 12th Ward Alderman Paul Bather said an increase in rental housing in western Louisville has been symptomatic of its decline. The redevelopment of the Cotter-Lang Homes public housing complex, he noted, is a move toward lower density.

"It's not that there's never an appropriate place for multifamily,"

Owen said. "But it's not that the

URBAPHOBIA

“Communities are focused on lowering housing densities.”

An analysis of Minneapolis NRP: *Defining Community: A Neighborhood Perspective* (1996)

URBAPHOBIA

“Minneapolis will maintain the unique character of the city’s housing stock [and] maintain areas that are predominantly developed with single and two family structures.”

Minneapolis Comprehensive Plan, 2000



Phillips Neighborhood
South Minneapolis



Old Dominion University area
Norfolk



Southampton/Jefferson area
East Buffalo



Simpson St, Atlanta



Gratiot Av, Detroit



Halsted Av, Chicago



West Broadway, Minneapolis



Number of residents required to sustain a neighborhood commercial node in Minneapolis:

1950s: 5,000

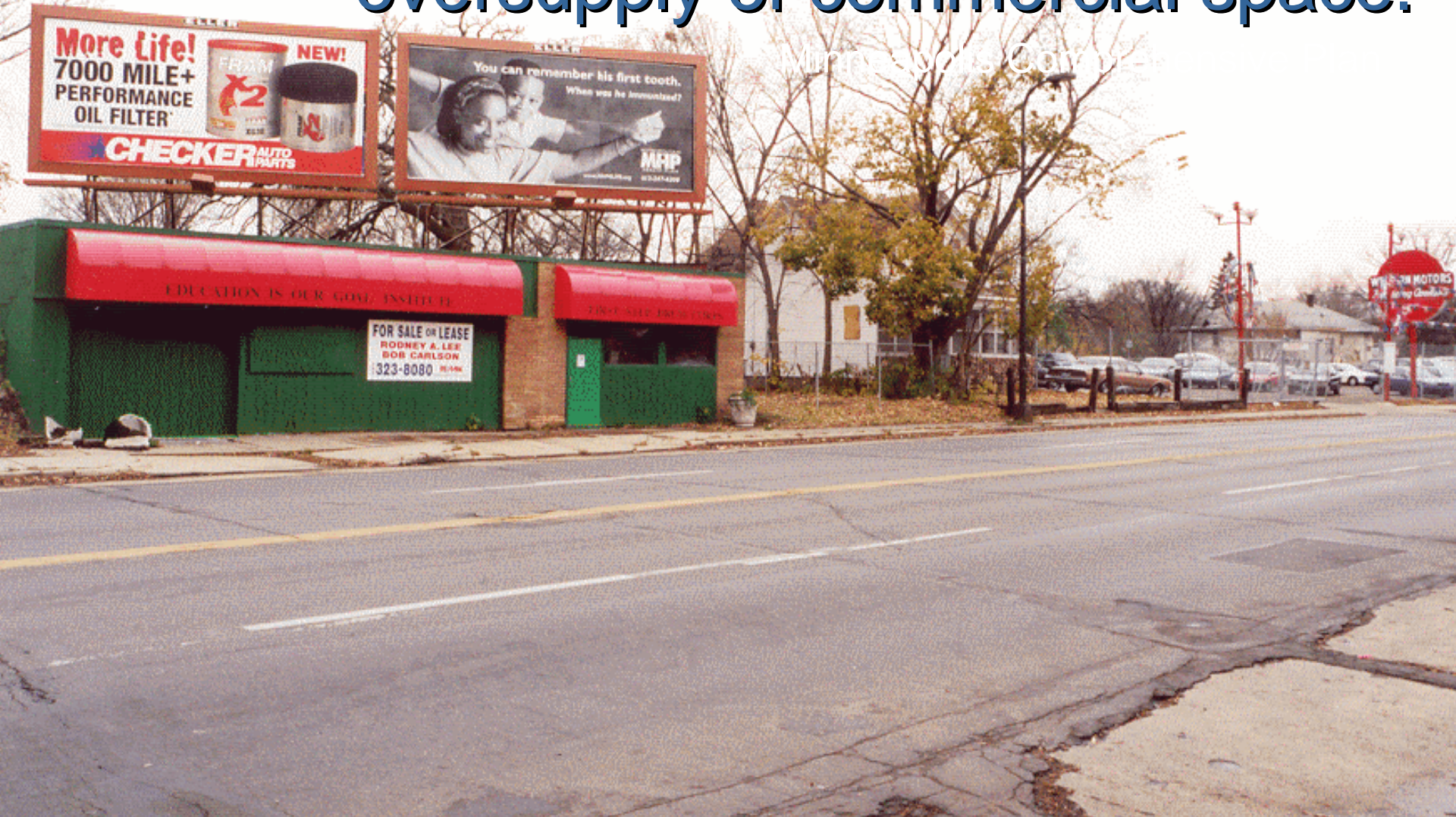
1996: 10,000

Economic Research Corporation, June 1996
(Commissioned by MCDA)

“Almost all [NCNs] lack some of the basic goods and services needed or desired by most residents on a regular basis. This makes it necessary for residents to go to other commercial areas on a regular basis.”

Economic Research Corporation, 1996, noting that only 1 of Minneapolis' 57 NCNs has all three traditional anchors.

“Many areas of the city have an oversupply of commercial space.”



West Broadway, Minneapolis



West Broadway, Minneapolis

NEIGHBORHOOD EVOLUTION

Paul Revere House
North End, Boston



NEIGHBORHOOD EVOLUTION

“New York in the 1920s was a ... developed ... mature place. But they were producing a hundred thousand units a year ... tearing up swaths of Manhattan and building higher buildings.”

Harvard economist Edward L. Glaeser, quoted in *N.Y Times Mag.*, 5 March 2006



Park Avenue, Upper East Side



Park Avenue, Upper East Side



Tulfan Terrace, Riverdale, Bronx

NEIGHBORHOOD EVOLUTION

"I had to sell. I didn't mean to start the snowball rolling, but the money ..."

Tulfan Terrace 50-year resident Michael Dennis quoted in *New York Times*, 2 March 2004

NEIGHBORHOOD EVOLUTION

"I held out ... and I was quite emotional at times. But in the end they offered me good money, and turning down good money, well it's hard"

Tulfan Terrace 40-year resident DiAnn Pierce,
quoted in New York Times, 2 march 2004



OWNER: D.L.C. HEART
BEST RIVERDALE P.C. GRADUATE
CONTRACTOR: L&L CONTRACTING
TESTING: R&L BROS.
PERMIT: 1-1000000000
DEPT. OF TRANSPORTATION

P

Recycling Program



OXFORD AV

Handwritten graffiti on a wooden board, possibly reading "KING".

NO TRESPASSING
PROPERTY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK
AT BINGHAMTON
ALL VIOLATIONS WILL BE
PROSECUTED

NO TRESPASSING
PROPERTY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK
AT BINGHAMTON
ALL VIOLATIONS WILL BE
PROSECUTED

STOP

NO TRESPASSING



OWNER: SUEZ RESERVA LLC
10117 RIVERCHASE AVE. BROWNSVILLE, TX 77804
CONTRACTOR: P&S NORTH OF RESTAURANT LOOP
3517 RIVERCHASE AVE. BROWNSVILLE, TX 77804-1100
PERMIT #: 20090069-01-000
11001 EAST QUAD 10A-002 3112 100TH ST BROWNSVILLE, TX 77804
OFFICE OF TRANSPORTATION 2011 280-280-2000

TO AVOID UNEXPECTED REPORT
UNSAFE CONDITIONS AT THIS
WORK SITE CALL 311
PARA REPORTAR CONDICIONES
PELIGROSAS EN UN SITIO DE
TRABAJO LLAME AL 311.



