

BUILT COMMUNITIES?

A SOCIAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN THREE SMALL SCALE MIXED-USE DEVELOPMENTS IN SUBURBAN/TOWN LOCALES

by

SUSAN R. ORBUCH

B.S., Conservation and Resource Studies
University of California, Berkeley
(1986)

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

MAY, 1989


© Susan R. Orbuch 1989. All rights reserved

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.


Signature of
Author


Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 19, 1989

Certified
by


Professor Philip B. Herr
Thesis Supervisor
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

Accepted
by


Professor Donald A. Schon
Chairman
M.C.P. Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning



T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

ABSTRACT.....4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....5

CHAPTER ONE: THE WHY, THE WHAT, AND THE HOW

THE WHY:
THE BROADER CONTEXT: AN OPENING ESSAY
Sprawl and Its Costs.....6

THE WHAT:
THE THESIS FOCUS or "SO HERE'S WHERE THE
THESIS FITS IN".....14

THE HOW:
MY APPROACH OR METHODOLOGY.....15
SELECTION OF THE SITES.....16
ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS.....20

CHAPTER TWO: THE CASES

BOLTWOOD WALK -- AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS
The Town of Amherst.....21
How Boltwood Walk Came to Be.....23
The Elements of the Plan.....24
The Site Today.....29

PICKERING WHARF -- SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS
The City of Salem.....32
How Pickering Wharf Came to Be.....34
The Design of Pickering Wharf.....36
The Retail Portion.....39
The Residential Portion.....42
The Residential Population.....43

BRICK MARKET PLACE -- NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND
The City of Newport.....43
Redevelopment Comes To Newport.....46
Long Wharf Market Square Project.....48
How Brick Market Came to Be.....51
The Design of Brick Market.....53
The Commercial Portion.....54
The Residential Portion.....56
The Residential Population.....56

CHAPTER 3: THE FINDINGS

THE INTERVIEW PROCESS:.....57
Boltwood Walk.....57
Pickering Wharf.....58

Brick Market Place.....	60
Closing Comments About the Interview Process.....	61
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FINDINGS:.....	63
AREAS OF INTERACTION:.....	65
1. Public Sphere Interactions -- Walkways, Streets, Being Outside.....	66
2. Resident Interactions Inside Commercial Spaces.....	81
A. Inhibitors to On-site Residential Commercial Synergy.....	92
B. These Developments May Accelerate Displacement.....	101
3. Formal Interactions Between Residents and Commercial Establishments.....	102
THE VARIETY OF PEOPLE DRAW TO LIVE IN MIXED-USE DEVELOPMENTS ADJACENT TO TOWN CENTERS:.....	110
LIVE/WORK HAPPENS RARELY WITHIN THE SITE ITSELF, BUT CONNECTIONS DO HAPPEN WITHIN THE SURROUNDING AREA:.....	114
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION.....	199
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	124

Built Communities?
A Social Evaluation of the Built Environment in Three Small
Scale Mixed-Use Developments in Suburban/Town Locales

by

Susan R. Orbuch

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on
May 19, 1989 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of City Planning

ABSTRACT:

Motivated by my own dissatisfaction with growing up in an auto-oriented suburb-- isolated by lack of easy access to people, places, and experiences and lacking a sense of community--I have become intrigued by the potential small scale mixed-use development may provide for re-integrating these ideals into our built environment and our lives. In this thesis, I ask the question, can small scale mixed-use development foster the sense of community that ad hoc, segregated-use suburban sprawl development seems to lack?

Through interviews with residents, planners, designers and developers of three small scale mixed-use developments-- Boltwood Walk in Amherst, Brick Market Place in Newport, R.I., and Pickering Wharf in Salem--I have concluded that small scale mixed-use developments are able to create a vital social environment conducive to a community feel, but only through their location within a pedestrian-oriented town center. In the context of a town center, residents gain access to both more people and places than the development can generate alone, increasing the level of informal social contact possible. The commercial uses within the development provide a means of financing the cost of building housing in the downtown, and of drawing people and energy into the development, creating an ambience within the development that residents enjoy.

Existing alone, outside of a densely-configured town center, small scale mixed-use developments would draw customers and energy chiefly from passing automobiles, making retention of a pedestrian and local community feel difficult. Residents would have to depend on automobiles to reach shops and services again decreasing the likelihood of a truly pedestrian and village-like community.

Thesis supervisor: Philip B. Herr
Title: Professor of City Planning

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

My thanks go to several people:

First, to my advisor and counselor, Phil Herr, whose presence at M.I.T. helped me decide to continue and finish the program. Constantly encouraging me with his own enthusiasm, experience, insights and stories, Phil has always been there guiding me through. He has truly been a role model and inspiration to me.

Second, to my friends on the eastern seaboard, especially Suzanne, Chuck, and Jay, who provided me with support, comfort, distraction, back-rubs, and swift kicks as needed. I couldn't have made it without them and many others who put up with my desperate phone-calls these last couple of months. On the West Coast, I'd like to especially thank Dashka and Cliff, who have tolerated my absence admirably, even as they've constantly reminded me that I am sorely missed. They have shared with me their art for living and I have missed their daily influence in my life.

Third, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents, who have given me the opportunity to be here, and their constant love and support through it all. Thankyou for being who you are. You're great and I love you both very much.

Fourth, I would like to acknowledge Berkeley, California, responsible for my entry into the urban planning field and the first community I've been a part of where warm informal interactions amongst strangers are the norm. Daily living in Berkeley brought me constant reminders of how wonderful the larger human community could be. Thankyou to the man at the flower stand who, as I walked by, brought warmth into my day with a rose, a smile and a friendly word. Thankyou to the people at the Berkeley Bowl, who provided fresh, bountiful produce and were warm and gracious even when the line at the checkout was unbearably long. Thankyou to the guys at Sufficient Grounds, who made my daily caffeine fix extra special. You all helped to make the mundane special for me. And thankyou to my sister, Jane, who doesn't realize that it was from watching her that I first learned how a smile or nod to a passing stranger could make all the difference in the world.

To all of you who have shared part of yourselves with me, thankyou. I have learned something valuable about living, doing and being from you all.

CHAPTER ONE:
THE WHY, THE WHAT, AND THE HOW

THE WHY:
THE BROADER CONTEXT: An Opening Essay

Sprawl and It's Costs:

A variety of areas within planning have been steadily converging in their calling for development which would reunite land uses heretofore labeled incompatible and separated by modern zoning codes in an effort to cut down on the host of problems that have come accompanied our sprawling out over the landscape. We sprawl by constructing different uses farther apart from one another, thus intensifying our reliance on auto travel to conduct even the simplest errand. We sprawl by insisting on single family homes built for nuclear families on large lots, even as our family size is shrinking and our land prices rising. We sprawl by developing areas further apart from one another, in order to "leap frog" out to capture lower land prices and more profit. We sprawl by moving farther out from centers to escape the traffic congestion which is only intensified by our withdrawal. We even sprawl by insisting that new construction accommodate autos by providing parking which usually ends up isolating new buildings from surrounding structures in a sea of asphalt. The costs of this sprawl are continuing to pile up around us in more ways than we care to acknowledge and in a scale which feels further and further beyond our control.

Consumed by the Car:

With houses, offices, shopping and recreation continuing to be built apart from one another and sprawling out from our towns and villages, we pay the price for sprawl by sacrificing more and more of our time to isolated auto commuting to access each of these needs. In doing so, we exacerbate parking demand problems at destination points. As the population grows, the number of cars on the highways grows, and congestion grows. In Massachusetts, traffic congestion is increasing by four percent per year even though population growth is stable due to an increase in jobs in suburban locations and the work trips associated with them.¹

And the congestion, because it is not all back and forth from our central cities, does not lend itself to capture and alleviation by rail and/or bus system, which work best when both trip originations and destinations are clustered. The traffic is intra-suburban as increasingly jobs are being created in the suburbs. "In most metropolitan areas the suburban...

rush hour now rivals downtown traffic, and in some surpasses it. The 1980 census reported that 27 million Americans commuted from one suburb to another, whereas only half that number traveled from suburbs to downtown cities. The imbalance has increased sharply since 1980, owing to the boom in suburban employment. Today

¹ Metroplan 2000, Metropolitan Area Planning Council, Massachusetts, 1989.

suburban highways are so overcrowded that once-easy five- and six-mile commutes take forty-five minutes of stop and go driving...(and) have brought bumper-to-bumper traffic to two-lane country roads that still run past farms and cow pastures."²

The resultant traffic delay has been cited as one of the leading problems in quality of life surveys from around the nation. Costs are even higher to those too poor to afford an auto placing even further limits on mobility and finding a job.

Despoiling our Resources and our Health::

The cost of sprawl in the amount of productive land we are covering is staggering. "New construction devours 600 acres each week of Massachusetts farmland, forests and other open space - the equivalent of 12 Boston Commons: as development endangers drinking water supplies for Boston, Cape Cod, and scores of other communities".³ In this fertile land's place, we are receiving large homes on large lots covered with water-hogging lawns and more paved areas and rooftops -- contributing to increased runoff containing fertilizers, oils and grease which pollute our drinking water supplies not to mention our river and stream

²Leinberger, Christopher B. and Charles Lockwood, "How Business is Reshaping America", pp 43-52, The Atlantic Monthly, October, 1986.

³"The High Cost of Prosperity: Development, pollution and congestion threaten New England's special character" The Boston Globe, 10, April 1988.

ecosystems. Large lot zoning means more miles of water, electric, gas and sewer lines to extend as well as road improvements to accommodate each individual house and yard dotting the landscape. As this dispersed expansion continues, the open fields and forests we seek to find solace in are no longer a short walk from the well-defined edges of our hallmark New England towns and villages, but yet another car trip to more and more distant undeveloped places. And there is the cost to our own health as well as our larger environment's. Auto dependence lies at the heart of our air pollution problems and is a significant contributor to the global greenhouse effect and acid rain problems.

Building Homes We Can't Afford:

Housing affordability in the New England area is yet another cost that comes along with sprawl. The combination of high land prices and large lot residential zoning combine to produce housing outside the reach of many seeking housing in New England. "Historically, a major factor in the affordability of housing...

in the United States has been low land prices. In the 1950's and 1960's, the supply of developable land kept well ahead of demand, due in large part to governments' readiness to provide infrastructure and services in advance of demand and to the increase in personal mobility as more and more people owned automobiles. Land costs have increase rapidly in most urban areas in recent years, however, and they have increased faster than the other two major components of housing costs -- construction and financing. In metropolitan areas,

single-family lot prices increased an average of 109 percent between 1975 and 1980."⁴

With the high land cost being such a large proportion of development costs and zoning limiting town and suburban provision of housing to single family detached on lots of one acre or more coupled with the high demand for housing, the developer can make an even higher profit by building luxury housing on the lot. Even should the developer produce modest housing on large lots, the high land costs still drive the cost of the home out of the reach moderate income households.

By limiting housing development to single family detached, there is a lack of suitable housing options for not only those who might wish to move into the area, but for those who would like to stay. Young people who wish to stay in the towns they grew up in can't find suitable housing that is affordable and are forced to move farther out for cheaper housing options or away altogether. "Empty Nesters" (households in which children have moved out) desiring to move down to a smaller more manageable sized dwelling within or near their neighborhood are also unable to find suitable affordable housing options. For the increasing number of divorced women with children, the mortgage on the house is

⁴The Affordable Community: Adapting Today's Communities to Tomorrow's Needs The Report of the Council on Development Choices for the '80's . ULI- Urban Land Institute, Washington D.C., 1981.

often beyond the mother's means and alternative housing options allowing her to remain within her community are often not to be found.⁵ With the decrease in the household size being experienced overall, large single family homes become an increasingly inefficient form for provision of housing.

Losing our Community Identity and Sense of Place:

Lastly, sprawl costs us our sense of intimacy with our community, our time spent in social contact with others. For our current patterns of growth are built on isolation between activities and isolation between individuals as we continue to eliminate the common space for interaction within our communities and replace them with impersonal auto strips and subdivisions. Isolating uses, and reliance on the auto has resulted in our lively shared spaces disappearing. Streets become not places of human interaction, but simply pedestrian hostile roads for us to zoom down in our cars. Public spaces are increasingly private experiences from behind the driver's seat along strip developed roadways or walks on huge paved parking lots to large sterile "convenience" shopping centers which pull the life out our neighborhood stores and depersonalize our

⁵Netter, Edith M. and Ruth g. Price, "Zoning and the Nouveau Poor", pp.171-181, Journal of the APA, Spring 1983, vol. 49, No.2.

interactions. As common spaces disappear into uniformity and monotony, we internalize our actions as much as we can in the private sphere to make up for the activities we once shared. Private yards and pools become our once shared recreational parks, TV and VCR's our private entertainment, private malls our once public realm commerce. And with these losses, we lose the time we spent in contact with others of our community as we conduct our daily affairs, and we lose our sense of belonging.

As development continues to sprawl out from our towns' edges, rather than inside of our town centers where activity has traditionally been focused, we lose our towns' vitality, character and sense of community and get alienating sterile development surrounded by pavement instead.

So Why Reunite Uses?:

More compact mixed use land planning may be able to address each of these costs in a more sensible fashion. Mixed use districts are the reintegration of multiple uses within buildings or among buildings within an area in such a way as to create a pedestrian atmosphere. Multiple uses may include retail, office, and residential in various combinations.

Such areas at appropriate scales have the potential to reduce travel time and dependence on the automobile for all

the trips we must make, as well as land area we now must devote to automobiles by allowing us to replace many of our car trips with short walks. They also move us toward densities needed to support mass transit. Such areas decrease the amount of wasted land between developed parcels and areas and in turn don't contribute to the opening up of vast areas of land to strip development by requiring the extension of public service lines to outlying locations. These reductions conserve natural resources and reduce the amount of pollution we produce.

More compact development means a reduction in the amount and therefore cost of land for each dwelling, providing the potential for housing to become more affordable. Lower income people without automobiles become more mobile in such environments, increasing their access to jobs and services and localities will be able to provide a variety of housing options providing greater opportunities for residents to remain in the community as their housing needs change.

While private property becomes more compact, public space in turn becomes energized, lively and diverse. What was once a private activity of running errands and journeying to work by car, can become a public activity encouraging human contact on public streets. "Twenty-four percent of the trips of an average family are for shopping, education, and recreational activities, and 15 percent are

for services (bank, post office, etc.) and personal business (dry cleaners, doctor, etc.)".⁶ By fostering environments that bring these uses onto a pedestrian scale rather than on an auto scale, we regain person-scaled shops and services and perhaps we regain identity and a sense of community in our towns, out suburbs and our lives.

THE WHAT:

THE THESIS FOCUS or "SO HERE'S WHERE THE THESIS FITS IN":

It is this last point ^{point} that this thesis will concentrate on: If we were to encourage this kind of development today, would living in such mixed-use developments oriented to pedestrian use result in increased contact and personalized relations with members of the community at large and fellow residents? I agree with the following statement that, "...forms of...

contact are important, ...particularly informal, unplanned contact among both acquaintances and strangers. It is important both as the first stage toward established relationships, but also for its own sake. It is, most simply, a way of being with other people, of feeling a part of the human community."⁷

While the built environment cannot wholly determine the quality of social interaction nor the sense of belonging people have, -- there being more of a dialectic occurring

⁶ Van der Ryn, Sim and Peter Calthorpe Sustainable Communities, Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1986.

⁷ Turner, Christina H. A Sociable Place, 1986 masters thesis, Dpt of Architecture, M.I.T.

between and among people and the built environment -- I do feel that some built environments can be more conducive to fostering positive social interaction than others. My question is whether or not these contemporary mixed use projects can be one of these conducive environments.

THE HOW:

MY APPROACH OR METHODOLOGY:

To answer my question of whether small scale mixed-use environments nurture positive informal social contacts for residents, I looked at three contemporary mixed-use developments which are developed in a fashion complementary to the traditional centers of which they are extensions. I spoke with planners, developers and on site management to better understand these places. And then I spoke with residents to see if a feeling of community in terms of the friendliness of public and commercial interaction is there for them. Do residents meet and get to know one another through the pedestrian-oriented public and commercial environments? What amount of and of what character is their contact with people on the streets and pathways, in the stores and in the community centers?

Based on interviews with six residents at each of the three developments -- Boltwood Walk in Amherst, Pickering Wharf in Salem, and Brick Market Place in Newport, Rhode Island -- I sought to answer these questions for myself and find out if these contemporary small scale, pedestrian-

oriented, mixed-use developments nurture positive informal social contacts.

I asked six residents in each development about their likes and dislikes about living in the development. I asked about their daily interactions within the public and commercial spaces of the development itself and in its immediate surrounds. I tried to get a feel for what those interactions were like, and in what ways, and to what degree these interactions contributed or did not contribute to a positive community feeling.

SELECTION OF THE SITES:

The first part of exploring this question was to locate contemporary mixed use development meeting the criteria that I believe leads to the creation of environments conducive to increased positive social contact. Those criteria include first, that the development be in a suburban, town, or small city locale i.e. those places which I see as being most vulnerable to sprawling, dehumanizing development. Second, that there be a significant residential component consisting of a reasonably stable group of residents. Third, that the development be designed at a human scale with a strong emphasis on creating a pedestrian environment. Fourth, that there was an intent for synergy between the residential uses and the other uses on the site. Fifth, that it not be a mega project. Sixth, that it be close enough to Boston to be within reasonable travel time

allowing me to get to the site. Therefore, the study area was confined to nearby New England.

To my surprise, finding sites that fulfilled my criteria was a very difficult task. I believe what made it so difficult was that I limited my search to areas outside of major cities. Outside major cities, mixed-use developments only seem able to work if they are either (1) large mega projects in the Urban Land Institute vein, providing a large enough population within the project to support the commercial uses on its own, or (2) completely transient-oriented areas drawing an age-stratified population from outside the area to a focused destination. Such is the case with relatively isolated mixed-use ski-resort developments which draw only physically fit people who want close access to the ski-lifts.

In between these two scenarios, I thought I would find much more--possibly existing between larger cities along highways or on the edges of towns. At highway locations and town edges one may be able to get small scale mixed-use development with a high density of housing, but, upon reflection, it seems highly unlikely that such a development would have a human-scaled pedestrian environment, synergy between uses, or an ensuing village-like community lifestyle, even if the development did have "village" or "center" in its title.

In a highway location outside of an existing town

center, a mixed use development seems to have to take the shape of an auto-oriented planned unit development (PUD). Because the development needs to pull in outside people to build a customer base large enough to support its commercial uses, a design facilitating a "village" or "center" lifestyle or feel for residents would be highly unlikely. Stores would have to be oriented to the highway and passing autos to pull in the needed customers, and thus designed with large stretches of asphalt to accomodate auto access. Most likely, this parking would have to be very visible, in order to assure passing drivers of the convenience of stopping, making it very difficult for the development to "hide" the parking to facilitate the creation of a village look and feel. Because of the need to have a set of commercial uses that would attract customers other than nearby residents, residents would most likely have to get in a car and drive somewhere else to find the residentially oriented services they need.

If the developer were to try to at least create a traditional residential environment for the housing, most likely the "mixed use" development would come to resemble something like the much touted Burlington Center along Route 128, which in essence is two large globs of housing and office space plopped down next to eachother within the same development but kept completely separate. While the developers boast that "Our residents will be able to use

the office park's jogging trails, fitness center, and cafeteria", the nature of the design means they would most likely have to drive over to the other side of the development to do so. So much for "drastic traffic reductions" and a community feel.⁸

Thus, what is left are the types of towns and cities in which I managed to locate small scale mixed-use developments. These cities are of comparable size--30,000-40,000 people, have the traditional densely laid out town center, and some attraction that draws additional people from outside the town. For the places I located, that attraction was either an educational institution, or an ability to draw tourists, with a combination of local charm, historical significance and special events. In addition to locating the three contemporary developments that I studied located within areas fitting this description, I also located a development just recently finished in Portsmouth, New Hampshire which combines local charm with a series of music and theatre festivals which are able to attract that additional population needed to support the commercial venues. This information further solidifies my belief that contemporary small scale mixed-use developments with pedestrian orientation and a community feel may only be able to survive in such locales.

⁸ "Developers combine work, living quarters"
Christopher Kenneally The Boston Globe, January 14, 1989.

