

Joining Old and New: Neighbourhood Planning and Architecture for City Revitalization

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Summary

This paper provides an ordered account of the process of planning and designing a neighbourhood for center-city revitalization in Baltimore. It intends to make explicit design judgements in a complex architectural and planning project involving the conflicting goals of a City government, a developer, residents and the designer. The use of existing environmental design research, of informal research done by the designer, and of two researchers assigned to different tasks is described as one of the bases for these design judgements. The paper explains the varied roles and agendas of the participants and discusses the designer's use of alternatives to mediate both among these parties and between the aesthetics of the old and the new. Finally, the paper offers directions on the outcome of the designer's decisions, and on those aspects of neighbourhood life that are beyond his power to influence.

Résumé

L'article propose un exposé systématique du processus de planification d'un quartier destiné à revitaliser le centre-ville de Baltimore. Il propose une évaluation explicite du projet dans un contexte architectural et de planification complexe comprenant les buts contradictoires poursuivis par les autorités de la ville, le promoteur, les habitants et l'architecte. L'emploi par l'architecte des résultats d'autres recherches, de ceux de ses propres travaux, ainsi que le recours à deux chercheurs auxquels des tâches diverses ont été attribuées servent de base aux décisions relatives au projet. L'article décrit les rôles et les tâches de l'ensemble des partenaires et discute la formulation par l'architecte de plusieurs propositions devant servir à une médiation entre les partenaires, mais permettant aussi de concilier l'esthétique de l'ancien et du nouveau. Enfin, l'article avance des propositions quant aux résultats des choix effectués par l'architecte et discute les aspects de la vie de quartier qui se situent au delà de sa sphère d'influence.

1. Introduction

This paper would like to contribute to the understanding of the engagement of the designer with clients through a specific housing project. Because it is based on the assumption that design is the occasion for the confrontation between multiple goals, it focuses on the facets of the various roles the architect plays in a complex design context. It is a structured description of the client/developer/architect interaction, and the design intentions of all three, for a housing redevelopment project intended to help revitalize central Baltimore, Maryland, USA. It stresses the importance of the context

created by public and private clients' expectations and intentions, and discusses the architect's use of alternatives to mediate both among these parties and between the aesthetics of the old and the new.

After decades of neglect, architectural practice has recently aroused scholarly interest among designers and environmental design researchers. Kostof's edited collection (1977) provides a much needed historic perspective with a series of essays on architectural practice from ancient times to the 20th century. Since that time, other work, based on criticism, has been published (Saint, 1983; Prak, 1984; Symes, 1984) as well as work based on empirical investigation on how architects actually work, survive or not (Blau, 1983; 1984). Lastly, designing is beginning to be recognized as a form of thinking in action (Schön, 1981), and, thanks to Rowe's important recent work (1987) as a form of inquiry apart from other forms of investigation, with its own set of inherent qualities.

On the other hand, there has been much debate about how to bridge the gap between design practice and research (Broadbent, 1969; Gutman, 1985; Conway, 1973; Lang, 1974; Zeisel, 1981; Sauer, 1972, 1976; McCall, in press). While the overall intention of this paper is to provide an ordered account of the important processes in designing a new residential neighbourhood in an old urban fabric, it also attempts to show how a number of ideas accepted by social scientists concerning the urban neighbourhood can influence the architect's intentions and design decisions. Another aim is to illustrate some of the formal and informal use the architect can make of environmental design researchers. The third purpose of this paper is to provide some reflections and insights on the built project, in an attempt to identify those aspects of place making which are beyond the designer's power to influence.

2. The Inner Harbor West Redevelopment Area: The Context for the Design of a New Neighbourhood

The Inner Harbor West Redevelopment Area in Baltimore, Maryland, although small (22 acres), is exemplary of the recent uses of residential gentrification to revitalize urban cores. Like most such transformations, this project exhibits an interaction between public policy and marketing economics, a need to integrate old settlements and physical symbols of the past, a requirement for segregated land uses and building types, and conflicting ideas for development and articulated traffic systems. It was an outgrowth of the downtown Baltimore revitalization initiated in 1953 with the development of Charles Center. Charles Center focuses on commercial and retail uses; the Inner Harbor in general was to anchor and extend Charles Center through waterfront recreation, museums, hotels, specialty shopping, restaurants, and upper-middle and high-income housing. Inner Harbor West (IHW) was to provide mixed income housing in a previously commercial and industrial area.



Fig. 1 Inner Harbor West 1977 Context Photograph (Credit: Baltimore City)
Photo du Inner Harbor West (Baltimore City)



Fig. 1A Inner Harbor West 1977 Context Map¹
Plan du Inner Harbor West²

¹ Authorship of figures are by author unless otherwise noted.

² Là où aucune autre indication n'est fournie, les illustrations sont de l'auteur.

2.1. The Site and Its Context Before Design

The site for the new housing, called Harbor Walk, consisted of thirteen acres including streets and vacant land. The Otterbein area, a cluster of about 100 old houses within IHW, stood out as an island surrounded by vacant land, abandoned houses, and industrial buildings. To the north, between the site and Charles Center, a major new boulevard, a proposed garage, and a conference center were planned. To the east, between the project site and the Inner Harbor waterfront, was a spice factory, a newly constructed health care center, a building for the elderly, an old church, and, a proposed hotel, high-rise housing, and a new commercial building. To the south, between the site and a low-income neighbourhood, lay derelict housing and the path of a proposed expressway. To the west was a large railroad yard. The closest shopping area was five blocks to the southeast. Heavy traffic bisecting the site both east-west and north-south would separate into halves the proposed Harbor Walk housing, as it would also separate the new Harbor Walk from the old Otterbein.

2.2. The City's Program

2.2.1. Social Intentions

The city intended to create a physical environment that would give new value to city living for upper-middle and high-income families. Local political considerations, however, later induced the city to provide housing for a segment of the lower income population. The city chose to provide 200 housing units for the elderly, out of the minimum 500 dwellings to be constructed on the 13 acres of ground called Harbor Walk. This choice made it necessary for the architect to build for a social mix, and should thus be considered as a major influence on the designing of the new neighbourhood.

But building for a social mix also implies a multiplicity of financial means. The city therefore devised creative financial arrangements to provide for different types of market-rate housing through various forms of subsidies. It instituted a series of evaluations which concluded there was a potential market for moderate density low-rise garden apartments. The target market segment should be young professionals and empty nester suburban households wishing to live within walking distance of downtown work and cultural amenities. To increase the revitalization impact, the city desired the entire 500-dwelling Harbor Walk development to be built in a continuous sequence; and in order to create a stable neighbourhood, city planners wanted all new units to be owner-occupied.

Wishing to reinforce the adjacent Inner Harbor retail and commercial redevelopment, the city disallowed any such uses in the neighbourhood. City planners reasoned that *any* non-residential uses in the neighbourhood would decrease the potential for waterfront development.

2.2.2. The City's Image of the New Neighbourhood

Baltimore has very distinct neighbourhoods. Any new housing would therefore have to aim at creating a neighbourhood with a strong and attractive physical identity. The city had a clear image of the kind of neighbourhood that should be designed. It was the traditional urban image of the 'good' city with a tidy appearance that they felt

would be disrupted by a park-like and parking-lot suburban setting. They wanted an urban, not a suburban, aesthetic. The public view from the street should see pedestrian-related landscapes and continuous building facades, and not be dominated by car storage or other such utilitarian like settings. Parking was a major issue. The city wished to enforce a maximum of one off-street parking space for each new dwelling. In consequence, they made a policy of subsidizing both the design and the construction of open spaces within the public view.

One last, important feature of the city's policy was to hire for its planning, urban design, and landscape work the same architect the developer had hired for his low- and high-rise housing work. The city planners believed that this "doubling up" would increase its design management efficiency and communication. It also gave the architect more influence to achieve his own goals.

2.2.3. The Appeal of Old Houses

Prior to the architect's work, the Inner Harbor West area contained about a hundred vacant nineteenth-century residential buildings collectively called the Otterbein area. The city decided to retain these houses as historic dwellings and to demolish commercial and industrial buildings. It then organized to have the Otterbein houses purchased and rehabilitated by new residents. Individual owners were selected by a raffle, houses sold for \$ 1.00 and rehabilitation design began. The city retained a consultant to devise urban design criteria for facade and open space standards. All Otterbein owners had to comply both with municipal codes and with the following standards, in whose creation they actively participated:

- 19th century facade characteristics were to be replicated;
- the street was to be a formal public area providing for vehicular circulation, parking, and building entry;
- the backs of houses were to be renewed at the owner's preference for use and style;
- private yards were to be permitted only at the rear of the houses;
- the area beyond the private yards, the rear property was to be communal and pedestrian, with no garages or parking.

These rules show that the city and the Otterbein owners shared a similar sense of the importance of an architectural legacy. They believed the replication of architecture, and its ornament, constituted the main way to protect such a legacy.

