

A history of original U.S. Downtowns

Viewing city development through a downtown lens

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Like all global cities founded before 19th century, American colonial cities began on the waterfront



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Market places; residences upstairs from shops



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- (1) A brief history of U.S. downtowns
- (2) Post World War 2: The story of decline
- (3) Post-industrial resurgence & diversification of downtowns, anchor institution, research & innovation districts
- (4) Post-2008 recession: the *great divergence*; income disparities, urban poverty & equity issues

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Philadelphia began as a waterfront city



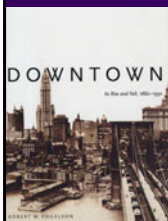
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Imported a huge number of things thru the port
Including refugees from yellow fever epidemic in Caribbean



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Origin of the term: "Downtown"



DOWNTOWN
in New York City, 1900-1910

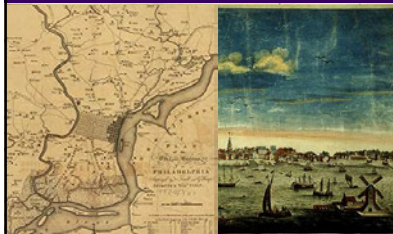
Downtown: American term invented after Civil War 1870s

"City Center" European term also applied to pre-civil war U.S. cities:

A mixed-use place, combining business & residential, usually adjacent to the port

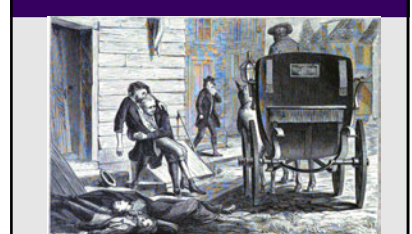
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Earliest development along the Delaware River
Immediately adjacent to the port...



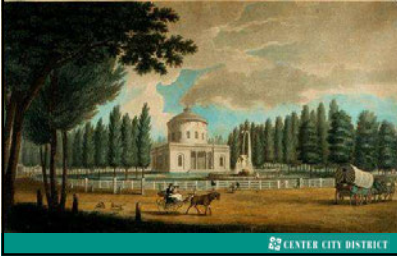
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1793: Yellow fever epidemic killed 10% of population
"Bring out the dead"



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Response: technological innovation to provide fresh water:
First steam pumping station in Center Square



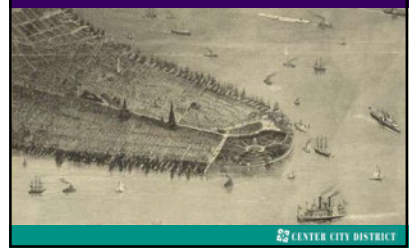
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Enabled thriving city to grow steadily west



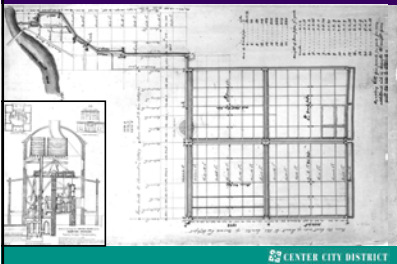
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Term "downtown" originated in Manhattan
To describe the lower end of the island



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Drew fresh water from Schuylkill River



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San Francisco, 1854



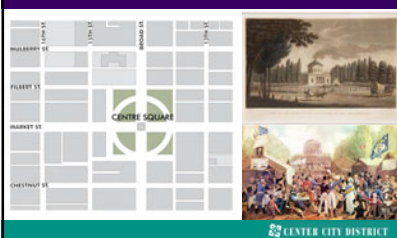
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Dense cluster of commercial property
Started to squeeze out residential
Particularly during industrial expansion after Civil War



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Remained central pumping station
from 1801-1828



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San Francisco, 1878

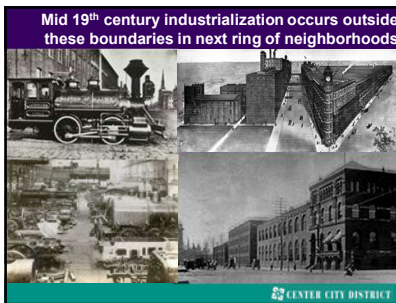
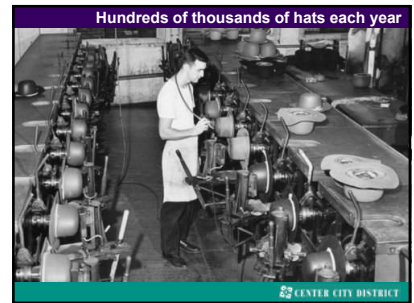
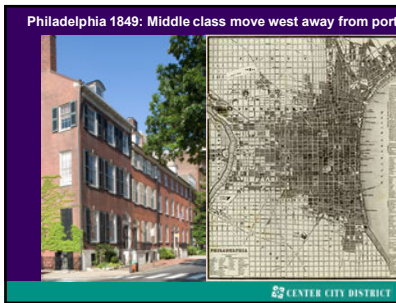
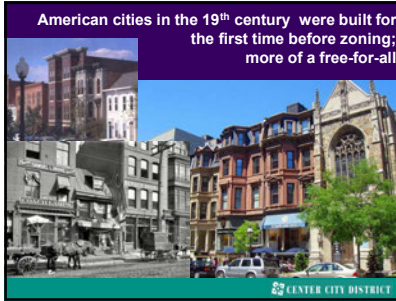
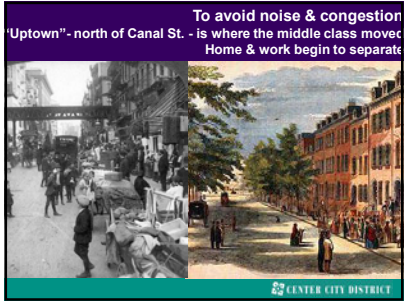


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A purely business & commercial center emerges
"Downtown" noisy & congested;



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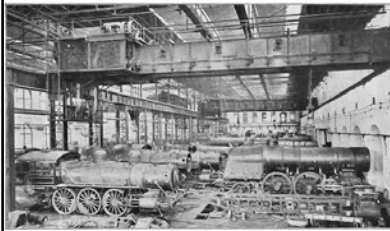