Of the three developments I found to study, all three met the basic criteria I had except for Brick Market Place, which lacked a stable population base. Unfortunately, many of the units at Brick Market Place were bought for investment purposes and are rented out to Naval students on short term leases, rendering them in my mind ineligible for interviews on the topic of local community feel, since they were so transient. There is a small core of permanent residents at Brick Market Place who I was able to interview though, with all but one of them living on the site full time.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS:

Chapter Two will take a closer look at each of these three developments -- the towns of which they are a part, how the projects came to be, their design and commercial and resident make-up. Chapter three will then discuss how well how the developments, as mixed-use and pedestrian-oriented environments, contribute to positive informal social interactions for their residents. In this discussion, I will explore (a) the quality of social interactions in several different spheres (b) the degree of pedestrian-connected work/live arrangements these developments are able to provide, (c) the potential these developments may harbor for local commercial and residential displacement, and (d) the unrealized opportunities of such developments. Chapter

four will then summarize my conclusions.

CHAPTER 2: THE CASES

BOLTWOOD WALK -- AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS:

The Town of Amherst:

Boltwood Walk is connected to the traditional town center of Amherst, a town in the scenic lower pioneer valley in West Central Massachusetts. Amherst is twenty three miles from the nearest city, Springfield and 87 miles from Boston. The town center is at the intersection of routes 9 and 116 located away from major arterials, and has maintained its very quaint look and feel.

With a population of approximately 34,000, Amherst is historically an agricultural and college town. Both Amherst College, located right at the town center and University of Massachusetts at Amherst, located in a valley away from the town center, influence the town character with a steady influx of students and a liberalizing open-minded attitude which is found in the townspeople as well as the educational community. Many of the townspeople are or were once associated with the university either as students, educators, staff or service providers. There also seems to be a cache of artists and a budding population of retirees.

While the role of education in the town has expanded over the years with U Mass Amherst expanding its enrollment, the role of agriculture has contracted as land prices have risen, younger generations have lost interest in farming,



Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER

**Page has been omitted due to a pagination error
by the author.**

and pressure has mounted to sell out to subdivision developers. University pressures on the local housing supply and general growth pressures have resulted in affordable housing becoming a major issue for the town.

How Boltwood Walk Came to Be:

Boltwood Walk got its start in 1969, when the Development and Industrial Commission (DIC) of Amherst conducted a study of the 3.2 acre center school complex -- an area consisting of several closed public school buildings. The town realized that having such an expanse of land available in the center of town presented an opportunity to significantly affect the growth and character of not only the center of Amherst, but the entire Amherst community. The DIC recommended that the site and possibly some privately held parcels adjacent to the site be developed as a mixed use area combining apartment buildings, shops and community facilities. They also suggested that the area be developed as a single entity with a unifying theme as opposed to being developed in a fragmented manner.

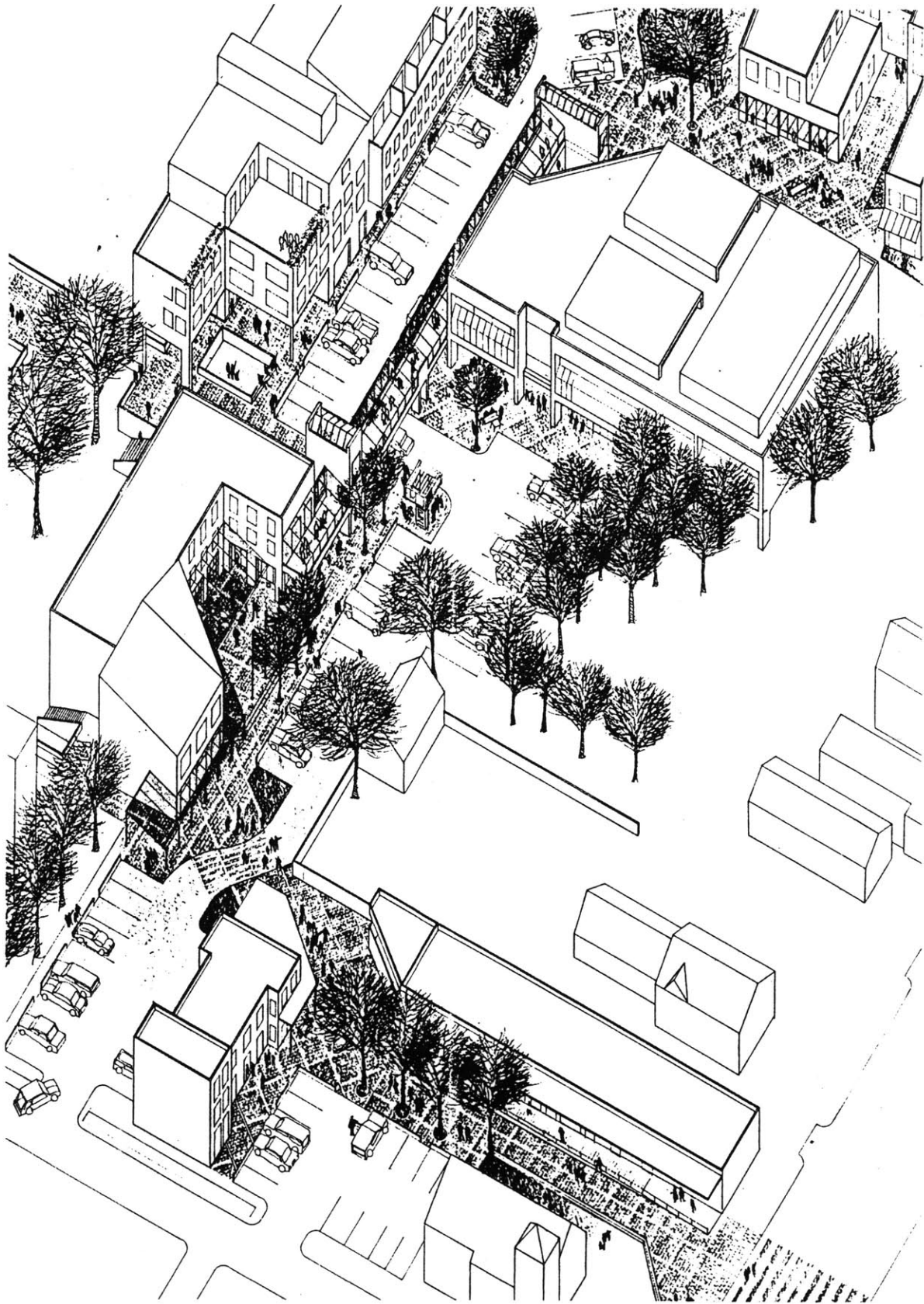
In 1970, the Center School Complex committee formed, and with two other committees, a host of consultants and a lot of input solicited from a broad cross section of townspeople and local organizations worked out a preliminary

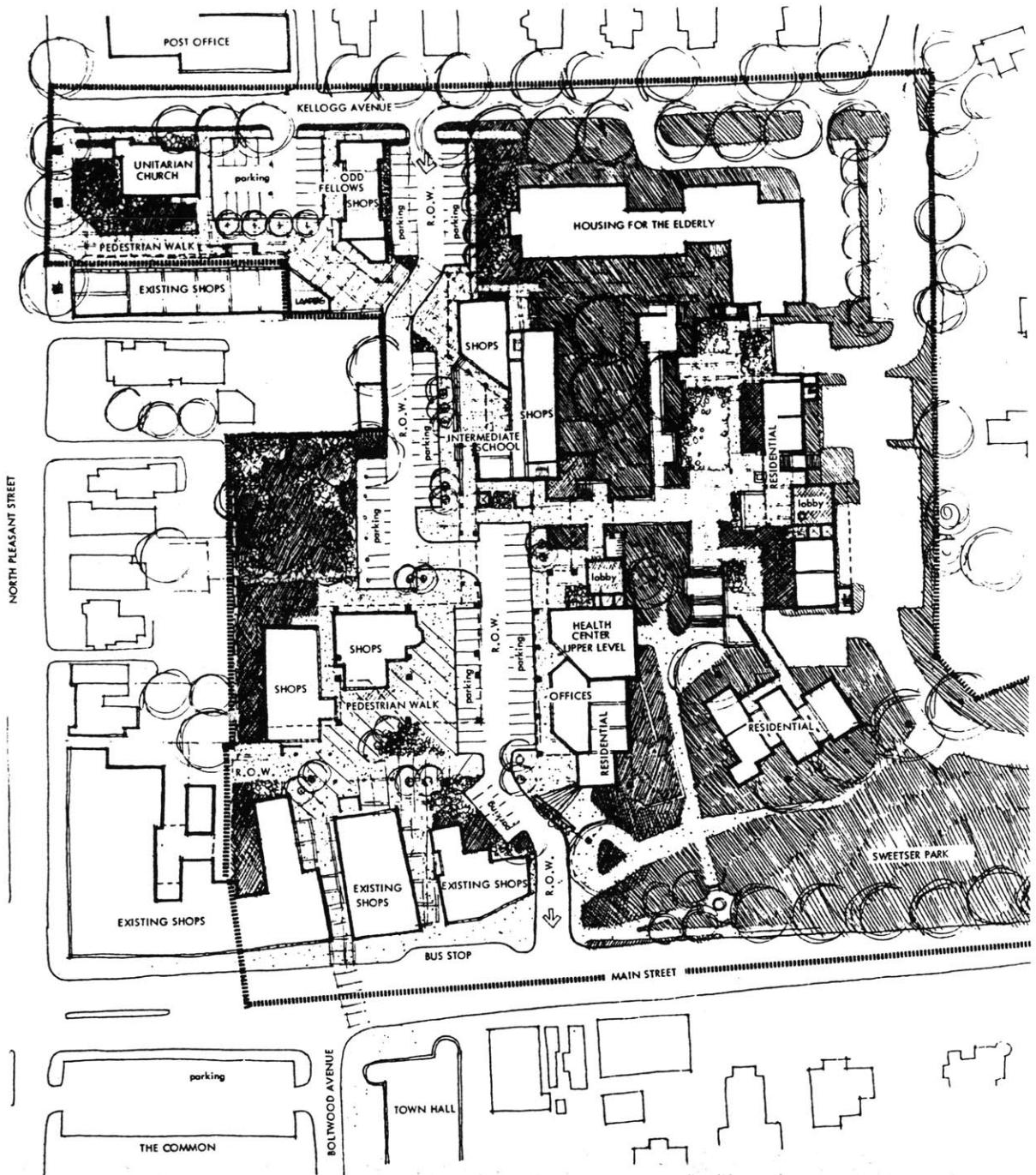
plan. The plan consisted of a 9.6 acre site (the School Center Complex plus some adjacent properties) of mixed uses connected by pedestrian pathways. The plan was named Boltwood Walk because of an existing passageway onto the site which serves as a visual extension of Boltwood Avenue. While Boltwood Walk was envisioned as a place that Amherst residents of every age could enjoy, there was a strong consensus from within the community for Boltwood Walk to also be an integrated complex for the elderly residents of all income levels in Amherst.

The area was declared a redevelopment area, a redevelopment authority was formed, outside matching funds were obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs, and from the Office for Elder Affairs, and municipal bonds were floated.

The Elements of the Plan -- A Mixture of Uses:

The site is a combination of new building, remodeling and reuse of existing buildings, and expansion of existing commercial space. The site has two physical, topographical levels, -- an upper and lower level -- with a slope connecting the two somewhat through the middle.





The lower northeast portion of the site is residentially oriented. The plan envisioned this portion to contain a five floor 80 unit subsidized apartment building

for the elderly overlooking a large green area to be shared with other apartment buildings built nearby. Occupants of all these buildings are be able to walk with ease to other shops and services located on site. The proposed health center and combined shopping area are still not built. The existing commercial buildings are traditional mixed use structures, having a sprinkling of rental and condominium dwellings as well as offices and shops on the second and third floors. The Senior Center serves as a link between the more upper commercially oriented area of the site and the lower more residentially oriented level of the site. The Northwest portion of the site retains the Unitarian church as well as the Odd Fellows building, which has been retrofitted to accommodate shops and office space.

16,000 additional square feet of commercial space were included within the plan for Boltwood Walk (although slightly less than the planned amount has been constructed as of yet) to both strengthen the center of Amherst and strike a balance between the income-producing and public facilities. The inclusion of commercial was essential to putting together a financially sound i.e. self-liquidating project. A report done on the central business district indicated a high retail potential in the town due to the purchasing power of those related to the university. Keeping the center vital by upgrading and expanding the downtown shopping area was cited as important to the future

of the town.

By locating new commercial space immediately behind the existing businesses on Main Street and North Pleasant Street, the viability and success of the existing commercial uses in the town center would be reinforced and a pedestrian loop for shopping would be created, thus expanding the town center into the redevelopment area. The committee hoped that the new pedestrian shopping loop would encourage owners of land on Main Street and North Pleasant outside of the redevelopment area to follow suit and also develop the back areas of their properties facing onto Boltwood Walk. This has occurred in several instances on the site. The yogurt shop, print shop and 2 small restaurants facing the walk are all the result of building owners taking advantage of the backs of their buildings. The plan recognized that, "the proximity of the western portion of the site to the recognized center of town and the existing commercial activity makes it a prime location for commercial development".¹

While the Redevelopment Authority believed that, "...the life blood of any project designed for people is their ability to walk through the site, at their own pace, without interference from vehicular traffic", they also saw that economic success of the shops within the site hinged on

¹ The Boltwood Walk Plan for the Center School Complex Redevelopment Project Amherst Redevelopment Authority, October, 1972

people's easy ability to traverse the site.² They saw the Boltwood Walk shopping area as a place to go, to meet friends, to stroll, and a convenient and attractive place to shop. They also believed that, "the older residents of the area (would) greatly benefit from being able to obtain the goods and services they require within (added emphasis) the site."³

Construction has occurred in phases with the first residents moved into Ann Whalen House in 1975. One remaining phase has yet to occur.

The Site Today:

Today, the town planner believes having residents in the town center is vital to the continuing vitality of Amherst's center. "Without residents in downtown, you've got a dead...

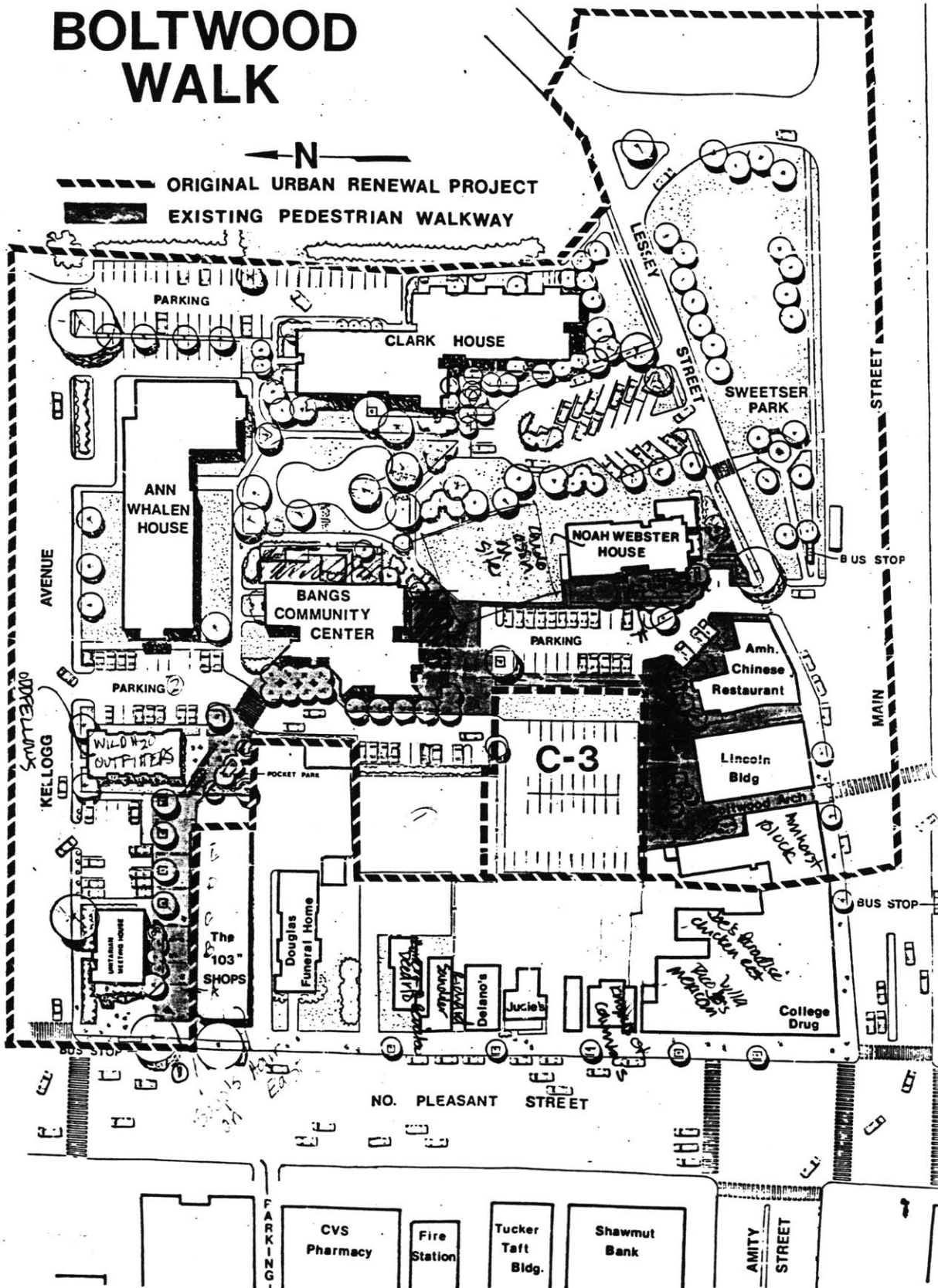
downtown. In order to support almost any downtown, you have to have a core group of people who are living there who, when the students are gone for four months out of the year, buy the products and the services and so forth that keep things alive."⁴

² The Boltwood Walk Plan for the Center School Complex Redevelopment Project, Amherst Redevelopment Authority, October, 1972.

³ The Boltwood Walk Plan for the Center School Complex Redevelopment Project, Amherst Redevelopment Authority, October, 1972.

⁴ Jonathan Tucker, planner for the Town of Amherst, personal interview 1989

BOLTWOOD WALK



While all of the development laid out in the plan has not been fully realized and there are still areas under consideration for development on the site at present, the goal of a mixed use area containing housing, commerce and community facilities linked by pedestrian pathways exists and residents have been living on the site since 1975. Between Ann Whalen House, which is exclusively subsidized elderly units, and Clark House which is mostly subsidized and consists of approximately 80% elderly and 20% low income families and physically disabled adults, there are 180 units of additional housing in the center of Amherst. The Commercial Uses include the following:

BOLTWOOD WALK SHOPS AND RESTAURANTS	
NAME OF STORE	MERCHANDISE
Wildwater Outfitters	wilderness store
acupuncturist	
Twister's Pub	
Marcie's Vegetarian Restaurant	restaurant and catering
Bananarama Yogurt	
Wickles Fine Prints	framing and copy shop
Amherst Chinese Restaurant	
Joe's Paradise Chicken	
Taco Villa Mexican Food	
The "103 Shops"	
Dry Cleaners	
Army Navy Store	
Panda East Chinese Restaurant	
Underground Sound	stereo equipment
Paul's Shoe Service	

The "103 Shops", though not officially in the redevelopment area face onto Boltwood Walk.