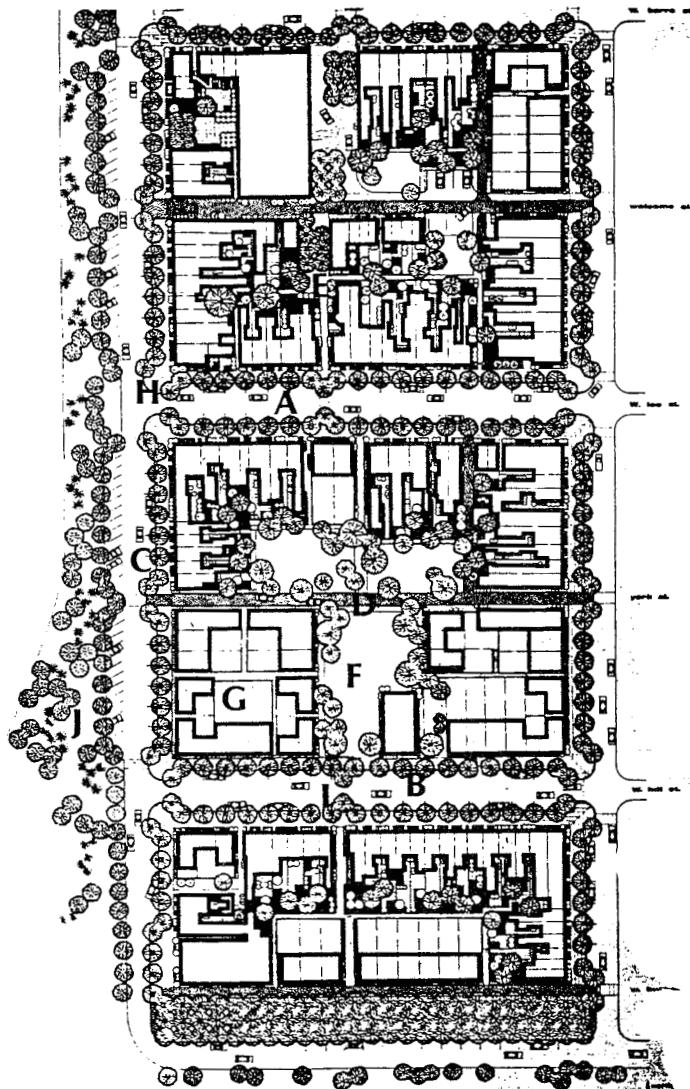


Fig. 2 Otterbein Development Plan (Credit: Baltimore City)

Le plan de développement du quartier d'Otterbein (Baltimore City)

Summary of the Plan

The proposed neighbourhood plan is intended to create an urban residential neighbourhood that generates pride and care from its inhabitants, is contiguous in character, is primarily pedestrian oriented, has limited vehicular traffic and creates a high quality environment through comprehensive landscape design.

The specific elements of the plan are as follows:

- A. *Narrowing of existing streets and widening of sidewalks*
- B. *Introduction of street trees and other planting throughout the neighbourhood*
- C. *Parking to be primarily accommodated on-street*
- D. *Existing alleyways with their granite block surfaces to be retained as pedestrian walkways allowing for emergency vehicle and service access*
- E. *Small pedestrian walkways to connect units to the major pedestrian ways and to provide rear yard access for service*
- F. *Internal landscaped open space for active and passive use*
- G. *Infill development for new single family rowhouses in most vacant areas to complement the existing character of the restored units*
- H. *New sidewalks with consistent detailing and furnishings*
- I. *Sidewalks widened at points of pedestrian crossing*
- J. *Landscape buffer zones to be provided along west and south edges of the neighbourhood*

Résumé du plan

Le plan proposé pour le voisinage vise à créer un voisinage urbain résidentiel dont les habitants peuvent être fiers et dont ils peuvent prendre soin; il va lui fournir un caractère contigu, être orienté vers les piétons, avoir un trafic véhicules limité et créer un environnement de qualité grâce à un aménagement détaillé du paysage.

Les éléments spécifiques au plan sont les suivants:

- A. *Rétrécissement des rues existantes et élargissement des trottoirs*
- B. *Introduction d'arbres dans la rue et d'autres plantes dans tout le voisinage*
- C. *Parking sur la rue avant tout*
- D. *Les allées existantes, avec leur surface de granit, doivent être utilisées en tant que voies piétonnières, tout en réservant l'accès d'urgence et de service*
- E. *De petites voies piétonnières doivent relier les bâtiments aux voies principales et fournir un accès par la cour pour les livraisons*
- F. *Espaces ouverts à utiliser de manière active et passive*
- G. *La plupart des zones vacantes seront occupées par de nouvelles maisons individuelles, ceci afin de compléter le caractère des bâtiments restaurés*
- H. *Nouveaux trottoirs dont l'aménagement est unifié*
- I. *Trottoirs élargis aux points de traversée*
- J. *Zones d'impact le long des frontières ouest et sud avec le voisinage*



Fig. 3 Otterbein Front Facades

Les façades-rue de quelques maisons du quartier d'Otterbein

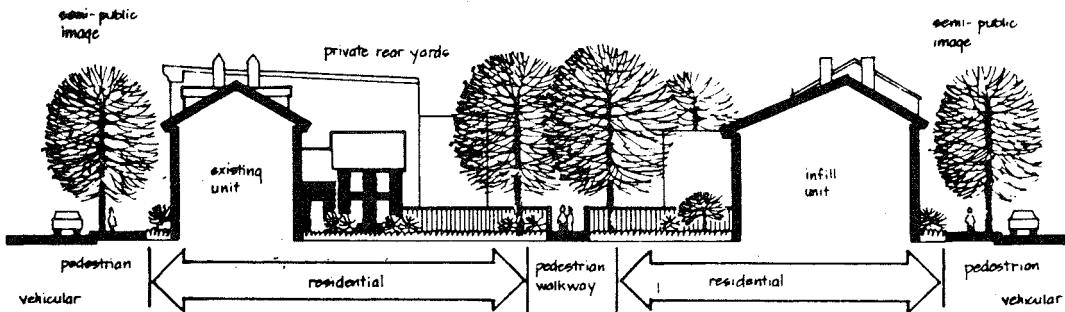
The city required that the new Harbor Walk development respect the Otterbein street facades. However, it also desired the architect not to alter his attitude as a modern architect in this project. For marketing and prestige reasons, the city had design objectives, namely

"... not to make the new housing imitate the old - not to copy it, but ... that the new housing would not clash with the old housing" (Kim, 1984).

2.3. The Otterbein Population

Most new owners had been attracted by a bargain. However, they also shared a desire to pioneer, to take derelict buildings which they valued as a precious reminder of the past, and transform it.

They were (and are) united in wishing to preserve a link to the past which they maintain through front facade rebuilding and maintenance according to strict design standards (Jackson, J.R.V., 1980). This nostalgia, however, is limited to the street facade only. The houses' backs and interiors are rebuilt to accommodate various present-day aesthetic and living preferences. Thus the Otterbein residents have two distinct self-images. The front facade is meant to convey the residents' public valuing of continuity over time. It might also be said to reveal their aspiration to "belong" among upper-income people who perceive and evaluate the residential environment in terms of aesthetics - forms and symbols - as opposed to low-income people, who evaluate housing in terms of functions and services (Riessman *et al.*, 1966; Irelan,



Typical Property Distribution / Rear Yards

The rear yards of most Otterbein homes will be enclosed and private, offering the greatest opportunity for expression of individual tastes and needs. Even though the spaces may be small, they can be effectively utilized as outdoor rooms or gardens when carefully designed. The small garden court can serve as an amenity for a living room, a dining room, or a focus for outdoor activity.

Cours-arrière typiques

Les cours-arrière de la plupart des maisons du quartier seront fermées et privées, offrant ainsi de très nombreuses possibilités à l'expression de goûts et besoins individuels. Bien qu'elles soient parfois relativement petites, elles peuvent être utilisées comme pièces en plein air ou comme jardins. La petite cour peut servir d'extension à la pièce de séjour et à la salle à manger ou peut être utilisée pour des activités en plein air.

