Urban Excellence

Philip Langdon
with Robert G. Shibley and Polly Welch

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New York

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Foreword

About ten years ago, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts announced the Agawam Competition. It was open to architects who wanted to be on a list of acceptable practitioners to design state-financed housing for the elderly and families. The criteria for the competition stressed the issues of privacy and access, noise and community. Through suggesting readings in these areas, the competition involved each participant in a continuing education process. This seemed like a special opportunity to deal with the other significant issues inherent in architecture—other, that is, than appearance—issues such as function and context.

As a practicing architect, I can certainly understand the attraction of a pretty building, but looks are only part of what a building is about. The making of a building is a complex process in itself, especially in the urban environment. Different players—owner, bank, architect, engineer, contractor, city government, and sometimes community—must all work together before a building can come to life. This collaboration, more than any other factor, defines the product. To the extent that this process involves diverse concerns, the end product becomes the embodiment of the cooperation and vision of the participants. In a very real sense, it is built with a history already attached.

Most existing architecture award programs, be they the AIA Award, the Progressive Architecture Award, or the program sponsored by Cummins Engine Company in Columbus, Indiana, focus on the product rather than the process. But a finished product that photographs well or is intriguing on paper is not necessarily one that functions or serves its community. Nor do separate buildings, no matter how beautiful each may be, make a cohesive city.

The Agawam Competition had considered some of the very real issues of function. The recommended readings suggested ways to integrate these functions into building design. In the end, the judges selected entries that looked pretty but did not address the integration of the issues. A real learning opportunity was lost. But the effort suggested an area in which the Bruner Foundation, already heavily involved with evaluation in the nonprofit sector, could make a significant contribution.

The first major Bruner Foundation project had been to introduce a new level of service professional into the health field, the physician's assistant. What the foundation did, in effect, was to recreate the "general practitioner" by continuing the education of personnel already well versed in the medical field. This effort was successful because the assistant filled the void between the nurse and today's highly specialized doctor. Originally

seen as a means to bring increased medical service to rural areas and increase the effectiveness of the urban medical practice, these health practitioners have extended their work to other areas and are widely accepted in the medical field.

As we analyzed the effectiveness of this program, the Bruner Foundation began to move more generally into the realm of evaluation. What, we asked, might be the criteria for success or failure in a nonprofit field? In this type of organization, it is difficult to measure the product in dollars and cents. How, then, could it be measured? We began by trying to define clearly the criteria for success, by trying to understand what makes an effective and efficient program.

In 1985, fueled by this research and the lessons learned from the Agawam Competition, the Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment was created. Named in honor of my late father, the award reflects his lifelong interest in cities and their architecture. The program seeks as much to involve the participants as it does to laud the winner. The goal is to understand and broaden each entrant's perspective on urban excellence, discover effective solutions to what are so often conflicting objectives, and publicize alternative options.

Why is excellence in the urban environment an issue? In these days of high interest rates and seemingly even higher construction costs, an ever growing premium is placed on quick construction and easy identification. Except in an increasingly restricted segment of the market, cheap is more important than good, and quick more relevant than thoughtful. Yet, to some extent, our sense of meaning and well-being depend on a satisfying environment, one with a sense of permanence and harmony, and one which binds us to it through history and continuity.

To create the Rudy Bruner Award, the foundation assembled a group of professionals who could bring their expertise to the award process. By working through the Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA), the foundation was fortunate enough to enlist the capable services of Polly Welch and Bob Shibley. Polly Welch, an architect, was at that time a partner at Welch & Epp Associates, a Boston planning and research firm. Now the deputy assistant secretary for public housing production at Massachusetts' Executive Office of Communities and Development, Polly is a nationally recognized expert on the relationship between building performance and user needs. Bob Shibley, professor and chairman of the Department of Architecture at the State University of New York at Buffalo, brings to the Bruner Award his expertise in architectural practice, research, writing, and lecturing. Polly and Bob have played central and indispensable roles as professional consultants to the Bruner Foundation in developing the award's approach (including the complex form it had to take), creating and writing the award's announcements and application package, and facilitating the selection process. They carried out the demanding site visits that are a hallmark of the Rudy Bruner Award.