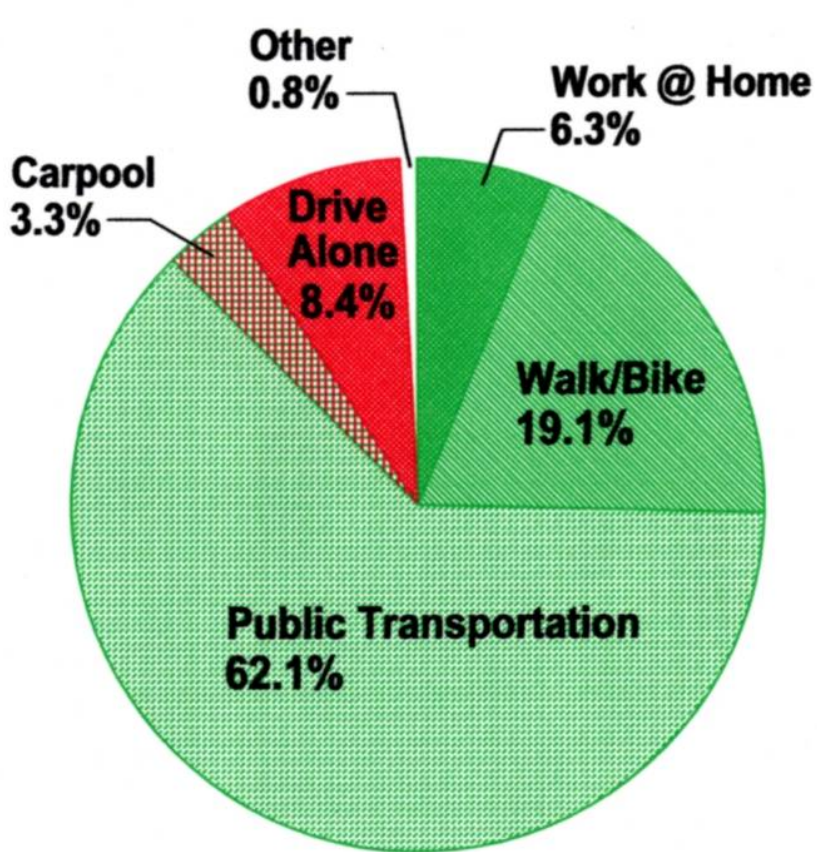




1st Avenue, Upper East Side

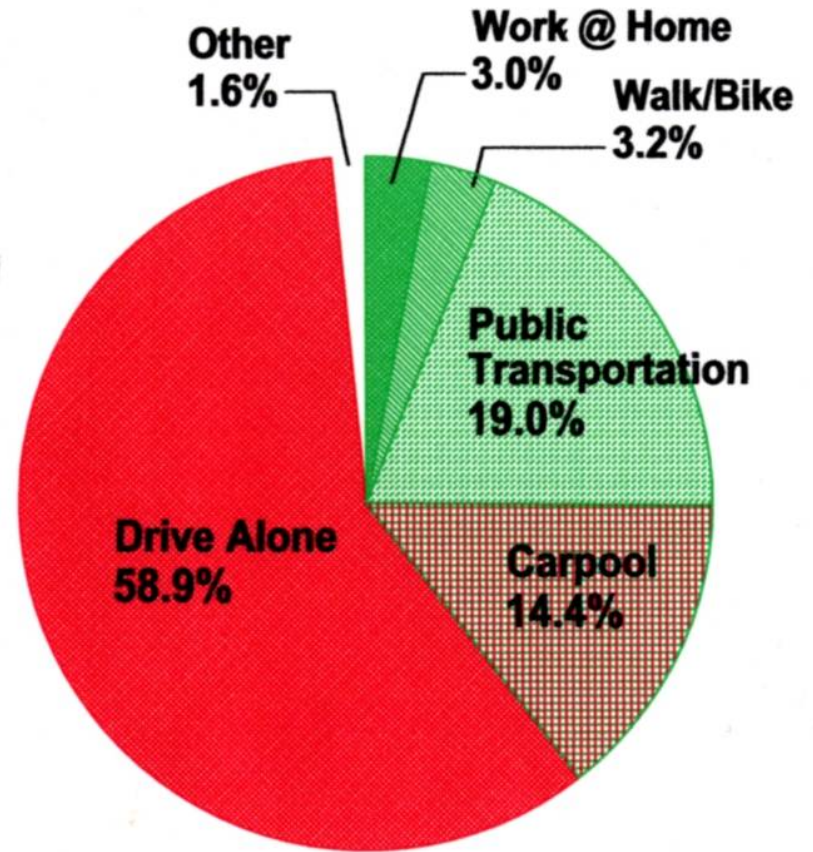


Upper East Side: East 80th Street



Upper East Side

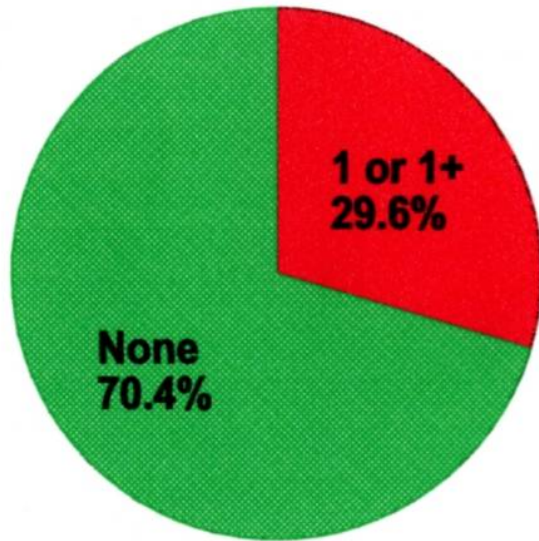
108 HH/acre



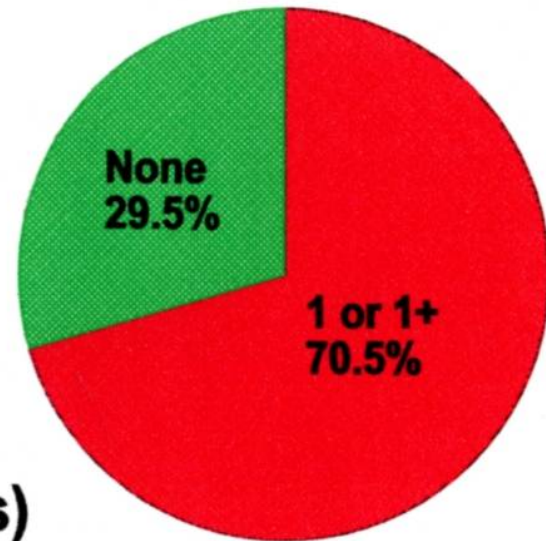
Near North

5 HH/acre

Means of Transportation to Work (Census 2000)



**Vehicle
availability
(households)**



Upper East Side

108	Household density (HH/acre)
\$74,777	Median HH income
6.2%	Poverty rate

Near North

5
\$27,520
33.5%

Density, Income, Car Ownership (Census 2000)

Density Inversion and the Degeneration of Transit

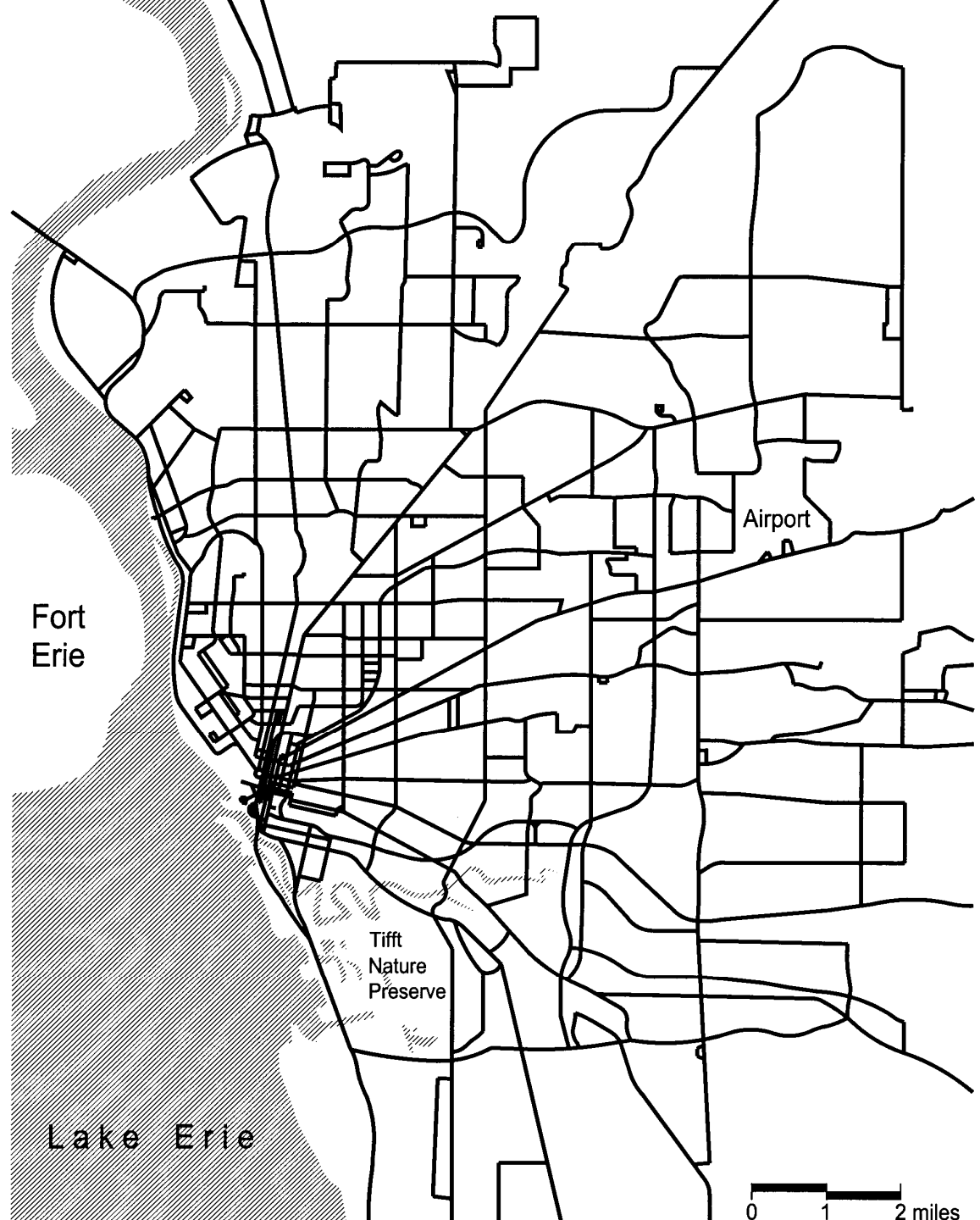
The Natural Transit Superiority of the Metropolitan Center

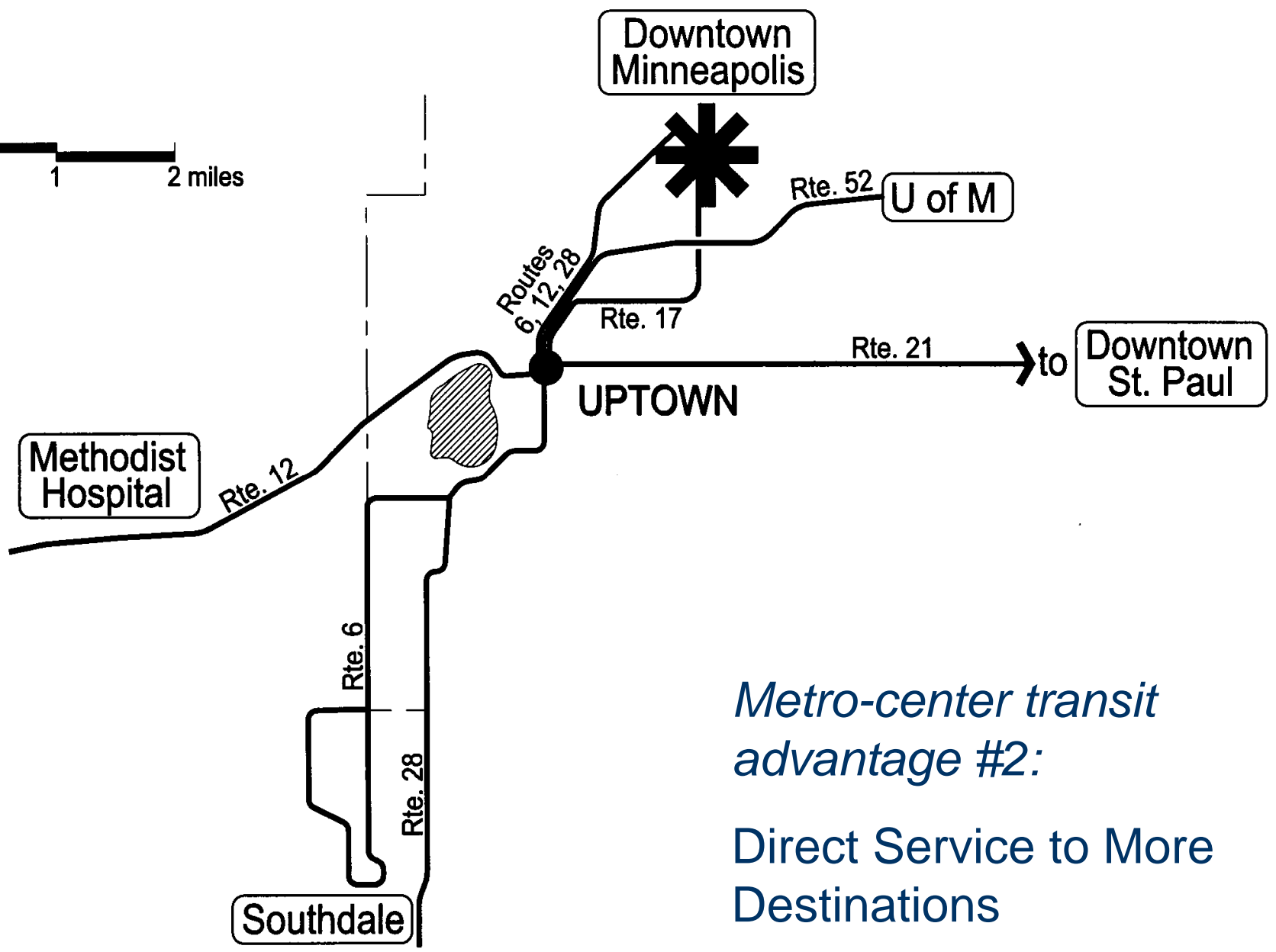
1. Better proximity to routes
2. Direct access to more destinations
3. Shorter headways