Military equipment at the Frankford Arsenal



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Largest railroad train manufacturer in U.S.
8 locomotives/day; 2,663 per year



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Waterfront exported coal, 1910



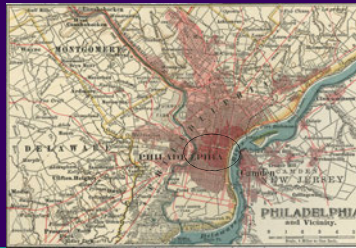
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Huge garment industry



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Philadelphia in 1900



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A working waterfront



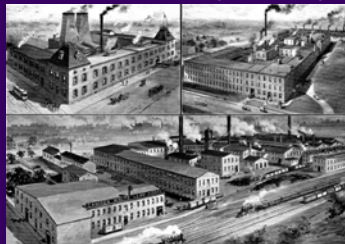
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Baldwin Locomotives



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Industries locate on waterfront for power & transport



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Railroads supplied factories



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Minneapolis: Gold Medal flour mills



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Manufacturing was skill-intensive



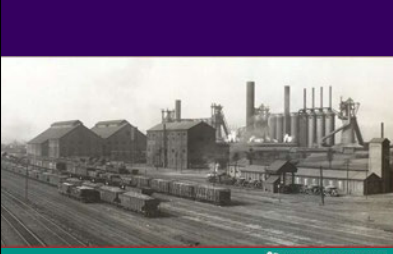
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Milltowns: Manayunk: 1926



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Carnegie Steel, Youngstown, Ohio 1910



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Large factories often developers of rowhouses



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Urbanization & manufacturing went hand in hand

1790: only 5% of Americans lived in cities

1870: 25% of Americans lived in cities

In 1870, there were only 2 American cities with a population of more than 500,000

By 1900, there were 6. Three: New York, Chicago & Philadelphia had over one million inhabitants.

1920: 50% of American population lived in cities

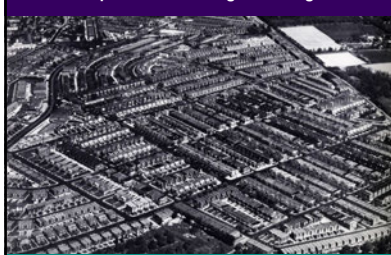
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Manufacturing was labor-intensive: Detroit



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Mass produced working class neighborhoods



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The emergence of "downtown" in 1870s

Rapidly expanding urban economy & migration from rural area to cities

Growth of professional & managerial functions not requiring physical labor

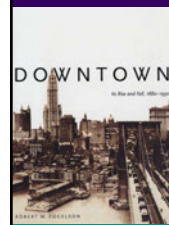
Intense competition between cities; no national development plan.

Intense competition for space within cities

No height controls

Few historic buildings or crown properties that limit the push to go up

Technological innovation:
Otis Elevator + Structural Steel



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Elisha Otis introduced first elevator
Crystal Palace for Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations
1853 in NYC: current site of Bryant Park
Modelled on Crystal Palace in London, 1851



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Elevator made taller buildings more feasible



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By contrast 15th-16th century bell tower in Bruges
278 steps = 272 feet



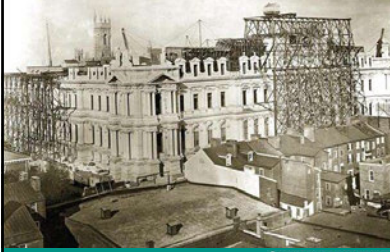
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Installed first one at 488 Broadway in 1857, NYC



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Started in 1870, Philadelphia's City Hall



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In the aftermath of 1871 Great Chicago Fire



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1860: Typical commercial buildings
4-6 story masonry load bearing structures



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Was world's tallest masonry load-bearing building
when it was completed in 1900: 548 ft

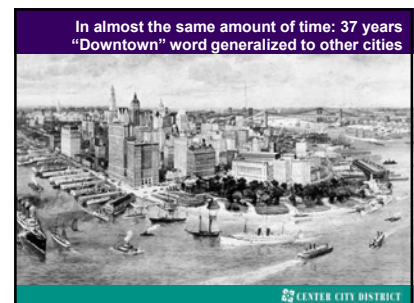
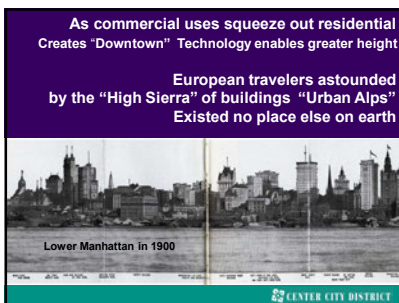
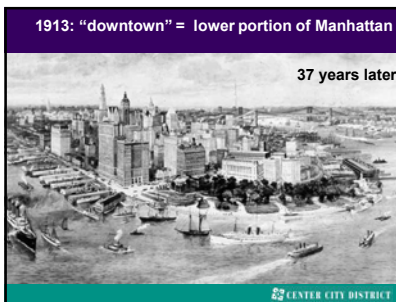
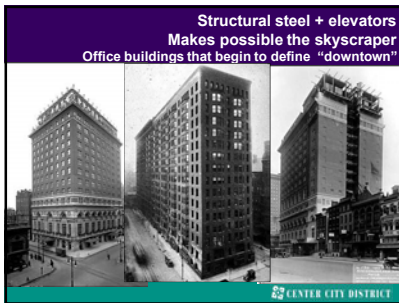


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Louis Sullivan designs structural steel frame building
Home Insurance Building, 1885



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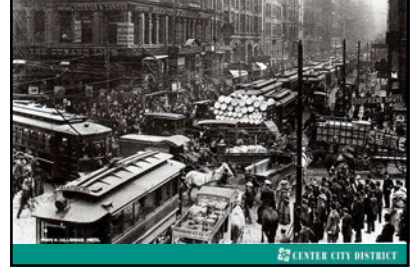
Philadelphia's skyline 1840s