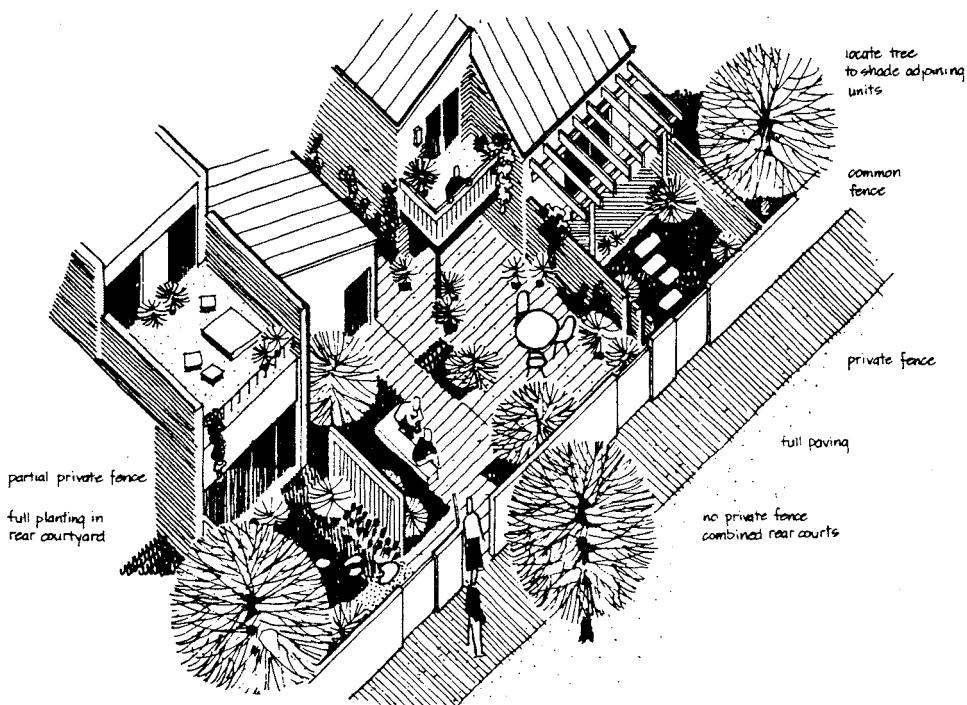


Fig. 4 Otterbein Back Yard Design Criteria

Les critères utilisés pour les cours du quartier d'Otterbein

1966; Appleyard, 1976). The other self-image is private and idiosyncratic, recognizing that people have different ways of living and feeling. This image is manifested through the backs and interiors of the houses.

2.4. The Developer's Goal

The developer's interest was to maximize profit and minimize risks - in other words, to maximize market appeal at the lowest possible development and construction cost. In order to induce the developer to work on the project, to increase the design quality of private building, and to attract a larger market, the city had agreed to subsidize the cost of the land and the Harbor Walk buyers' private mortgage financing, and to building all utilities, streets, walks, landscaping, and walls within public vision. In addition, the city had agreed to finance and manage the design and construction of its planning, urban design, and landscaping program. Accordingly, the developer wanted the architect to produce a design that would maximize public and minimize its private construction cost.

The developer wanted shared open spaces to be minimized, and most open space assigned to private use. He instructed the architect to provide the maximum number of dwelling units with the minimum number of building and unit types. He also wanted a maximum number of rental units and a minimum number of sale units, as he believed that the market would be limited and buyers would be wary of investing in a new center-city neighbourhood. The relationship of the car to the housing unit was critical; the developer perceived that clients would be concerned about crime and would want parking close to the house entries. He insisted that the architect provide a minimum of two car spaces for each dwelling.

2.5. Program Conflicts

The city and the developer disagreed, then, about construction costs, tenure and house types, the degree of housing variety, and parking ratios. To varying degrees each client wished its construction costs to be reduced at the expense of the other. And more generally, while the city expected the architect to provide a comprehensive approach to the neighbourhood by planning the area in which his housing would be only one part and to design for social mix, the developer expected him to meet the constraints of the market and to be capable of negotiations with the city. The architect had, moreover, his own expectations and goals.



Fig. 5 Contrasting Otterbein Back and Front Facades

Le contraste entre les façades rue et cour dans le quartier d'Otterbein

3. The Architect's Design Goals and Values: Theoretical Bases for a Design Attitude and the Use of Environmental Design Researchers

The architect's overall attitude rested on the idea that design, as a domain separate from other domains, benefits when the question is asked - what knowledge is needed to design architecture? This question is rooted in the architect's belief that the awareness of what one does not know is part of the designer's competency. When expected to design, the architect is led to identify the knowledge from other domains which, once integrated into the design process, make design more effective (Sauer, 1983a). In this sense, it is the sense of competency and skill as a designer which sustains the interrogation.

Environmental design research has asserted itself as one of the disciplines which strive to bridge the gap between design and research. One way of using it, in this instance, was to ask: "what is needed to make a neighbourhood in the case of Inner Harbor West?".

3.1. Theoretical Bases for a Design Attitude

3.1.1. Understanding Neighbourhood Characteristics

Studies on neighbourhood stress from the outset the connections between locality and the inhabitants' ways of life, feelings, and social organization. Spatial proximity is the main cause for these connections (Park, 1926). On the other hand, Burgess (1925, 142) viewed the role of the neighbourhood as positive, providing a set of shared norms - an expression of the common culture of groups emerging out of an unstable urban milieu where mobility is high. Several studies have illustrated attachment to place and the complexities of neighbourhood social life (Gans, 1962). The importance of "weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973) and of helping networks suggests that a neighbourhood may be defined as a social network, and may serve as a basis for political, even militant, activism.

A neighbourhood is thus a social as well as a spatial reality, a territory with limits clearly perceived by the inhabitants (McKenzie, 1923; Keller, 1968). Within such a territory, informal and formal interaction, and identification of and with the neighbourhood, take place. Residents' daily use of neighbourhood services and their awareness of the neighbourhood's image as part of their own social identity also point to the complex interdependence of space and place (Lynch, 1981).

Metropolitan growth has led sociologists since Park to question the survival of real neighbourhoods - of localities characterized by an intimate social life. But Olson (1982) stresses that

"the urban neighbourhood continues to persist under widely varying social, economic, historic, and ecological conditions ... The evidence suggests the local community is selectively incorporating organization features, social issues, and collective responses that are widespread in society" (509-510).

The concept of neighbourhood in the case of Inner Harbor West thus needed to be approached at two levels: a general level, which would mean an attempt, on the architect's part, to achieve, through design, a potentially real neighbourhood, i.e. which would contain the spatial characteristics allowing for the emergence of community life. At a more specific level, the architect wanted to achieve a framework for revitalization, with particular attention given to joining the old houses to the new ones.

3.1.2. Designing for Social Mix

As mentioned earlier, the city desired a neighbourhood to provide housing for various income groups. However, as Vischer (1986a) has pointed out, there are other kinds of social mix than based on income. In Harbor Walk, in addition to income mix, the type of tenure was to be mixed (rentals and sales) as well as the type of households. And even among owners belonging to the same income bracket, one could expect to find groups with different conceptions of the home-making process, and therefore with different visions of their way of life. As an example, whereas the Otterbein owners were ready to invest time and effort to design and construct their houses, the prospective residents of Harbor Walk would be looking for houses already designed and built.

A mix of social and income groups is a dimension of the idealized image of "real" neighbourhoods (Jacobs, 1961) and as such, was welcome for the architect. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that, in the case of Harbor Walk, his planning and design decisions should be congruent with the social identities of the various groups, and should also convey homogeneity. A certain degree of social homogeneity is also a major characteristic of a successful neighbourhood, a fact shown by many early studies as well as by more recent research (Vischer, 1986b). The architect's self-assigned task was therefore to accommodate each group's sense of privacy and desire for socialization, while providing a general framework for the residents' own future making of their own neighbourhood. The architect wanted to design a space that would leave room for the future residents to create a place (Sime, 1986).

3.1.3. Understanding Open Space as an Instrument for Place Making

The persistence and differentiation of urban neighbourhoods, in spite of the widely denounced disorganizing powers of modern urbanization (Olson, 1982) legitimates the design and/or rehabilitation of residential areas in order to revitalize the old urban core. However, the attempt to lure middle-class households back into the city is often only one aspect of more comprehensive downtown redevelopment plans that include strategies to strengthen central business districts and to integrate cultural activities into the existing urban fabric. Indeed, these different strategies can hardly be separated. In the attempt to capture the effects of redevelopment on the built form, Beauregard (1986) has shown that

"the one (strategy) central to redevelopment is the creation of 'assemblages' of property that will attract developers who wish to make large, self-contained investments" (190).

As a consequence, public open space, which is known to play a vital role in informal social regulation (Jacobs, 1961), not only decreases but is often privately owned and maintained. The singleness of purpose of such "token public plazas" has been diluted by more recreational uses, mostly by an elderly population attracted by the flow of people and the comfortable climate of shopping malls (Brown *et al.*, 1986). But these unintended uses do not significantly change the fact that central business district's indoor commercial spaces siphon the tradition pedestrian flows from the streets. They concentrate most retail and office activities, and are thus bound to reinforce residential habitation as almost the sole function of nearby neighbourhoods.

The City was constructing Harbor Place nearby on the waterfront with interior and outdoor commercial and recreational malls. In contrast, the architect desired to provide the residential neighbourhood with its own locus. Such a core was to have a specific image and therefore a legible identity. Moreover, this design of outdoor spaces should acknowledge the need for a variety of differentiated collective territories as potential places for community activities.

3.1.4. Joining Old and New

The fourth dimension of the architect's theoretical basis for the design of a new neighbourhood is more particular to this project. It derives from the need to recognize the existence and value of the Otterbein houses without letting them dictate all aspects of the new design. Granted, the Otterbein residents identified with the aesthetics of the

past in a somewhat romantic way, and they had a simplified image of this past. To use J.B. Jackson's expression, they had integrated a "sense of the way it use to be ... a vernacular past" (1980, 94-95). But the architect, too, acknowledged old residential buildings as a starting point to which the new development must relate. His first priority was to give the residents of the old and new houses the feeling that they lived in the same neighbourhood. They should be provided with a unifying image - a sense of place. Thus, the first planning decision was to make Hanover Street not a frontier between Otterbein and Harbor Walk, but a meeting place. The open space of the street itself, and of the designed gardens near both ends of it, was to be used to unify the past with the present.