Selection Committee members, each from a different specialty within the urban development field, were chosen for their depth of insight into the complex issues being addressed and for their willingness to work with one another toward a cooperative exploration of urban excellence. New members will be chosen for every round.

Any award that truly intends to seek out excellence must define it in relatively loose terms so as not to reward preconception. The Rudy Bruner Award process tries to make clear the value we place on the integration of social, political, and economic as well as esthetic concerns by soliciting input from participants with different points of view. The entry process itself is designed to stretch the understanding of the applicant and encourage dialogue between the parties involved in the process. A simple statement from a developer or architect will not suffice. The application is intended to be somewhat self-selecting: the transparency of single-dimensional projects becomes clear to the applicant even as he or she fails to complete the entry. And in the restriction of entries to those that are already built, there is a presumption that on some level the economics of the project must have worked within the existing system. The challenge here is to design an application process that speaks to particular goals without limiting the range of applicants or type of projects submitted. This is critical if the goal is really to be one of searching for excellence and not just reconfirming preconceptions.

To check the statements and pictures contained in the application against the reality of the actual project, the Bruner Award Task Force determined that the only reliable method was a site visit. Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit every site. Therefore, the selection committee met twice—once to determine which sites merited a closer look and once to review the findings gathered by the evaluators during their site visits. The site visit was essential in extending the investigation and determining the actual effect of the project on the community. In many cases, informal interviews with passersby, coupled with photographs of the rear of the building, are more telling—both pro and con—than the material submitted by the applicant.

The first Bruner Award competition revealed five projects that proved it is possible to combine esthetics with good, solid amenities for the user community. The projects described in this book illustrate that a good urban place reflects its residents and visitors, not just its creator. For, like the Rudy Bruner Award process itself, a city's vitality cannot depend upon one person's vision of urban development. Real vigor requires the continuing infusion of diverse ideas.

The Bruner Award program has been scheduled to run biannually for at least ten years. We hope that in five rounds of this program we will begin to learn something about what makes a city a better place to live in. As we begin to evaluate the success of our program in the late 1990s, we may have some better answers. For the time being, we hope the award process will stimulate collaboration and new ideas. In each round, new participants will bring their particular visions of excellence to our—and the public's—attention. Perhaps by keeping an open mind we can understand just what makes our cities so special. Good luck to us all.

SIMEON BRUNER
Bruner/Cott & Associates, Inc.
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Officer, Bruner Foundation

1

Excellence in the Urban Environment

A Critical Goal for Our Times

These are crucial times for American cities. After a long period of decline in urban America as a whole—a decline in population, in the number of middle class residents, and in retailing and employment strength—some of the nation's cities have recently been faring better in a number of ways. As the national economy has shifted from manufacturing to services, some cities' central business districts, for instance, have become more prosperous and lively. As a *New York Times* headline put it, "Riding a Boom, Downtowns Are No Longer Downtrodden" (Schmidt 1987, 28). The white-collar workforce has been growing. Some of the service industries and their personnel thrive on the close proximity and the abundant interchange that cities provide. Infusions of activity and investment have brought new life to some central business districts and to some of the areas on their fringes. Downtown Chicago is an example. More than $6 billion of investment has been pumped into downtown Chicago since 1979, expanding the number of offices, stores, restaurants, apartments, and condominiums. Since the start of the 1980s, more than 15,000 housing units have been created in that city's downtown area, which, as a consequence of all the new investment, is pushing farther and farther outward from the Loop. Chicago's population actually *grew* by about 2,000 from 1980 to 1985—its first five-year gain since 1950 and an increase that counters the long-established trend toward ever-lower census counts in old cities with settled boundaries. Some elements of this phenomenon have occurred in favorably located portions of other cities, including Boston, San Francisco, and New York.