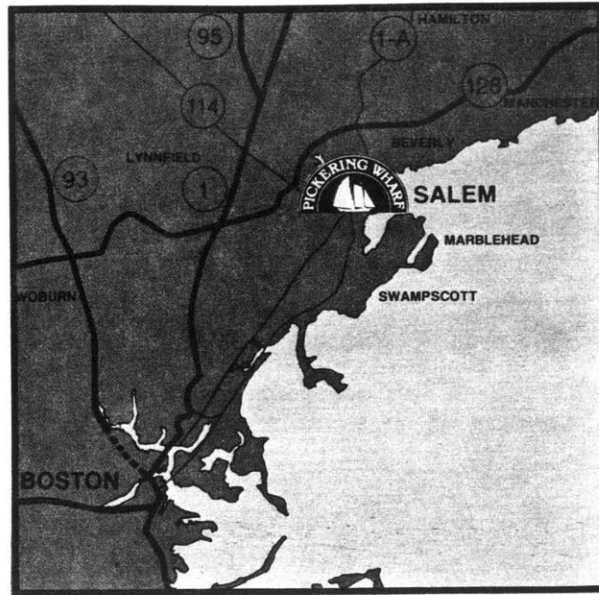
leather industries at the helm. Salem today finds its strength and leading sources of employment in manufacturing, services and the retail trade industry. In addition, Salem also draws over 500,000 tourists a year to view its rich cultural and historic past captured in its historic architecture.⁵

Salem's strong economic position was slipping in the 60's partially as a result of transportation artery additions and improvements to Route 28 and Route 1, which left Salem relatively inaccessible and off the beaten track. Shopping malls, especially the regional shopping center in Peabody, also contributed to the economic slowdown in Salem's downtown hurting commercial establishments with their easy access off route 28 and free and easy parking. Salem also felt the nationwide decline in manufacturing.

In the 1970's, Salem embarked upon a serious revitalization effort in their downtown including a shopping mall called the East India Mall (currently having some problems), Essex Street Mall-- a main street that was converted into a pedestrian mall and heavy investment in historic restoration and preservation efforts. Pickering Wharf entered this redevelopment story around 1974.

⁵ Pat A. Bisha "Pickering Wharf: On the Waterfront" in Metronorth Business Review, February, 1987.

How Pickering Wharf Came to Be:



Pickering Wharf dates back to the 1700's when it was known as Union Wharf before being purchased by the Pickering company in the early 1900's. Salem's Pickering family was known for owning the oldest house in America (dating back to 1651) to be continuously occupied by the same family. The Pickering Company used the wharf for the storage of coal and later, oil and gasoline.

Pickering Oil was taken over by North East Petroleum (NEP) in the late 60's and storage space was leased further down the waterfront on North East Power Company (NEPCO) land leaving Pickering Wharf vacant because it was considered too small for their operations. When NEPCO refused to renew NEP's contract for storage space further down the waterfront, NEP wanted to return to Pickering Wharf and

expand it to accommodate their operations. Some in the city were against a use which seemed incompatible with the neighboring community and burgeoning tourist trade. The wharf is several blocks from the core of Salem containing the Witchcraft Museum, adjacent to the National Maritime park, and within walking distance of the House of the Seven Gables and Custom House. So the city ended up working out an arrangement between NEPCO, NEP and themselves which would allow NEP to retain storage space rights on NEPCO land further down the wharf, have NEP help pay for some feasibility studies for Pickering Wharf, and allow the city a two-year option on the wharf property. By the end of the two years, the city had to have a project ready to go, or control would revert back to NEP. NEP would also make the land available for development to the city at one-half its appraised value of \$560,000.⁶ This was in 1974.

Between 1974 and 1976, Salem hired the best names and talents they could to figure out what they could do with the site, developing parameters and a flashy brochure in the hopes of using the waterfront site as a way of linking downtown revitalization to the waterfront. Following the examples of other successful redevelopment authorities in the 70's, Salem then opened up the site for bidding to see what developers would offer. The city was hoping for a

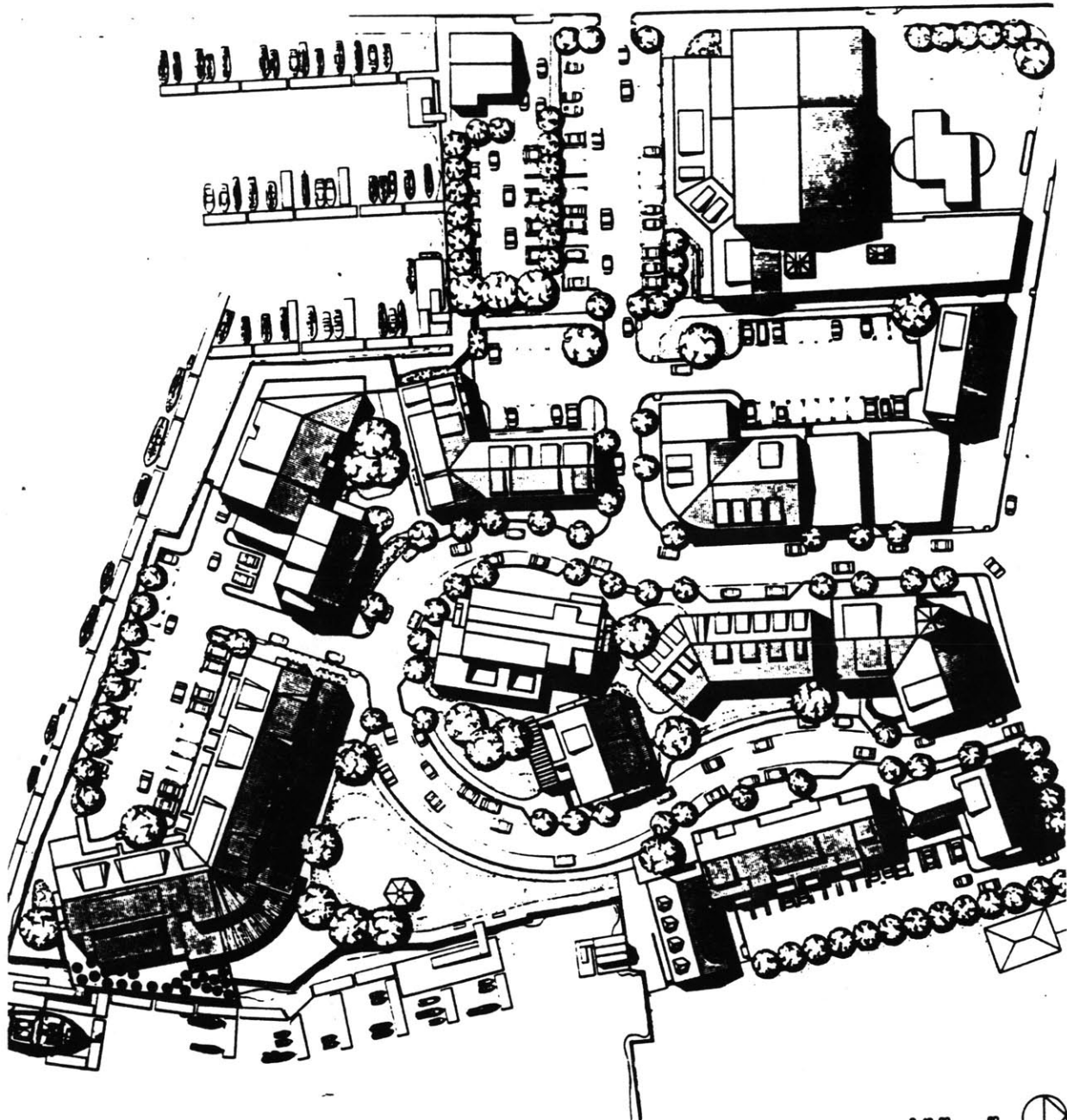
⁶Wrenn, Douglas M., John A. Casazza, J. Eric Smart
Urban Waterfront Development the Urban Land Institute, 1983.

hotel, but they had no takers.

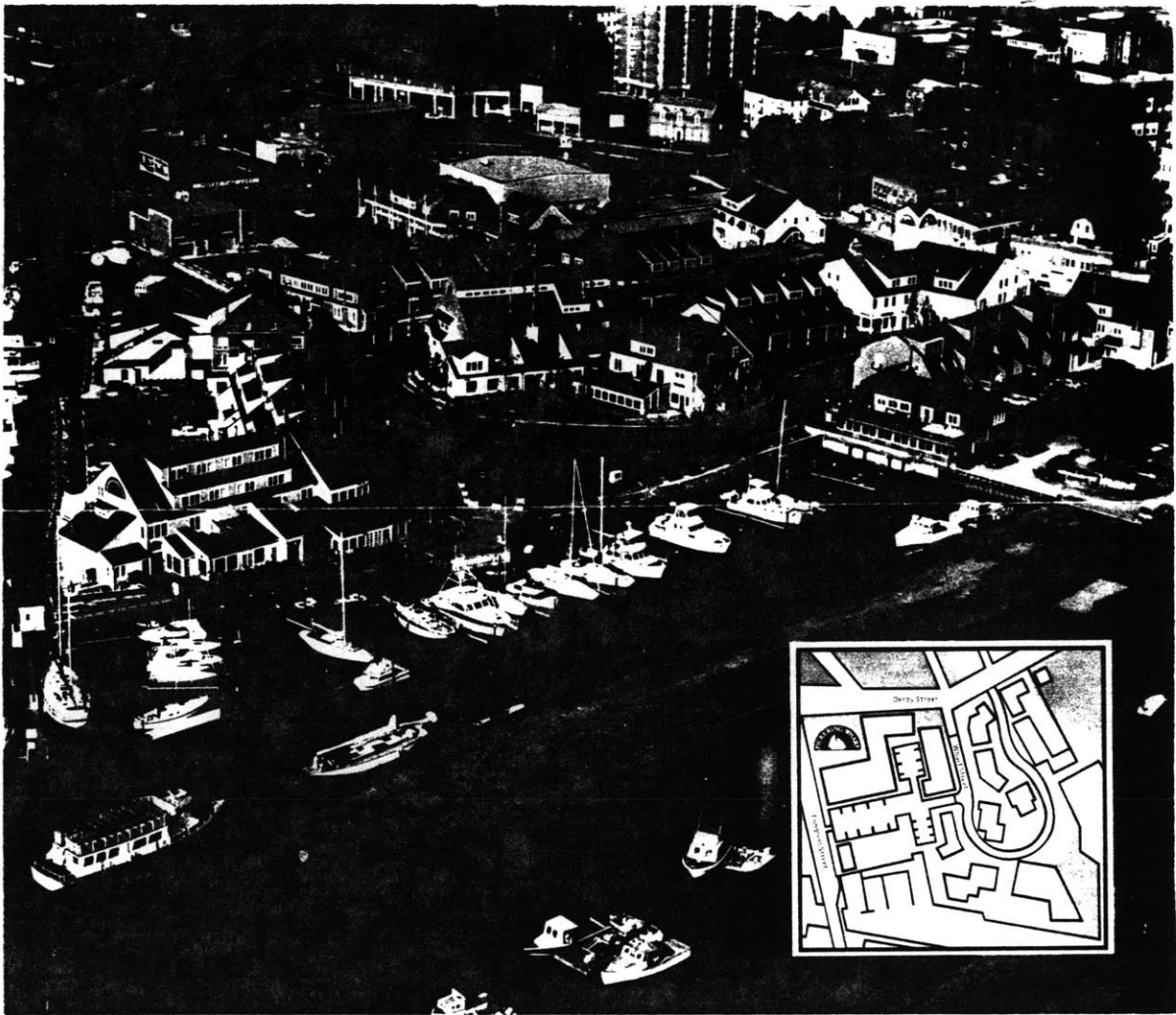
Luckily, a very aggressive local realtor got three local developers together who became ABC Realty -- Ardess, -- a single family housing contractor, Bramble -- a landscape architect, and Collins -- a developer of strip shopping centers--who, along with a local savings bank, the Salem Five Cents Savings Bank put together the financing and the concept for the mixed use development that exists on the site today. They bought the site from Salem in 1976 on the last day of the city's option, construction started in 1977, and the project was completed in the spring of 1980. ABC Realty sold their interest to the bank prior to completion in 1979, who then held onto the development and managed it until 1983 when they sold the project to The Development Group, a Newton-based management and development firm who manages it to this day.

The Design of Pickering Wharf:

Pickering Wharf consists of twelve low-rise mixed-use buildings containing 45 retail shops and restaurants, offices, and 54 residential condominiums on a 5.2 acre site bordering the South River. The buildings are of traditional New England character and are designed to complement the scale and character of historic Salem. The design concept was to recreate a traditional New England wharf environment.



PICKERING WHARF
Salem, Massachusetts



A pedestrian scale and emphasis dominates the development, with the buildings oriented to form a set of pedestrian ways and open spaces. Public pedestrian access to the waterfront is also addressed by a public walkway along the wharf and near the slips. The general idea was to mix uses to keep the place active throughout the day and to gear the site toward pedestrians to give the place a busy streetscape environment evocative of the historic mercantile and commerce atmosphere of the wharf during its heyday in

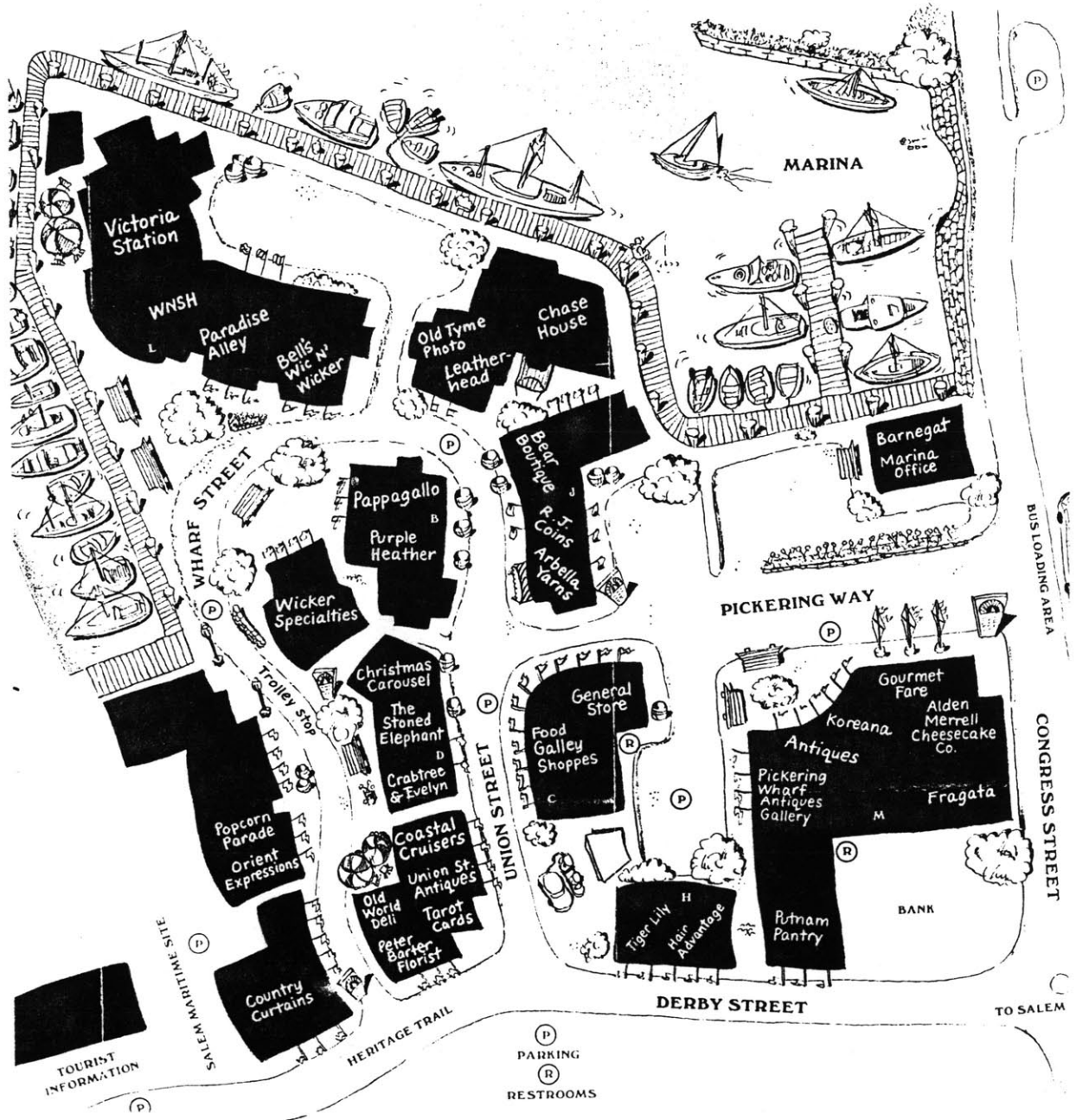
the eighteenth century.

The project is oriented around one interior street curving through the site, with vehicular access mostly limited to perimeter of the site, leaving the street less congested and more hospitable to a pedestrian feel. Resident parking is separated from visitor parking and is on the perimeter of the site, mostly concealed by buildings to keep the pedestrian atmosphere intact. Parking areas are also set aside for restaurants and museum visitors, though there is not any available on site for daytime workers or tourists.

The Retail Portion:

Retail activity has been restricted to the ground floors with office and condominium units of 1,000 to 1,500 square feet limited to the upper floors. Upper floors of buildings are either all office or all residential with condominiums units located closest to the waterfront to provide residences with views of the harbor. Retail tenants are mostly crafts shops, antique stores, and boutiques. There is a small food gallery including a general store selling newspapers candy and such. There are no service stores such as groceries, dry cleaners or banks on the site. Three restaurants occupy space and there have been efforts to see that retail tenants underneath residents do not

generate excessive noise or odors, and close at reasonable times. Uses on site are oriented as follows and are listed on the following page.



PICKERING WHARF SHOPS AND RESTAURANTS

NAME OF STORE

MERCHANDISE

Cheesecake Company	cheesecakes, baked goods
Gourmet Fare	foods, gifts, catering
Popcorn Parade	multi-flavored popcorn
Putnam Pantry	candy/icecream
Arbella Yarns	yarns/designs
Peter Barter Florist	flowers, gifts
Bear Boutique	toys/gifts
Bells Wic n Wicker	candles/gifts
Christmas Carousel	christmas store
Country Curtains	home furnishings
Crabtree and Evelyn	toiletries
Koreana	furniture/accessories
Leatherhead	leather and jewelry
Orient Expressions	kimonos, jewelry...
Pappagallo	shoes, accessories
Antique Gallery	antique dealers
Purple Healther	irish imports
R.J. Coins	jewelry and coins
The Stoned Elephant	tshirts, gifts, cards
Tiger Lily Boutique	clothing, jewelry
Union Street Antiques	antiques
Wicker Specialities	furniture, accessories
Hair Advantage, Inc	hair salon
Tarot Cards	readings
WNSH	harbor broadcasting
Barnegat Transportation	marina/whalewatch
Coastal Cruisers	
Hawthorne Tours	bus tours
Salem Trolley	sightseeing tours
The Food Gallery-	
bavarian strudel shop	
pizza/sandwichs	
barbequed food	
chinese food	
salad, sandwich	
general store	cigarettes, candy, film,
Restaurants	
Chase House	Seafood
Fragata	Portugese
Old World Deli	Delicatessen
Victoria Station	Seafood/prime rib

The Residential Portion:

The residential units, originally numbering 45, increased to 53 units through conversion of intended office space, because of high demand. The residential units were also originally rental units, but were quickly converted to condominiums for financial reasons. It seems that housing was able to carry the front end costs for the office and commercial which took longer to get occupied and running smoothly. The commercial remains in a lease arrangement although efforts to get them converted to condominiums are under way.

The floor plans for the condominium units vary and include lofts and duplexes. Units were built with either one or two-bedrooms and have both interior and exterior stairway entrances. Two of the larger two bedroom units were converted to 3 bedroom units by their owners bringing the count to ten one-bedroom units, forty-one two-bedroom units and two three-bedroom units. Two-bedroom units originally sold for around \$80-\$90,000.⁷ and currently are valued at approximately \$136,000.⁸

⁷ Joe Jones, Real Estate Broker and one of the first residential owners in Pickering Wharf- personal interview 1989

⁸ City of Salem assessed valuations for 1988

The Residential Population:

According to the yearly census for Salem, 85 adult residents live at Pickering Wharf ranging in age from twenty-five to sixty-six. Approximately 20% of the residents are over fifty and some of the residents have children.

BRICK MARKET PLACE -- NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND:

The City of Newport:

Brick Market Place is located in Newport, Rhode Island, a city at the southern end of Aquidneck Island in the Narragansett Bay. Newport lies about thirty miles south of the City of Providence and currently has a population of approximately 30,000. The Atlantic ocean borders Newport on its southern and eastern sides, with Narragansett Bay on the west and the Town of Middletown on the northeast.