Live & work are separated
Electric trolleys accelerate dense development



Sometimes major traffic jams



Philadelphia's first skyscraper: Land Title Building



Market Street, San Francisco, 1904



Creates market for 19th century
urban shopping street



City skyline in 1913



Created extraordinary crowds at street level



Lower Broadway, Manhattan: 1885 & 1907



State Street in Chicago



John Wanamaker (opened 1876)



Gimbels Department Store



Era of great department stores begins



Strawbridge & Clothier



Market Street: prime shopping street in region



Carson Pirie Scott on State Street in Chicago



Lit Brothers Department Store



In the era when people dressed up to go downtown



Subways & elevated lines followed:
Broad Street line excavation under City Hall



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Contrast to London, England



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Chicago Transit system & loop

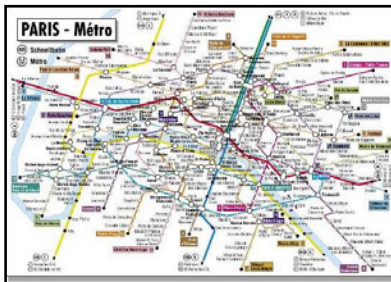


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Downtowns supported by hub & spokes transit systems
Transit & downtowns interact & reinforce each other



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1920s downtown Chicago: 1% of city's land area = 20% of assessed value



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Chicago Transit system & loop



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Tokyo: web system,
Not built around one central business district



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1931: high density commercial *no residential*



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Center City Philadelphia



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Single use office district with supportive retail
Concentrated assessed value for city taxes
contains the seeds of its own destruction

"Single Use" = Over-specialization

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1920s: Moved from hand-crafted to mass-production



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1948: dominant workplace in the region



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New transportation technology
The very first ad for a car

DISPENSE WITH A HORSE



Price \$1,000. No Agents.
and save the expense, care and anxiety of keeping it. To run a motor carriage costs about 1 cent a mile.
THE WINTON MOTOR CARRIAGE CO., Cleveland, Ohio.

Car promises mobility, speed, none of the odors or manure produced by a horse

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Huge labor intensive River Rouge plant in Detroit



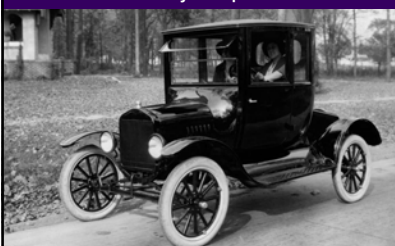
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Philadelphia 1948



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Henry Ford produces the Model T



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Trucks follow shortly



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Freeing industry from its dependency on rivers & railroads



Immediately after World War II
Factories were moving out the city



Steel plants losing market share to international competition



By 1940 railroad based, NE and Great Lakes
Manufacturing age was beginning to end



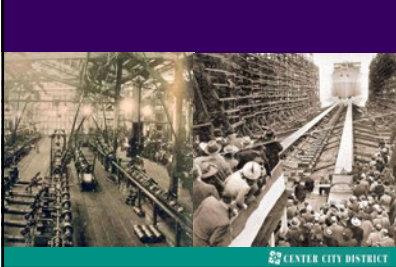
Serviced by tractor trailers



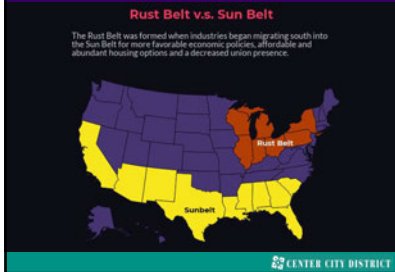
Same with auto industry in Detroit
As European & Japanese economies rebound



Temporary delayed by World War 2

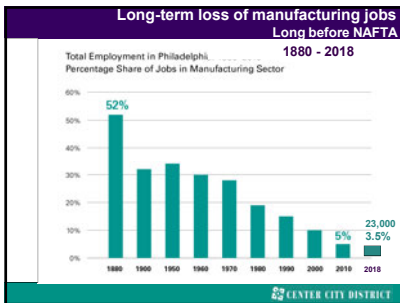
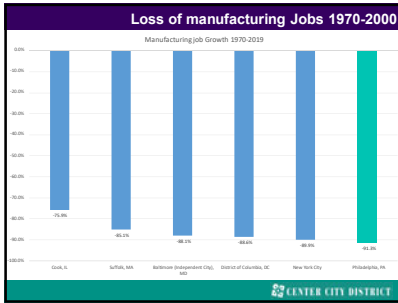
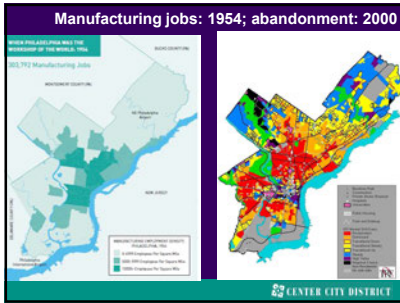


Migrating due to inexpensive fuel, non-union labor



Abandoned Packard manufacturing plant in Detroit

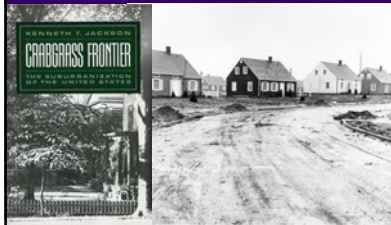




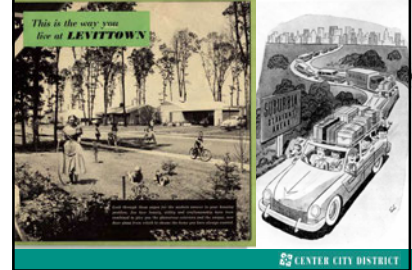
My first car in 1970: 1964 VW- Full tank = \$3.10