Changes such as these have helped generate a broadened sense of possibility in many American cities. But which of the supposed improvements are really making American cities better places to live in? Some past visions of urban improvement, such as those embodied in many of the urban renewal programs of the 1950s, have revealed themselves to be harmful to cities and their inhabitants. Today, when there once again is widespread interest in urban life, it is important that we develop a deeper

understanding of what actually improves cities and how those improvements are brought about. On the one hand, we need to avoid false solutions to urban problems. On the other hand, we need to learn all we can about places that function successfully as models of urban excellence, so that their lessons can be applied in other cities across the nation.

Because this issue has such momentous significance for American society, the Bruner Foundation decided to launch a search for urban excellence. To find out what really might constitute excellence, the foundation set out to gather instructive and diverse examples from throughout the United States. In 1987 the foundation sponsored the first of a series of biannual national competitions for the Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment, with $20,000 as the prize for an outstanding urban place. This first competition attracted eighty-one entries, which were narrowed to five finalists by a selection committee with a wide range of urban viewpoints and expertise (fig. 1-1). Each selection committee member not only had established a reputation in a particular aspect of the urban field, but had also displayed a receptivity to issues outside his or her own area of expertise. The selection committee members for 1987 were

Vernon George of Hammer, Siler, George Associates, economic development consultants, Silver Spring, Maryland
Cressworth C. Lander, director of the Department of Human and Community Development, Tucson, Arizona
George Latimer, mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota
Theodore Liebman, FAIA, of The Liebman Melting Partnership, an architectural firm in New York City
Clare Cooper Marcus, professor of architecture and landscape architecture at the University of California at Berkeley
William H. Whyte of New York, author of *The Organization Man* and *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*

In competitions run by organizations concerned with architecture, design, development, and urban affairs, it is common for the panel to look at slides, photographs, plans, and written materials and then choose the award recipients. The applicants may be required to submit voluminous materials, and yet the process all too often ends up going astray; the panelists who pass the final judgment may not understand the projects thoroughly enough, and the lessons of the award competitions may be ambiguous or even misleading. The problems afflicting most awards programs are several. Typically the programs

Do little or no on-site inspection.
Report only the good news about the winning projects instead of presenting a balanced story; the projects' shortcomings, which may hold lessons for others, tend to go unacknowledged.
Do not make explicit some of the significant assumptions about what constitutes quality.
Focus on the artifact—the project, the object, the place—and neglect to examine processes and values that were important aspects of the award winner.

> Celebrate only one type of actor or professional—such as the architect, developer, or builder—rather than tell about the full range of professional, political, social, financial, and other actors that bring successful construction into being.

Bruner Foundation representatives, working closely with two research architects, Robert G. Shibley, AIA, and Polly Welch, AIA, concluded that the process of calling for applicants, reviewing accomplishments, choosing winners, and discussing the leading places had to be handled in a more analytical and comprehensive manner. A demanding application kit was designed, extensive selection committee reviews organized, and a series of evaluation activities undertaken. Shibley is a professor and chairman of the Department of Architecture at the State University of New York at Buffalo and partner in the Caucus Partnership, a Buffalo-based design research firm. Welch is currently deputy assistant secretary for public housing production in the Massachusetts Executive Office of Communities and Development. Shibley and Welch continue to work as advisers to the program.

During the administration of the first cycle, Shibley and Welch gathered questions from the selection committee members as the committee winnowed the applicants down to a handful of top contenders. They reviewed detailed submissions from applicants and toured each of the top contenders—in this case, five projects spread across the country from Seattle to New York's South Bronx. The research team spent as many as three days at each project, interviewing the diverse individuals and organi-