Newport was founded in 1639 by a small group of settlers who left Portsmouth. Rhode Island towns, unlike Massachusetts towns, did not follow the "Village Green" style of town planning due to the strong Rhode Island philosophy of separation of Church and State. Instead, Thames Street was the first street to be laid out, and functioned as a spine for future development which branched off of it. Historically, Thames Street along with

parallelling Spring Street were mixed use streets with changes in use not only from building to building, but vertically, within the same building -- retail on the ground floor with residential above.⁹

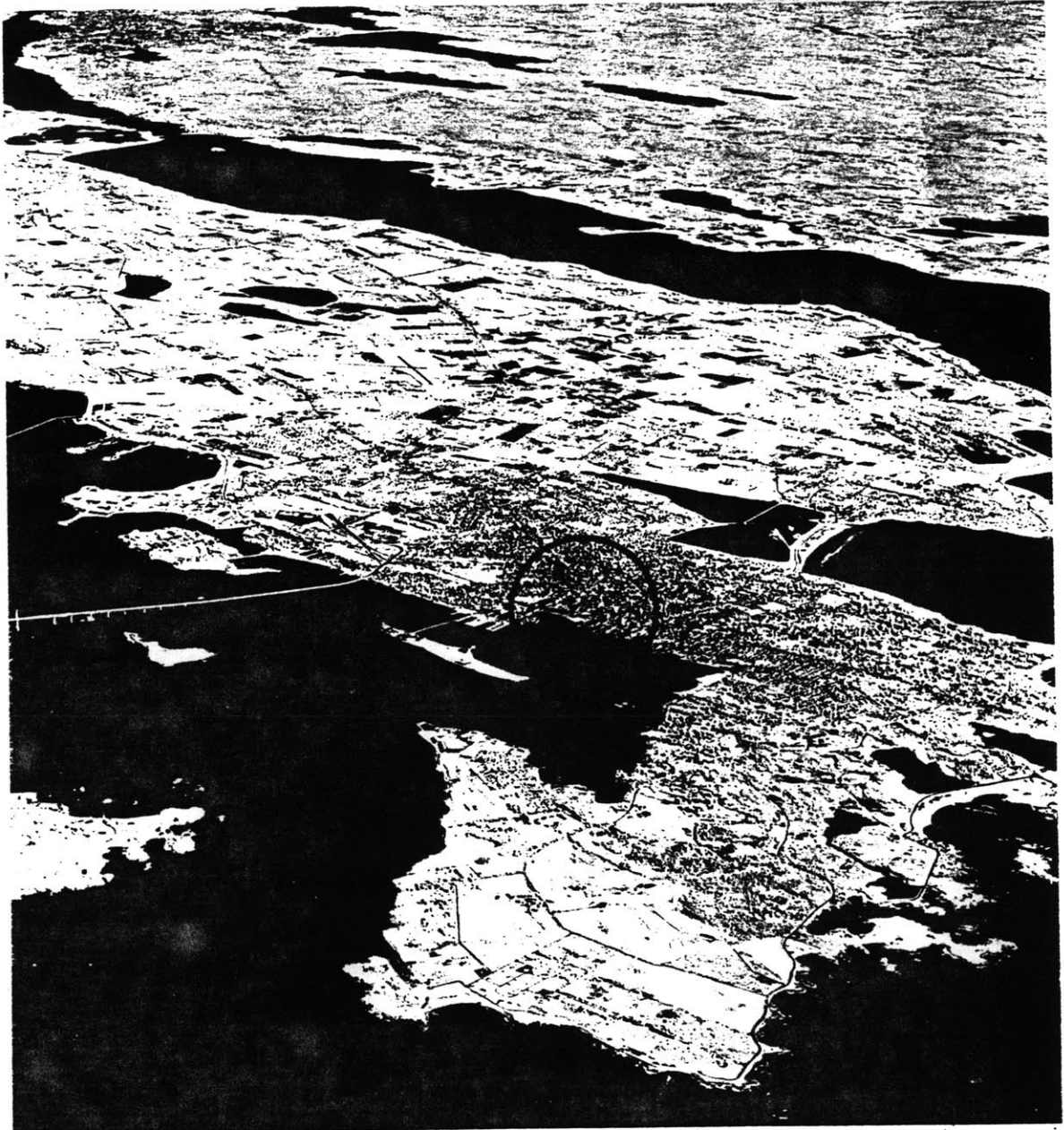
Newport's early growth centered around its harbor and many of the early residents were merchants. They became quite wealthy off the trade of rum, molasses and slaves between New England, the West Indies, and Africa. Laws were passed early on to divert some of the profits from the slave trade to city improvements.⁹ Whale oil and candle-making industries were also important around this time in Newport. The prosperity and development of the mid 1700's declined when the British occupied Newport from 1776-79, followed by the French from 1780-81. Newport was incorporated as a city in 1784 and rechartered in 1853.¹⁰

Newport later became one of the chief Naval ports on the Atlantic Seaboard in addition to a desirable location that drew many of America's wealthiest families to build palatial homes there. By 1900, Newport became one of the most exclusive vacation spots.

⁹The Urban Design Plan: Historic Hill, Newport, Rhode Island, prepared for the Redevelopment Agency of the City of Newport, 1971

⁹The Urban Design Plan- Historic Hill, Newport, Rhode Island 1971

¹⁰City of Newport Rhode Island Monograph June, 1979
The Rhode Island Development Council



© John Hopf.

As Newport's declining trading port economy was replaced by Naval activities and a summer resort economy for the wealthy including events like the famous America's Cup yachting race, the waterfront area of town began to fall

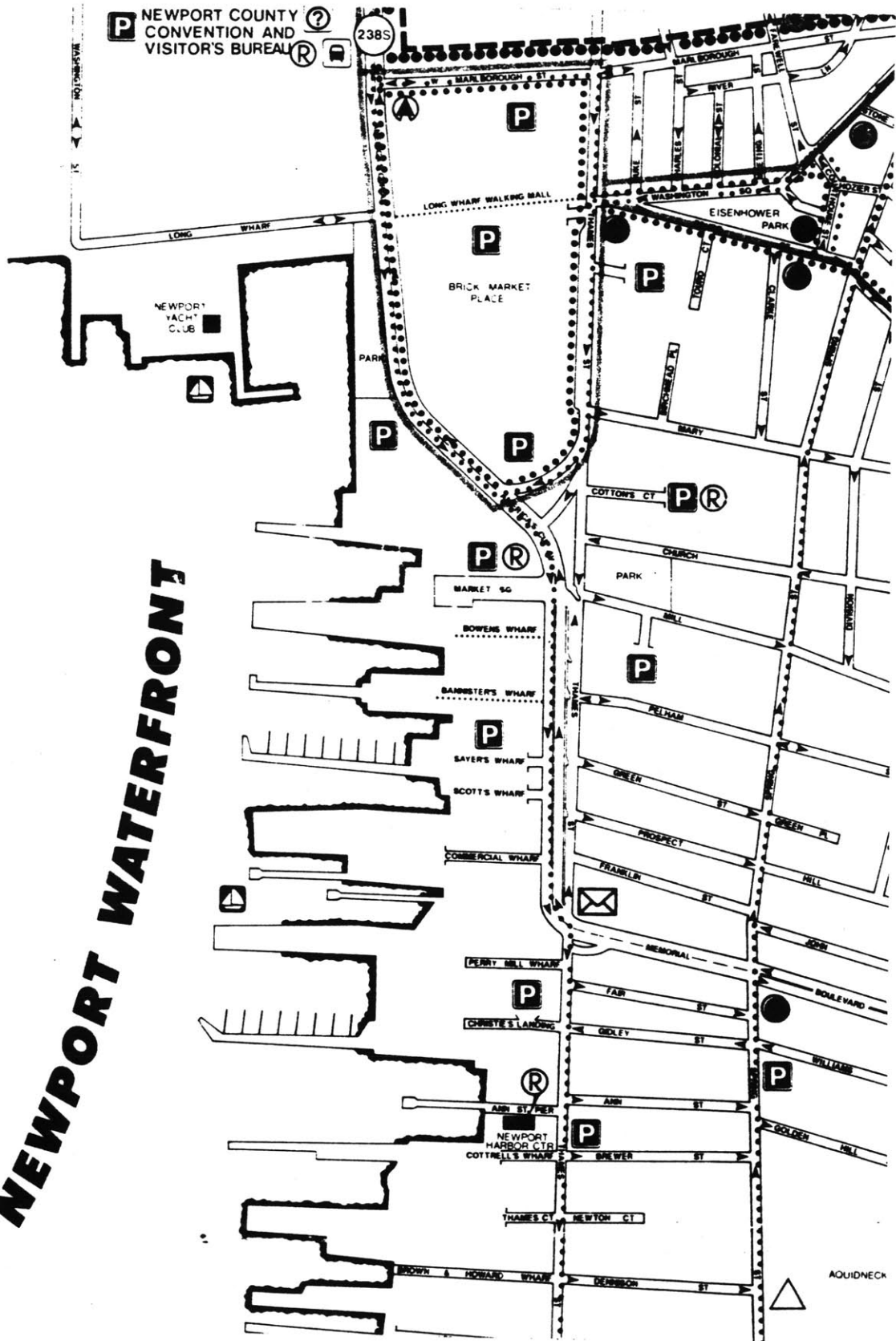
into a state of disrepair. The fishing industry closed. The coal barge fell into disuse with the importing of natural gas from abroad in the 60's. Department stores like Grants, Woolworths, the Boston Store and smaller chains began their historic post World War II flight from the downtowns into the suburbs. With the Jamestown bridge being constructed, the wharf's ferry activities were closing up shop as well.

Redevelopment Comes to Newport:

It was within this context that planning for redevelopment began in the mid sixties. The redevelopment program envisioned, "...the rehabilitation of historic and structurally sound buildings located in the area (and the) replacement of deteriorating or obsolete buildings with new development".¹¹ The idea was to create a thriving business district once again in downtown Newport. The Long Wharf Market Square Project (of which Brick Market is a large part) was to be the first of four redevelopment projects to improve the Thames Street General Neighborhood Renewal Area bounded by West Marlborough Street to the north, Newport Harbor to the west, Fair Street to the south and School Street to the east.

¹¹ Thames Street Renewal Area General Neighborhood Renewal Plan, Redevelopment Agency of Newport

NEWPORT WATERFRONT



The remaining three projects were eventually combined into one project called Historic Hill whose goal was to rehabilitate and restore one of the oldest and most attractive parts of the city. Encouraging land uses consistent with historical precedents, Newport has a master plan which encourages mixed use development and zoning for mixed use development in areas with a history of mixed use and they have received a good amount of new development that is mixed use in orientation.

Long Wharf Market Square Project:

With \$3,300,000 in federal grants and \$1,016,000 in city funds, the redevelopment authority, under the direction of William Leyes, a longtime resident of Newport and owner of the family-run Leye's Department Store in downtown Newport, twenty acres of the Newport waterfront area were purchased and cleared. A sea wall and pedestrian mall were constructed with the historic Brick Market Building (1761) at its gateway. The remaining land within the site was sold or committed to private developers for commercial use to be developed along prescribed guidelines. A mix of uses were to be included on the site consisting of general business, office space, hotel, and apartment housing. Approximately 27,000 square feet of waterfront was

reserved for a park.¹² Specific Objectives outlined in the redevelopment plan included the following:

1. Integrated development of each project parcel, taking advantage of the design possibilities each parcel presents, the relationship of one parcel to another and the relationship of all these parcels to the Newport waterfront.
2. Organized system of pedestrian walks, open space, parking and loading facilities and landscaping, in order to functionally serve and aesthetically enhance the entire project.
3. Good architectural design of buildings, signs, and other structures with respect to scale, functional utility, use of materials, appropriateness, and harmonious relationship with other structures in and around the project area.
4. Residential dwelling units shall be located as to take maximum advantage of views of the harbor and adjoining historic areas.

A minimum of 100 square feet of usable open space shall be provided for each residential dwelling unit.

Residential dwelling units shall be located so that there are no objectionable influences in

¹²City of Newport Rhode Island Monograph June, 1970 by Rhode Island Development Council

terms of noise, odors, light and air from
nonresidential uses in the same or adjoining
building (emphasis added).¹³

The land on the north side of the pedestrian mall was sold to a small group of local developers who built what is called the Long Wharf Building containing commercial uses. At about the same time, the redevelopment authority sold the land across the newly developed America's Cup Roadway to another group of local developers who built the Treadway Motel. The largest parcel of land on the south side of the pedestrian mall was sold to CIC Associates -- made up of Rhode Island investors, who built the building on the south side of the pedestrian mall and then failed to carry through on the rest of the development.

At about this same time, midstream into redevelopment in 1973, the U.S. fleet withdrew from Newport and the Navy Yard on Goat Island closed leaving surplus government land, and a loss of population from approximately 40,000 in 1970 down to 30,000 in 1980.¹⁴ Despite this blow to the local economy, many of the naval functions still remained -- the Naval Education and Training Center, the Naval War College, the Naval Underwater Systems Center and the Officer

¹³ Long Wharf-Market Square Project Redevelopment Plan November, 1964, amended September 1969. Redevelopment Agency of Newport, Rhode Island

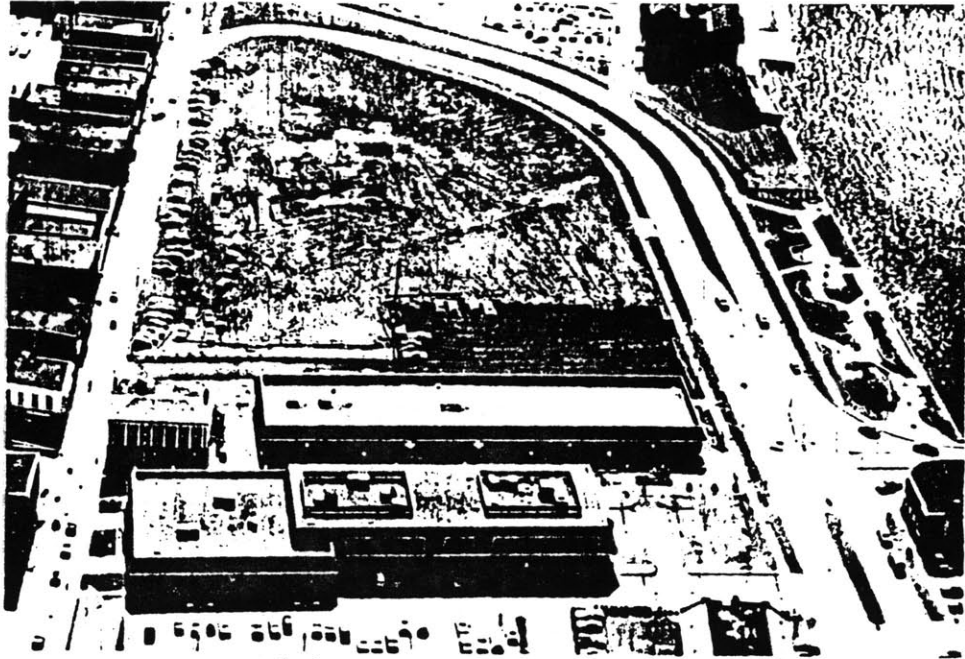
¹⁴ City of Newport Canvassing Office 1989

Candidates School, -- and tourism was picking up yearly. Redevelopment continued on schedule in spite of the loss of the fleet and trouble in renting up the Long Wharf shopping center.

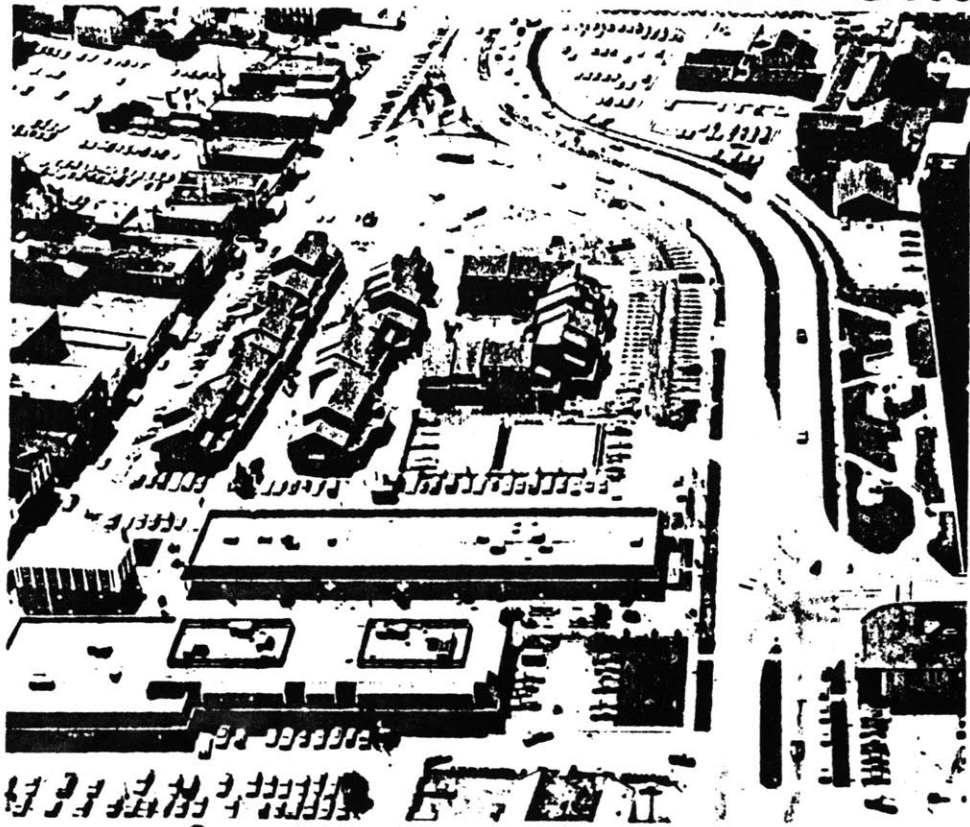
How Brick Market Came to Be:

It was at this time that Schochet Associates bought the remaining 3.5 acre undeveloped portion of CIC parcel and Brick Market came into focus. With the idea for Brick Market Place evolving from a proposal to move some of the colonial buildings on the site and creating an 18th century village, Planner Martin Adler, Architect V. Victors Vitols, and developer Jay Schochet proposed a contemporary mixed use development evocative of an old seacoast village. Not only did such an idea meet the redevelopment authority's requirements, but it also made economic sense, and could satisfy Newport's need for a stable, year round population to support the business district revitalization.

Thirty stores, ten offices and forty four residences were approved and built in 1974 becoming Brick Market I on 3.2 acres of the site with 1.2 acres developed later into Brick Market II, a mix of commercial and office in the same style.



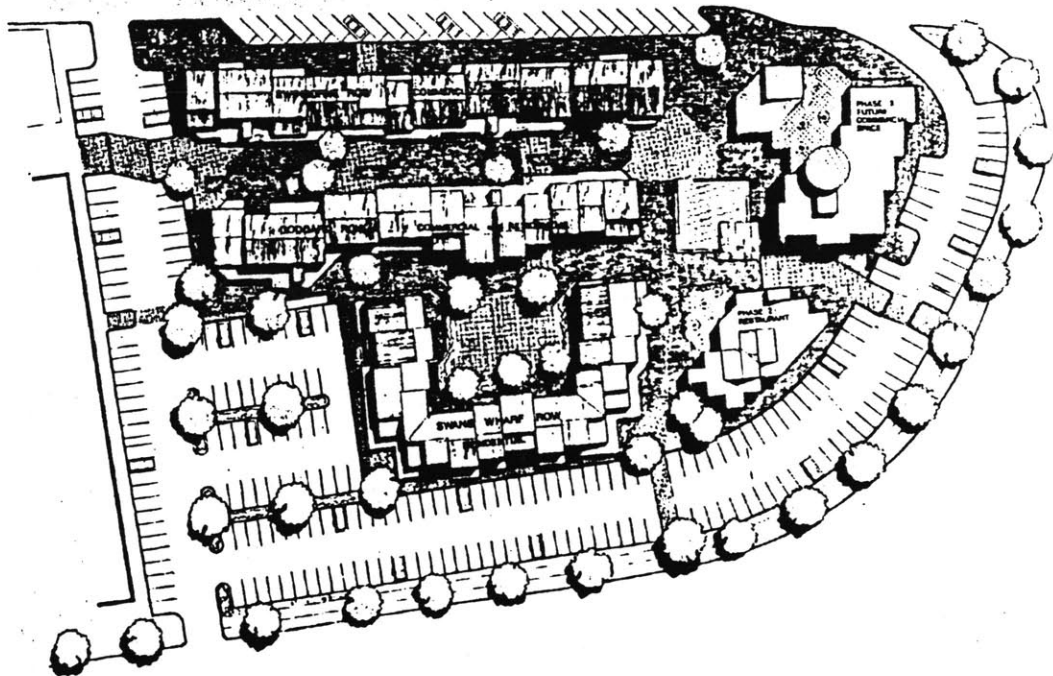
On a small urban site...