History of suburbanization & Redlining



Aggressively marketed



Federal policies gave priority to the car



Post WW 2: mass production of housing: Levittown



Aimed at families with children

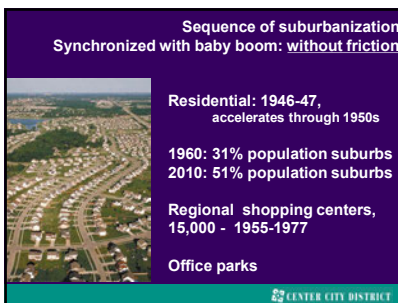
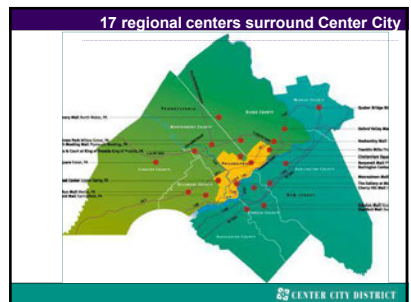
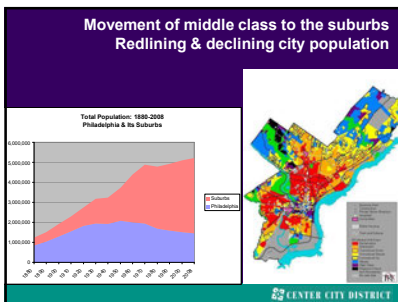
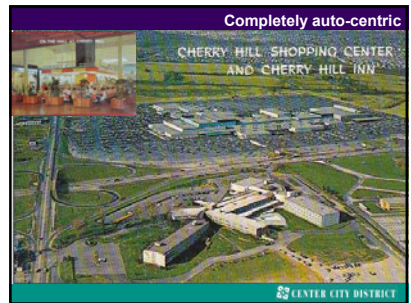
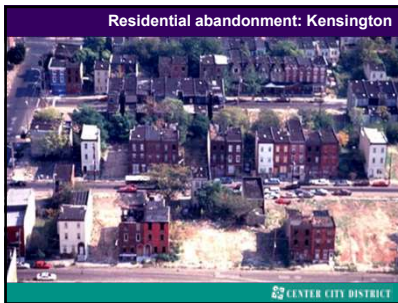
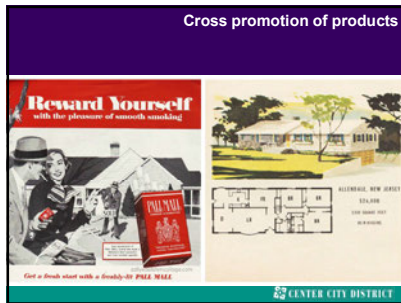


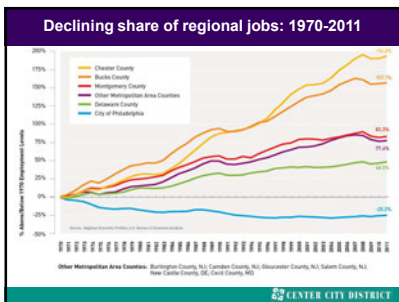
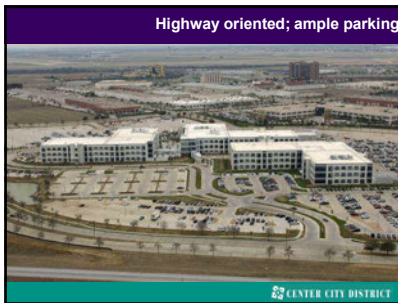
Those prices & policies fueled several decades of decentralization & sprawl



Federally insured GI Mortgages



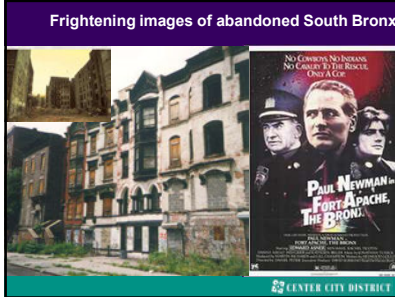




Squalid street scenes



Frightening images of abandoned South Bronx



Neglected facades, solid security gates



1976



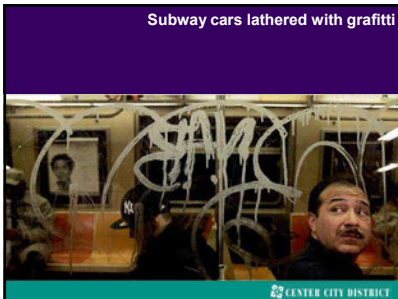
Streets devoid of activity



Seattle: 1971



Subway cars lathered with graffiti

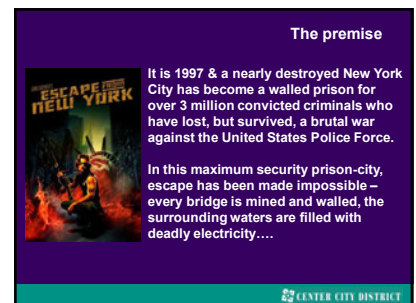
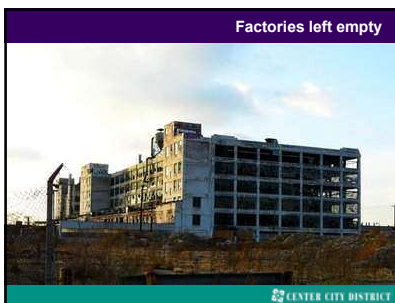
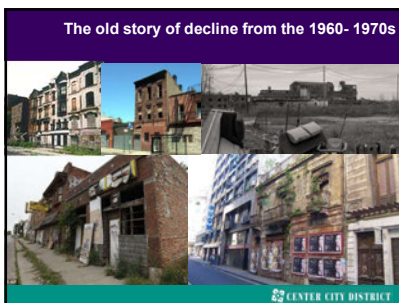
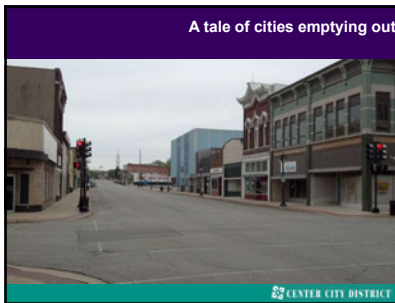
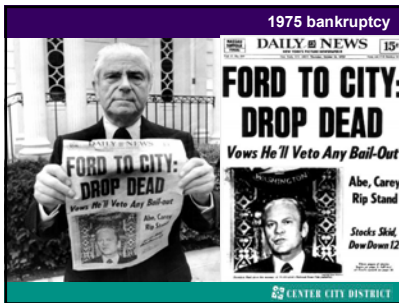


9 to 5 downtowns; empty streets at night



1975 bankruptcy





Here's the challenge....(from promotional liner)

"Snake Plissken (Kurt Russell) is sent alone on a mission.... he must rescue the President of the United States whose plane crashes in NYC on its way to a world summit conference; the President is carrying papers that are crucial to the survival of the US."