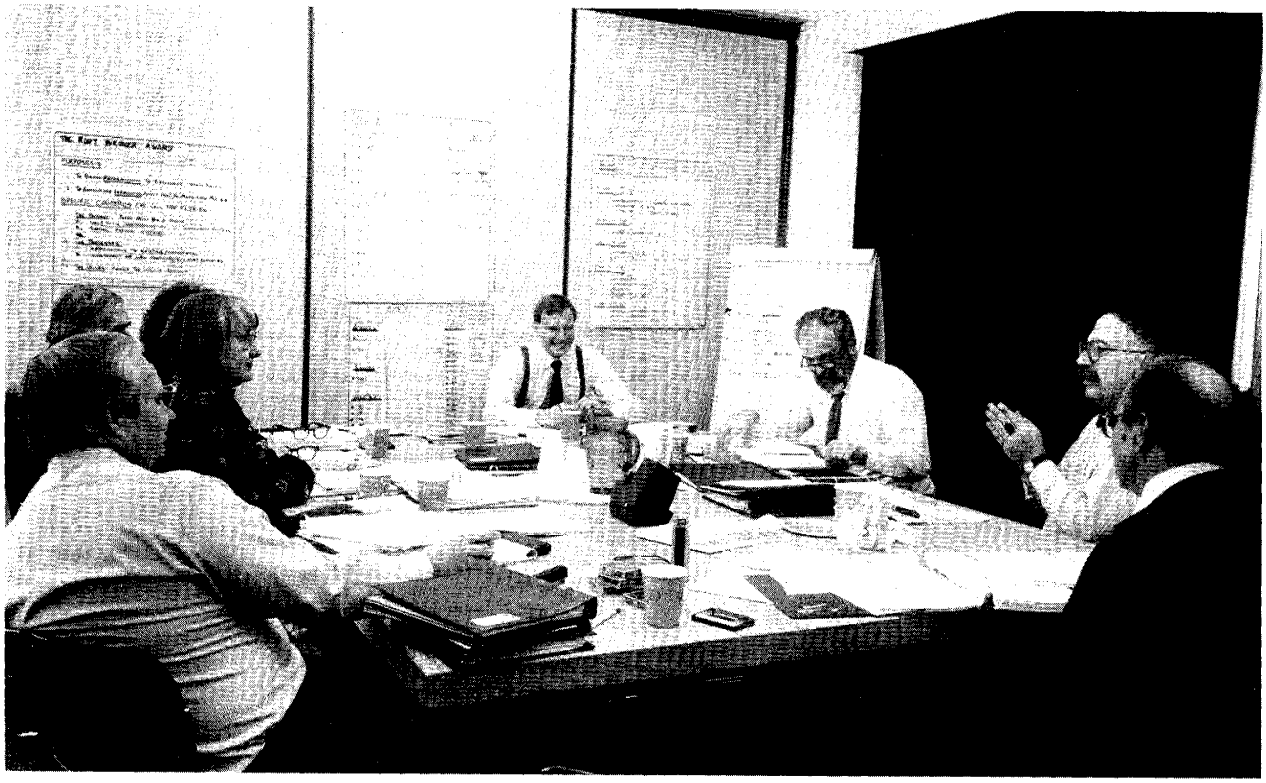

Fig. 1-1. Meeting of members of the Rudy Bruner Award selection committee.
(Photograph by Simeon Bruner.)

zations who have made, managed, lived in, worked in, or been affected by the project. The researchers looked at the areas surrounding each project as well. Shibley and Welch also compiled an extensive photographic record and conducted an archival review of project documentation.

After these tasks had been carried out, the selection committee reconvened, with Shibley and Welch reporting their findings and answering questions for the committee (fig. 1-2). Following this round of well-informed discussion the selection committee decided who would receive the Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment. Shibley and Welch also provided an extensive volume of information to a design and urban affairs writer, Philip Langdon, who was hired to produce a book about the award and the urban places. Langdon toured all five of the top projects, conducting additional on-site interviews. During these interviews and in follow-up telephone interviews, the participants in the projects offered further elaboration on many aspects of the projects. Quotations from their discussions with Langdon and with Shibley and Welch, as well as quotations drawn from the award applications, appear throughout the text.

The result of this process was that the people involved in the Rudy Bruner Award were able to learn in great detail about what—and who—made urban projects successful. The award is not just for an "applicant"; it is for a "place," and it is concerned with all the people who helped make the place great.