3.2. The Use of Researchers

In the course of his practice, the architect had often retained one or several researchers. His attitude regarding the uses of researchers can be briefly described as being open to knowledge existing outside the design professions and based on a sense of the unique contribution of architecture to the making of significant places. This means that he believes that, given the multifaceted character of the technical and social aspects of architecture and place making, designers should ask one major question, namely: what knowledge is needed to design architecture? It should be stressed that such an attitude derives precisely from the architect's sense of competency in his own mastering of architectural practice, a knowledge which leads him to be aware of what he doesn't know. The architect is thus the person who articulates the questions.

As a direct consequence, his use of researchers is focused and project specific. By this, it is meant that research is not always perceived as necessary. When it is perceived as potentially useful, it is not necessarily perceived as useful for all aspects of a whole project. Each project may contain questions which research could usefully answer at one or several levels. This implies that researchers are invited to play various roles, depending on the project and the specific questions to be answered. In the case of IHW, the researchers were invited to play two difficult and important roles.

3.2.1. The Researcher as Generalist

The design of the new Inner Harbor West neighbourhood implied dealing with the conflicting goals of the City, the developer, and the architect. None of the designer's clients related their expectations either to the anticipated first new residents' values (except the economic ones), or to the architect's. The question was then: how does the architect go beyond the assigned tasks and achieve his design goals?

He realized he needed a person who understood a broad range of residents' values, and (because of the complexity of the project) understood design practice and the relationship between public and private clients as well. This person should be a generalist, quite familiar with the results of current housing, post occupancy evaluations and users' needs research, but not a person dogmatic as to their insistent and direct applications.

The role of the environmental psychologist who was retained was (1) to identify those domains in environmental design research which are or might be useful for the current project; (2) to play an advocacy role of future residents' values during dialogues with the architect and to criticize design decisions from the future residents' point of view; (3) to make the architect aware of what the architect knew and didn't know about

how places function, and how people use them; (4) to remind the architect of his values.

The researcher was not expected to devise or use any instrument to investigate the anticipated residents' needs. He was engaged to enter into continuous dialogue with the architect, and to review all site plans and house designs with criteria relating to his knowledge of users' life styles. But this research viability came from the fact that a constant dialogue would take place on the basis of actual designs, with an immediate purpose and deadline.

This experience does not describe the normal role of a researcher. Rather, it tells a story where he acted as (1) a resource; (2) a conscience, by pointing to the potential benefits and liabilities of decisions; (3) a catalyst, by renewing the dialogue with the architect about his own values. Although not conventional, this role is the crucial and difficult one to achieve for environmental design researchers.

3.2.2. The Researcher as a Specialist: Determining Design Relationships

During the schematic design phase for the 14 story 200 unit housing for the elderly building, the designer questioned whether he had designed useful locations for the congregate facilities. To take advantage of good views, he had located them on the top floor. Because of his doubts, he hired a social psychologist who had done earlier research on how the elderly use space. The meetings he had with her proved his doubts to be well founded. She introduced him to socialization patterns among elderly people with which he was not familiar, including the power struggles that ensue in this form of captive housing and the reluctance most elderly have to get together.

The idea that most elderly people living in such facilities are lonely and should be offered opportunities to socialize more often led the designer to redesign the floor plans and to locate most congregate facilities on the ground floor between the front door and the elevator. His design should allow residents to choose among various places according to desirability of activities and encounters with other residents. To facilitate choice of interaction, he made it easy for the residents to identify the users in the various social places.

Along with the desirability of increasing choice and socialization possibilities, the researcher stressed the importance of providing more privacy for the common chores, such as laundry. Therefore, laundry facilities were located on the second floor, affording a privacy separation between resident and visitor. In this case, the researcher did not do any particular study on the specific project but she could point to the aspect of earlier research which could be generalized.

4. Foreseen Obstacles to the Achievement of a Good Neighbourhood

4.1. Adjacent Areas

Although adjacent land uses considerably influence neighbourhood life (Rotoff, 1983), the architect had no power to affect the rapid development of areas adjacent to the site; powerful economic interests advocated continuing the development of Charles Center and creating a waterfront domain. These forces would bring along other ancillary developers wishing to locate their projects near a successful Charles Center devel-

opment and an Inner Harbor extension. All of these proposed commercial uses would provide higher financial benefits to the city than would residential development.

4.2. General Land Allocation

Nor did the architect have any illusions about controlling the entire new Harbor Walk project. Although he could influence development by legislating a general plan for land use and building configuration, he could not control specific building and tenure types, construction or its phasing, marketing, property management, or future architectural styles. The size of a design project is dependent upon such variables as the cost of construction, mortgage finance, actual (effective) market demand, and property management. Indeed, in order to create greater social and architectural diversity, he wanted these variables to be dynamic - to change, to slow down, even to stop development. Such a changing developmental context would increase variations among tenure, building, unit types and architectural styles to meet the expectancies of a future market different from the one his clients were focused upon.

4.3. Neighbourhood Services

As has been explained above, the city rejected a suburban image. Yet its refusal to allow all the traditional retail and commercial activities that would support residential habitation would create a functional suburb. The new neighbourhood would be devoid of an urban diversity of day-to-day activities and images. The city's program thus contained a conflict between an aesthetic image of urban architecture and real urbanity which, by definition, means diversity of activities.

4.4. The Burden of the Past

The Otterbein residents wanted the design features of the future townhouses to match those of the old houses. Their main concern was windows but they also complained about roof lines and the material used for building cornices. They asked for detailed information about planters, iron step railings, and the placement of outdoor light fixtures. These concerns revealed an unqualified acceptance of all ornamental and construction features of the old houses as the only legitimate repertoire of design choices for Harbor Walk. For the architect, they implied both an oversimplification of the inspiration the past could offer and a stereotyped image of what the neighbourhood could be. Instead of making rigid references to a past that appeared as a burden (Ford, 1984), he desired to reflect on the enduring qualities of the old houses (Ford, 1986) to design a more complex sense of place. The architect believed that old and new architecture can live together as good neighbours as long as both are understood as part of the historical continuum (Sauer, 1980).

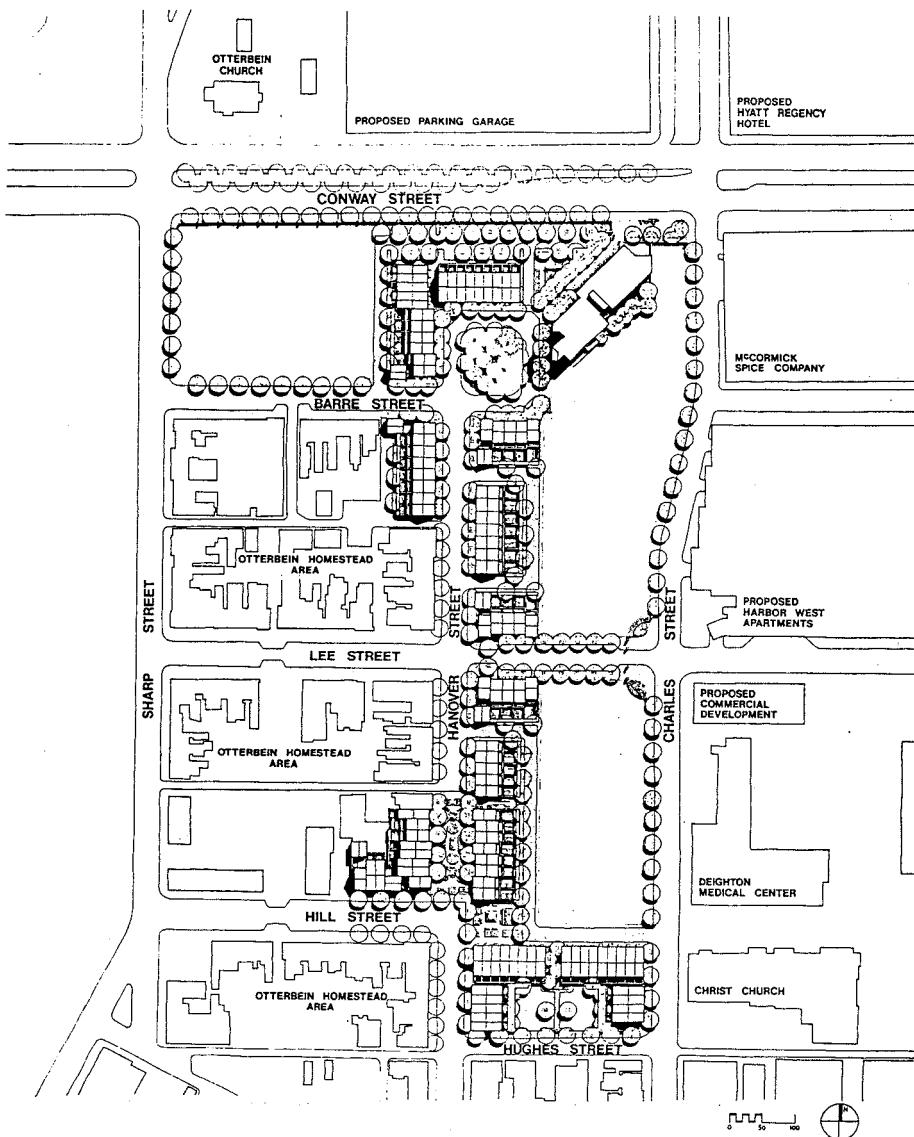


Fig. 6 Harbor Walk Completed Phases One, Two and Three Site Plan
Plan des phases terminées une, deux et trois du projet d'Harbor Walk