"Snake is pitted against roving street gangs of violent criminals & the crazies, the criminally insane, who live in the subways & break through the floors or pour out of manholes in hordes like sewer rats to attack whomever they can."



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By 2000, cities were rebounding



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Penn Center



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A mild caricature of Manhattan in 1970s



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1950s urban renewal played major role in many cities



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Removed industrial infrastructure
Resulted in new downtown office buildings



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After decades of movies like this...



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1953: the demolition of elevated train tracks



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1960s & 1970s: all buildings connected to transit



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1980s office boom:



Creating a new employment base downtown



NYC early leader in clearing for arts & culture



1990: 38 million s.f. of office space



Similar process of renewal in University City,
View across Walnut St bridge, 1920s



With Lincoln Center, NYC begins to diversify
Downtown land-use



Renewal facilitated growth of health care & education



Transformed into major medical & education center



Nearly all cities have followed; no longer just 9-5 centers
Disney Center in Los Angeles



Adding music, theater & entertainment



Downtown sports facilities



Times Square became a family-friendly destination



Convention centers & new hotels



Urban retail rebounded
Michigan Avenue, Chicago



Restaurants & outdoor cafes



59% of expenditures of hotel guests
Made outside hotel on shopping & dining



New retail entertainment destinations: Fort Worth



Downtowns were active & animated after dark



Energy factor: costs went up & stayed up



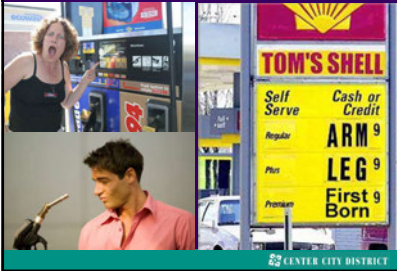
Cities not only rebound as places to work



Older cities converting lofts to housing: Milwaukee



Adjusting for inflation energy costs now 67% higher



Emerged as vibrant places to live, Indianapolis



New construction has diversified land-use: Minneapolis



1990: a new generation values live/work environment
Culturally rich, diverse & walkable cities

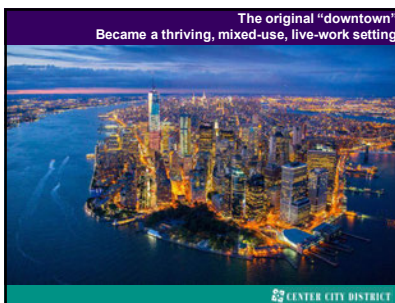
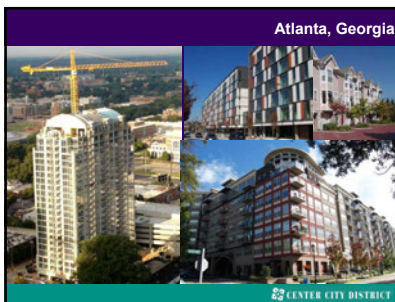
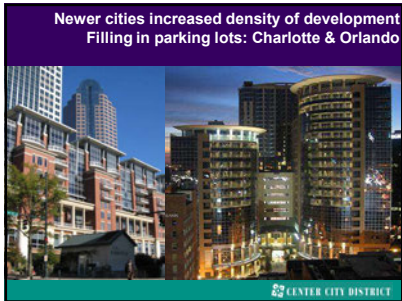


Energy has driven new development patterns



New downtown housing: San Diego





To intellectual labor: knowledge industries
The form of the economy has changed

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Public policy & political change

"Post-federal era"

- A suburban nation
- 52% of congress comes from suburban districts
- Beginning in 1970s & 1980s – federal disengagement
- Decline of resources to cities
- No higher level of government to whom to appeal
- Self-help & entrepreneurial mayors: 1990s

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Moretti: innovation & the "great divergence"
Some place are pulling ahead, many falling behind
Growth is no longer uniform

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Filling cities with young professionals

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BIDs played role in the transition

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High wage tech jobs were drivers of new economy
San Francisco

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All downtowns attract highly-educated workers
Which also means higher wage workers

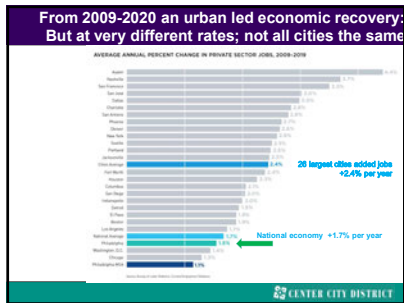
Center City has one of the highest concentration of educated workers in the city and region