The selection committee tried to avoid a common and persistent problem in viewing American cities: defining urban excellence too narrowly. A narrow and simplistic perspective is probably one reason why many urban projects ultimately bring disappointing results; the problems, and the choices among ways of mitigating them, are just not that simple. Paul S. Grogan, president of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation in New York

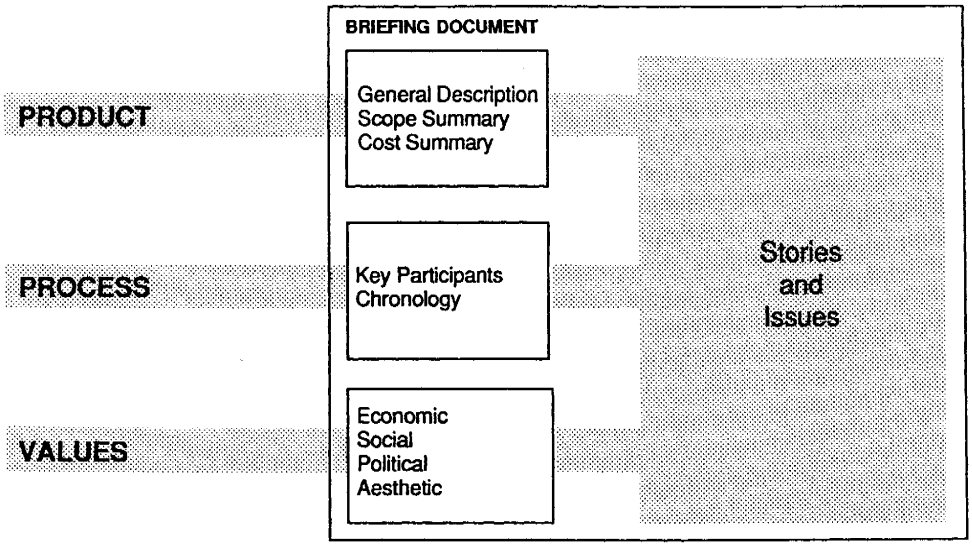

Fig. 1-2. The briefing to the selection committee on the five top-ranked candidates was structured according to an outline that revealed the products, processes, and values that were to be evaluated.
(Source: 1987 RBA Selection Committee Briefing by Robert Shibley and Polly Welch.)

and an adviser to the foundation, noted that the development process in American cities reflects a struggle for equilibrium among diverse perspectives and goals, none of which is sufficient by itself: developers and architects pursue economic and esthetic objectives; governments promote their planning and growth policies; neighborhood groups focus on controlling the quality of life in their community. The Bruner competition seeks to identify developments that reconcile these competing objectives—getting economic, visual, and social perspectives to complement one another and consequently bring about higher urban quality. In the competition, the applicants described their products or projects, the processes that contributed to their success, and their values. These goals became part of the system by which each project was judged.

What you will find in this book are in-depth studies of the competition's five leading urban places and a list of other urban projects that entered the competition. The purpose is not to push some grand, unified vision that all cities should pursue. Rather, the intention is to look at instructive examples of differing urban places, urban values, and urban processes, so that people in many cities around the country can extract enough information to form their own conclusions. At the risk of stepping on applicants' toes, the Rudy Bruner Award attempts to identify some of the problems and shortcomings as well as the many virtues of these places. The objective is to show how urban places attained their good qualities and at the same time to generate an understanding of the whole picture. There are useful things to be learned from what Jane Jacobs termed "the adventure of probing the real world" (Jacobs 1961, 13).