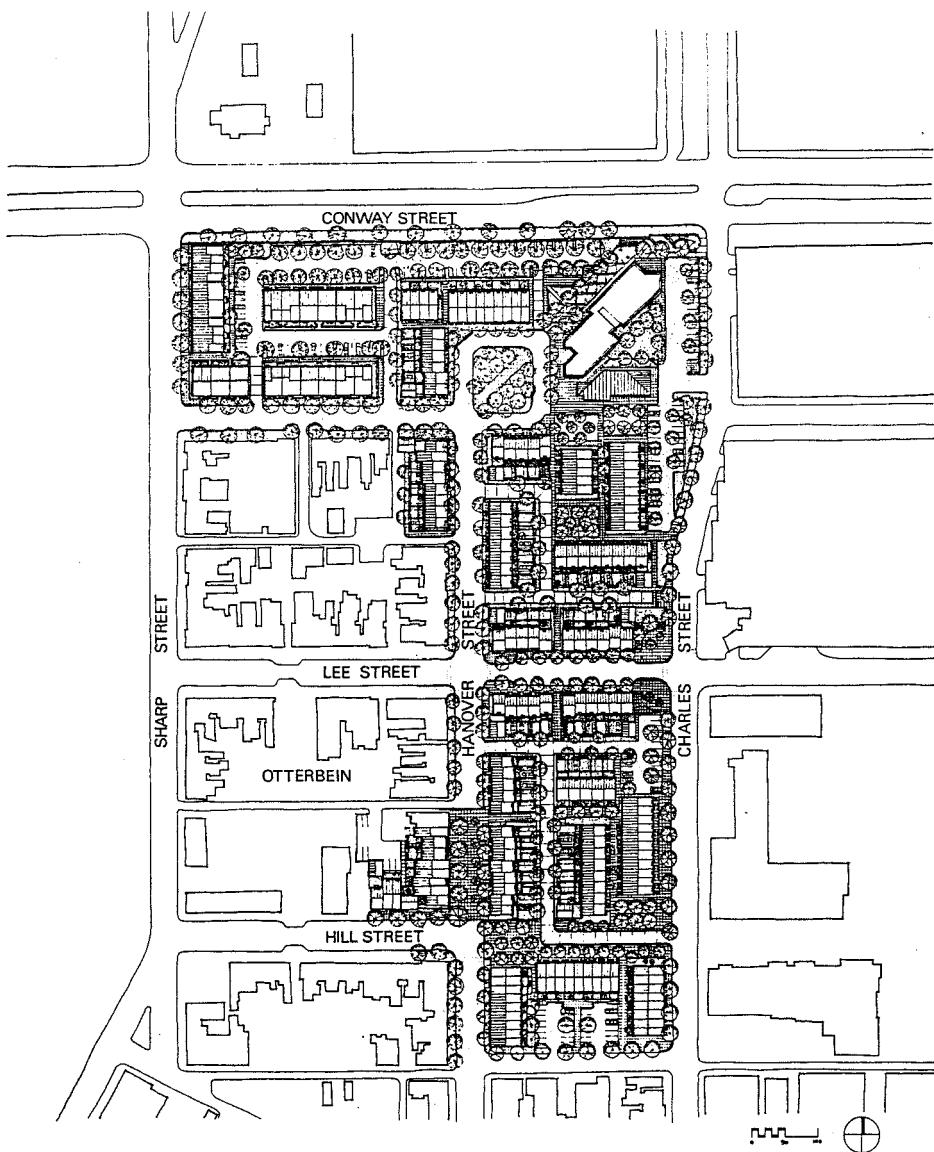


Fig. 7 Harbor Walk Overall Development Site Plan
Plan du développement complet d'Harbor Walk

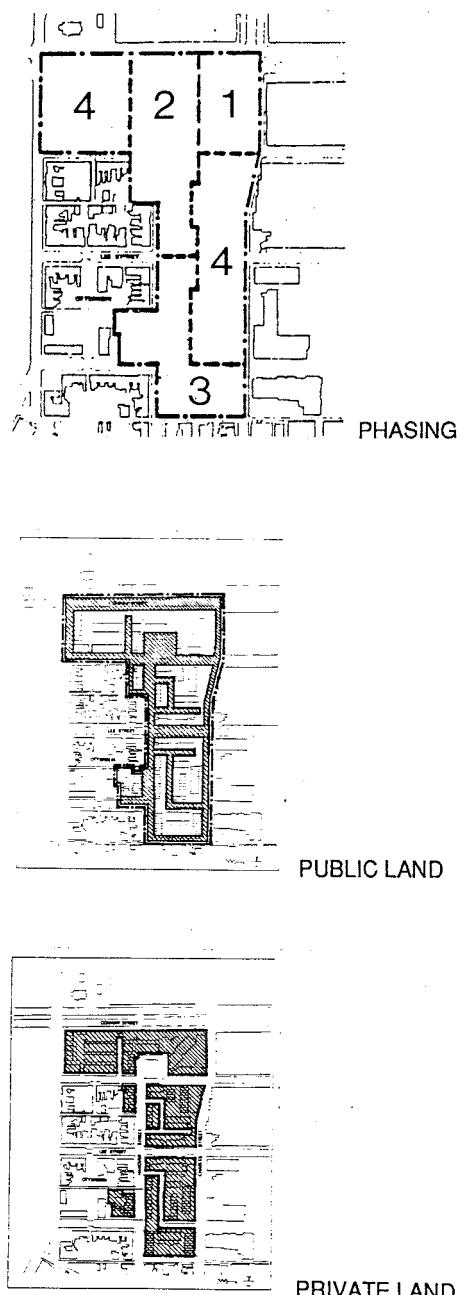


Fig. 8 Harbor Walk Street Closures, Private and Public Ownership, Construction Phasing, Density, and Unit Types Charts

Réseau des rues d'Harbor Walk, propriété privée et publique, phases de la construction, densité, et tableau des types d'unités

5. The Structuring of the Neighbourhood

Unlike other residential renewal projects designed by the architect, where new development filled relatively small gaps in the existing neighbourhood fabric, this site consisted of five square blocks having four continuous street block frontages facing Otterbein and twelve street block frontages facing the city. The architect realized that he must reconsider his previous approach to designing urban residential projects: whereas his previous designs could stand in contrast to the existing fabric (Morgan, 1973, 11; Sauer, 1980), this project required a fabric. It required to be made into a spatial neighbourhood. It required to be structured.

5.1. *Outsides and Insides*

To achieve this end, the architect used the idea of boundaries, articulating hierarchies and continuums of *outsides* and *insides* by using the characteristics of edges and zippers and those of fronts and backs. The differentiation between inside and outside was applied by the architect at the neighbourhood, street, and house scale. In turn, each of these place scales were designed to express social versus personal identity through the differentiation between their own insides and outsides (Sauer, 1980).



Fig. 9 General view of Harbor Walk's New Construction at Charles and Conway Corner Looking Southwest Towards Walkway and Hanover Square (Photo: Bob Solomin)

Vue générale des nouvelles constructions sur Harbor Walk, au coin des rues Charles et Conway, en regardant vers le sud-ouest en direction de la Place Hanover et de la Walkway (Photo: Bob Solomin)

5.2. The City and Neighbourhood Scale

First, the architect desired to increase the perceptual separation of the northern and eastern city activities that did not directly offer neighbourhood services. The activities and building forms of the Charles Center extension and the Inner Harbor waterfront were disruptive to neighbourhood function and image, so the architect used walls, landscaped parking lots, and distinctive back facades to make edges which increased the separation between the city's edges and the neighbourhood. In order to provide for the likely extension of residential development to the southern and western project limits, the architect diffused these neighbourhood boundaries by continuing houses facing the southern portion of Charles and Hanover Streets. And he made prominent neighbourhood entrances for the cars (a one-way entrance gateway at Lee and Charles Streets) and for pedestrians (a public walkway at Conway and Charles Streets) at the base of the high-rise building for the elderly. This building was designed as a landmark and located to indicate the symbolic and actual transition into and out of the neighbourhood: its corner site presents the first impression of the neighbourhood to southbound Charles Street traffic, and provides pedestrian access to Charles Center and the waterfront.

5.3. The Neighbourhood and Street Scales

The architect zippered together the inside of the neighbourhood with open space, by making Hanover Street a residential street providing parking, house entry, walking, stoop sitting, and play. But he also wanted to make a place that would gather the social mix, and would join old and new buildings both low and high. So he designed Hanover Square to end Hanover Street to the north. The Square was to function as an inside-the-neighbourhood landmark and to signal one's arrival into the neighbourhood from the outside. To the south, he designed Hanover Garden, in the middle of Hanover Street, to function as a common and provide a residential terminus to neighbourhood car movements.