*Metro-center transit
advantage #1:*

Closely Spaced Routes

Transit route pattern,
Buffalo, New York



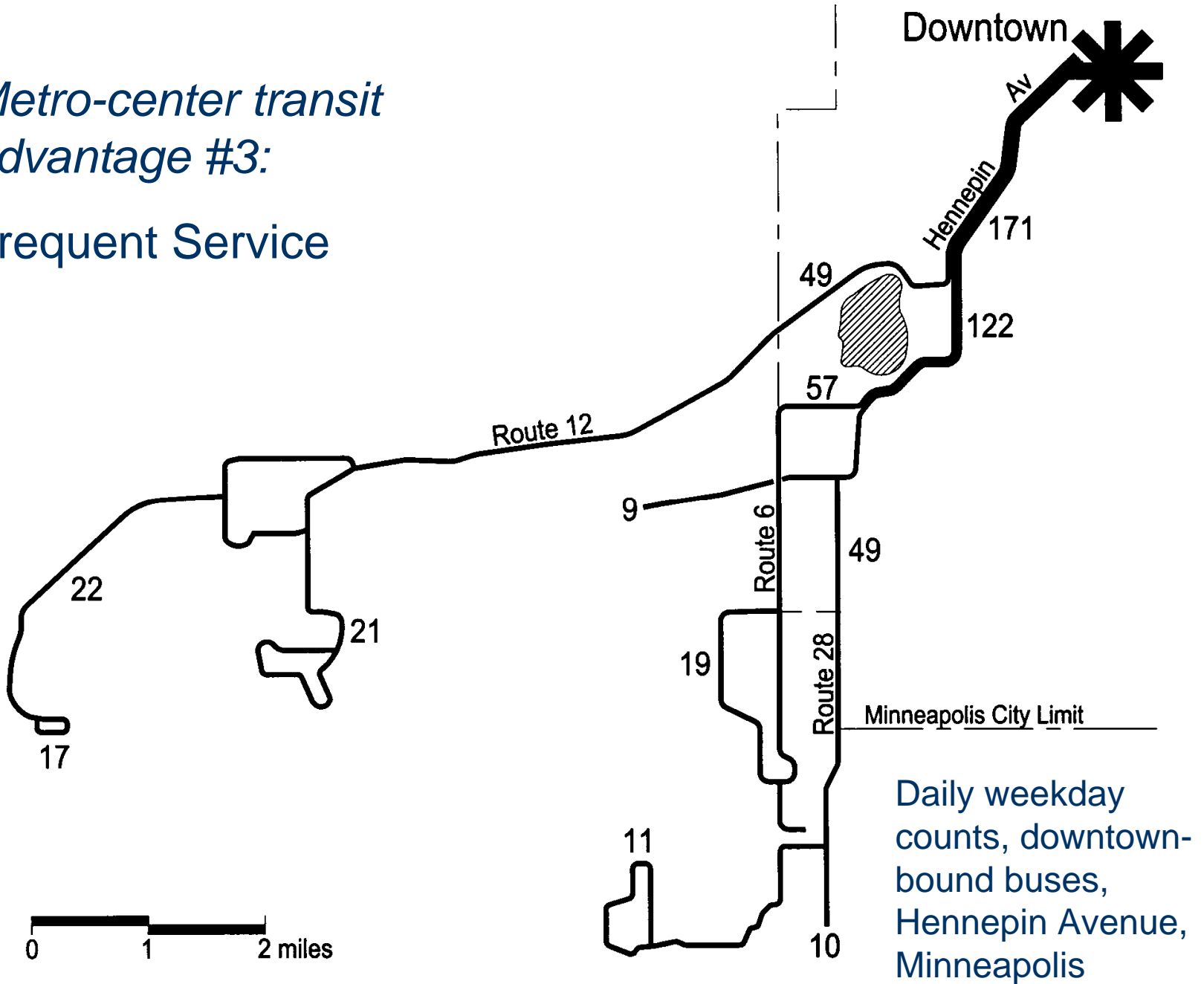


Metro-center transit advantage #2:

Direct Service to More Destinations

Metro-center transit advantage #3:

Frequent Service



The Natural Transit Superiority of the Metropolitan Center

In the Twin Cities metropolis:

“65 percent of all transit travel never leaves the cities [and] only 6 percent occurs entirely in the suburbs”

Even though:

the cities contain just 22 percent of their metro area's population and 15 percent of developed land area, and suburban routes are much more heavily subsidized than urban routes.

The Natural Transit Superiority of the Metropolitan Center

“Say the options are to double residential density ... within one mile of a downtown ... or at a distance of 10 miles from it. In the first case, public transit trips per capita in the affected area will increase seventeen times as much as in the second case.”

Regional Plan Association, *Where Transit Works*

The Natural Transit Superiority of the Metropolitan Center

In the London metropolis:

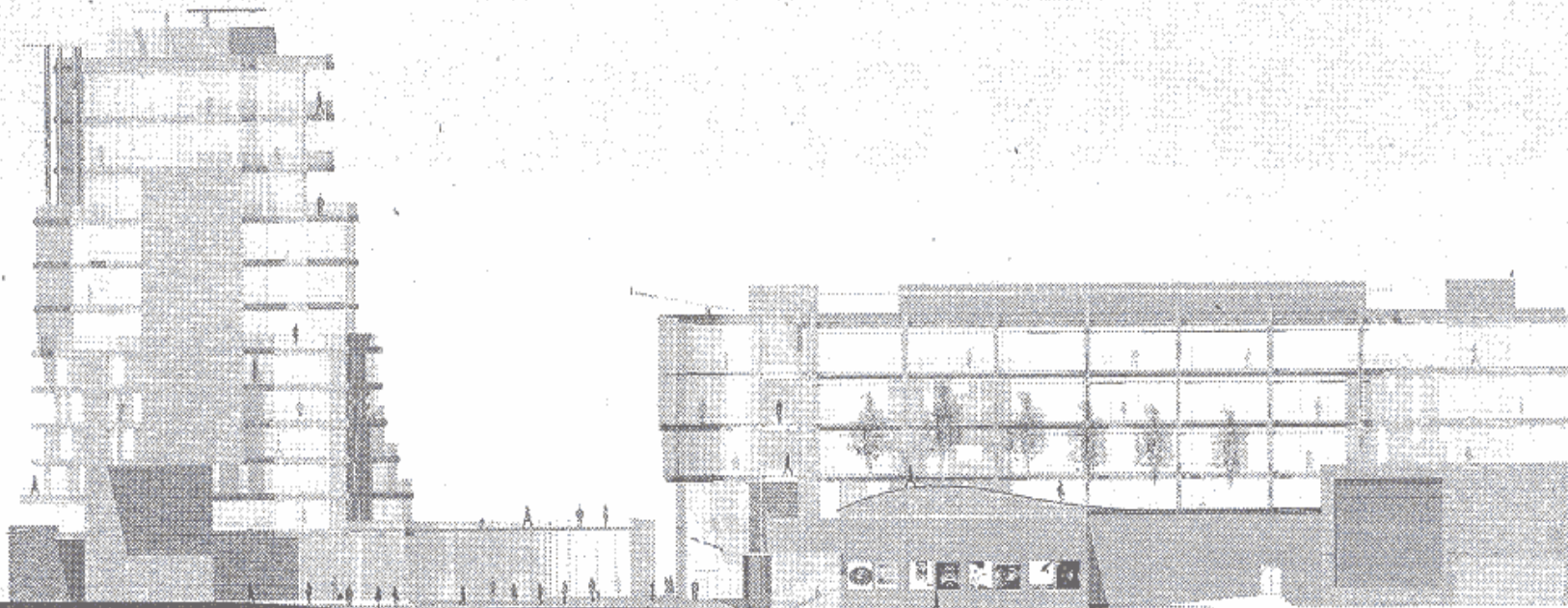
“Just a couple of hours off-peak travel around the suburbs reveals near-empty trains running past ... vast new housing developments and shopping complexes ...”

Inner-City Sprawl:
GMMHC houses in
Minneapolis, 1 mile
northwest of
downtown
Minneapolis



Suburban Urbanity:
Apartments in Edina,
8 miles south of
downtown
Minneapolis





Artist's rendering provided by BKV Group

This plan to build offices and condominiums in the parking lot of the Lagoon Theater in Minneapolis was rejected Thursday by the Minneapolis Planning and Zoning Commission.

Back to the drawing board for Lagoon development

Minneapolis *StarTribune*, 27 June 2005

Density Aversion

“Uptown is not downtown. Uptown is not a high-rise district.”