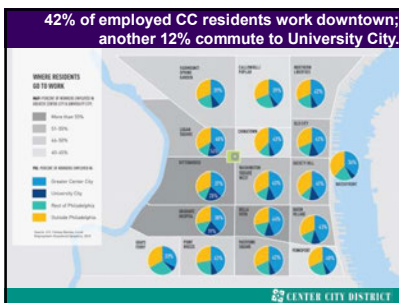
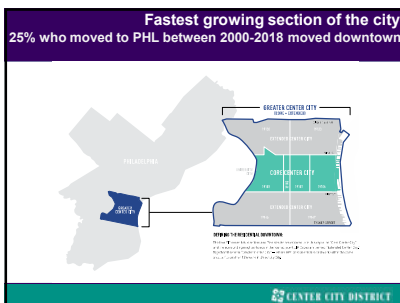
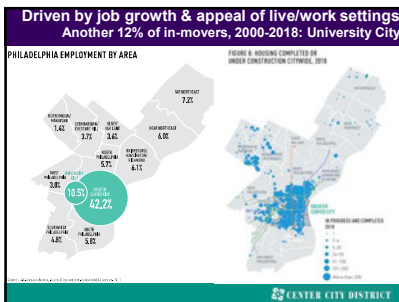
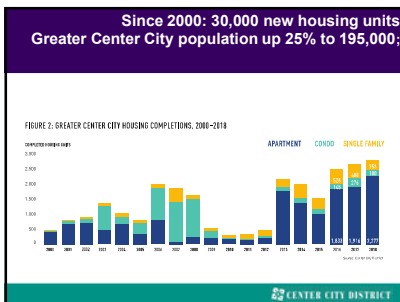
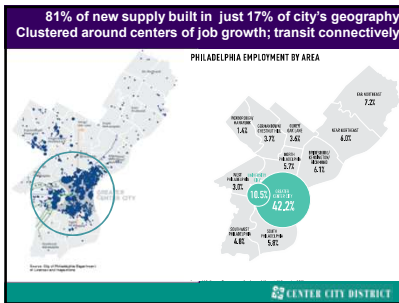
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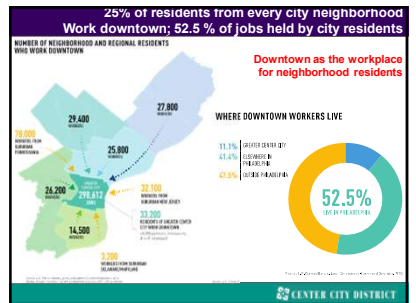
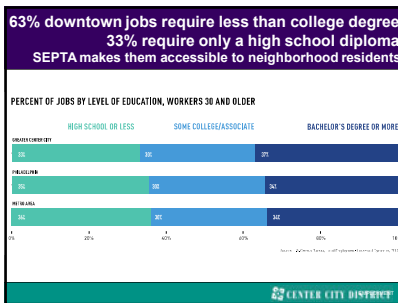
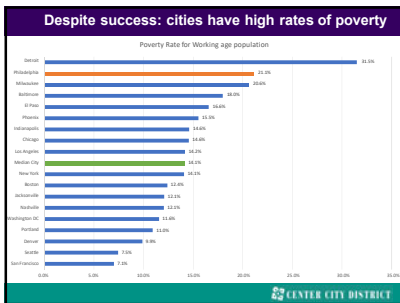
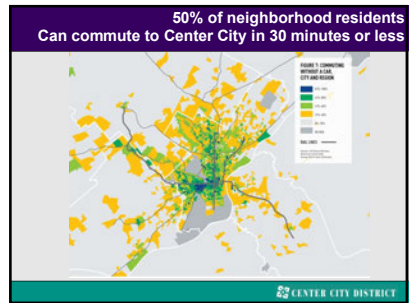
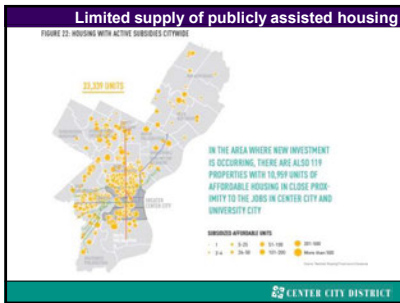
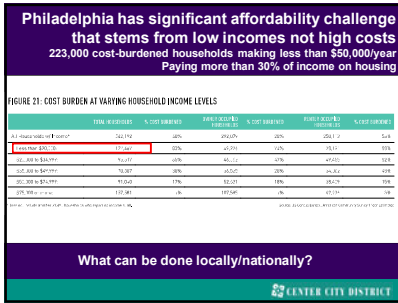
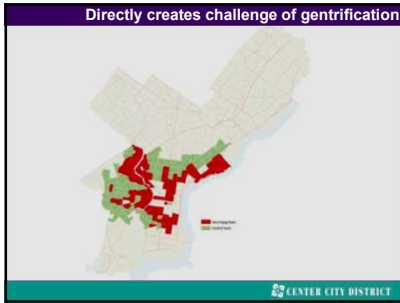
Post 2000: Structure of the economy has changed

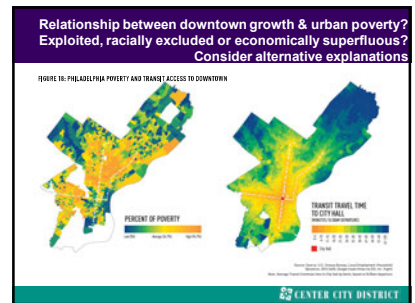
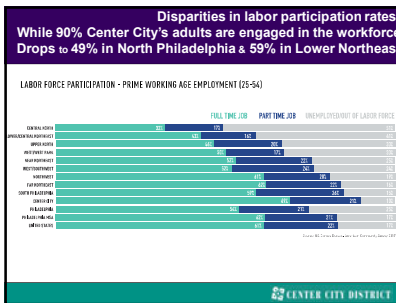
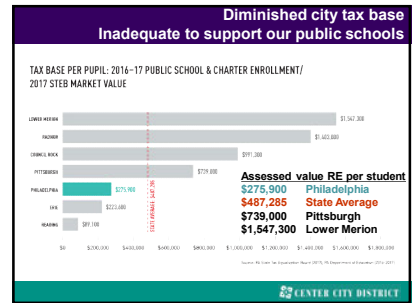
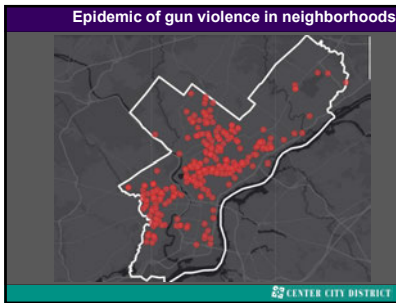
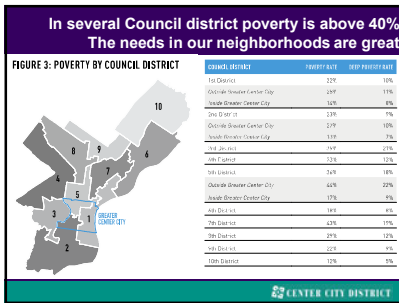
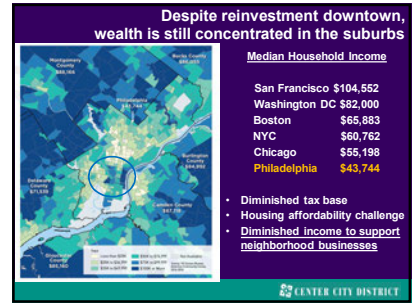
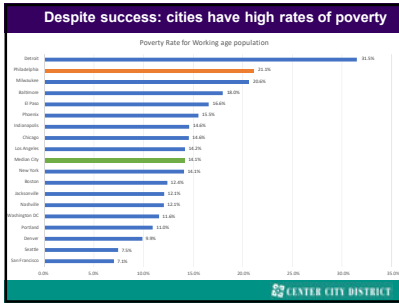
CENTER CITY DISTRICT