Of the eighty-one places that the selection committee considered, the five that were examined in most detail were a remarkably heterogeneous group. Among them was the Pike Place Market in Seattle (fig. 1-3), one of the oldest urban markets in the United States. Pike Place Market has been in existence since 1907 and has gone through long periods of growth and difficult periods of contraction. It was one of those gritty edge-of-downtown places that urban renewal in the 1960s was committed to reshaping into a cleaner, more straight-lined, more affluent development. But the defenders of Pike Place—at first just a few, but eventually numbering thousands of citizens—resisted the plans. A lengthy, complex process began to unfold in Seattle. The people's will, expressed in a "Save the Market" campaign, prevailed, and government officials, preservationists, businesspeople, and many others succeeded in reestablishing the market's physical integrity, economic vigor, and social health. They did so, moreover, at a time when today's "festival marketplaces" were as yet unknown. And they revived the Pike Place Market in such a way that it not only has thrived but has succeeded in serving important social purposes that are missing from the typical festival market (such as the South Street Seaport in New York City).

Of the five top places in the competition, Pike Place Market was chosen to receive the Rudy Bruner Award, while the other four were presented certificates commending them for their valuable qualities. The selection committee was especially impressed by the large number of ways in which Pike Place embodied urban excellence. The market was a historic preservation project, a highly ambitious one, involving a collection of buildings that

Fig. 1-3. A grocery vendor in Pike Place Market, in downtown Seattle. *(Courtesy of the Market Foundation.)*

were a great challenge to renovate and make fully usable. But it was an unusual historic preservation project. The buildings themselves were fairly utilitarian, and rather than trying to make them look fancy and polished, the rehabilitators purposely kept the buildings that way. This was more appropriate to their function as a marketplace where Seattle residents, the poor as well as the rich, shop for meat, fish, produce, and other goods. And those who saved Pike Place wanted to maintain not just the buildings but also the functions that the buildings had traditionally served—functions of great importance especially to the low-income and elderly population of the downtown area. With a clarity of vision that in retrospect seems extraordinary, the market was understood in terms of its social ecology, an environment in which many different kinds of people benefited from one another's activities. Saving the buildings without preserving their uses and retaining room for the long-time residents would not have been enough. Pike Place gradually added more housing and it offered a growing array of social services. The tourists could come—and they do come by the thousands—but local people and local needs have remained primary. Pike Place stretches the urban imagination. It is one of this country's diverse, physically pleasing, socially healthy, economically productive environments. It is a place where we can see admirable products, processes, and values at work, interacting with and reinforcing one another.

The West Coast produced one of the other top five places in the Rudy Bruner Award competition—St. Francis Square, a 299-unit cooperative apartment complex in the Western Addition urban renewal area of San Francisco (fig. 1-4). St. Francis Square was built in the early 1960s, and, like Pike Place, has withstood the test of time. The complex was built during the period when the bulldozer and the wrecking ball were favored instruments of urban renewal. In this instance, what was built on the cleared land has turned out to be a remarkably humane environment—buildings skillfully integrated with open spaces, offering a pleasing, community atmosphere for a low- to moderate-income group of tenants including blacks, whites, and Asian-Americans.

Fig. 1-4. St. Francis Square, a cooperative apartment complex in San Francisco.

The construction budget at St. Francis Square was tight; the complex demonstrated that a satisfying urban place could be built without great expenditures of money. The social challenges were great. In how many places in the early 1960s were new apartment complexes built for a racially integrated population and given a system of management enabling the residents to govern the complex themselves and to have a financial stake in the outcome? Not many. St. Francis Square demonstrated that such a complex could manage its affairs effectively, retain its racial diversity, continue to serve people of modest means, and retain the quality of its physical environment. In fact, the physical environment at St. Francis Square—after years of alterations and improvements—is in some ways better than when the place was brand-new. A strong community has grown up there over the years—disagreeing on various issues, as communities do, but finding ways to deal with the problems and potential of urban living. St. Francis Square has emerged as a model for other urban housing developments. Like Pike Place, it reflects a healthy coming together of product, processes, and values.