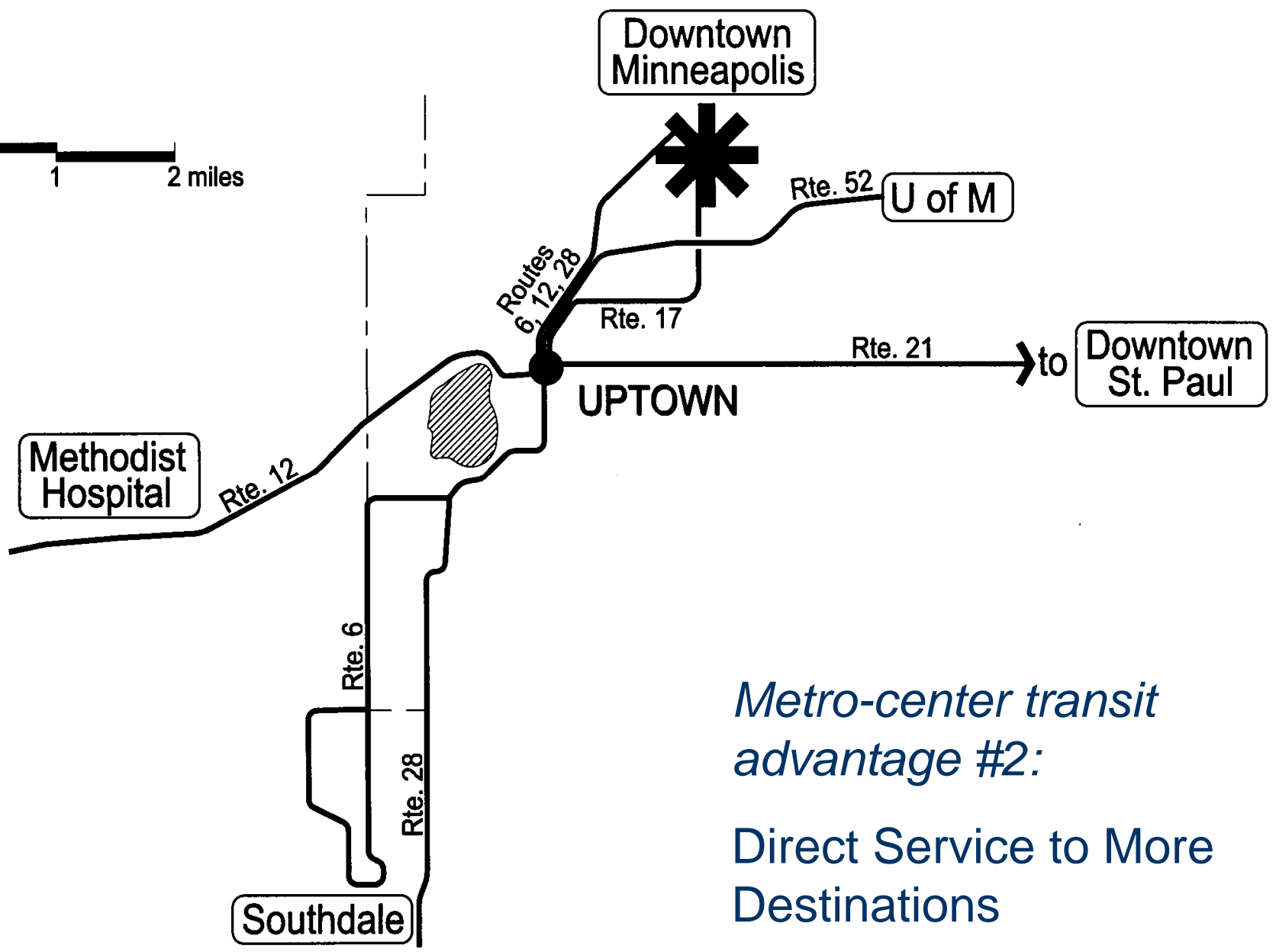
Mayor R.T. Rybak quoted in *StarTribune* 27 June 2005



CAUTION

EXIT

Do you know the way to the city center?



Metro-center transit advantage #2:

Direct Service to More Destinations



Regional Commerce Centre, St. Clair/Yonge subway station, Toronto



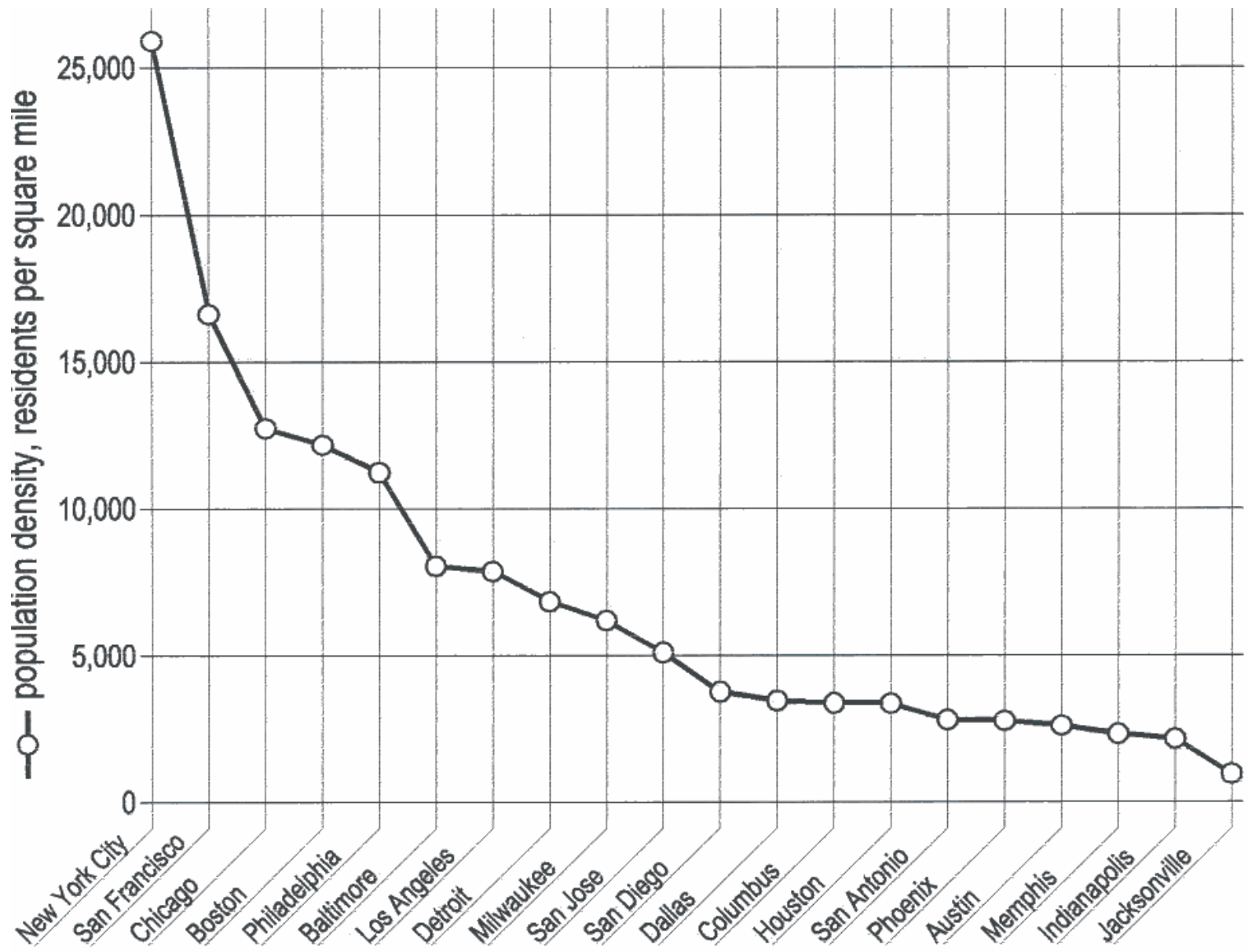
Regional Commerce Centre, Eglinton/Yonge subway station, Toronto