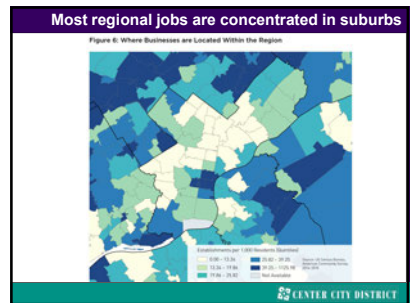
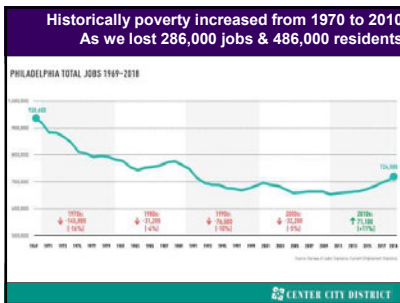
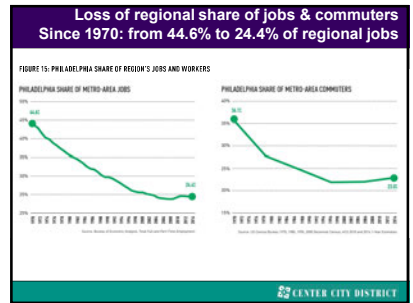
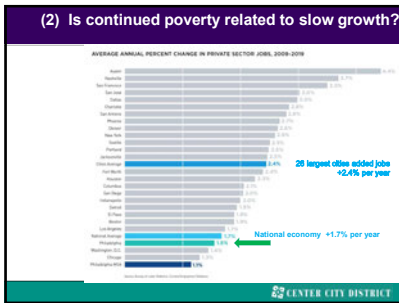
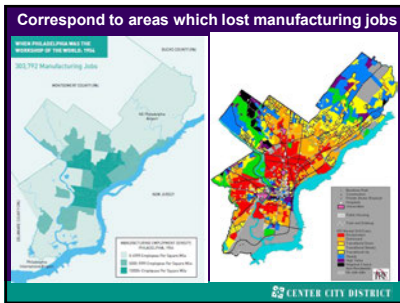
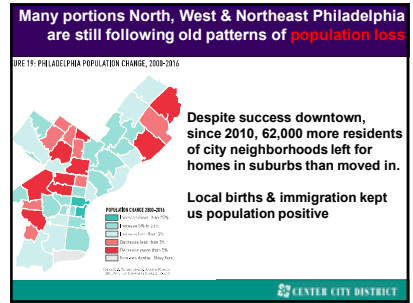
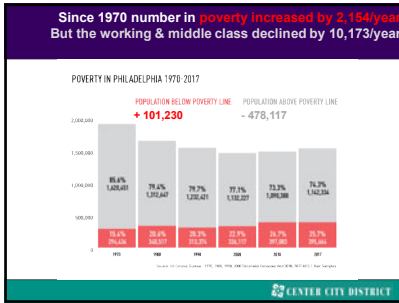
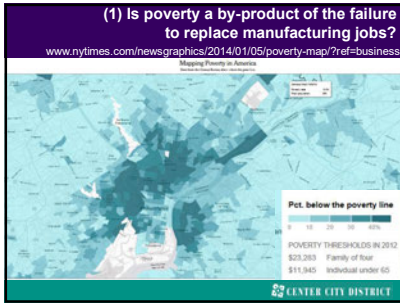
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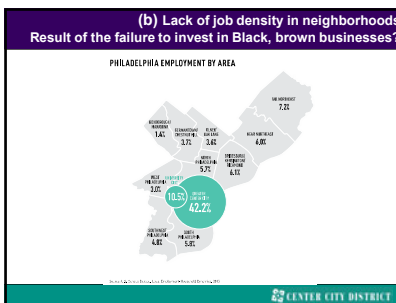
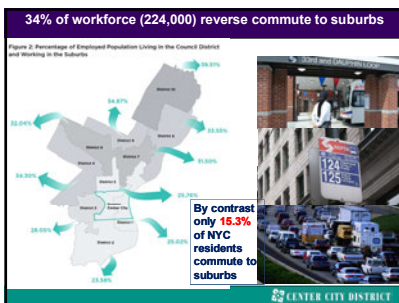
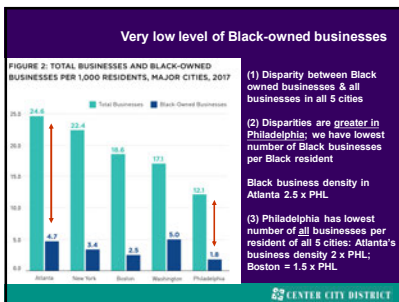
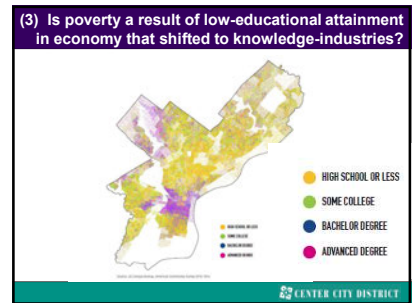
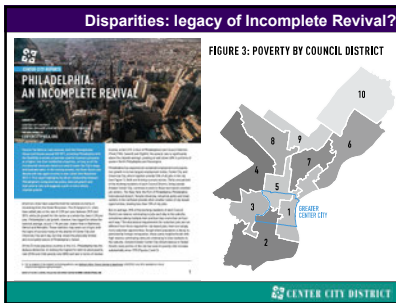
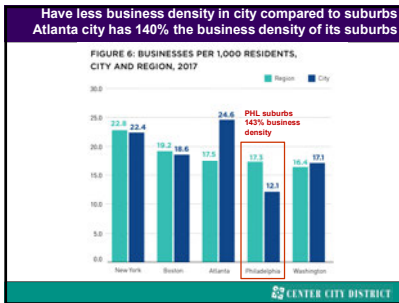