5.4. The Street and House Scales

For the design of the townhouses, the architect assumed that in our cultural context people attach very different meanings to the fronts and backs of their homes (Goffman, 1959; Korosec-Serfaty, 1985), and that these meanings should also be reflected in front and back open spaces that would extend their home territory (Rapoport, 1982, 30-36). The design of the townhouse therefore assigned the public, shared activities of coming and going to the street fronts, and the more private activities of garages and services to new back alleys. The front architecture uses the geometry of axial symmetry and better materials (i.e., more expensive) to convey public formality and status. In contrast to the permanence of the front, the back uses the geometry of asymmetry and nondescript materials to convey private informality and to allow for change.

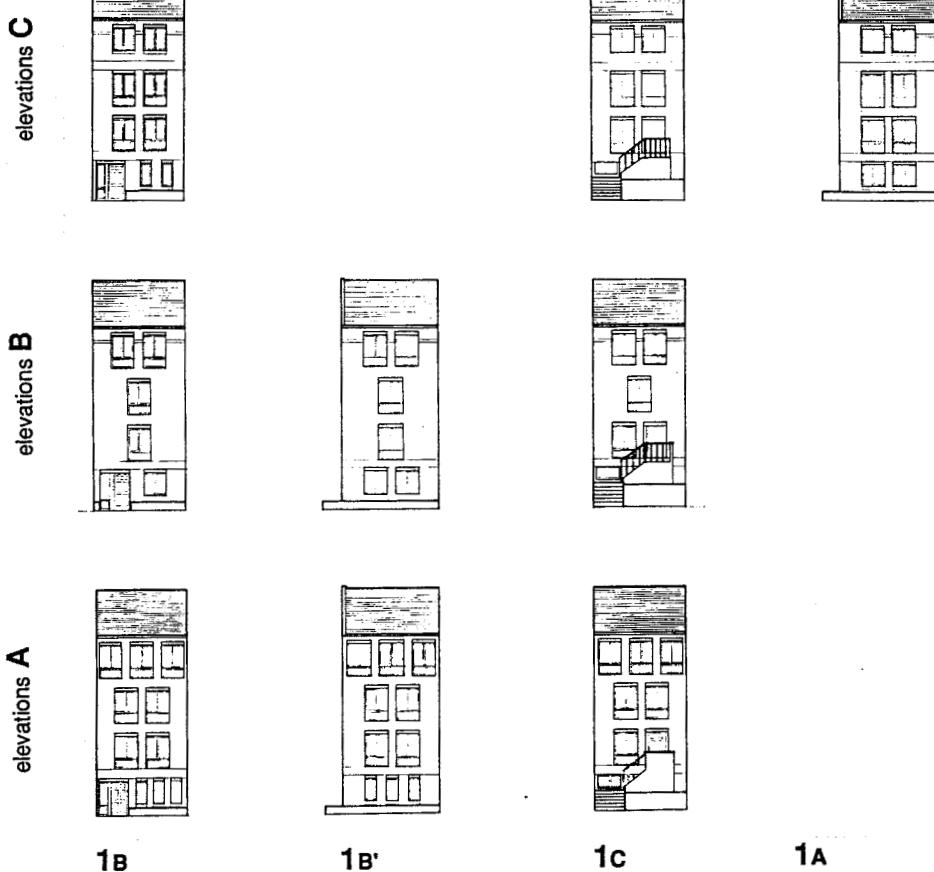


Fig. 10 Alternative Elevations for the Eighteen Foot Townhouse

Élévations proposées et possibles pour les maisons d'une largeur de dix-huit pieds

The Architect's Townhouse Design

With only two basic townhouse types, the architect created variations in plan and entry locations to give twenty options within the same construction discipline. These plan manipulations permit a high degree of diversity without sacrificing economy. The versions of the eighteen-foot wide 3 bed townhouses include 3400 sq. ft. corner units with a carriage house (1A), 2100 sq. fit. unites entered at grade (1B), and 1800 sq. ft. units entered from the raised floor (1C). These townhouses were sold from \$ 123'000 to \$ 188'000. The two bedroom townhouses (refer to following pages) are two storey and fourteen-foot wide. At 110 sq. ft. plus basement they were sold from \$ 98'000 to \$ 103'000.

The developer's townhouse design program specified that the kitchens should face the street in order to provide more privacy for the dining and living rooms. Yet, in order to reinforce the status of the street as a place shared, it was essential that the façade not be constrained by utilitarian fenestration criteria stemming from inside functional considerations. The architect therefore zoned all kitchen counters and equipment to the interior walls, in order to free the façade from formal fenestration with tall windows that would provide a place for eating and enjoyable street views.

Le projet de l'architecte

L'architecte créa, à partir de deux types de base, vingt options différentes pour le plan des maisons; la même construction globale est utilisée, mais l'arrangement des pièces et la situation de l'entrée créent ces variations. Ces manipulations du plan permettent un haut degré de diversité, sans que des considérations d'ordre économique n'en soient oubliées pour autant. Les maisons de 18 pieds ont trois chambres à coucher; elles ont soit 3400 pieds carrés, y compris une 'dépendance' (1A), soit 2100 pieds carrés avec une entrée au niveau de la rue (1B), soit 1800 pieds carrés avec une entrée située au rez-de-chaussée surélevé (1C). Ces maisons furent vendues pour \$ 123'000 à \$ 188'000. Les maisons à deux chambres (voir page suivante) ont deux étages et mesurent 14 pieds de large. Leur surface est de 1100 pieds carrés, plus un sous-sol et elles furent vendues pour \$ 98'000 à \$ 103'000.

Le programme du promoteur spécifiait que les cuisines devraient être orientées vers la rue, ceci afin de fournir plus d'intimité aux salles-à-manger et aux salons. L'architecte, lui, désirait renforcer le statut de la rue en tant que lieu de rencontre; il ne fallait donc pas que les plans des façades soient limités uniquement par des considérations telles que le placement des fenêtres en fonction de l'arrangement intérieur. Il plaça donc tous les équipements de cuisine le long des murs intérieurs. Ceci permit de libérer la façade et de l'équiper de hautes fenêtres le long desquels pouvait être installé un coin à manger avec une vue plaisante sur la rue.



Fig. 10A Alternative Plans for the Eighteen Foot Townhouses

Plans proposés et possibles pour les maisons d'une largeur de dix-huit pieds

The Street and House Scales

The architect desired to increase the range of social mix, and to increase street/house differences without increasing construction costs. With only two different townhouse widths (14 and 18 feet), he created twenty plan and ten façade variations. In addition he designed a coach house (a two storey living space over the corner town-house parking). It provides formal facade continuity at corners and increases the range of social mix by offering various use interpretations, such as: a guest apartment, a teenage place, a special adult place, a rental apartment for a single or couple, a rental studio/office, or a condominium sales unit.

For the design of the townhouses, the architect assumed that in our cultural context people attach very different meanings to the fronts and the backs of their homes. The design of the townhouse therefore assigned the public, shared activities of coming and going to the street fronts, and the more private activities of garages and services to new back alleys. The front architecture uses the geometry of axial symmetry and better materials (i.e. more expensive), such as brick, to convey public formality and status. The open spaces of the streets and alleys thus provide for different activities and convey different images. They are different places.

Les rapports rue-bâtiments

L'architecte désirait obtenir un brassage social relativement large; il voulait, d'autre part, marquer clairement les différences rue/maison sans pour autant faire augmenter les coûts de construction. Avec deux largeurs de bâtiments (14 et 18 pieds) il crée vingt versions différentes du plan et dix versions de la façade. De plus, est introduite une 'dépendance' (un espace à deux étages situé au-dessus du parking des bâtiments de coin). Cet espace assure la continuité de la façade au coin des bâtiments et permet d'augmenter le brassage social en introduisant de nombreuses possibilités d'utilisation, telles que: appartement pour des invités, chambres pour un enfant-adolescent, lieu réservé à un membre de la famille, appartement à louer à un célibataire ou à un couple, bureau ou atelier; il peut être également vendu à des tiers.

Au moment de créer ses plans, l'architecte partit de l'assumption que, dans notre culture, les gens attribuent des significations différentes à l'avant et à l'arrière du bâtiment dans lequel ils vivent. Il créa donc des bâtiments tels que les activités publiques et collectives se centrent sur la rue et ajouta de nouvelles allées à l'arrière pour les activités plus privées. L'architecture des façades sur la rue utilise la géométrie de la symétrie axiale. Des matériaux meilleurs (et plus chers), tels que la brique, soulignent un plus grand formalisme et le statut public des façades. Donc, les espaces ouverts sont liés à des activités différentes et transmettent une image variable, selon qu'ils sont situés sur la rue ou à l'arrière des bâtiments. Ils sont, en fait, des lieux différents.

The developer's townhouse design program specified that the kitchens should face the street in order to provide more privacy for the dining and living rooms. Yet, in order to reinforce the status of the street as a place shared, it was essential that the façade not be constrained by utilitarian fenestration criteria stemming from inside functional considerations. The architect therefore zoned all kitchen counters and equipment to the interior walls, in order to free the facade for a formal fenestration with tall windows that would provide a place for eating and enjoyable street views.