One project in the Midwest attracted especially close attention from the selection committee. That project is the Quality Hill redevelopment in Kansas City, Missouri (fig. 1-5). Kansas City is a place where the return to downtown living had been much less a trend than in Seattle, San Francisco, and a number of other cities. Kansas City had also not experienced ambitious adaptive reuse of old buildings like those in other cities. But within the past few years, this has changed, and Quality Hill has played an important role in the turnaround. A 4½-block area containing rundown historic buildings and vacant lots on the western edge of downtown has been given a greatly enhanced character through a $40 million redevelopment program. What especially interested the selection committee in Quality Hill was the process that has brought this project into being. Quality Hill has been revived through an elaborate partnership involving local philanthropies, local businesses and banks, a federal Urban Development Action Grant, city officials, a neighborhood organization, and an experienced out-of-town developer. This partnership was not easy to put together; negotiations were sometimes tough. But the partnership and Quality Hill have made a major impact. Not only has Quality Hill—one of the city's premier neighborhoods in the late nineteenth century—been brought back to life. Other areas on the edge of downtown are reviving, too. The organizational process at Quality Hill is worth inspecting.

Two projects on the East Coast were among the Bruner Foundation's top five. One of them is Fairmount Health Center in a depressed area of North Philadelphia (fig. 1-6). A relatively new facility, Fairmount opened in 1986 in a building that had been constructed more than half a century ago as an automobile dealership. Physically, it is much smaller than the three preceding projects; it is a single building on a street full of old buildings. But it infuses pride into its area, and it shows people in a deteriorated neighborhood that the existing buildings can be made attractive and functional and that the forces of despair can be actively opposed. Fairmount has emerged as a community catalyst. It tackles major problems, such as the high rate of infant mortality in North Philadelphia. It shows that a community health center can operate in an efficient, businesslike manner and

simultaneously can treat its ethnically mixed clientele with a sensitivity to their cultures. Fairmount Health Center has interpreted its role broadly, reaching out to many of the community groups in its area and helping to form a more cohesive neighborhood. It has become a place where people with problems of many different kinds, not all of them medical, turn for advice and assistance. It is exerting a beneficial influence on its urban environment.

Fig. 1-5. Plan of the Quality Hill redevelopment, Kansas City, Missouri.
(Courtesy of McCormack, Baron and Associates.)

Fig. 1-6. Fairmount Health Center in North Philadelphia.
(Courtesy of Fairmount Health Center.)

The other East Coast project is Casa Rita, a shelter in New York's South Bronx for homeless women and their children (fig. 1-7). Casa Rita impressed the selection committee in part because it differs so much from the dismal places in which many homeless people have found shelter. Casa Rita is a small building, containing room for sixteen women and about thirty-nine children. Its small scale allows the shelter to be less intimidating and impersonal, more soothing, friendly, and engaging. It can effectively address the problems of the individuals and families who live there and it can easily avoid upsetting the neighborhood's stability. Women in Need, the nonprofit organization that operates Casa Rita, has in fact made the neighborhood a better place. The shelter occupies a clean, repaired, well-maintained building that had previously been an empty, neglected parochial school. Women in Need has sought communication with community organizations, and this contact has helped to provide the families at Casa Rita with social services that enable them to shed some of their dependence and begin to exert control over the direction of their lives. Casa Rita deals with "empowerment"—the vesting of economic, social, or political power in those who might otherwise have remained largely disenfranchised. Empowerment takes place both among the homeless women that Casa Rita houses and among the women who serve on Women in Need's board of directors.

Casa Rita is an interesting study in the trade-offs that can be made in an attempt to create good short-term housing on a limited budget, using an existing building. The physical design provides needed privacy, yet it also ensures that the mothers come together in common areas and in everyday activities so that they can learn essential skills from one another or from the staff. Casa Rita is an example, too, of using resources from government and from the private sector—turning for help to businesses and local individuals as well as to a state program that aids housing for the homeless. Products, processes, and values are all part of what makes Casa Rita outstanding.