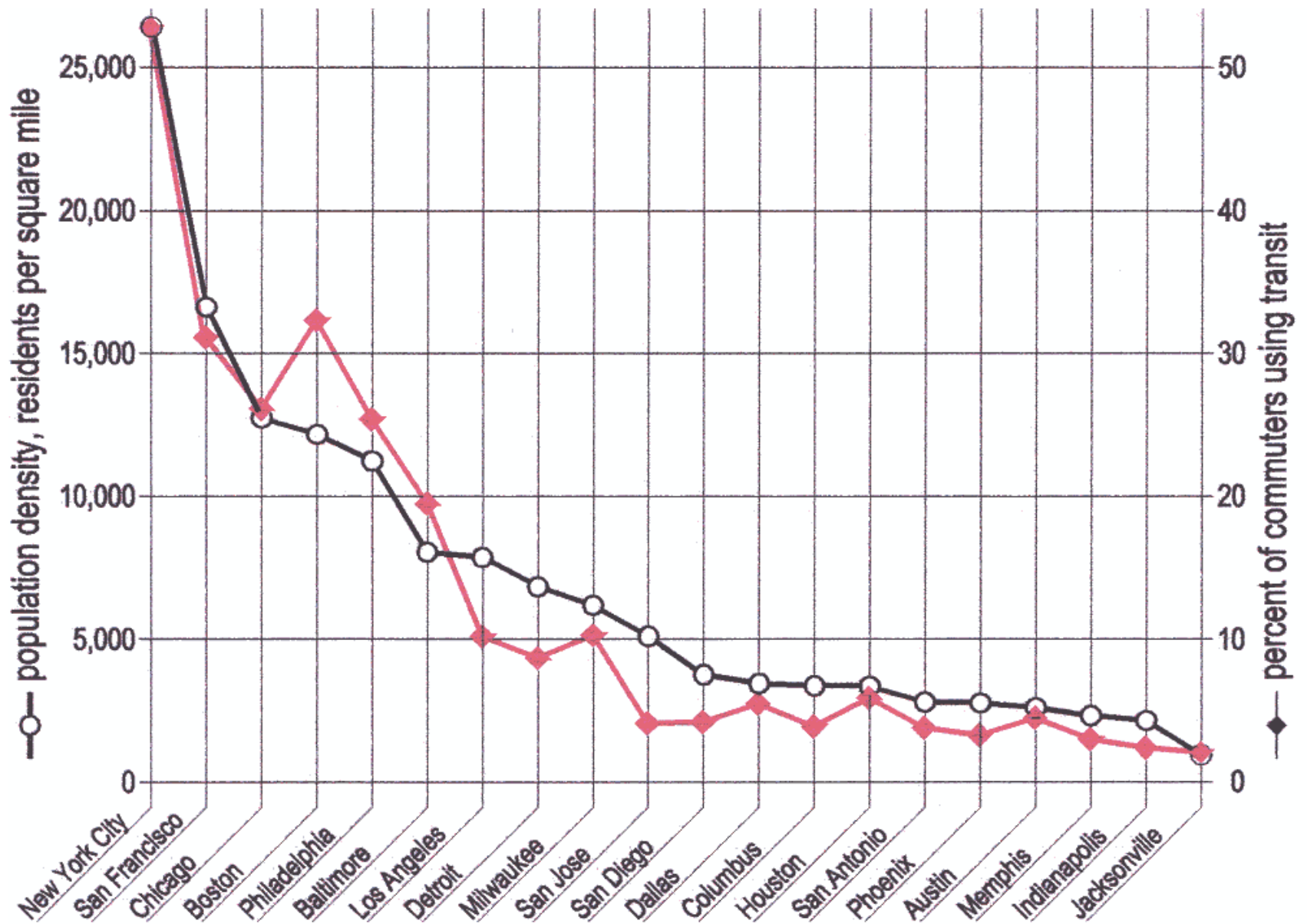
New development in Uptown, Minneapolis



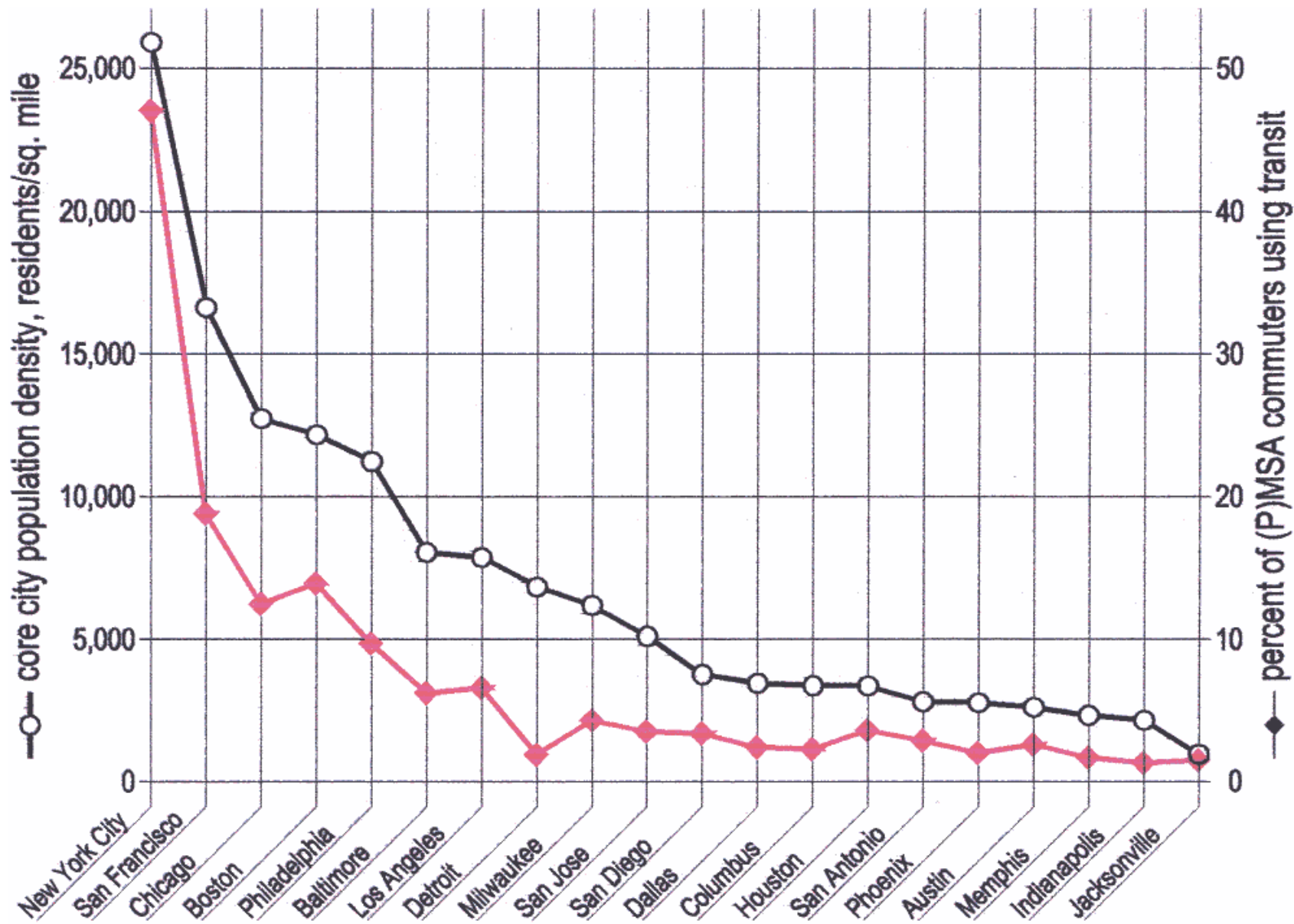
New Development in Edina



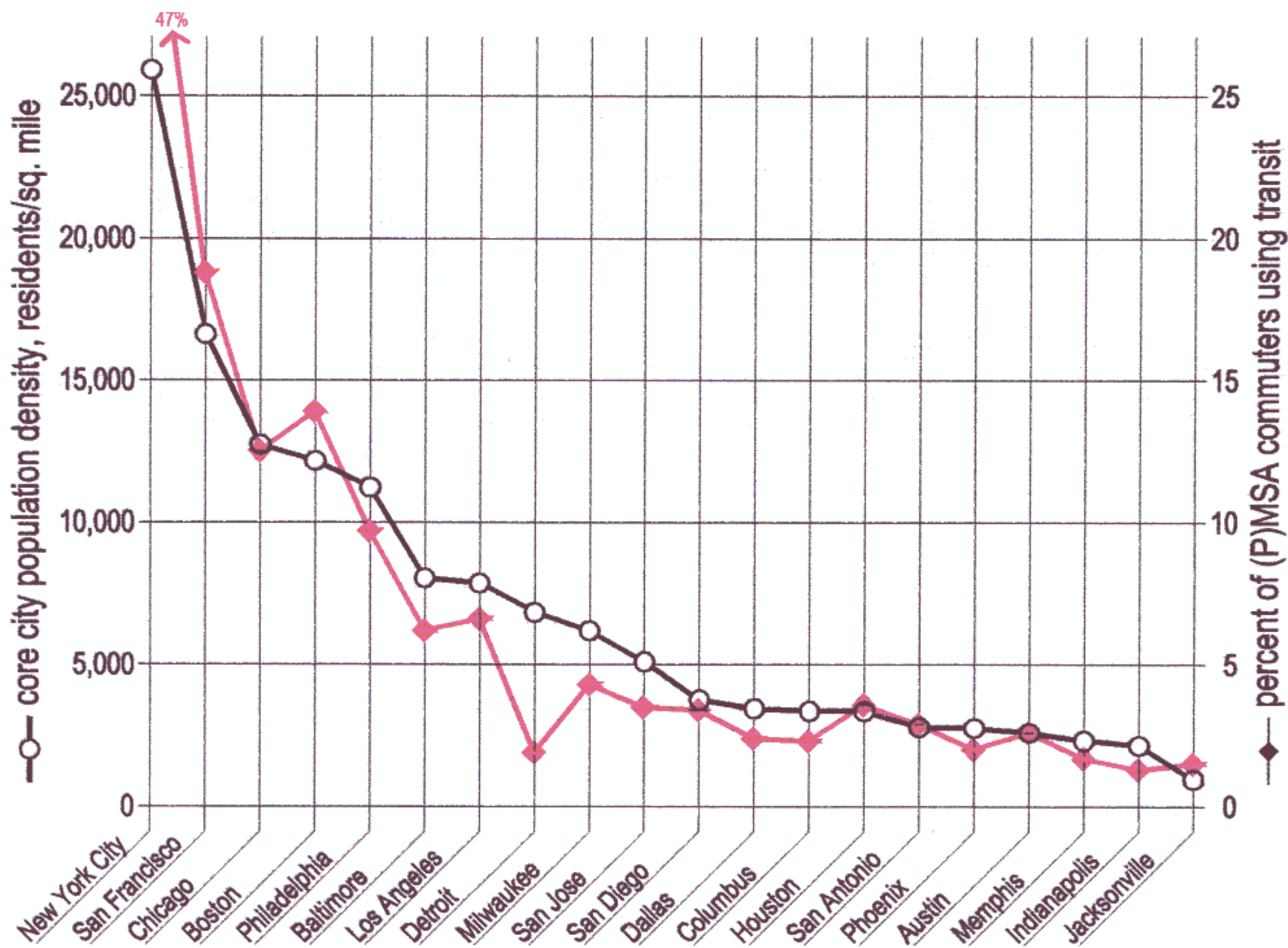
Population density in 20 most populous US cities, 2000



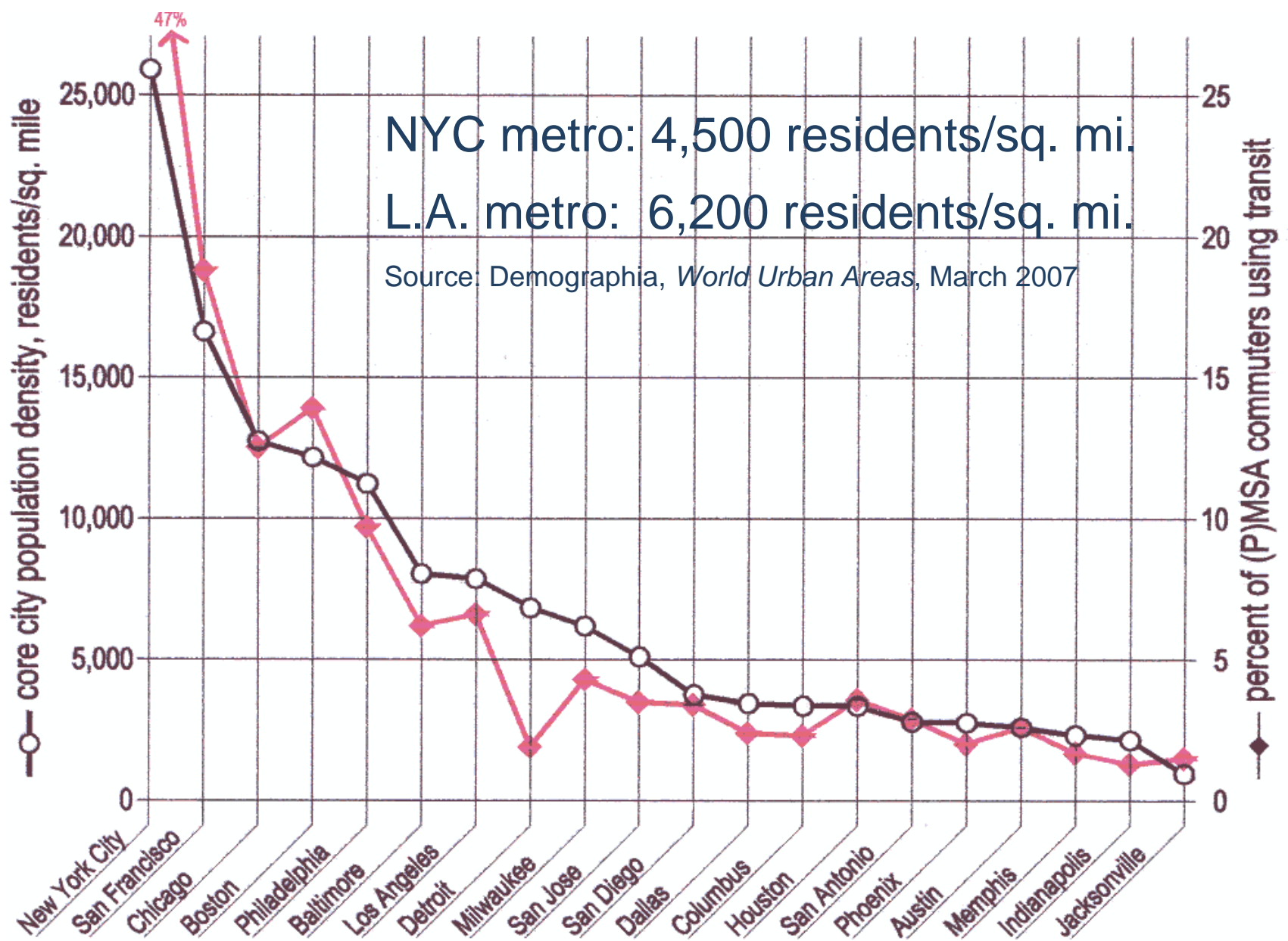
Population density / transit share in 20 most populous US cities, 2000