...a triple-use condo

The Design of Brick Market:

Three two and three-story row buildings are clustered on the site creating pedestrian walkways in between. "Swinburne Row" is parallel to Thames Street and has sixteen stores on the ground floor with seven residences and ten offices above. "Goddard Row" has fourteen stores with fifteen residences above. Each store fronts on two pedestrian walkways. Each residence and office has a terrace or balcony. "Swans Wharf Row", closest to the water has six townhouses and sixteen other units.



Brick Market Place is pedestrian oriented, with direct pedestrian links to Historic Hill, Long Wharf Mall, the park

and the harbor. Parking, located on the periphery of the site, provides a car free environment and does not interfere with the pedestrian atmosphere. Brick Market extends the scale and atmosphere of old Newport by keeping building heights and proportions the same.

The reasons for making Brick Market uses condominiums were several. There was a strong condominium market at the time. There was a gap in the market at the projected price range. Sale projects are easier to finance than rentals and it was thought that having the stores as condominiums would attract quality stores. ¹⁵

The Commercial Portion:

Prices for the stores which are 18 or 22 ft wide and from 40 to 55 ft deep ranged from \$38,220 to \$57,750 or approximately \$40.00 per square foot. Stores were also advertised with the pitch of buying the apartment unit above the store, eliminating commuting, and providing a unique live and work environment. Originally among the buyers were shops which sold, "...wine and liquor , gourmet food , tobacco, furniture, candles, yarns and needlepoint, plants, clothing, kitchen utensils, linens, books, gifts and Eskimo art".¹⁶ A list of current uses is on the following page:

¹⁵ Brick Market Place, Newport, R.I., House and Home, July 1986

¹⁶ "Brick Market, Newport Rhode Island" House and Home, July 1986

BRICK MARKET SHOPS AND RESTAURANTS

NAME OF STORE	MERCHANDISE
Viking Tours of Newport Viewpoint Ritrex Camera Bill Kelly Hair Studio The Book Bay	sightseeing tours, charters art prints and framing camera sale/repair, haircutting bookstore
Iron & Pine Oriental Arts Ltd	home accessories furniture and accessories
The Chocolate Soldier Cheese & Things Del's Frozen Lemonade Newport Deli	fine chocolates, candies gourmet foods... lemonade, pretzels, hotdogs sandwiches, soups takeout
Dave and Eddies High Noon Saloon & Eatery	seafood grille, cocktails food and spirits
Crystal Cove Candle Loft The Hook and I Pleasant Surprise The Rocking Horse The Nostalgia Factory The Newport Pineapple Born in America That's Different McMonogram Island Canvas	fine crystal candles, novelties yarn, needlework, supplies gifts, cards, teeshirts specialty toy store, souven antique signs... gifts and cards domestically crafted gifts gifts personalized accessories carry alls
Beach Party Resortwear & Gifts Shirt Sleeves Davidsons of Bermuda	resort wear and gifts teeshirt, sweatshirts, sportswear for the family, tennis, sailing, casual wear
Schooners Limited Resortworks Portwear The Boston Store In Sync Splash Dianne S	classic sportwear sportswear casualwear for men and wome men's & women's casual clot women's fashionwear/accesso fashion clothing, accessori lingerie
Leather Feet Sole Desire	fashion leather footwear casual footwear
Remembrance Portobello Newport Gold	estate and antique jewelry estate and modern jewelry fine and fashion jewelry

There was a considerable amount of turnover, and the price of commercial spaces also increased significantly to \$280.00 per square foot most recently. Along with the change in rent, there has clearly been a change in the types of stores which reside in Brick Market.

The Residential Portion:

The project includes eighteen one-bedroom apartments, six of those with lofts, twenty two-bedroom units and six three-bedroom townhouses. When the project opened, prices ranged from \$30,975 for a 762 square ft. one-bedroom apartment to \$63,825 for a 2,081 square ft. townhouse. The slowest sellers were the larger expensive units and the units without stores underneath, which were also more expensive. Today, a two bedroom condominium that sold for \$40,000 is worth \$160,000.¹⁷

The Residential Population:

Originally, homeowners were fairly evenly divided between second-home buyers and retirees, and there was one family with children. Today's residential mix is very different with the majority of the units being used as investments by their owners and rented to naval students who

¹⁷Telephone conversation with Dan Mcsweeney, manager for Brick Market II, Schoket Associates, 1989

lease out units for the 9 month term and have high turnover rates. Owners then occupy the unit for the summer and rent out again to naval students when fall rolls around. There are also a good number of units that are used as second units by their owners for weekends only. Only about 10% of the units are occupied year round by permanent residents.

CHAPTER THREE: THE FINDINGS

THE INTERVIEW PROCESS:

I interviewed a total of eighteen residents, six from each development. By no means is this a scientific random sample, meaning that I stake no claim to scientific validity. Conversations varied, as some people I spoke to reacted in a very literal way and gave me very short answers, while others delved into the subject a bit more and gave me descriptive examples. I try to relate the overall impression I received and at the same time let you hear the residents themselves. I also want to try to make tangible those elements which I saw contributing or detracting from the environment's potential which came out of my conversations with people. First, a discussion of the resident selection process.

Boltwood Walk:

In Amherst, I interviewed six elderly women. I got my start in locating them from John Clobridge, director of the Council on Aging. The people he guided me to were at one time or another active in the community. Clearly, this biases my sample in favor of people who tend to get involved. But, then again, I wanted to talk to people who had something to say, lest I learn nothing. These few

contacts, in turn guided me to others who they thought would enjoy speaking with me. Several of the women are presently actively involved in tenant and/or community affairs. Others had been at one time and had drifted out of it for health or other reasons. And several were not particularly involved in the community. Three had spent a good amount of time in Amherst before moving into Clark and Ann Whalen house. Others moved into the area and Boltwood Walk because of family nearby.

In terms of looking at the quality of social interactions for elderly residents on the site, I believe that because the residents are elderly, they may be more likely to encounter a higher level and quality of social interaction than if they weren't elderly. This is because strangers may be more likely to make contact with elderly people than with some other populations due to a perception that elderly people may be more in need of assistance.

Pickering Wharf:

In Salem, I was lucky enough to come into contact with one of the first residents of Pickering Wharf, Joe Jones, who was very generous with his time and his own insights. He gave me a list of tenants, and pointed me in the direction of tenants he knew. Joe gave me a large list of names and permission to say he referred me to them. I ended

up selecting people based on whether I could get in touch with them or not -- which was no easy task as I gather the tenants at Pickering Wharf are a very busy lot. I also tried not to have all six of my contacts single or married, female or male. I ended up speaking with one single woman, one single man, and two married couples, each it turns out, with children. All of the people I spoke to worked either full time or several days a week. One of these couples, though they enjoy Pickering Wharf and will miss it, is looking to move because they need more space. Unfortunately, I spoke only to residents in their thirties, and thus was not able to capture comments representative of the diversity of ages represented at Pickering Wharf. I believe this affected the responses I received at Pickering Wharf since different people use spaces differently.

Researchers on neighboring have found that, "specific groups of people living in the same area have different socializing needs". The elderly are one such group noted as, "desiring more social interaction with their neighbors."¹ I found this observation to be generally true during my conversations with residents. In reference to Pickering Wharf, one particular comment revealed just this difference:

¹Tena Turner, Neighboring: A Critical Review of Literature Regarding Neighborhood Morphology in Relation to Social Behavior" Final Project, M.I.T. course 4.771, July, 1983.

"The most happy residents here are the older people in their fifties. Maybe that's because there is so much action for them to be a part of. Younger people have a lot of action in their own lives. If they buy here when they're young, they stay till they have kids and then they tend to leave. Older people seem to really love it though".

I found from my conversations with residents in their thirties at Pickering Wharf that although residents enjoyed the mixed-use atmosphere, they didn't seem to respond as much to casual interactions with people on the site as older residents did at the other sites. For this reason, it would have been nice to have had a more representative sampling of residents by age.

Brick Market Place:

At Brick Market Place, I was directed to speak to Arva Bunting, president of the condominium association. As mentioned earlier, I ran into the problem of there being very few permanent residents at Brick Market Place. Arva was kind enough to get in touch with those she could and secure permission for me to call them, which I did. I spoke to three women in their late fifties, early sixties. One was widowed, one was married and lived full time on the site, and the third was married and used the place as a weekend retreat. The two who lived on site were two of a group of women who are homemakers but also own and work part time at a needlepoint shop in Newport. The woman who lived

at Brick Market on weekends works primarily as a homemaker but also manages an apartment building. Additionally, I spoke to a married gentleman in his seventies, who was a retired Naval officer. And I spoke to a couple in their forties. The man had moved into Brick Market, a divorced, single parent with pets. Now he is married and he and his wife, child and various pets live in the condominium. They are expecting a child and looking for another place to live as they have grown out of their unit.

Closing Comments About The Interview Experience:

In doing a series of interviews talking to a host of people about how they relate to their environment, I couldn't help but notice other factors at play besides the impact of a mixed use pedestrian environment -- my central concern-- and I feel I must comment on these briefly before launching into my main findings. First, length of residence in the town or city outside the particular mixed-use development seems to have an affect on the quality of residents' interactions within the environment. In these cases it is more difficult to say that it was the mixed use environment providing an opportunity for interaction that inspired these residents' interactions since residents may have had previous interactions built up over the years in the area previous to their living in the mixed use

development. One Brick Market resident certainly believed this was the case for him.

Differing levels of gregariousness in individual people also affects how they respond to their environments. Several residents themselves commented on this perception. In a conversation with Winnifred and Mary, two residents of Boltwood Walk, Mary related a story of a rather special casual interaction she had, and then Winnifred commented, "But you're receptive of it because you are that kind of a person yourself." Mary replied, "You mean there are a lot of people who are not receptive of it, yes that's true." Individuals also have to bring something their interactions.

Reconfirming that the individual's personality has a lot to do with the quantity and quality of interactions that occur within the public sphere, Gloria Diana, a weekend resident at Brick Market, makes a similar comment. After relating a story about she and her husband meeting some people walking around the wharf who they then invited back to their home for lunch, she also commented "But I attribute it to my husband because he's very friendly". Thus, an environment can only stimulate people to have positive interactions within that environment to a certain extent. It takes two, so to speak.

But, even outgoing people don't feel comfortable striking up conversations with people where ever they are. While Gloria recognized that her husband is very out-going,

she also recognized that the Brick Market environment is one conducive to allowing him to feel comfortable enough to be out-going with strangers. And this is the central thesis of this work -- that these mixed-use pedestrian environments are conducive to positive social interaction. Christopher Alexander puts it this way:

"The action and space are indivisible. The action is supported by this kind of space. The space supports this kind of action. The two form a unit, a pattern of events in time."²

While individual gregariousness and tenure in the community are factors affecting the quality of public interaction, Alexander's nexus between space and action supports the notion that even so, social interactions are supported by the environment in which they occur. From the above comments alone then, it seems these environments are places conducive to friendly casual social interactions.

An Introduction to the Findings:

From my interviews with residents, as well as planners, developers and designers I learned that most important to these developments' vitality is the surrounding pedestrian oriented town center and community of which these

²Christopher Alexander, quoted by Noschis, Kaj, p.154, "Architects and Psychology", in Architecture & Behavior, Vol.1, No.2, 1980/81, pp149-64.

developments are a part. These small scale mixed-use developments get their ambience from building on and enhancing an already existing community environment in many ways. They rely upon their synergy with the surrounding area and the surrounding populations, be they permanent residents of the town or city, or the students or tourists who are pulled to the area for school or local attractions.

It is this synergy with the surrounding area that makes these places work for both the residents and the commercial tenants. Residents benefit from a lively setting within and around the development that without the surrounding community and its attractions, would not be occurring. They also benefit from the use to some extent of the services within the site, but more extensively from the services and stores within the town center which augment the on-site services. While they rarely are able to establish both work and living connections within the site itself, the developments' locations within town centers expands the area of opportunity for such match-ups to occur and for pedestrian commutes to be possible. Lastly, the diversity of people who appreciate a mixed use living environment and pedestrian access make these developments especially beneficial mechanisms for developing housing for several segments of people within the larger population who are currently under-served. Commercial tenants get the population base of the surrounding area which they need to

survive and prosper and benefit from the lived-in atmosphere created by having residents within the area. The town itself benefits as well. These developments build on the commercial base and community feel that is already existing in the town center and in the process heighten it. And the development brings to these existing areas, a residential population to lend year round stability to the area as a whole. These interconnections between the town, its attractions and the mixed-use development are crucial to the projects' success as hospitable social environments and will be explored in the several sections to follow.

AREAS OF INTERACTION:

Residents are able to engage in social interactions in a mixed use development in a number of different settings. First, social interaction can occur out on the street and on walkways-- in the public sphere between the commercial and the residential uses both on site and nearby. Second residents encounter social interactions inside those commercial uses both within the development and nearby. Third more formal interactions occur in condominium associations and within the halls of government as decisions governing change or maintenance of the development are made. I had not originally thought of including this sphere of

interaction, but residents I spoke to almost always brought up their feelings on this topic in direct relation to the project being mixed use and I feel it is therefore relevant to better understanding the mixed use environment.

There are also interactions that occur between residents within the residential setting, which I have decided not to include since these relations would be occurring regardless of whether the development were mixed use or not. Such interactions include borrowing items or helping out when a neighbor is out of town and such. The development being mixed use would perhaps have little or no direct bearing on residential interactions of this sort.

1. Public Sphere Interactions -- Walkways, Streets, Being Outside:

These mixed-use environments in large part derive their vital and friendly feeling public spaces and pedestrian environments by being within a context that helps feed such life and good energy into the development. Thus, it is their connection with a town center which has not only its local population base, but the additional transient populations of students or tourists, who in concert with residents create a friendly atmosphere for residents of the developments.

In Boltwood Walk's case, a small time feel and a student population combine to make the pedestrian

environment a pleasurable experience for most residents of the development. In Brick Market's case, there is also a small town feel to Newport and a lively tourist trade that keeps the pedestrian environment an exciting place to watch and be a part of. In Salem, residents I spoke to didn't have as much of a community feeling toward their public spaces but they did appreciate and enjoy the activity and life brought to the development by incoming tourists. The people watching, special events, and nice environment for strolling were all mentioned as benefits of living at Pickering Wharf.

In all three cases, by being mixed-use and pedestrian oriented developments placed within areas that are able to provide other users to the space, residents have more reason and motivation to be out in the public spaces watching and/or coming into contact with others. This is the case because of a combination of several connections with the town center occurring in differing strengths for each case. These connections provide for a positive social climate within the mixed-use development. Below are comments from residents of each development which reveal the different ways that these mixed-use environments, because of their proximity to the town center, are able to provide an atmosphere that encourages friendly casual interactions in the public spaces within the development. Residents' comments are presented in clusters, sorted by development

rather than by the point they specifically highlight. Each quote however is accompanied by some text to let the reader know what point the particular quote is being used to make. At the conclusion of this section, the main points that are revealed are systematically laid out for clarification.

Boltwood Walk feels like a friendly place mainly by virtue of being an extension of the Town of Amherst, a community that has an open hospitable atmosphere. Evidence of this is apparent when residents of Boltwood Walk, asked about what it was like to live in Boltwood Walk, spoke of the community as a whole. Mary, who lives in Clark House, told me the following story when I asked her what she liked about living within Boltwood Walk.

"I'll give you an example of something that happened to me just the other day. I was coming out of the shopping center and I came to put things in my car. And there was something sticking in my windshield. so I got out to take it off and I thought it was a branch but it was a rose--I haven't been able to get over this--It was a rose, a very beautiful rose and it was just stuck in my windshield. No note, no nothing. I haven't any idea who put it there, but its that sort of thing that sometimes happens here, just nice things. People are nice.

Mary continued by saying:

"I lose my keys, I lose my purse and somebody runs after me and gives them to me. There's a very nice open friendly feeling for the most part. I like the mixture of the university students, the Amherst students...and all of us of another generation. It's sort of communal."



The friendly nature of locals and students at nearby colleges and universities bring a warm open atmosphere to the town and to the Boltwood Walk extension of town.

Because more people are out and about walking in both the pedestrian environment of the development and the town itself, there is more chance for casual interactions to occur. People can be out walking more because they can get to so many destinations easily by walking. In areas where walking is prohibitive due to uses too far apart from one another or areas designed in ways which discourage pedestrian use, people won't be out and about as much. Even if one is using an automobile in this environment, nearby pedestrians and a pedestrian district create a scene worth watching and connections that can occur amongst people.



Winnifred points out that;

"Lots of times, my daughter will call and take me with her shopping and I'll sit in the car. And it's wonderful to watch the people come and go and I find that the young people will come -- students will come off the sidewalk, total strangers and come down just to say hello. Some of them, if the window's open will shake hands.

Residents are part of and benefit from interactions that occur on and nearby the site between a diverse group of people who aren't necessarily residents, but engage in activities in or nearby the town center. Winnifred mentions that,

"...students sometimes go four and five abreast on the sidewalk...and I say, well, you gonna let me squeak through here? You gonna give me a little bit of room? And they'll laugh and they might reach out and put their arm around you and help you and ask you 'do you need help across the street?'... I find it a very happy place to be."

Margaret, who also lives at Boltwood Walk has had similar positive social experiences because there are people engaged in activities on or nearby the site. As she walks through Boltwood Walk, which she does nearly every day to conduct her errands, she also comes into contact with the larger Amherst community.

"As I was telling somebody the other day, I think the people around here are the kindest people... I've only been here in Clark House eight or nine years, but you know the people are so kind. I was just walking to get over to one of the drug stores and some woman stopped me and said, 'Lady, would you mind if I tied your shoe string? It's open and you're liable to trip and fall.' She got down on her knees and tied my shoestring. Now where else? You know, I mean little things like that. And they'll hold doors for you. You'd be surprised how young people walking along will hold that door if they see you struggling. Now maybe they do that other places, but you really notice it here. I went out one day and I was going out the back way to get to the drugstore and there was some little ice patches. This man looked over and said, 'Wait a minute, lady. I'll take your hands and help get you over that little bit of ice there.' Now wasn't that nice? I didn't know him and I thought that was nice. I find the students are nice, real nice. They don't bump into you or anything. I feel like they're happy, they're just walking along, they help you."

Other residents also spoke of the general Amherst community as being friendly when asked about how they liked living at Boltwood Walk. One long term resident of Amherst said she knew people, "by osmosis". In environments where auto uses predominate, places for anonymous daily interactions and feelings of knowing fellow citizens by

"osmosis" are fewer, providing fewer opportunities for people's good sides to daily touch one another in minor but very meaningful ways. These interactions for the most part occur not between fellow residents but other people on or nearby the site confirming that these environments have the atmosphere they do because of their relation to activities within the surrounding area mixing into them and around them.

Resident comments at Brick Market also related how the combination of pedestrian environment allowing for frequent face to face contacts and the surrounding community together create a friendly social ambience. Jean Nott commented that,

"After seeing people more than several times, you start to speak and carry on conversation. Also, Newport is a strong community, it's cohesive."

For Jean, as for Boltwood Walk residents, it is the characteristics of the community as a whole which set the tone for the quality of social interactions both in and outside the mixed-used development.

"It's a manageable size, maybe because its an island. I've lived on a lot of islands and there is a mentality --an us against the world feeling -- it has distinct boundaries so people feel they're in it together."

Gloria Diana, a weekend resident at Brick Market also finds that the mixed-use development derives its social ambience

from the surrounding community of which it has become a part.



Her comments directly address how the pedestrian environment encourages frequent face to face contact, which contributes to a friendly public atmosphere.