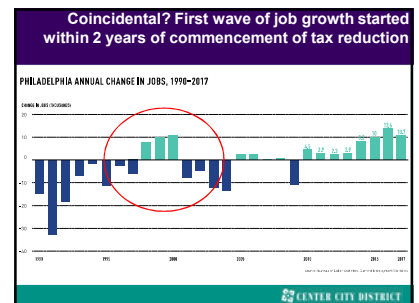
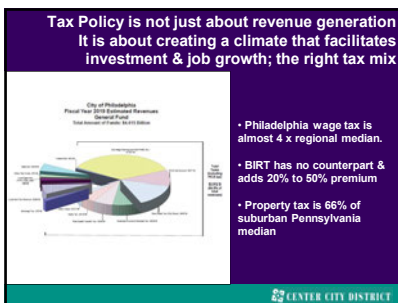
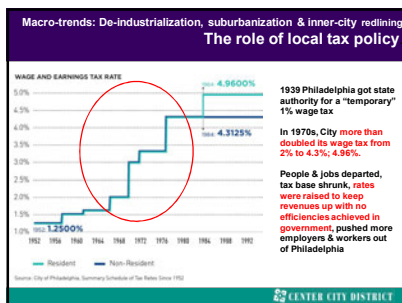
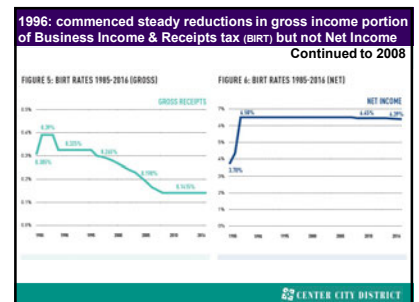
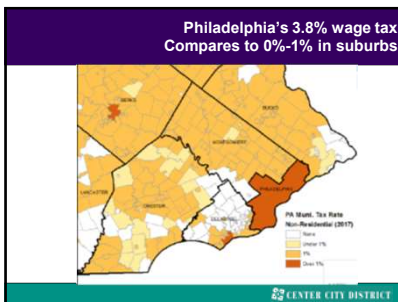
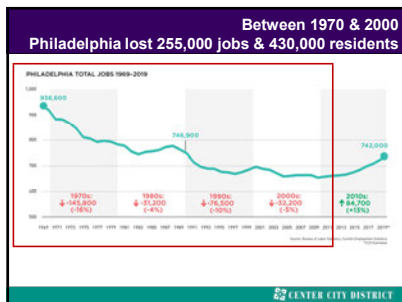
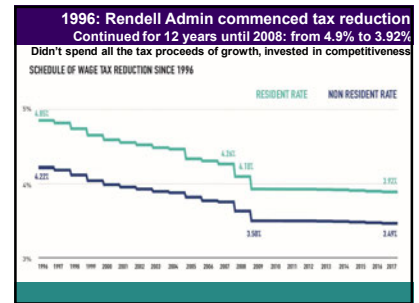
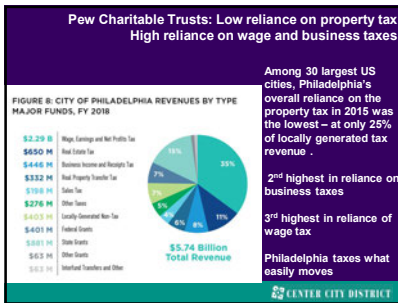
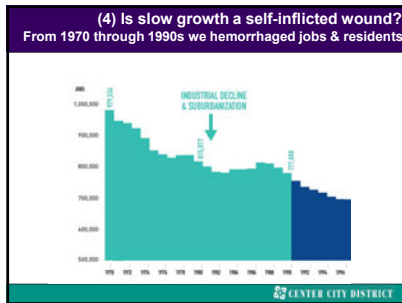


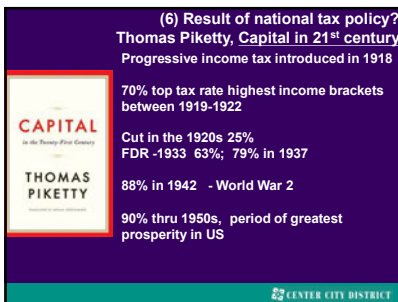
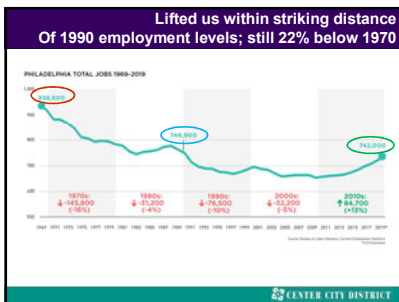
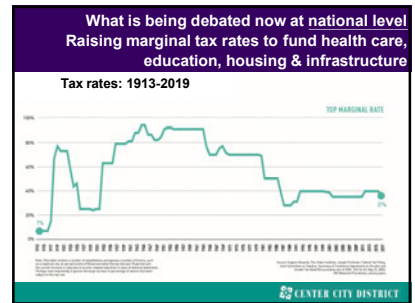
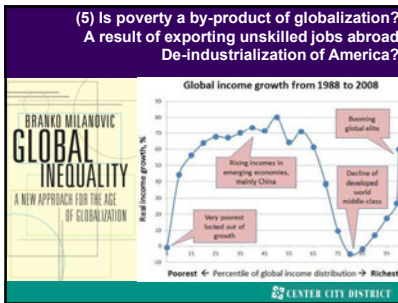
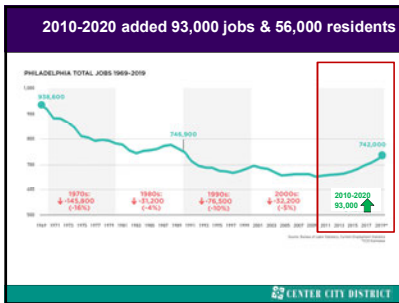












Is achieving equity the role of the federal government?

If the federal government doesn't play that role,
how much redistribution can be achieved locally?

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