The architect desired to increase the range of the social mix, and to increase street/house differences without increasing the construction costs. With only two different townhouse widths (14 and 18 feet), he created twenty plan and ten façade variations (Sauer, 1983b).

In addition, he designed a coach house (a two storey living space over the corner townhouse parking). It provides formal façade continuity at corners and increases the range of social mix by offering various use interpretations for children or adults, or tenure types for rental or condominium sale.

Although not all housing purchasers desire to change the exterior of their homes, this town/coach house and the other townhouse rear decks were designed to afford inhabitants the choice to participate in making their own place. The space between the town/coach house is readily perceived as an opportunity by the inhabitant for enclosure, thus providing a continuous interior link to the two living areas. Similarly, the other 18 ft. townhouse rear decks afford various forms of covering, and indeed, these decks can be transformed to an interior space as an extension of the living room. Thus, even within the context of pre-designed merchant house, the architect sought to provide opportunities for the inhabitant to experience various ownership dimensions (Sauer, 1972). Indeed, the possibility to act on one's place through additions to these houses was clearly perceived by several residents. They have enclosed open bridges and rear decks to provide increased interior usage.

5.5. The High-Rise Building as a Landmark

The fourteen story high-rise apartment building for the elderly was designed to increase the residents' use of shared spaces. On the ground level those activities benefiting from proximity to an outdoor patio were located to the south, with views to a proposed neighbourhood tennis and swim club. At the building's entrance, a porch provided sitting and easy access directly to Hanover Square. Although the private apartments were constrained by the economics of double loaded corridors, a balcony adjacent to the second story laundry and another overlooking the square offered other social opportunities.

6 . Planning and Architectural Decisions to Meet Multiple Goals

Generally, any simple design issue involved several goals. The process of planning and architectural design often opened new problems and new opportunities, or offered insight into new goals or ones previously discarded. The clients' programs were modified, sometimes radically, when the consequences of previous criteria were schematically demonstrated.

As has been explained above, the architect had his own goals (formal and social), but he did not expect his clients to completely share them or to give him the freedom

to attain them. However, working both for the developer and for the city gave him a chance to use the knowledge and skills of his clients as a basis for a dialogue between differing intentions.

This situation implies a strong and continuous commitment on the part of the architect to hear what is said on both sides so that he can create order in the exchange, rather than become a partisan in the negotiations. In such a role, the architect must expect of himself the progressive building of an *attitude* during a long process of dialogue and negotiation at differing levels with the city, with the developer, and with himself.

6.1. Design Process

To analyze the levels of decision-making involved in this project would prove a long and complex exercise. The following sections therefore only summarize the most salient characteristics of the decision process and give specific examples of their effects on neighbourhood planning design. Since none of the participants in this process had all the knowledge necessary to decide the many issues, each often lacked sufficient control, or power, to make a unilateral decision. Therefore, most planning and design decisions were negotiated. In the negotiations the architect played four diverse roles as a mediator or an advocate for specific interests.

6.2. City's and Developer's Mediator

The architect's most complex role was to mediate between the city and the developer. This role was based on the constant acknowledgement that the participants' actions are based on their respective, and therefore often conflicting goals. In such a context, the architect decided to mediate the conflict between the participants by turning it into an asset rather than a liability. An asset was to be achieved through the use of a series of design alternatives with clearly defined goals for each alternative. The design alternatives provided opportunities for the clarification of each participant's position and priorities (as well as the trade-offs they were ready to defend or consent to). Thus designing itself became a major instrument for program clarification, testing and establishment (Morgan, 1973, 111; Hillier *et al.*, 1976; Sauer, 1983a).

For example, the architect reconciled through design the city's wish to create a pedestrian street image with the developer's wish to increase the minimum parking ratio (from one to two parking spaces for each dwelling). Since the developer required parking to be next to or inside the house, he believed his design choices to be either front yard surface or front garage parking. Because of the high density, low-rise general design of the project, there was insufficient interior-of-the-block land for parking lots. Nor would such lots meet the developer's criterion for an intimate house-to-car relationship. The architect resolved this conflict by designing a special raised townhouse type with a garage at the back of the townhouse under the living room and a formal stoop front stair at the street entry.

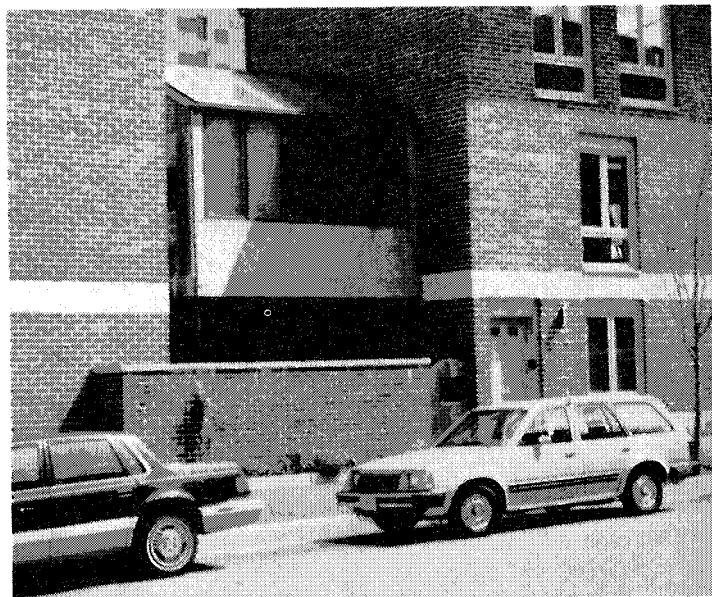


Fig. 11 User Built Addition at Front of a Corner Townhouse connecting it to the Coach House (at the right side of the photo)

Addition, par le propriétaire, d'une annexe reliant sa maison à la 'dépendance' (sur la droite de la photo)

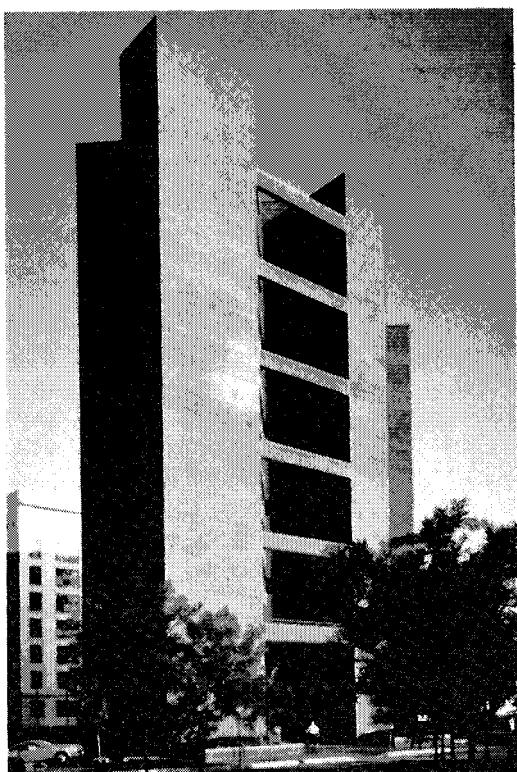


Fig. 12 On Hanover Square -
Elderly High-Rise, Look-
ing Northeast Across the
Square (Photo: Peter Cowan)

Sur la Place Hanover -
la résidence pour
personnes âgées, prise
en direction nord-est
(Photo: Peter Cowan)

6.3. City's Advocate

Another role was played by the architect when, in order to create an urban architectural aesthetic, the city, contrary to the developer's vision, wanted the new buildings to form a continuous street facade. The architect shared such a concern and considered that his role was then to defend and find a way to implement it. This was done by providing design solutions which satisfied both positions.

The developer's objection was that street façade continuity would increase construction costs. Merchant-built townhouses are simple rectangles with open back yards since this configuration is the least costly to construct. Agreeing that a townhouse that would essentially fill the lot would be more costly, the architect designed a corner townhouse variant that has a rear-yard garage with a (so-called) coach house over it. He then convinced the developer that this special raised townhouse could become the top-of-the-line product, attracting a high-income market segment. Thus the difficult corner-of-the-block facade continuity was achieved.

6.4. Developer's Advocate

In another instance, the architect resolved the conflict between two apparently clashing goals by translating the city's aesthetic goal into the developer's language of marketing economics. In this case, his role derived from the recognition that both partners had power to jeopardize the implementation of the project, if they had to give up on goals important to them. Each of them had design images which negated the other's desires. It was thus necessary to bridge the perceived gaps by offering design solutions, and therefore images, inclusive of both concerns.

The developer's goal to minimize the construction costs and maximize profit conflicted with the city's goal to increase the quality of the developer's façade design. The architect convinced the city to accept a special 14-foot wide townhouse type - narrower than the 16-foot minimum width permitted by city regulations. The consequent increase in the total number of dwelling units increased the developer's projected profit, and thus allowed a larger budget for the façade design (Sauer, 1983a).