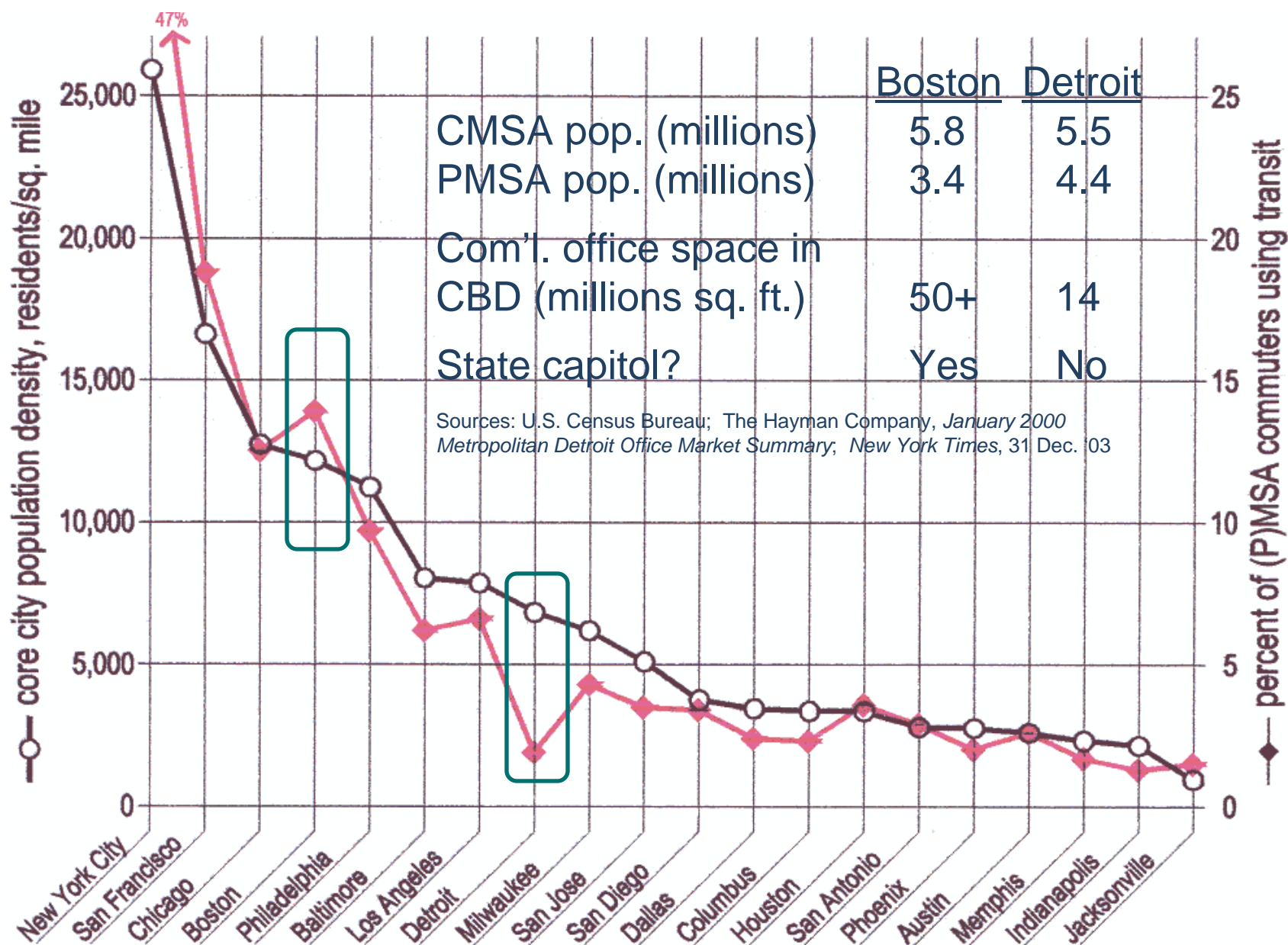
Population density in 20 most populous US cities / metro area transit %, 2000



Population density in 20 most populous US cities / metro area transit %, 2000



Population density in 20 most populous US cities / metro area transit %, 2000



Population density in 20 most populous US cities / metro area transit %, 2000

Polycentricity

Myth and Reality

Polycentricity Myth

“Edge City ... is, on average, an improvement in per capita fuel efficiency over the old suburbia-downtown arrangement ... That is why Edge City is the crucible of America’s urban future.”

Joel Garreau, *Edge City* (1991)

Polycentricity Reality

“Job decentralization, either in polycentric regions or in dispersed patterns, results in less use of transit for all trip purposes.”

Transit Cooperative Research Program
Transit and Urban Form (1996)

Polycentricity Reality

“CBD workers are five times more likely to use transit than workers in other activity centers.”

Transit Cooperative Research Program,
Transit and Urban Form (1996)

Polycentricity Mythology

“Typical commutes are becoming shorter... People typically took 21.7 minutes in 1980. The new census number will probably be closer to 20 minutes...”

Joel Garreau (1991)

Polycentricity Reality

The new census number (1990): **22.4 min.**

Polycentricity Reality

“Workers who worked in their county of residence increased 25 percent from 1980 to 1990, while workers who worked outside their county of residence increased almost 50 percent.”

U.S. Dept. of Transportation,
Journey-to-Work Trends 1960-1990

<u>Metro office space</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
CBD share	58.8%	39.0%
Edge City share	11.1%	19.5%

Lang and LeFurgy, *Edgeless Cities* (2003)

Polycentricity Reality

Commuting trend in Twin Cities 7-county area, 1990-2000

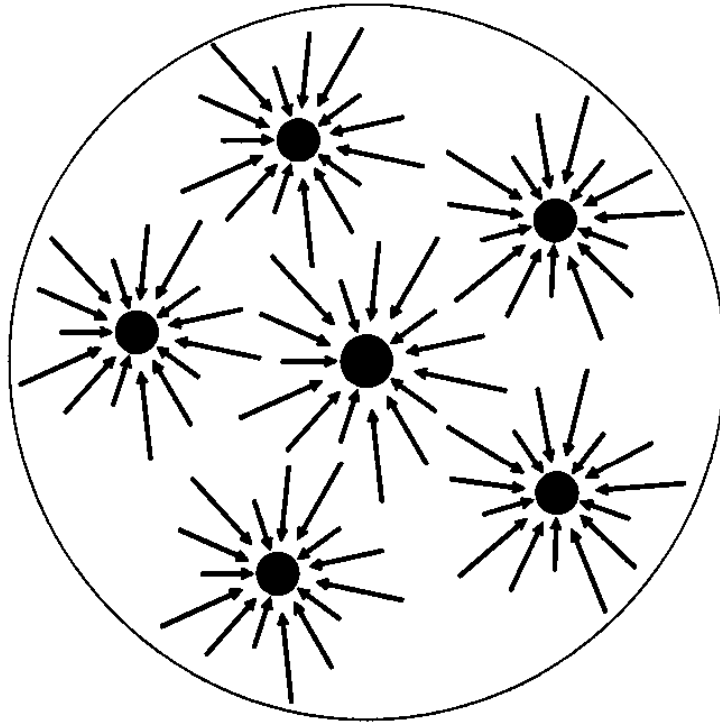
Within county commutes	10 % increase
Commutes to adjacent county	30 % increase
Commutes beyond adj. county	60 % increase

Minneapolis Star Tribune, 6 March 2003

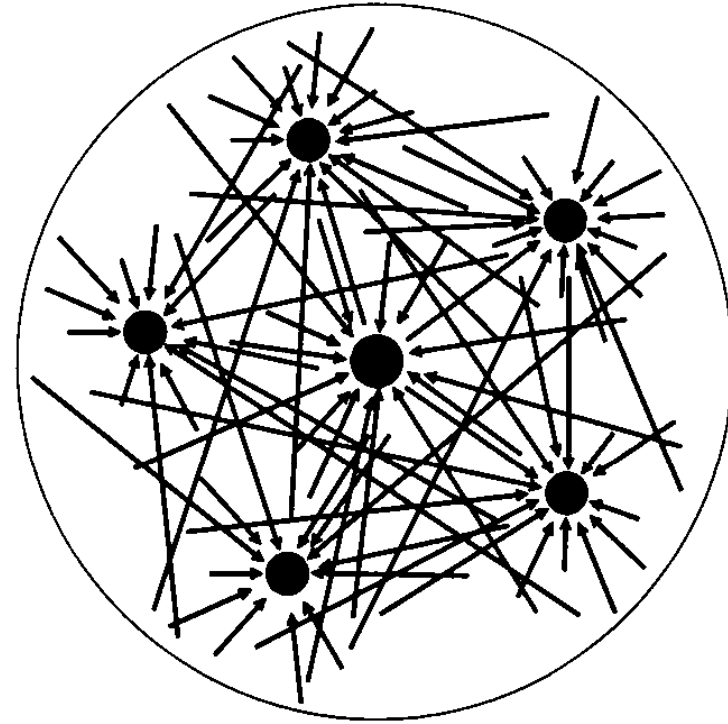
Polycentricity Reality

“The number of miles driven in California has increased at a rate 50 percent faster than the rate of population growth for the past two decades.”

New York Times, 29 August 2008



Polycentricity Myth
the energy-efficient commute
of Garreau's imagination



Polycentricity Reality
the energy-gluttonous commute
of commercial decentralization

Polycentricity Reality

“A metropolitan area is a core area containing a large population nucleus together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration ...”

U.S. Office of Management and Budget

Polycentricity Reality

“The British New Town concept of the 1940s ... aspired to produce self-sufficient urban centers. In actuality, these towns remained suburban and dependent on larger urban centers ...”