In organizing the competition, the Bruner Foundation allowed applicants to define "product" themselves. In doing so, the award competition increased the prospect for learning more about different people's concepts of what contributes to an urban project's success. The product included such things as the physical design, the functions or services performed by the urban place, and its organizational aspects. The focus of the competition was on urban places, and some may ask whether two of the five entries—Fairmount Health Center and Casa Rita—are really "places." Some selection committee members noted that these two are individual buildings, and not very large ones at that, whereas the other three projects are big enough that no one would object to designating them as "urban places." But cities and neighborhoods are made up of many aggregations of small buildings, so Fairmount and Casa Rita are relevant to real-life urban conditions. And Fairmount and Casa Rita deliver important services. Some selection committee members also asked: Are not services, in some instances, a more important consideration than whether the particular building qualified as a "place"? The selection committee for the first Bruner Award competition ultimately arrived at a pragmatic answer to the question, deciding that regardless of whether Casa Rita and Fairmount are

Fig. 1-7. Casa Rita, a shelter for homeless women and their children in New York's South Bronx.

urban "places" in the broadest sense of the term, they should be included among the top five because they provide critical services and because there is much to be learned from small projects. Most individuals or organizations in cities don't have enough money or property to create a Pike Place Market or a Quality Hill, but many can and do tackle smaller ventures. Casa Rita and Fairmount are both outstanding in their own way, and they may hold lessons for others who are trying to improve the environment of their own cities. Moreover, Fairmount is a catalyst for other changes in its community. So these two projects merit recognition in the Bruner Award competition. As to resolving the question of whether place-related or service-related attributes are more important, the selection committee provided a meaningful response when it chose Pike Place as the overall winner. The Pike Place Market excelled in both aspects; it is an alluring place, one of the most distinctive parts of Seattle, and it performs a wide array of valuable services.

In general, the majority of selection committee members acted on the belief that what is needed in American cities is an emphasis less on the individual building and more on how the building contributes to a broader sense of place and sense of community. It is hazardous for a city to let every building express individualistic impulses at the expense of the larger community's coherence. The places selected in the first Rudy Bruner

Award competition displayed an attentiveness to their context—social as well as physical.

The best places also incorporate some processes that can be instructive. At Pike Place, many kinds of processes are worth examining. One is the process by which a citizen effort saved the market. A second is the process by which the architects renovated the market and retained the essential elements of its character. A third is the process of administering the market—an intricate system of checks and balances. A fourth is the process of providing and supporting social services for those who need them. Readers will detect other processes as well. At St. Francis Square, the Redevelopment Agency established an auspicious process for choosing a development proposal. The participation of a socially conscious labor union in the sponsorship of St. Francis Square was a second productive aspect of the process. A third was the collaboration between architect and landscape architect. There have been many other noteworthy processes during the project's early years and in the period since. One of them, the process of involving the residents in managing the development and sharing the responsibility for its upkeep, has played a key role in the square's long-term success.

If the processes uncovered in the first Bruner Award competition are numerous, so are the values. A few of these values have already been briefly noted: the empowerment of individuals who have been dependent, such as homeless women; a sensitivity to the needs of the community; a desire for cohesive urban design; a preference for collaborative rather than authoritarian styles of decision making; a belief that racial and economic diversity is better than homogeneity; a preference for continuity, sometimes achieved by saving old buildings and their functions; and an insistence that buildings and grounds should be designed with their users in mind. Additional values will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

Urban excellence does not just happen. It requires effort and vision. The five places spotlighted in the first Rudy Bruner Award competition reveal extraordinary energy and dedication and a sense of what is possible. In most of these places, just one person or a small number of individuals started the process rolling, but eventually the number of participants had to broaden, bringing in more resources, more ideas, more community involvement. The expansion in the number of people and organizations involved put additional momentum behind these projects and enabled them to magnify their accomplishments.

Urban excellence takes time to develop. The Rudy Bruner Award Selection Committee paid special attention to how these five places have come about, have adapted, and have been maintained over time. Pike Place Market and St. Francis Square are especially interesting because they have operated for decades, providing insights into processes that can function over the long haul. The other projects are newer, and their successes are not quite so easy to judge. Yet they, too, have gathered strength and achieved a great deal, even in a short period of time. It will be rewarding to observe how these five places cope with challenges in coming years. Urban excellence is a long-term objective. The Bruner Foundation believes that these five places can help Americans understand how to go about achieving that goal.

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