6.5. Architect's Advocate

Lastly, in order to defend his own vision of the kind of street life and traffic an urban neighbourhood should enjoy, the architect had to encroach on other participants' domain of expertise and power. It should be noted that such an encroachment, and the ensuing confrontation, was facilitated by the fact that the architect was also hired for the planning of the neighbourhood as a whole, including its future development.

In order to counter the debilitating effects of existing traffic and to reinforce the residential quality of the street (Appleyard, 1981), the architect himself wished to make Hanover Street a special neighbourhood place. He convinced the city's traffic consultants that the high volume of traffic using Hanover Street could be re-routed, and that a one-way neighbourhood traffic system would reduce short-cutting through the neighbourhood from outside. Thus the conditions were created for closing Hanover Street to through traffic at the ends of the neighbourhood and for slowing internal traffic.

7. Designing as a Set of Unique Circumstances

Each project, and the more so for a complex project like Inner Harbor West, is in actuality made of a unique set of particular features, forbidding any generalization, and demanding a constant attention to the uniqueness of context. It seems useful to describe them to understand what we believe is of crucial importance in design, namely the close interaction between an attitude (the designer's attitude) and the outside world of actual design, as represented by a given project.

Some of the circumstances described here were social, others were individual, and at least one was a fortunate accident.

1. The architect's own intentions were clear, but he regularly met with city representatives and the developer to maintain a clear perception of their priorities and their interests. In these exchanges, the main design intentions were attained by resolving the city's and the developer's goals, not by renouncing the designer's goals.
2. The projected social mix did not include any population that could be perceived as totally undesirable by any other group of potential residents. Ethnic origin is homogeneous, as it is often a major incentive for neighbourhood choice in this country. The lowest strata of low-income households were not included in the program.
3. The choice to build a high-rise building for elderly low-income residents satisfied precise needs for overall project density, services, a certain kind of management, and safety. Not all the elderly people in the neighbourhood live in the high-rise, but most do, sharing a place that was quickly sought for various reasons. One major reason is that housing in the high-rise was subsidized. Also, the elderly population generally has limited housing choice, and the location of the high-rise at the junction between the downtown, the waterfront, and the upper-income residential area was perceived as a unique opportunity. Besides, the building itself offered good management performances, and the upper-income image of the neighbourhood made the high-rise housing more desirable. The neighbourhood, in turn, tolerated a low-income high-rise because elderly people are not socially perceived as potentially disruptive.
4. The architect was hired by both the city and the developer.
5. The city cared about neighbourhood design quality - an important factor, as is proved by many past examples and some very recent ones (Ellis, 1986).
6. As has been noted, the architect felt strongly that Hanover Street should be a residential street and that traffic should be re-routed. All his arguments about the debilitating effect of existing traffic had merely been courteously listened to, until a major, and unpredicted external event took place. Midway through the design, a proposed expressway bordering the site to the south was legally stricken from the city's plan and the architect was retained by the city to work with a team of traffic engineers to determine alternative new land use and traffic patterns. The architect convinced the engineers that there was an alternative to the existing Lee and Hanover Streets high traffic flow, and they in turn convinced the city to close Hanover Street within the new neighbourhood.

These circumstances were constantly acted upon and interwoven into the overall architect's intention to provide the basis for future place making, a new neighbourhood allowing future appropriation. This intention implied again the identification of a number of circumstances which will now be described.

Although the architect desired to build for social mix, he also desired to achieve enough spatial and aesthetic unity in order to contribute to a sense of place which would serve as a basis for the residents' future actions. Several types of neighbourhoods are possible, depending upon such residents' actions. However, it remains that place unity and respect for each group's needs in terms of privacy, territoriality, socialization, and place image are crucial for the making of this or that kind of neighbourhood. This goal was supported by a number of design choices:

1. The architect understood each life style as they may be translated into a market segment and into architectural characteristics. In a relatively small site, and for a relatively small population, five building types were designed: two townhouses, a coach house, a townhouse apartment condominium, and a high-rise - with many having several variations.
2. These building types in turn have interior layouts which are *congruent* with people's life styles through the differentiation of functional adjacencies from the front to the back.
3. Open spaces reinforce this architectural differentiation at two levels. First, the outside front represents the self to others, the inside represents the self to the individual, and the back the private and service functions. On the other hand, Hanover Street, its Garden Square, and façades provide a public image of the neighbourhood it structures and these function as a link to the outside, i.e., the city.
4. The urban design limits the neighbourhood, separating it from non-residential uses and traffic. The north and east edges both separate and signify neighbourhood identity through architectural elements, e.g., the high-rise as landmark, walls, landscape, and back façades. The legibility of the neighbourhood is made clear to the outside.
5. The architect's efforts to join the aesthetics of the new with the old caused him to feel a tension between his identity as a modern architect and his desire to relate modern aesthetics with those of the past. His conception of how the legacy of the past could be used in design prevented him from yielding to the Otterbein residents' demand for a museumized neighbourhood, where forms and appearances become fetishes (Korosec-Serfaty, 1986). On the other hand, he desired to avoid using precedent as a superimposition on another reality (Ellis, 1986) and, as a consequence, chose to join old and new by using a wider range of formal choices.

8. Designing as a Source of Design Research Questions

This paper presents an account of planning and design decisions from the architect's point of view. It also shows that what occurs in designing is twofold. In design, existing theories (like the theory on what a neighbourhood is and should be) are put to test. What dimensions of the idea of "neighbourhood" can actually be designed? Who has actual power to make a neighbourhood, and to what extent? Thus designing is necessarily applied research. But the very formulation of such focussed, yet general

questions shows that designing is also the field where new theoretical questions emerge. This means that in the design process, directions for fundamental research should be forged. We would like to offer such questions here, as a way to illustrate that design, actual involvement in action, is a legitimate source of future investigation.

1. Many additions, visible from the street, have already been constructed by the residents. The architect perceives these changes as the ways people act to appropriate places and to increase their sense of identity. Indeed, space was deliberately left for such additions. From such actions the design gains rather than loses significance. But this point of view is not necessarily shared by all those involved. As a matter of fact, during the first year's occupancy, the Harbor Walk homeowners' association requested the architect to provide design criteria (standards) to limit the many possible alternatives. The homeowners wanted to limit change to preserve what many new residents felt as an aesthetic unity. This raises a general question, namely are there class-specific canons of taste applying to place identity?
2. Repeated observations of the neighbourhood show that most inhabitants drive rather than walk. In the mornings the streets are empty of parked cars, whereas during the night parked cars line the streets. Although the new Harbor Walk inhabitants have their own garages and surface parking at the backs of their houses, they prefer to park at the front, on the street, because as one person said, "it's more convenient to enter my house from the front". The question then becomes: what is the actual role of the public spaces in this kind of urban neighbourhood? Is it purely symbolic? If yes, to what extent is it nevertheless necessary? Such questions are the more crucial since there are very few children, play is sparse and tends to take place in the fenced rear gardens or in the public Hanover Garden, where a fence keeps out dogs and there is a large climbing sculpture. The house interior provides the inhabitants their primary place for getting together, and they tend to spend their time at the relatively private backs rather than the relatively public fronts. Is not the low intensity of street life - in a safe environment that is maintained at a high cost - testifying to the residents' capacity to indulge in "wasteful expenditure" (Veblen, 1970, 314-326)?

The elderly and handicapped, however, are users of Hanover Square, across the street from the entry to their high-rise houses. Yet, it seems that Inner Harbor West functions much like many suburbs with a population similar in age and class. As Gans (1962, 303) observed,

"when we go into residential neighbourhoods in the city, much of what (has been) said about the suburb as community applies as well. There too, life centers about the house and the block, and for the minority of actives there are voluntary associations, some city-wide, but most functioning within smaller areas such as neighbourhoods or districts".

This "suburban way of life" in a center city is not due to the design and planning of the neighbourhood. Rather, it is due to the city's program and to the residents' conception of neighbourhood and socialization and what constitutes appropriate use of public and common territories.

These observations suggest that attachment to place varies with class and income: the upper-income group associates the place with its social status and therefore dreads all alterations that could convey casualness or disregard for façade formality or for the symbols of the past. The lower-income elderly probably share such values (Vebien, 1970, 314-326). However, since it seems they actually use the neighbourhood open spaces more frequently, it is possible that, in this case, their internalization of the upper-income group values is reinforced by active familiarity with the place.



Fig. 13 Combining New 14' and 18' Townhouses with the Old Otterbein
Connexion des nouveaux bâtiments de quatorze et dix-huit pieds avec l'ancien quartier d'Otterbein

9. Conclusion

This accounting of an architect's way of planning and design may be useful to understand the range of considerations pertinent to increase the meaning of place - to increase professional effectiveness - for the various participants in the development and habitation processes. In contrast to Gutman's (1985) statement that architects working in the housing marketplace need to

"... boil down to the fact that the self-conception of architects is contrary to what producers and consumers expect and want from the profession" (56)

and that "architects' architecture" can not be achieved, the attitude towards practice presented in this paper demonstrates that an architecture is reasonable to expect in today's housing context. The architect can differentiate appearance from function, historic allusion from ongoing ways of living, and the various forms of production from habitation.

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