Interactions in the outside environment within the development occur between residents and others attracted to the general area for its amenities and ambience, who enter the development for its shops and atmosphere.

"Newport natives are very friendly, and some of the people who come to visit are nice. We had an instance to meet people walking around the wharf and invited them back to our home for a light lunch -- these people were on their 25th wedding anniversary and visiting. I attribute it to my husband's personality, but people here are much more relaxed and not as suspicious of strangers speaking to them...Maybe because its a beach area and it feels like vacation, I don't know. But if any place has it, Newport does. When you're here for any length of time and they see you consistently... maybe they don't know your name, but the face is

familiar and they have a tendency to remember and be more outgoing. People who come here are interested in the community. They're here to give."

For each of them, Brick Market has a special feeling because of the place of which it is a part and because others are attracted onto the site, giving it a lively feel. Admiral Wadleigh, a retired Naval officer who's been in Newport for most of his life, confirms that Brick Market's atmosphere is an extension of Newport's atmosphere.

"Newport is not a big enough city to be able to separate that (friendly atmosphere) out in this condominium complex. Newport has that sense of community anyway. Names are familiar and local news is in the newspaper."

Paul Horvitz who is in his mid forties and lives with his wife, Lisa, at Brick Market finds the tourist feel appealing. Although Lisa dislikes being in the middle of it all, Paul comments that,

"I like living in the center of everything. I like that its a tourist spot because when I come home, particularly in the summer, I feel like I'm on vacation every night.

Paul, as well as Gloria, spoke of enjoyment derived from watching all the people who come into Brick Market as part of their experience of the various attractions within the surrounding community. Tourists come onto the site because of it's location within the pedestrian, resort-oriented town

center. By doing so, they contribute to the lively feel of Brick Market.



Residents do tend to run into one another more at Brick Market because of an environment which is conducive to strolls. Arva Bunting confirms that these chance encounters between residents do occur within mixed-use environments though not as often as she might have expected.

"You would think that living close together you'd see them (fellow residents) a lot. In the summer time, though, we meet neighbors out more while walking around. We're all walkers pretty much. It's a nice feeling of community."

The small scale mixed use development, to have this energetic feel seems to need to draw on the transient populations who come into the area for the various attractions. Boltwood Walk pulls on the energy of the

transient student population to give it a shot of energy and vitality which residents there mentioned as a plus. Several spoke of liking to look out the window and watch people, or liking the active feeling of the community. Brick Market pulls on the tourist and resort populations and gets similar positive responses from residents who enjoy the activity.

Pickering Wharf in Salem is no exception. It too gets its sense of energy by building off of the energy created by the attractions of the surrounding area. Tourists drawn to Salem's attractions and townspeople of Salem and neighboring towns, are responsible in large part for Pickering Wharf's atmosphere. But many of the residents I spoke to there seem to lead lifestyles that are very busy leaving less time leftover to enjoy the environment of which they are a part.



Most stressed the convenience of being able to walk to work and to nearby shops for errands, along with the general excitement of the area as was the case for Boltwood Walk and Brick Market, but few spoke of a special friendly feel out and about in the public spaces of the development.

Elaine Paglia, a single woman who walks to work and does all her errands and shopping in Salem, said that she knows almost all the people in the development, but doesn't bump into them because she leads a very busy life. It seems that the lifestyles of those living in Pickering Wharf don't combine with the surrounding area to create a sense of community for them.

"People here have their own lives and aren't very social. We help each other, take mail in and that kind of thing, but walking around here doesn't feel as if it contributes to neighborliness. I'm busy, working, and I don't have a lot of time."

Even though this may be the case, residents who chose to are able to interact with the ambience of the development.

James Murray is married and has lived in Pickering Wharf for four years. In addition to appreciating the convenient location of the development to other uses nearby, he confirms that the mix of uses on site adds to his contact with people who come onto the site and the general ambience.

"We like it. It's a nice place to be around and to come home to. There's a lot within walking distance. It's convenient for errands and recreation. I do meet and talk to people when we're out enjoying the grounds - probably more than if it weren't mixed use."

Though James enjoys interacting with others on the site, Ann Murray, his wife, likes Pickering Wharf more for what it's accessible to than for the atmosphere of the development itself.

"It's convenient. I can take the kids out in the stroller and walk to the lighthouse, or down to the esplanade. Everything is within a stone's throw. But I wouldn't say I'm out anymore than I would be if there were no shops. I do occasionally meet residents when I'm strolling with the kids and walking the dogs."

Though Ann does run into fellow residents occasionally on the site while out strolling in the mixed-use pedestrian environment, it seems difficult to say that these particular interactions resulting from walking the dogs and strolling with the kids are any more likely in a mixed-use environment than in a more traditional suburban residential area.

The difference in age groups and lifestyles clearly has an effect on the quantity and quality of social interaction. This could be heard in Elaine's comments about being too busy and it can be heard in Elise Caruso's comments as well describing why this warm feeling may be absent for many residents of Pickering Wharf:

"I'm nice but I don't go out of my way to make small talk with people. So unless they're neighbors I have developed a rapport with, I'd smile and say hi and that was it. People who live here just come and go and when they come home they just do their own thing and you really don't see them. So I don't feel particularly warm toward Pickering Wharf in that sense -- which is fine, it's not a complaint."

It would have been nice to have also talked to some of the older residents of Pickering Wharf to balance out better with the generally older residents I interviewed for the other cases. Because of the age disparity, it remains a quandary to me as to whether Pickering Wharf has less community feel for residents solely because of the different lifestyles of the residents I spoke to, or whether there is something markedly different about the Pickering Wharf development that creates a different atmosphere from the other two developments. But, just because the social interactions weren't partaken of by all the residents I spoke to, doesn't deny the site's ability to support such interactions, as witnessed by James Murray's comment that he believed he did meet and talk to people more when he was on the grounds because it was a mixed-use development.

In closing, these developments are able to have the atmosphere conducive to positive casual interactions with others because of the many ways in which they link to the town center. What I heard in residents comments for the most part confirmed this, though they also revealed that the development by itself doesn't create this environment. The following points seem to clarify what contributes to the ambience and quality of social interaction occurring on streets and walkways in these mixed use developments:

- Interactions on site have a friendly ambience because the development is within an area which has a friendly community feel

- Pedestrian activity is encouraged through a design which emphasizes pedestrianism and links up to a surrounding area which is also pedestrian-oriented. Through the provision of pedestrian pathways which provide a pleasant strolling environment and hook up to commercial and community uses within and nearby the development, residents find themselves with more reason to be out and about walking and occasionally run into one another.

- Because residents are outside walking often, more frequent face to face interactions are more likely to occur than if they were in an auto-dominated environment.

- Even those who use cars in this environment may be more likely to have contacts with others because parking lots are often adjacent to active pedestrian areas which allow for interactions to occur between drivers and pedestrians.

- By seeing the same faces frequently, a sense of familiarity develops which contributes to a sense of community.

- Interactions in the public spaces occur for the most part between residents and non residents who are present on the site both because of other activities occurring nearby the site and because the site contains a pleasant walking environment and activities that attract them onto the site. Drawing people into the

development gives it a lively feel which residents enjoy. Opportunities for people watching and the general good nature of students and tourists create an atmosphere conducive to friendly interactions.

All of these characteristics combine in varying strengths within each development to bring about an environment that is conducive to positive casual interactions with others.

2. Resident Interactions Inside Commercial Spaces:

In the following section, I will first discuss my impressions regarding the quality of social interactions which occur within stores and shops, based on the conversations I had with residents. Following these impressions, will be some of the comments that residents made on which I based my impressions. To conclude, I will discuss why the situation seems to take shape as it does.

Having stores and services close by within the development should allow residents to do their errands and shopping at a slower walker's pace as opposed to an auto pace. Stores in a pedestrian environment tend to be smaller in scale, creating environments more conducive to eye contact and casual chatting. Because they're close by, residents are likely to use them more frequently out of convenience and being in them more often, are more likely to strike up a conversation or smile at a face which becomes familiar.

While many residents did feel that a friendly rapport had developed in stores which they walked to frequently, this rapport occurs less with the shop owners within the development and more with the shop owners in the surrounding community. This is because residents tend to use the shops in town quite a bit more often than the shops within the development. This is the case because the types of stores

and high turnover of the stores located within the development make them less amenable to residents frequenting them often enough to establish a rapport. (these inhibiting factors and others will be discussed at the end of this section). Many stores in the surrounding area, on the other hand, have been there for quite a while, are owned and run by locals, and offer goods and services more frequently used by residents. For this reason, social interactions with shop owners are more likely to occur within shops outside the development.

Thus, while residents experience frequent and positive social interaction inside of stores, this interaction tends to occur within stores surrounding the development rather than within the development. Below is a combined list for all three developments of the stores and services that residents spoke of frequenting on a regular basis that were in the adjacent town center along with the number of people who mentioned using these uses by name:

drugstore.....	5
library.....	5
post office.....	4
church.....	4
bookstore.....	4
soda shop/cafe.....	4
copy store.....	3
bank.....	3
doctor.....	3
hardware store.....	2
insurance company.....	2
stationers.....	2
movie theatre.....	2
five and dime.....	2
lawyer.....	1
accountant.....	1

There were a few exceptional stores within the developments where a rapport with the shop owner had developed. These were cases in which residents had developed relationships with shop owners or felt loyalty toward stores because they had been in the development for a longer time. This was especially prevalent in Brick Market -- with many residents knowing the owners of the bookstore and crystal shop in the development by name.

While in several cases residents felt that shop owners had made an extra effort to initiate a friendship because they were neighbors, in one case a resident felt that some shopkeepers could care less as long as you bought something. This sentiment seemed to correlate with whether the shop was owner-occupied, well-established and run by a local versus stores that were of a more short-lived mass-volume sales nature.

Many, though not all residents, felt that they developed a rapport with some shop owners because they lived nearby, resulting in their frequenting the store more often.

Residents at all the developments rarely if ever ran into fellow residents of the development within the stores themselves. Support for the above series of comments on interactions between shop owners and residents can be heard in the comments made by residents listed by development below.

In addition to providing goods which customers require on a regular basis, longevity and owner operation of a store seems to build up a sense of familiarity for both the customer and shopkeeper allowing relationships and trust to develop between the shop owner and the clientele more easily. Margaret Corbet of Boltwood Walk confirmed this when she noted that at Louie's Grocery Store, which used to be located across the street from Boltwood Walk, "Louie's was here for years and years. He'd cash your checks."

For Boltwood Walk residents, Louie's grocery store was the place to be if you wanted to bump into someone. Social interaction occurred quite frequently at Louie's right across the street from Boltwood Walk, before he closed his store in the town center and moved down to University, enlarging his store. Everyone I met knew Louie and missed having his grocery store nearby. Some continue to patronize his store by taking the free surrey down to University. Winnifred said of Louie's, "I think that for the most part people used the common expression, 'oh this is where old friends meet". Mary's comments also confirmed the important role Louie's played in social interactions within the community:

"I always did see people I knew in Louie's. You always met people there. I didn't go into Louis's very much because you go into the cheapest place but it was very convenient. You always heard people talking about meeting in Louie's."

Size and layout of stores apparently also makes a difference in the quantity and quality of interaction going on within commercial spaces. Interactions were also more frequent at Stop and Shop, before it enlarged as well.

Winnifred commented that:

"When it was a bit smaller, I never went into Stop and Shop that I didn't hear someone from a distance across the store hooting to me. Now, they're so enlarged, the stacks are built up so high, its kind of ended a lot of that familiar atmosphere.

Even though CVS pharmacy, which took Louie's place, is a chain, it has a friendly atmosphere. In this case, being a large chain seems to matter less because the store serves a much-needed function which brings residents into the store frequently and because there is personable and responsive service. Margaret comments that:

"CVS is pretty good -- really nice people. I go there frequently, and the girl asked me if I'd fill out a little form for them and I said oh sure. She gave me this to fill it out. It just said how do you like the store and have you got any recommendations. I said I was very happy with it and I'm glad they're here and the clerks are very nice. I was being honest. I made an honest effort, not too big, but I got a letter right back. I got a letter back from the president. I think he's in Rhode Island or something. But he said he was so impressed with my letter, he's gonna copy it and give it to all the customers. So that's nice and they're nice. And they are bringing in a little food, you know milk and eggs in addition to drugs, which helps."

Because Margaret can take daily walks in the area past local stores that have been around for a while, she has the

opportunity to pick up friends and acquaintances all along the way, as she pokes her head into the various stores she passes to say hello.

"We've got a lot of wonderful bookstores, and I've found a lot of bookstores with copies on the story of my father in them. They're all out of print. And if they come in, they promise to call me. I go out walking most every day. I walk up to the printing place (inside the development) and then through the carriage shops. (shops that were there before Boltwood Walk, which are within the redevelopment area but facing out toward the town center) You know, they have a lot of shops along there, and I've been here long enough that I know some of them so I can go in and say hello. I find they're nice, just unusually nice."



Frequent patronage of stores made possible by a mixed-use pedestrian environment provides the potential for not only casual acquaintances to occur, but for relationships to develop as well. Sigrid Christenson frequents a cafe outside of Boltwood Walk as part of her daily routine walk and through her frequent patronage has developed a

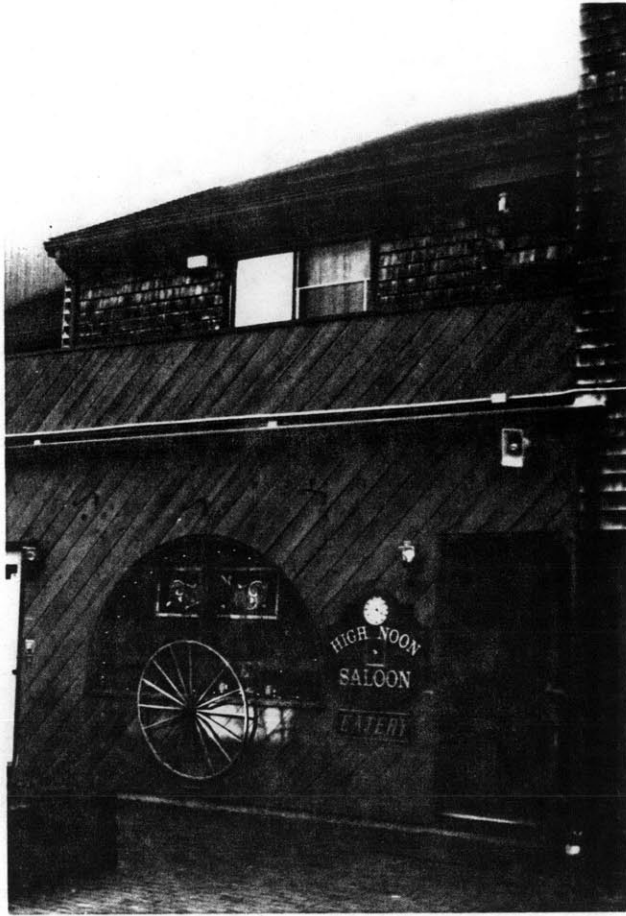
relationship with a woman who works there.

"I'll get up at six o'clock in the morning and go out after I've got things put away. I have a friend across the hall here. I go out to a cafe(outside of Boltwood Walk) and get her breakfast to bring it in to her and when I'm there I eat my breakfast at the Cafe. So, I go there in the morning and one of the women from there takes me on Friday morning down to Louie's on University so I don't have to use the surrey."

Even though there may not be frequent patronage of on site shops within Boltwood Walk by residents, easy access to the nearby area's more appropriate and more affordable shops and services has provided residents with more opportunity for friendly interactions and even friendships with shop owners. These relationships are able to develop as a result of frequent interaction that is facilitated by a mixed-use pedestrian area.

A certain loyalty seems to develop over time with shop owners within the development, probably made even stronger by the fact that other stores so frequently come and go. Within the Brick Market development in Newport, the Crystal Cove, the Book Store and the High Noon Saloon were patronized frequently by almost every resident I spoke with. The two stores are possibly the only stores that have been there since the development opened and each are still owner operated. Paul Horvitz, a resident commented that:

"I patronize stores that have been here for years. I go out of my way to buy things there. I know the owner-operated shop owners, but at least half are not owner operated anymore. The ones that are the people you know, you patronize. (Having those relationships) definitely adds to the quality of life here."



Long-term owner-operated stores, especially run by natives of Newport seem to have an established network of relations between them. When a relationship with one store owner develops, coming into contact with many other store owners may also occur as well. Gloria Diana, who is at Brick Market on weekends, seems to have discovered this and has developed quite a rapport with longer term Newport-native shop owners outside the development.

"We go to Ben's furniture. When we first moved down there, we bought some pieces. They've been very friendly and pleasant. We browse and they don't mind. They've been very nice to me. When the woman who works there found out my husband was in the hospital, she stopped me in the street and said, 'Why didn't you tell me? I live right near the hospital. I could have stopped by'. When I was in the soda shop nearby the furniture store, she introduced me to the soda shop owners. She comes out of the store and waves as if to say she knows I'm here and says hello. Ben's introduced me to other shop owners. I met the people at Ben's and we hit it off. They introduce me to others as a person who bought across the street. It's like they are saying, 'here's a new person', and they want to be nice and make us feel comfortable and I do feel very comfortable.

While many permanent residents know shop owners as a result of condominium association meetings, for the most part, it is the frequency of interaction within stores on or off site that gives residents a feel of familiarity and friendly rapport with shop owners. Jean Nott commented of shop owners that "We recognize one another and the atmosphere is friendly because we seem to know one another". Arva Bunting also commented that she had a friendly rapport with the shop owners because she lives nearby and thus sees them more often.

"I know perhaps all of the shop owners personally. I'm friendly with them because I see them more often than if I came down here once a month. I imagine that even though I don't stop to talk, I say hello and maybe talk about the weather. I even did that today -- I talked to a shop owner about the weather."



Thus, frequency of contact with shop owners, which occurs when the stores are able to become established in the area over time often leads to a familiar rapport occurring between residents and shop owners. This rapport may also take on a strong community feel if shop owners and residents perceive that they are each locals.

At Pickering Wharf, only a few of the residents used any of the shops on site often enough to develop a rapport with shop owners. Some stopped in at the Food Galley or the little convenience store to quickly pick up a paper or candy, but other than that, only occasionally patronized the stores. No one really spoke of interactions occurring within stores. Brian Jerome, who is single and works close by had by far the most frequent and friendly social contact

within on-site commercial uses because of his frequent use of the restaurants on site. He believes being a resident of the development makes a positive difference in his relationships with those who work at the restaurants:

"I go to the restaurants a lot because I'm single and I don't cook at home a lot. I eat out quite a bit at the restaurants at Pickering Wharf, for lunch and dinner. I'm at the restaurants maybe six or seven times a week. Because I live here, I go to the restaurants here more frequently. And bartenders and waiters know me. But its more than frequency -- they know I live here. I think I become more well known and acquainted because I live here. And on balance, I like that."

While the opportunity for social interaction within stores and restaurants on site exists, busy lives combined with the types of stores that are on the site mean that residents, for the most part, don't really have the opportunity to develop a rapport with shop owners.



A. Inhibitors to On Site Residential/Commercial Synergy:

There were a number of reasons why residents at all three developments didn't frequent the stores within the development more often, or often enough to develop a rapport with shop owners on site. Together, these reasons add up to the types of stores within the site for the most part not being oriented toward resident use, but toward student or tourist use. This means residents don't have a reason to frequent them often enough to bring about the kind of interaction that develops with familiarity.