National Academic & Licensing Study Aids, LLC (1998)

Polycentricity Reality

“Achieving a numerical balance of jobs and housing is unlikely to yield many dividends.”

Robert Cervero (1996)

Self-Containment among 23 Bay Area Municipalities

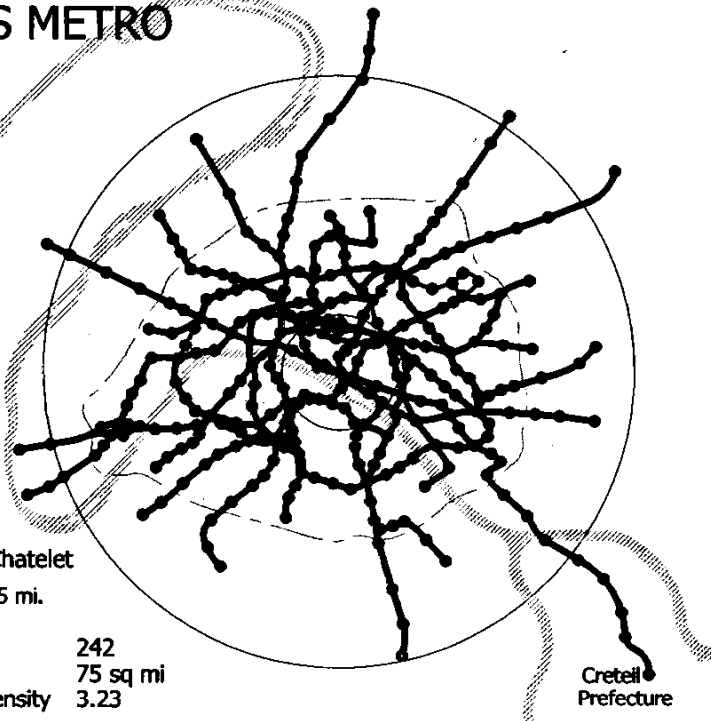
	<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Independence Index (1990)</u>
	San Francisco	1.23
	Santa Rosa	0.74
	<i>b</i> Napa	0.70
	San Jose	0.60
	<i>b</i> Fairfield	0.48
	Berkeley	0.44
	Oakland	0.42
	Vallejo	0.40
	Alameda	0.37
	Palo Alto	0.32
	Fremont	0.26
	<i>“low level of internal commuting”</i>	<0.25
	Hayward	0.24
Edge City →	<i>b</i> Pleasanton+	0.24
Edge City →	<i>b</i> Concord	0.24
Edge City →	Sunnyvale+	0.21
Edge City →	<i>b</i> San Mateo+	0.21
	Santa Clara	0.19
Edge City →	Walnut Creek	0.19
	San Leandro	0.19
Edge City*→	<i>b</i> Redwood City+	0.19
	<i>b</i> Richmond	0.18
	<i>b</i> Mountain View	0.13
Edge City*→	Daly City+	0.07

* = municipalities designated “emerging Edge City” by Garreau
b = balanced between jobs and housing—within .15 in 1990.
 + = Garreau adds suffix “area” or lists additional components.

Source: Robert Cervero, “Jobs-Housing Balance Revisited,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62, no. 4 (Autumn 1996), p. 497.

Note: Garreau characterizes San Jose as part of an “Edge City,” but this is an inaccurate characterization by Garreau’s own definition. (See *Cities in Full*, page 144.)

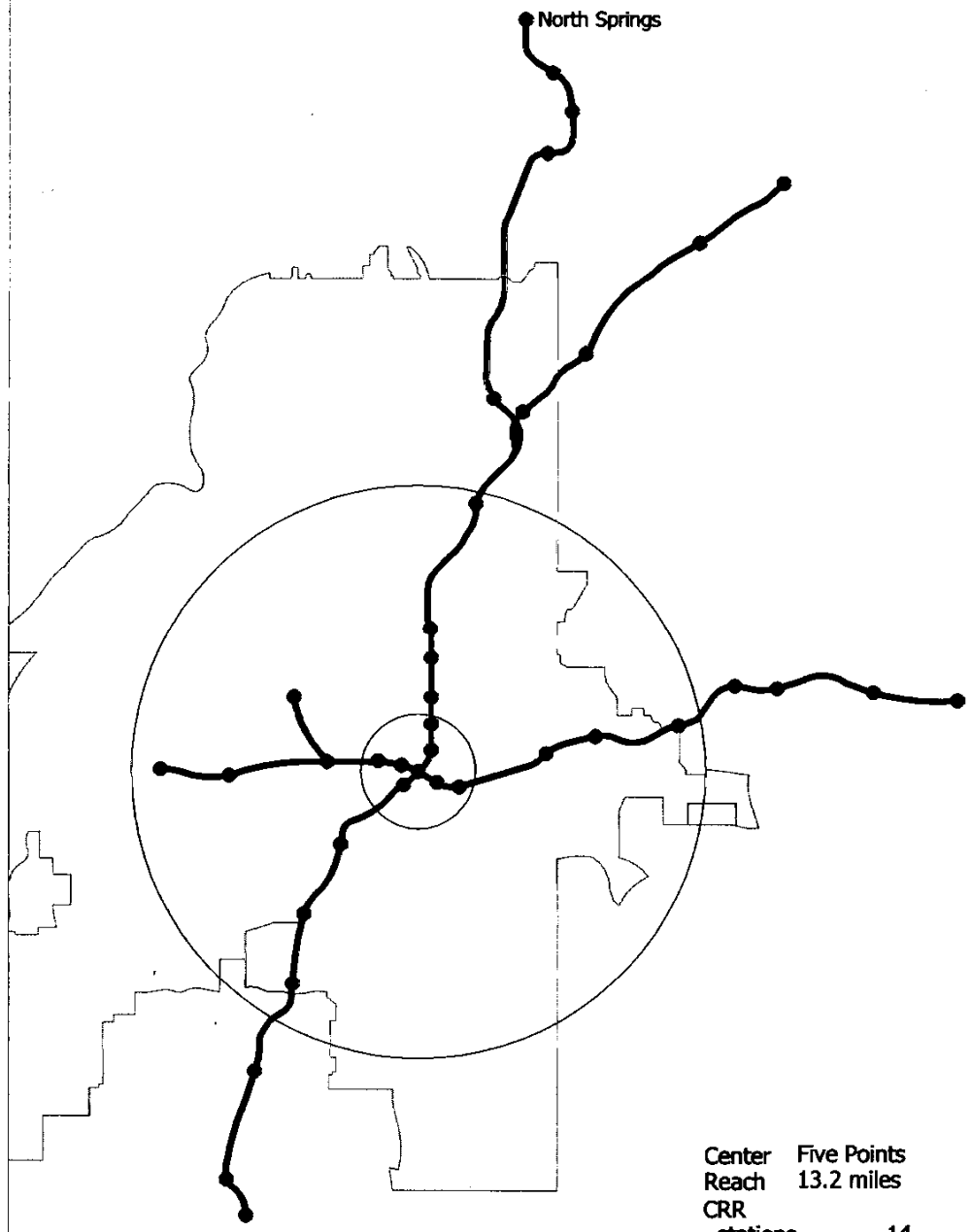
PARIS METRO



Center Chatelet
 Reach 7.5 mi.
 CRR
 stations 242
 land area 75 sq mi
 station density 3.23

Creteil
 Prefecture

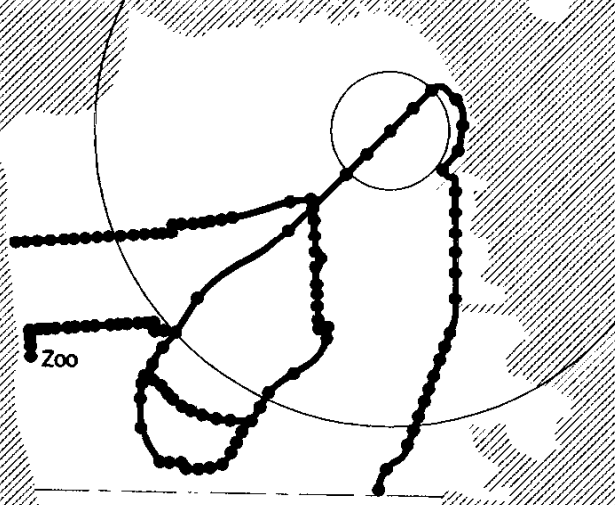
ATLANTA MARTA



Center Five Points
 Reach 13.2 miles
 CRR
 stations 14
 land area 75
 station density 0.19