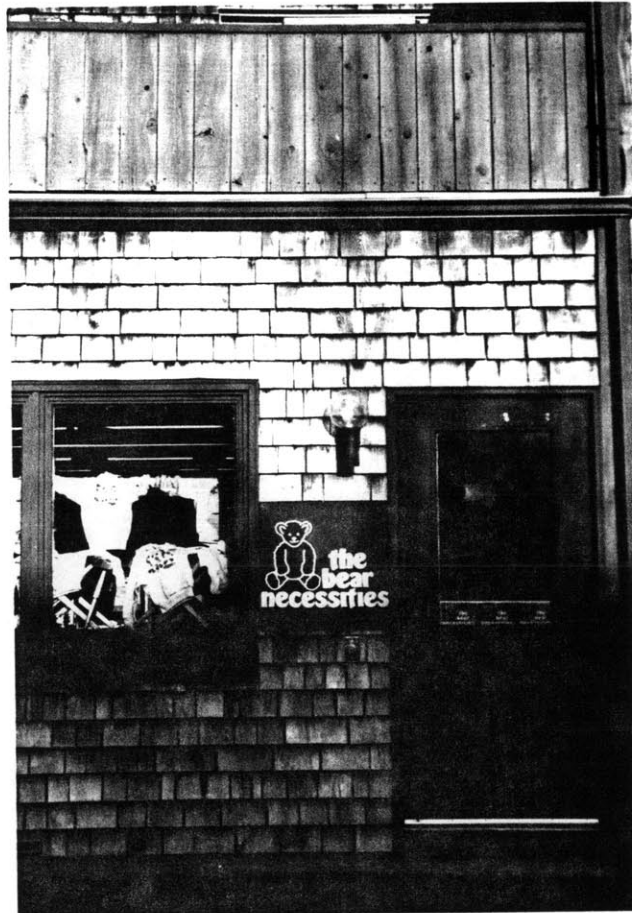
Brick Market started out with more resident oriented shops, but found they didn't have the staying power at that location due to high rents and lack of customer base for their items. Pickering Wharf, although never intended to house residential services, was imagined as a place with a grocery store, a liquor store, a bakery and the like -- a place with high quality residentially oriented shops and services-- by one of its designers. Mike Haas commented that after a lot of turnover, it seemed to have settled down to more of a Faneuil Hall type place than he had pictured.*

Many residents at Brick Market commented on how most of the stores they had liked had closed: the gourmet food store, the liquor store, a bed and bath store, the kitchen store that had moved to another part of Newport. Admiral

*Mike Haas, Add Inc Architects personal interview, 1989

Wadleigh said that,

"When owners change, its often a new type of store-- tourist traps that come in for a year or so and leave and then more come in."



Paul Horvitz described what he saw as the situation at Brick Market as follows:

"Originally, there were a lot of owner operated stores. They were highly diversified, and had good quality. It's the economy in Newport though. Its really a three month season and you have to be on top of the market or have a lot of money. There used to be a bakery that was open at 6:30 AM but that closed and a lemonade or t-shirt store opened up in its place. There used to be a

grocery market with gourmet products but that went out. Now there's just a deli with takeout. There was a liquor store once too. There was an excellent kitchen store, but it moved to where the Newporters could go more easily, where it was less congested and parking was easier. The kitchen store moved because they knew that tourists buy potholders and newporters buy pots. Now, there are tenants in the spaces and the stores are not of as high a quality. So all the good quality and variety has been lost and now we have the kinds of things that can meet the high rents. The price of a store was originally \$45,000. Now its \$130,000 for a store that's 700 feet. That's expensive and you have to turn over stuff to make it. Those kinds of stores, like the grocery store and the liquor store, the tourists don't go into. So the only stores that can make it here with the rents are the ones that can turn stuff over."

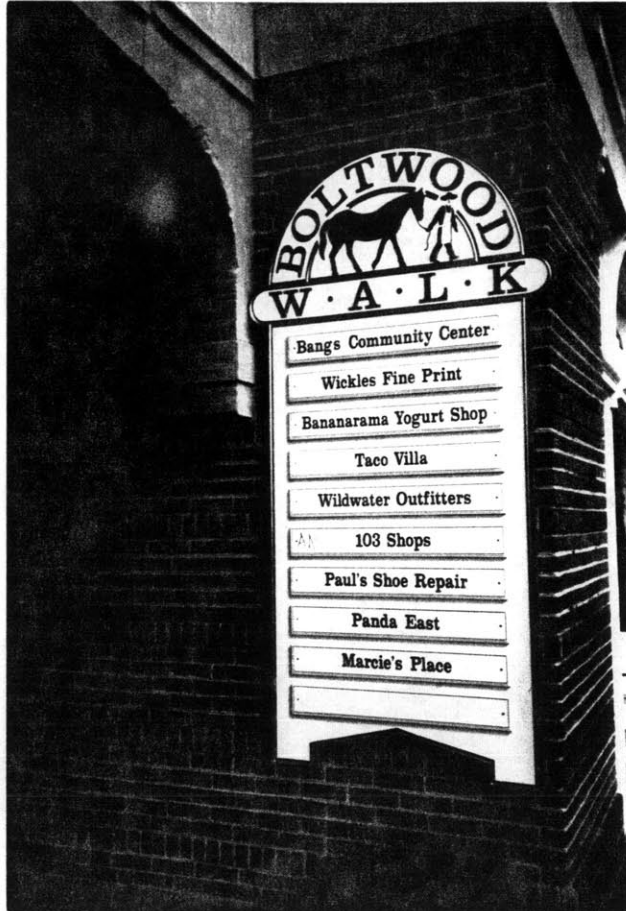
The kinds of stores that residents would patronize frequently enough to develop a rapport with the shop owner simply don't have the income-generating to survive within these high rent developments. The kinds of stores that thus move into the development are ones that can survive because of their high volume sales. Sometimes along with a high volume business or a business that is suffering because it can't sell enough of its goods to prosper come shop owners or workers with an attitude that isn't oriented toward making friends with the locals because of their overriding concern to turn over the goods. The atmosphere that can result from this situation was epitomized in the comment of one Pickering Wharf resident, Elise:

"I'm not in stores frequently enough to chat. Sometimes I'll say to a storekeeper, I miss it, I live right here and don't come in enough. But, the store owners and workers don't care. It doesn't make a difference as long as you buy something.

Just as long-term staying power of a store allows for frequent patronage and familiarity to grow, high turnover stifles the effort that shopowners and residents alike put into their interactions with one another. A woman at Pickering Wharf commented that, "commercial turnover prevents that community feeling from happening in the stores."

For residents at Boltwood Walk, many of the stores both in and around the development are too expensive for residents in subsidized housing to patronize regularly. Without frequent patronage, developing a rapport is very unlikely to happen. At the same time they feel they are losing the shops they use the most, like Louie's grocery store and the hardware store. There is a general feeling of instability of stores nearby as well-liked older stores are moving away. Winnifred pointed out that,

"In the master plan, (for Boltwood Walk) one of the main issues was all the handy facilities that were already here -- the church, the grocery store the post office. There was a hardware store and lots more conveniences than there have been in the past several years and we miss them. They're going away. We're told it's high rents in every instance. And it's eating places that are moving in. We have 6 chinese restaurants right here! That's why we really rebelled when it came to losing the grocery store, Louie's. He's moved down to University. Oh, we picketed him and we petitioned, and had a terrible row about it trying to persuade him to stay. We have pictures of ourselves taken picketing in front of his store."



According to Esther Clark Colt, another resident at Boltwood Walk,

"the law was for elderly housing, there had to be a grocery store within 500 feet that you could walk to. Well the grocery store moved out when the rent was raised and moved to university."

Mary and Winnifred said that the restaurants are too expensive and they go only on special occasions. While Mary mentioned that, "I use the copy center -- that's my hangout. I copy things all the time.", the copy store is there as a common off-shoot enterprise of the education

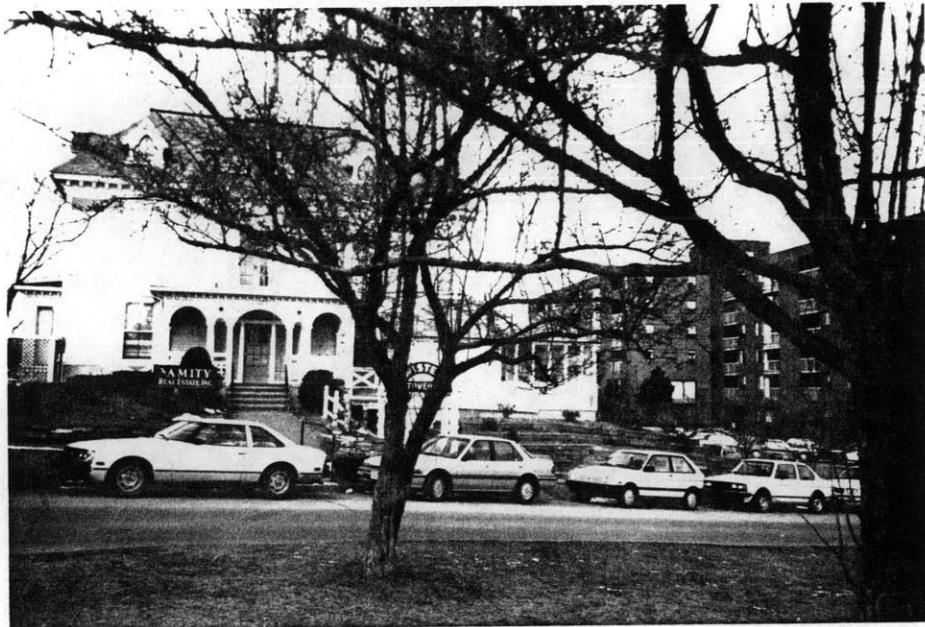
economy. It feeds predominately off of the university-created demand and is able to make it at its location because of the university. Although several residents of Boltwood Walk use the shop regularly, residents probably could not provide enough business to support a copy store on their own. The large number of restaurants in the development is most likely the result of a similar story. they too are probably catering predominantly to a university crowd.

But even without the hardware store and grocery store (uses which are finding it harder and harder to exist in almost every town center because of the price for space and parking limits in the center), residents of Boltwood Walk still retain walking access to a large number of uses within the town center that are missing from the development itself. Margaret commented that,

"We used to have a real nice hardware store here, but they've gone. I don't know what happened. But I would say it is more convenient here and the church is here"

Locating the mixed use development in the town center has allowed residents to access uses by walking that they wouldn't have had walking access to otherwise including, doctors, banks, insurance companies, drug stores, and churches -- all uses which residents frequently mentioned using. Some of the uses within the development are heavily used, such as the copy store. Others are used occasionally, like the restaurants and yogurt shop.

But mostly, commercial uses within the development which prosper by pulling in business from the transient population within town, help defray the costs of putting the housing downtown near the uses that the residents really do use every day. Such a strategy helps to ensure that there will be a population to support those services and stores that keep the downtown a genuine functioning downtown for all Amherst residents year round and not just for a transient university population nine months out of the year.



More generally, this situation of lack of match between residential and commercial uses within the development is an outgrowth of the level of specificity in goods and services our society provides. Product and service specialization and diversification means that provision of all the services

a group of people would need within a small scale development would be very difficult to achieve. General Doctors and general stores have been replaced by specialists and specialty stores delivering to us a narrow range of goods. This means that individuals require the services of many different doctors and the goods of many different stores to capture the range of needs that individual has. Providing for all these needs becomes very difficult in one small scale development. Therefore residents of such a development will need to go elsewhere.

Conversely, specialized services and stores require a large enough population base to provide enough people who will need their specific goods and services. A residential population of a small scale development would not be able to provide a base large enough to sustain such specialized services. Therefore, the services and stores in a small scale mixed-use development must pull in people from outside the development in order to survive. They must orient themselves to outside markets.

In towns and small cities such as I am looking at, this larger population base that stores are drawing on is not a full-time population but a transient one with some disposable income--either students or tourists. Stores in the development are oriented towards this transient population more than the residents on site.

This specialization and catering to a transient population results in each of these small scale mixed-use developments' inability to serve its own resident population. This gets expressed in a variety of factors that can be seen clearly functioning in each of these developments. These factors include the type of stores inside the development, rate of turnover, affordability --in terms of rent and prices of items -- and access issues. Thus a dual dependency ensues for the small scale mixed use development on its surrounding environment. The surrounding area's commercial and service uses are required in order to serve the needs of the residents of the development and the population of the surrounding area is required to provide the commercial uses with a large enough consumer base. This is crystallized in the comments of residents.

Even so, at all of the developments, many residents frequently walk to services such as the library, post office, banks, professional services and numerous nearby churches -- all services which would most likely not be within or within walking distance of mixed use developments outside of town centers. And including commercial as part of the residential development helps defray the costs of building housing in the town center.

B: These Developments May Accelerate Displacement:

Especially in the case of Boltwood Walk, one cannot help but wonder where the line is drawn between these developments being boons to revitalization of town centers' shops and services, versus accelerators of the commercial and residential gentrification process pushing out long-running shops and services vital to maintaining a real community feel and function for permanent residents. In both Boltwood Walk and Brick Market, comments of residents revealed to me that this is a very relevant consideration. One Boltwood Walk resident commented that , "None of us can afford the stores within Boltwood Walk ... and with everything moving down to University, how it's being revitalized, I don't know." The saga of Louie's is sorry proof of the dilemma that the very success of Boltwood Walk may possibly carry with it the seeds of failure for local community shops and services.

In Brick Market, there is a concern about what the trend of time-share condominiums coming into the area -- a trend which began as a result of the success of Brick Market and a trend which is accelerating. These time-share condominiums seem to be having the effect of further deadening the community in the off-season. Admiral Wadleigh notes that the time share condominiums may " not a good idea because they are overdeveloped and we end up getting a lot of people who stay for a little while. They won't buy in

the winter because there's nothing to do in the winter."

I also wouldn't be surprised if these condominium units either directly, or indirectly, through increasing the property values of surrounding units, are resulting in the displacement of the less affluent permanent residents who live in the town center, and who most likely own and/or work in the stores. For these people affordability is probably a very important issue. If these permanent long-time local residents are in danger of displacement, then not only may the shops and services that serve people's everyday needs go, but a lot of the Newport community flavor that is a function of those locals and those stores being there may go too. Thus the very revitalization of the community may also have the potential to eat away at the vitality and community feel of the downtown area that makes it a special place for everyone.

3. FORMAL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS:

Zoning was created to separate "incompatible" uses, and when I first started speaking with planners about my general interest in mixed-use development, I remember getting comments that reflected this traditional concern of zoning.

One planner noted that when residential and commercial uses are mixed, things like noise, odor and operating hours all of a sudden become issues that have to be dealt with.

Those conflicts usually get taken into the public sphere to be resolved.

There is certainly truth to this observation. I remember reading articles in the newspaper about these kinds of conflicts occurring in a mixed use district I once lived near. The bookstore stays open too late. The restaurant made the neighborhood smell like grilled meat -- not a good thing for a town with a large number of vegetarians. And off went the residents and the commercial tenants to City Hall to resolve these conflicts. But I also remember something I didn't read in the paper but saw by being out on the Avenue. I remember seeing residents walking to the grocery market on the corner, visiting the flower stand and hanging out in the very same bookstore that stayed open too late. So there are tradeoffs.

And such is the case in each of the mixed-use developments that I studied. Many residents spoke of the conflicts between the commercial and residential interests. But many residents also spoke of how that same mixed-use environment was also an amenity. These conflicts that arise and the arenas in which they are resolved -- the condominium association, (fast becoming a fourth layer of government), and the local government boards and commissions -- bring us to the third area of social interaction that residents encounter living in a mixed-use environment.

At Boltwood Walk, conflicts which arise are resolved in the public sphere, unlike the other two developments I studied, which are under condominium arrangements. In Boltwood Walk's case, the interface between the commercial and the residential is softened by topographical layout of the site and a design which gives residents a sense of separation from the commercial uses. Even so, there have been occasional complaints about noise though.

But conflict is heightened because there are still parcels under consideration for development within the redevelopment area. Jonathan Tucker, an Amherst planner explains the current situation as follows:

Parcel C-3 is one of the two remaining parcels owned by the redevelopment authority. It is leased to the town for the purpose of a surface parking lot. The town has been trying to make some off street parking solution. The redevelopment authority has been waiting for about six years since the last time they tried to do a development here because the town has been saying we need to consider this as one of the spots for a parking structure. This whole area is one potential site for the parking structure. There are also two others. That study's now under way and they're about half way done.

The parking structure proposal seems to be modeled off of the Harvard Square Garage which has shops on the ground floor and blends in with the surrounding area very well. Amherst has hired the same architectural firm that designed the garage to undertake the study occurring in Amherst. When I asked Jonathan how the residents might respond to such a proposal he replied, "There would be a lot of opposition to anything".

And indeed, many residents I spoke to believed that the area would be too congested if there were more development, and they were particularly opposed to a parking structure, no matter what it looked like. Winnifred, regarding the disposition of the site, commented:

The only area now under consideration is the center part where the parking area is. It's very restricted, very limited in space and availability. Can you imagine anything in that small area that fancy and built-up? It's going to create more congestion and I just don't see how it's going to happen. If something is brought in that brings more traffic, then we will petition to have the driveway cut off. They chose to put us here in the center, and we appreciate that. But we also want them to guard in respect to our health and I think (the proposal is) dreadful.

Two other residents I spoke to were also opposed to the parking structure idea and were very concerned about any added congestion to the area.

Margaret Roberts, Director of the Redevelopment Authority, commented on the dilemma of finishing the development planned for the area which she believes will help achieve the level of vitality and energy for the area that they had anticipated.

We created this community, and we're having a hell of a time getting the rest of the commercial in because of the residents. They're a community within a community and they are very aware of everything. It's good in some ways but close scrutiny and feelings run high. They're afraid of traffic and construction.

While she would like to see Boltwood Walk completed, she won't act without a community consensus.

A mixed-use development thus builds in its own constituency, which can be very good for an area. Many downtowns suffer from that lack of caring about the area. The people leave the town center when they leave work and tend to take their concern and caring home with them. They focus on the quality of their residential environs, not the downtown. By having a residential population in the center, that level of concern for one's home can be captured and put toward caring about the center. Both Winnifred and Mary made comments which show this to be true. Winnifred commented that, "I think we sort of grasp the idea that oohhh, this is mine, I'm a part of this and this is partly mine." Mary also commented with regard to community involvement that,

"We get into all of these things, and it's easier to get into them because we're here. I feel, since I'm here...I'm learning much more about what's going on here than I did when I was one mile away."

But timing can be of the essence. By having residents occupy the site before the project is completely finished, residents grow accustomed to the development as it is -- unfinished. Then, trying to finish the project by adding the remaining development to the area has a high likelihood of being problematic for residents who like the area the way they're used to it--unfinished.

At Brick Market, conflicts between the commercial and the residential are taken to the condominium association.

Because the project is privately owned, the common areas must be privately maintained, i.e. paid for through condominium fees. This setup can very easily strain commercial/residential relations as there are often conflicts of interest between the commercial and residential tenants. As one resident put it:

"Merchants and residents have diametrically opposed views on issues like trash, use of water, parking. Parking has been a major issue since there isn't much of it. Residents are assigned one space per unit and merchants are assigned none. We got a controlled parking lot (to resolve the problem of commercial users parking in the residents' lot). Then there's the trash bill. There are only 88 units but it costs \$35,000 for trash. It's another \$25,000 for security. The common charges are very high-- \$300.00 a year-- and we don't get a pool or a tennis court for that. The benefit is the mixed use.

Even though the condominium fees are skewed so that stores and offices, (heavier users of common space and generators of more trash) pay more than residences per square foot, the residents still feel that they are paying more in condominium fees because of the commercial upkeep. The resident's standards for the project are different because they aren't there so much to make a profit, but to make this place their home. A resident noted that:

If residents weren't in control here , it would be a disaster. We have three to two votes over the commercial tenants and veto power. Residents are the less selfish group. Merchants are pretty selfish in their views. They don't care as much about upkeep and the long-term. For merchants, it's a business and they've seen their businesses increase in value tremendously --more than the residential property. They've made money every year on their property value alone.

With the commercial values rising so quickly, commercial owners could make a good profit quickly just by staying in business a year and then selling. This means there is less incentive for high turnover commercial tenants to be concerned about upkeep and the long term.

The way the condominium agreement is structured is thus very important to resident satisfaction. First, it is important that the condominium agreement is tiered. This way the different uses pay different rates to account for their differential wear and tear on the common areas. Second, it is important how the voting power is allocated. With residents having three to two votes over the commercial tenants and veto power, they are ensured that the level of maintenance is up to their standards, and not subsumed to the need to make short-term profit.

In Pickering Wharf, the residential tenants don't have the votes in their favor in the condominium association, and have not fared as well in resolving disputes as the residents at Brick Market. As one resident put it, with mixed use, "there is a built-in tension and the wrangling is excessive (because) one group is trying to make money, and the other group is trying to have a more residential lifestyle". There have been times when the condominium meeting has been unable to resolve issues internally and have had no recourse but to approach the town licensing board when there have been conflicts between residents and

commercial tenants over operating hours and allowance of live entertainment.

In Pickering Wharf, the residential condominiums are individually owned. The commercial spaces are not individual condominiums but owned en masse by the developer who is working on switching the commercial over to individual condominiums. But for now, with the commercial property in one person's hands, the owner of the commercial spaces has a steady voting block of 66%. One resident pointed out "with a 75% majority needed to change the rules and 66% commercial property, only 9% of the residents need to vote in favor of something they want to do." Another resident comments:

There's one man who owns all the commercial and wants to see that the commercial thrives. Well to thrive, that means attracting more people, which means loosening constraints on hours of operation and types of entertainment allowed in restaurants. This is in conflict with the residents who are worried about noise.

As a consequence, some residents complain that management has been more concerned with the commercial tenants needs than with the residential owners' needs.

Another resident believes this situation will improve when the developer converts the stores into condominiums, allowing individual commercial owners to vote one by one.

The problem with being mixed use is the stores haven't been condoized and therefore 66% of the vote is always on one side. If the commercial were condoized, they'd

all vote as individuals instead of as a block. Once they own it'll be fine, because our interest is the same: we all want the place to look good. Currently, management cares 90% about the commercial and 10% about the residential. The management isn't here on weekends and they don't walk the site. As a resident, I want a more accountable manager.

Some tenants I spoke to believe that once the stores are owned individually, with the commercial owners having a vested interest in their individual stores, their "...interests will be the same. they'll want the place to look good". I'm not so sure that when most of the stores are individually owned the difference of opinion will fall away, based on residents' accounts at Brick Market Place.

THE VARIETY OF PEOPLE DRAWN TO LIVE IN MIXED USE AREAS

ADJACENT TO TOWN CENTERS:

A diverse group of residents are drawn to live in these mixed use developments for a variety of reasons including but not limited to the quality of social interactions that create a community ambience. Some like the status orientation of the development-- being near the water or in a stylish condo for instance. Some found it very convenient to work. Brian Jerome, an attorney who is single and lives at Pickering Wharf mentions several of these reasons in describing why he moved to Pickering Wharf and what he finds appealing about it:

"I like it for its closeness to the water and its proximity to my office which is just a three minute walk from here. I have a boat , and its great to have boating right here at the dock. Generally, I thought it was an attractive area to live in that its nice to have visitors here. There are a lot of attractions around for family and friends. They enjoy visiting me because they like the mixed use--the shops, the marina of course, the restaurants, and things of that nature. I also like it because I found the condos attractive. Mine's three levels, sharp looking, very comfortable, very me."

Elaine Paglia, also single, moved to Pickering Wharf for similar reasons:

"When I first moved in it was because of the water access and because it has a lot of elegance about it. It's very convenient. I walk to work and do all my shopping in Salem. The restaurants and shops are great...especially in the summer. And I have friends with boats."

Yet at the very same development, lived a couple who moved to Pickering Wharf for very different reasons.

Matthew Caruso, who lives with his wife and daughter said that their main attraction to Pickering Wharf was

"...it was the one of the most affordable areas at the time. We've lived here since the Fall of 1985".

I also encountered empty nesters from nearby towns who traded down from single family homes to smaller dwellings at Pickering Wharf.

Pickering Wharf houses a wide range of people both by occupation and by age. From students, to people in service jobs, to low and mid-level managers, teachers, engineers, the list goes on covering the gambit. Single, married, with children, retired-- the group is diverse any way you look at

it. Ages for persons age seventeen and over at Pickering Wharf are distributed as follows:

age 20-29.....	17
age 30-39.....	34
age 40-49.....	12
age 50-66.....	18

The interesting combination of people who live at Brick Market Place further supports this notion of a mixture of people not fitting into the conventional household type mold being drawn to the town center for a variety of reasons and living within a single development. Brick Market simultaneously serves several different segments of the population including transient Naval students, second home buyers who visit for weekends, retirees, empty nesters and summer vacationers. For Jean Nott "my husband was a naval officer stationed here and we retired here." For others with large homes in the area, the mixed use development provided an alternative to leaving the community when their housing needs changed. Arva Bunting has lived in Brick Market for ten years and was able to remain in the community because of there was a variety of housing types available. "We moved out of a 28 bedroom house. When the children were gone, we came down here."

The variety of reasons one may have to live in or within the town center coupled with the wide distribution of age groups which is found within the developments, (except

for Boltwood Walk where eligibility for housing there requires that tenants be at least sixty-two), indicates that housing in a town center can be built for and marketed to appeal to a heterogeneous group.

It is unusual for housing developers to target more than one or two segments of the population at most when they build and market housing developments. And rarely do they target such unconventional groupings and types of people. Increasingly though, as household sizes and compositions become increasingly unconventional, this is just what developers currently ignoring unconventional households and sitting with empty one bedroom condominiums will need to do. And it seems that mixed-use developments in central areas which appeal to a wide group of people provide an excellent vehicle for doing just that. For whatever reason residents came to the mixed-use development, most of them liked the ambience of the mixed-use pedestrian-oriented development and all of them found it valuable to have services and shops located within walking distance.

Thus a combination of unit sizes targeted toward a diverse market can be an especially effective approach to developing housing in the downtown area because the area appeals to a variety of people with a variety of needs for a variety of reasons -- as can be seen in both market-rate developments. There is a mix. A realtor at Pickering Wharf mentioned that units designed to accommodate two separate

single people who split an apartment or condominium to make it affordable would be very marketable in the Salem area. There is even a desire for three-bedroom units, witnessed by the conversion of two two-bedroom units to three-bedroom units within Pickering Wharf giving this development units ranging from studio to three-bedroom. What better illustration of feasibility of developments with a range of housing types for a range of needs do developers need?

LIVE/WORK HAPPENS RARELY WITHIN THE SITE ITSELF, BUT CONNECTIONS DO HAPPEN WITH THE SURROUNDING AREA:

Brick Market's Advertising Brochure states, "A particular advantage of Brick Market Place is that you can choose condominium ownership of your store with your own apartment or office above, if you like...Eliminate commuting and work and live in America's unique resort/community." In fact, from my conversations with people at all three developments it seems extremely rare for this live/work combination to occur within the confines of the site. Boltwood Walk specifically caters to elderly for whom the issue of live/work is moot. And in Pickering Wharf, the only place I came across a person who both lived and worked on the site, many of the residents work in the larger metropolitan area, either in Boston or in nearby cities.

Upon reflection, this finding doesn't seem very unusual. First, all the projects being reasonably small allows for few opportunities for work and living match-ups to occur within the site. And such connections seem particularly unlikely given our economy has increasingly dis-aggregated our work settings from our homes. A large proportion of people don't own their own firms or shops, but work for others, giving them less control over location decisions. For the most part, a person gets a job and then looks for a place to live nearby. Or a person lives someplace and looks for a job nearby. Thus, work and home are not easily so easily aggregated into one decision that can be made simultaneously as advertised in the Brick Market brochure.

Stores on site may be opened by entrepreneurial people who already live near the development and don't want to or can't afford to move their residence as well. Those who are entrepreneurial and striking out on their own by opening a shop, aren't necessarily also economically secure enough to be able to jump into a new home at the same time. Many stores are also chains, which means that the types of jobs available in such stores, because the upper level management and ownership control is absent, are not the type that a person would necessarily move to the area for nor would they be paid enough to do so. In these types of stores, jobs would most likely be taken by people living nearby. Since I

didn't speak with store owners and workers, I can't say what is actually happening in each development, but the above scenarios seem reasonably likely explanations for why residents so rarely both live and work on the site itself given my discussions with residents about the stores.

On the residential side of the coin, motivations for buying into the development as discussed earlier, are varied. In Brick Market, many residential units were bought as investments by people not to live in but to rent out, there being a strong renting population in the area consisting of naval students and summer vacationers. The owners who live on the site full time, are retired and engaging in hobbies. The woman who jointly owns and runs a needlepoint store with several other women may not have wanted to put the money up to actually buy a store, preferring to rent. Nor does their reason for having the store, which seems to be as a hobby and diversion rather than a life-supporting income generator, fit with the increasing need for shops at Brick Market to cater to mass volume goods to cover their incredibly high rents.

But this doesn't mean that these mixed use developments don't increase the likelihood of people living in them being within walking distance of work. Because these developments are located within larger pedestrian oriented town centers, the opportunities for matching housing with a job within walking distance are expanded. In both Newport and Salem,

developments that house workers, there are residents who walk to work in the surrounding area.

In Salem, several of the residents I spoke to considered Pickering Wharf because of its walking proximity to work. Elaine Paglia, who works at the Five Cent Savings Bank in Salem walks to work every day. Brian Jerome who is an attorney "...works just on the other side of the water. I can walk there in three minutes."

In Newport, Arva Bunting mentions that "I have a business doing needlework with ten women. Now there are seven of us left. We have a shop in town within walking distance and I walk there about one or two times a week." Jean Nott, who lives at Brick Market is also a part owner in the shop and walks there.

Within Boltwood Walk, pedestrian proximity to the town center and the community center on site encourages involvement in community activities, which in many ways is analogous to a income-generating livelihood for some elderly residents. Mary mentions she is,

"very active in an organization that Winnifred is in-- the Grey Panthers. We have meetings and we sometimes meet in the library or in the Bangs Community Center or here in Ann Whalen House. Being centrally located makes all of that much easier. It's nice to be able to walk over here".

It is likely that some of the people who work in the shops in all three developments may walk to work from nearby but I did not investigate this. So, although the small

scale mixed use development may not by itself contain pedestrian live/work connections, its location adjacent to a pedestrian oriented town center and linkage-oriented design provide the opportunity for more pedestrian live/work trips to be made since the possibilities for match-ups are enlarged.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

So this is where my fascination with the idea of small scale mixed use development which emphasized pedestrianism as an alternative to current auto-dominated sprawl development took me. I feel like I've been on a long journey. In the beginning, I thought that such mixed-use development had the potential to create a sense of community for residents who lived in such places through a variety activities and interactions that I believed these places would be especially adept at encouraging. Some of those included the following:

- the opportunity to live and work in the same place.
- walking as a daily mode of movement because of uses which are close together and tied by easy pedestrian access.
- an active street environment at a small scale encouraging residents to feel more friendly and outgoing when they were outside walking about.
- an environment in which residents would tend to run into one another more out on the streets and in stores and strike up casual acquaintances more easily.
- a setting in which a rapport would develop between the shop owners and the residents.

I thought these types of positive social interactions would be outgrowths of appropriately scaled mixed-use developments making them healthy environments in which to live. I tested this premise by finding some developments that were small scale, pedestrian oriented and mixed-use and then talking to residents to see if my premise was correct.

What I found, through my search and interviews with residents, planners, developers and designers, was not only was it very difficult to find contemporary developments that fit my description but these small scale mixed use developments that I did find are, on their own, unable to create a vital social environment. This is due in large part, I believe, to; 1. the mismatch which occurs on site between residents' service needs and the on-site commercial uses on site, and 2. the inability of the resident population to, on its own, create a sufficient density of interaction within the public spaces to generate a vital and alive social environment.

Surprisingly, residents do not meet in stores either within or outside the development itself. I asked each of the eighteen residents I spoke to if they ran into fellow residents in the stores and they all responded negatively.

And, although they patronize some of the shops inside the development, they don't frequent them all that often.

Rarely, within the development is a rapport between shopowners and residents established due to high turnover, nature, style, tenure and rents for the shops on-site. When an owner-operated store is able to establish itself for a period of time within the development, a strong even loyal rapport can ensue contributing to a community feel for residents on site, but this isn't the predominant outcome in stores within the development. So these developments don't

seem in and of themselves to be able to create this sense of community for residents which I believed would exist.

This doesn't mean that there was not a sense of community within these developments, however. In the context of a town center with more frequently-used stable shops and services, these developments' adjacent location allows residents opportunity to be annexed into a town center which already has a sense of community. In doing so, they reinforce the positive sense of community already in existence on the sidewalks, in the shops, and services in the town.

The commercial uses **within** the development, though not necessarily well-suited to frequent resident use allow residents to connect easily with the more basic stores and services within the town and connect with its community feel by first: making it financially possible to build housing in town centers in which these residents are able to live and second: creating a commercial environment within the development which brings the people and energy of downtown and people who come to see the attractions nearby into the development itself, creating a festive enjoyable living environment for those living within the development.

The town center benefits by having an additional stable customer base nearby to help businesses make the transition between the busy season and the off season more easily. This pedestrian customer base is a welcome group of

customers who don't bring their cars with them intensifying parking and congestion problems that often cause businesses to leave the downtown.

These small scale mixed-use developments within town centers also create an excellent mechanism for providing housing for the many different types of people, old and young, single and married, short term and long term, all of whom, different as they may be, find it advantageous to live within walking distance of so much and enjoy the diversity and liveliness the project's environment is able to provide. It is unique for one housing development to provide so much for so many in these days of housing which is targeted toward single market segments and creates uniform uninspiring urban fabrics.

These developments are very unusual though as evidenced by my difficulty in finding any in the New England area. They seem to be partly the result of several unique situations:

- Towns and cities which have a dense center and are endowed with resources -- like a university or historic heritage-- that have the potential to attract outsiders to town. Coupled with enlightened redevelopment policies which underwrite expensive land costs and provide guidelines which encourage innovative but appropriate development, towns are able to bring such development to their downtown areas.

- Innovative developers who have recognized that it is advantageous financially to build housing for these various populations in the town center in addition to commercial and office space--advantageous in that 1) the housing sales help cover front end costs of commercial and office development and 2) the housing adds to the diversity and energy that makes the town

center a vital and alive place for people to come to, providing additional support to the commercial business in the development.

But there may also be a danger with these mall scale mixed use developments within town centers. The success of their commercial component may tip the balance of shops and services in the town center toward more transient population-oriented services. In turn, this could result in a pushing out of the permanent resident-oriented shops and services that are the fibers holding the sense of community in place for residents in the downtown area and within the mixed-use development.

the end

On Mixed Use Development:

Callahan, Joseph A. "the Yale Center for British Art", Center for Real Estate Development, MIT. 1988

Callahan, Joseph A. "The Massachusetts State Transportation Building", Center for Real Estate Development, MIT. 1988

Calthorpe, Peter. "Integrating Housing with Other Efforts." Progressive Architecture, July, 1984, p.84.

Low, Vivian D. "Growing Pains of the New Kid on the Block: Housing in Mixed Use Developments" MCP thesis, University of Michigan, May 1987.

Olivier, Jacqueline M. Developing the Small, Mixed-Use Urban Project: A Contribution to Neighborhood Revitalization, MArch, MSRE thesis, MIT 1988

Schwanke, Dean, et.al. Mixed-Use Development Handbook Community Builders Handbook Series, Washington D. C.: The Urban Land Institute, 1987.

Setchell, Charles, Dan Marks. "4 Rms Hwy Vu" Planning, September 1984

Witherspoon, Robert E., Jon P. Abbett, Robert M. Gladstone. Mixed-Use Developments: New Ways of Land Use, Urban Land Institute, Washington D.C., 1976

Wrenn, Douglas M. and John A Casazza , J. Eric Smart. Urban Waterfront Development, Urban Land Institute, Washington D.C., 1983.

Zeidler, Eberhard H., Multi-Use Architecture in the Urban Context, Van Nostrand Reinhold company, New York, New York, 1983

On Suburbs and Towns - General:

Bellah, Robert., Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life, Harper and Row, 1985.

Council on Development Choices for the 80's: The Affordable Community: Adapting Today's Communities to Tomorrow's Needs. Washington D.C., ULI, 1981.

Herbers, John., The New Heartland Chapter 13, "The High Cost of Spreading Out", pp156-170. Times bopls. Mew York, 1986.

Houstoun Jr., Lawrence O. "Living Villages: Thoughts on the Future of the Village Form" pp 14-25, Small Town, November-December, 1988.

Leinberger, Christopher B. and Charles Lockwood, "How Business is Reshaping America", pp 43-52, The Atlantic Monthly, October, 1986.

Leinberger, Christopher B., "The Six Types of Urban Village Cores" pp. 24-27 Urban Land, May 1988

Perin, Constance., Everything In Its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1977.

Rolley, Stephanie A. Suburban Urban Patterns: The Future Form of Suburban Growth Corridors, MCP thesis, MIT 1987

Schuster, J. Mark Davidson, Roger Simmonds, et.al. Housing Design and Regional Character: A Primer for New England Towns School of Architecture and Planning, MIT, 1988

On Suburbs-Feminist Critiques and Visions:

Hayden, Dolores, Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life, W.W. Norton and Co, New York, 1984.

Netter, Edith M. and Ruth G. Price, "Zoning and the Nouveau Poor", pp. 171-181, Journal of the APA, Spring, 1983 vol 49, no.2.

Rothblatt, Garr and Sprague, The Suburban Environment and Women Prager Publishers, New York, 1979.

Wekerle, Gerda R, and Rebecca Peterson, David Morley, New Space for Women, Westview Press, Boulder Colorado, 1980.

**On Suburbs- Environmental Movement Critiques of Suburbs and
Alternative Visions:**

Corbett, Michael N. A Better Place to Live: New Designs for
Tomorrow's Communities, Rodale Press, Emmaus, Pennsylvania
1981.

Van der Ryn, Sim and Peter Calthorpe, Sustainable
Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs and
Towns, Sierra Club Books, 1986.

On Neighboring:

Fried, Marc, "The Neighborhood in Metropolitan Life: Its
Psychosocial Significance", Urban Neighborhoods: Research
and Policy, Ralph B. Taylor, editor. New York: Praeger,
1986.

Fried, Marc, "The Structure and Significance of Community
Satisfaction", Population and Environment, vol. 7, #2:
summer 1984 pp. 61-86

Turner, Tena, "Neighboring: A Critical Review of Literature
Regarding Neighborhood Morphology in Relation to Social
Behavior", Unpublished M.I.T. paper for Architecture Course
#4.771, July, 1983.

Turner, Christena H. "A Sociable Place" MARCH thesis M.I.T.
June, 1986.

Vischer, Jacqueline C. "Social Mix and Environmental
Design: Exploration of a Contemporary Context" in Journal of
Architectural and Planning Research Volume 3, Number 4,
November 1986.

Boston Globe Articles:

"The Acrimonious World of Condos", Boston Globe, December
11, 1988.

"Developers combine work, living quarters", Boston Globe,
January 14, 1989.

"The High Cost of Prosperity: Development, Pollution and
Congestion Threaten New England's Special Character", Boston
Globe, April 10, 1988.

"Mt Holyoke Builds a Center", Boston Globe, January 26, 1988.

Project-Specific Materials:

Bisha, Pat A. "Pickering Wharf: On the Waterfront"
Metronorth Business Review, February, 1987.

City of Newport Rhode Island Monograph, The Rhode Island
Development Council, June, 1979

The Boltwood Walk Plan for the Center School Complex
Redevelopment Project, Amherst Redevelopment Authority,
October, 1972.

"Brick Market Place, Newport, Rhode Island", House and Home,
July, 1986.

Long Wharf-Market Square Project Redevelopment Plan,
Redevelopment Agency of Newport, Rhode Island, November,
1964, amended September, 1969.

Thames Street Renewal Area General Neighborhood Renewal
Plan, Redevelopment Agency of Newport.

Figure Sources:

1. Early Boltwood Walk Plan - Amherst Redevelopment Authority, 1972
2. Axonometric Drawing of Boltwood Walk - Arrow Street Inc.
3. Boltwood Walk Current Site Plan - Amherst Planning Dpt.
4. Salem Regional Map - Pickering Wharf Merchants' Association Brochure
5. Salem Local Map - Pickering Wharf Promotional Brochure
6. Pickering Wharf Site Plan - Add Inc.
7. Pickering Wharf Aerial Photo - Pickering Wharf Promotional Brochure
8. Pickering Wharf Site Plan of Stores - Pickering Wharf Merchants' Association Brochure
9. Aerial Photo of Rhode Island - John Hopf, Westminster Schochet, Brick Market Promotional Brochure, 1974.
10. Newport Waterfront Map - Newport County Convention and Visitors Bureau
11. Brick Market Before and After Aerial Photos - John Hopf, House and Home, July, 1976.
12. Brick Market Site Plan - Architectural Record, mid-May, 1976