North Springs

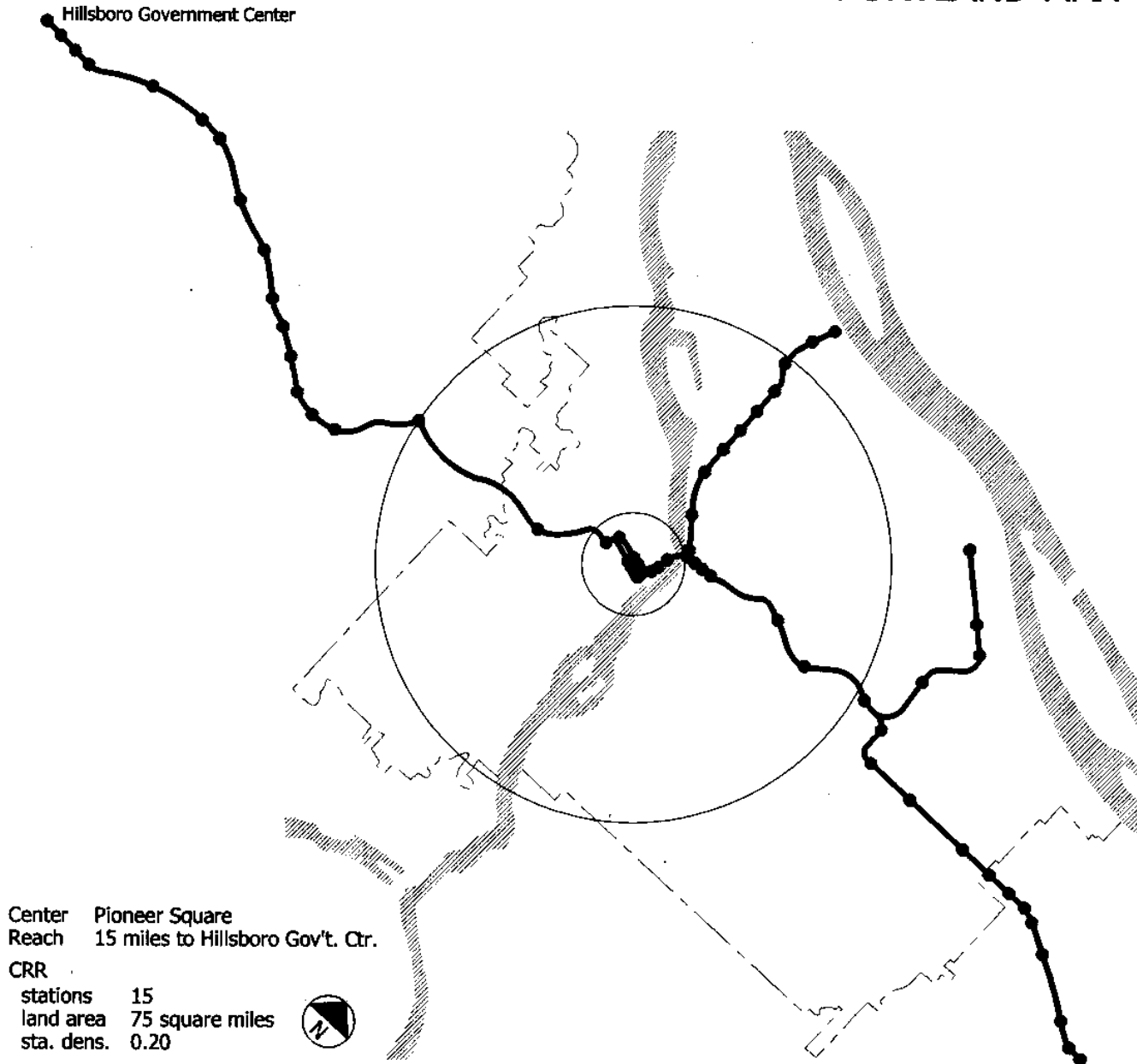
SAN FRANCISCO MUNI lrt



Center Powell St.
 Reach 7.2 mi.
 CRR
 stations 51
 land area 36 sq mi
 sta. dens. 1.42

Zoo

PORTLAND MAX

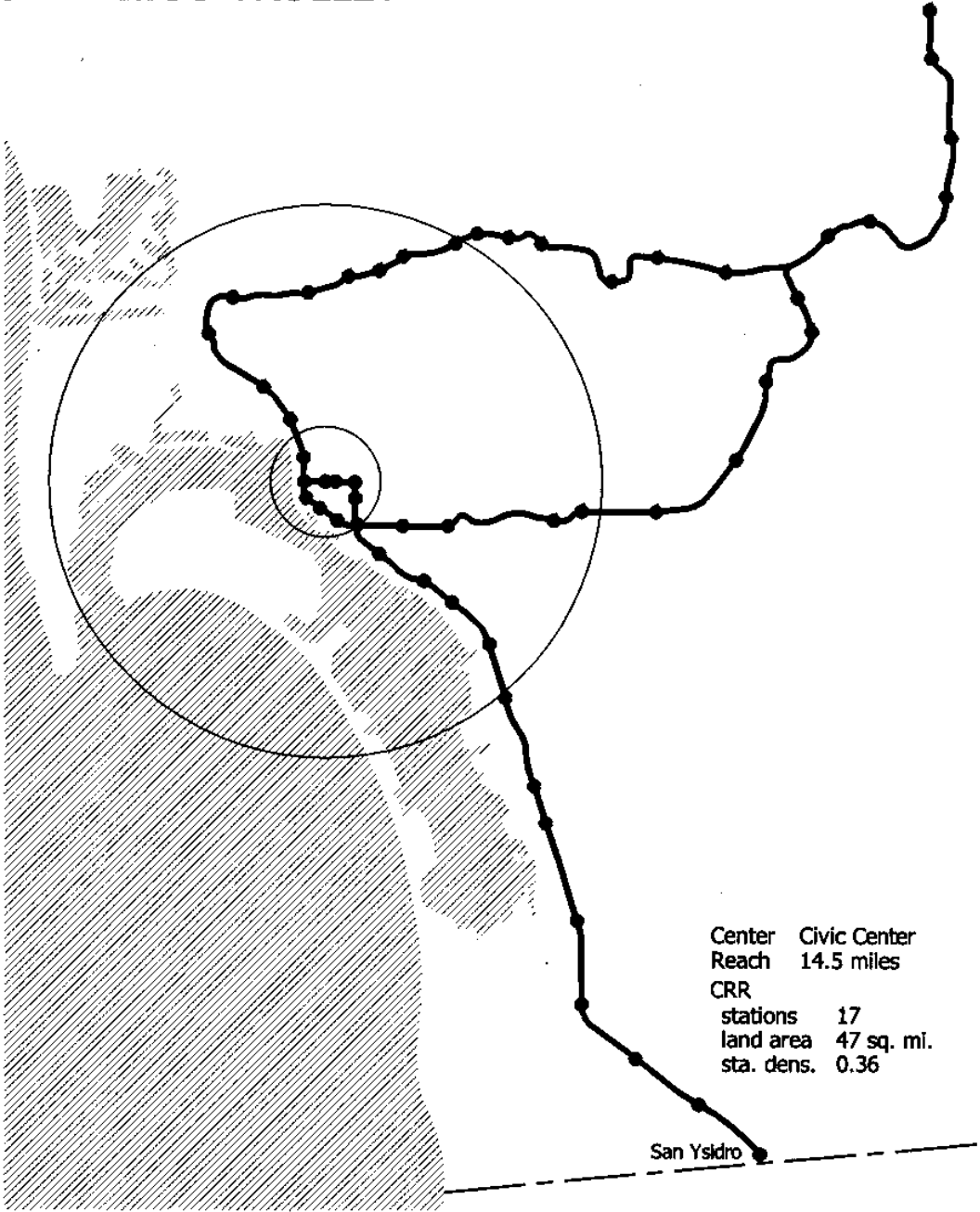


Center Pioneer Square
Reach 15 miles to Hillsboro Gov't. Ctr.

CRR
stations 15
land area 75 square miles
sta. dens. 0.20



SAN DIEGO TROLLEY





San Francisco: MUNI Balboa Park line

Automobile-Oriented Transit



Atlanta: MARTA Dunwoody Station

Automobile-Oriented Transit

“Marta has been spectacularly unsuccessful in checking automobilized sprawl, which has increased exponentially since the early 1970s.”

Charles Rutheiser, “Imagineering Atlanta,” 1996

Automobile-Oriented Transit

“Suburban Neighborhoods are car-oriented even when served by trains.”

Christof Spieler, “Houston Hitches a Ride on Light Rail,
Architecture (February 2004)



View from Ashby Station, Atlanta



View from Capitol Heights Metro station, Washington, D.C.



View from 46th Street station, Minneapolis

Automobile Oriented Transit

“Regional rail systems have been a force toward decentralization of both population and employment.”

Transit Cooperative Research Program
Transit and Urban Form (1996)

NeoPolycentricity

“We stand for the ... reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs [to promote] environmental health.”

Charter of the New Urbanism (1996)

NeoPolycentricity

“People want to live in urban environments ... We have to redesign the underlying [suburban] armature ...”

Peter Calthorpe (discussing Issaquah Highlands in 2003)

NeoPolycentricity

Suburbanites created an “ugly depressing” environment because “they were drunk most of the time, in a stupor.”

Peter Calthorpe quoted by James Howard Kunstler in *Home from Nowhere* (1996)

NeoPolycentricity

*“The suburban system ... isolate[s] people from one another [and gives them] reason to **fear each other.**”*

Andres Duany et. al. *Suburban Nation* (2000)

NeoPolycentricity

*“A modern suburb is an instrument for making people **stupid.**”*

Philip Langdon, *A Better Place to Live* (1994)

NeoPolycentricity

“Everyone loves to hate the suburbs except for the people who live there. Academic revisionists are reporting that suburbia, far from crushing lives, has had a liberating effect ... the sense of community can be as strong as it is in a small town.”

New York Times, 5 December 1999

NEW URBAN ROW TOWNHOMES



The traditional architecture of the New Urban Row Townhomes makes a classic statement. These homes offer 2 - 4 bedrooms, 2 1/2 baths, generous storage, and a 2-car garage tucked under the spacious rear elevated deck.

From the mid \$200's

FOR NEIGHBORHOOD
INFORMATION SEE MAP
ON PAGES 10 & 11

EDEN PRAIRIE
Hartford
Commons

WOODBURY
Dancing Waters

URBAN ROW TOWNHOMES



Style and functionality at its best can be found in an Urban Row Townhome. 2 - 3 bedrooms, 1 1/2 baths with a spacious deck off the back over a two-car tuck-under garage.

From the mid \$100's

CHASKA
Clover Ridge
Village



The ugly truth about neotraditional suburbs: Kentlands Square



Main Street, Arbor Lakes, Maple Grove



Arbor Lakes' source of customers

Transit commuters per 100 housing units

Minneapolis: 18

St. Paul: 11

WestRidge TOD: 1

Source for Minneapolis: 2000 Census

Source for West Ridge: a.m. counts, August 6 and 14, 2002



WestRidge, Minnetonka (an MLCA pilot project)

“Islands of transit-oriented development in a sea of freeway-oriented suburbs will do little to change fundamental commuting habits ... Successful transit villages will need to be part of a transit metropolis.”

Bernick and Cervero, *Transit Villages in the 21st Century* (1997)

Transit Metropolis

Transit's share of work commutes: selected metro areas in the U.S., 2000

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>Transit share</u>	<u>Rank</u>
New York City <small>CMSA</small>	24.9 percent	1
Chicago <small>CMSA</small>	11.5	2
Hartford <small>MSA</small> (median)	2.8	25

Rank based on data for America's 49 MSAs/CMSAs w/ more than 1 million residents in 2000. Data from Census Bureau and APTA

Transit Metropolis

Carbon footprint from autos: selected metro areas in U.S., 2005

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>Per capita carbon footprint</u>
New York City	.664 tons (lowest)
Lancaster, PA	.767 tons (runner-up)
Average	1.004 tons

From an analysis of the 100 most populous metro areas in the U.S.,
Shrinking the Carbon Footprint of Metropolitan America, Brookings (2008)

NeoPolycentricity

“Revitalization efforts should not focus unduly on bringing families back to the inner city ...”

Andres Duany et. al. *Suburban Nation* (2000)

Anticity Planning

“Surely cities do not have to reclaim all their lost glory—all the population, density, [and] economic mass of the first half of this century.”

Paul Grogan, *Comeback Cities* (2000)



Charlotte Gardens, South Bronx



*Traditional planning in the traditional city:
new low-cost homes (81 in all) blend in
with existing houses in central Cleveland*

Photo credit: Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck, *Suburban Nation* (2000)



Orange Line
To
Convention
Center

888
839
0054

Orange Line
to
Gillespie Field
via
Convention
Center

Gillespie Field
via
Downtown
San Diego