

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Eriks A. Zarins for the Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Political Science,
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Title: Public Participation in Urban Policy – Solution Papers Founded on Objectivity and
Mutual Respectfulness

Abstract approved:

Robert C. Sahr

In recent times, public policy debates in the United States have been very contentious and dysfunctional. To help improve this situation, a multi-discipline research effort was conducted to look at “solution papers” as a form of public participation. Specifically, the roles of *objectivity* and *mutual respectfulness* were under consideration. Foundational information was gathered about: political participation, polarization, and democratic principles. In addition, an analysis of earlier cases of participation was done. Finally, a new solution paper entitled *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* was produced. The subsequent feedback showed that officials thought the paper was less “objective” than predicted. However, the small sample appears skewed. As for “mutual respect,” written comments were generally civil. Although the new study does not provide whelming evidence, combined with all the previous research, it can be concluded that objectivity in a mutually respectful atmosphere helps solve problems and allows America to better fulfill the democratic ideal.

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Public Participation in Urban Policy – Solution Papers
Founded on Objectivity and Mutual Respectfulness

by
Eriks A. Zarins

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presented on December 7, 2009.

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Eriks A. Zarins, Author

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1. INTRODUCTION

The United States of America takes pride in being the world's preeminent democratic nation. Yet, even we will admit that our public policy process can be very contentious, and at times down-right dysfunctional. Given the opinions expressed during last year's presidential election, many long for a better way of doing things and actually getting more of our collective problems truly solved. This project is an effort to provide some new insight into how this could be accomplished with regard to urban policy matters. Specifically, what will be looked at are "solution papers" prepared by the author as a form of public policy participation.



Figure 1 - The electoral map on election night, 2008
(Author)

So, what exactly is a "solution paper?" It will be defined here in this way:

Solution paper - A document produced by one or two citizens that is submitted to societal-change agents, in an effort to help solve a societal problem.

Two key aspects of producing and submitting such papers that we will look at here are the ideas of *objectivity* and *mutual respect*. We will attempt to assess their importance. How much do these really matter when it comes to societal problem solving?

Before we go further, let us add more definitions, these from the *Random House Unabridged Dictionary* (1993):

Objective - **5.** Not influenced by personal feelings, interpretations, or prejudice; based on fact; unbiased (p. 1336)

Objectivity - **1.** The state or quality of being objective (p. 1336)

Mutual - **1.** Possessed, experienced, performed, etc., by each of two or more with respect to the other; reciprocal (p. 1270)

Respect - **4.** Deference to a right, privilege, privileged position, or someone or something considered to have certain rights or privileges; proper acceptance or courtesy; acknowledgement (p. 1640)

To get a better understanding of public participation and its role in public policy, the first part of this paper looks at some relevant literature about participation, polarization, and ideas for improving the process. The second section will contain a recounting of the public policy participation experiences of two of history's iconic figures, Socrates and Galileo Galilei. Following that, four author-involved solution-paper cases will be reviewed as they pertain to *mutual respect* and *objectivity*. Parts 4 and 5 will have the methods, results, and analysis of a new solution paper entitled *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*. Finally, after a short consideration of an even newer document, there will be a conclusion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

James L. Creighton, a longtime consultant on public involvement in the policy process, provides this definition:

Public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making. It is two-way communication and interaction, with the overall goal of better decisions that are supported by the public (2005, p. 7; underline added).

Creighton points out that as government has expanded to meet the needs of a more complex society, decisions that once were made by elected officials fall now to specialists in large agencies. The unstated premise behind this deferring to the experts is that they have the technical knowledge required to make a good decision. However, most of these decisions are not technical in nature, but are rather *value* decisions. It is about balancing things like economic, environmental, and equity issues, for example. "Most hard decisions - what are normally called policy decisions - are essentially this



Figure 2 - Forms of participation: (from left) protesting, sign displaying, and voting (Author, 3)

kind of values choice, informed with technical information,” says Creighton (2005, pp. 14-16).

These decisions, however, require public participation. According to Political Science Professor Russell J. Dalton, most experts agree upon the idea that citizen involvement is a necessary for a true democracy to exist. However, establishing anything close to a consensus on the levels and types of participation required for a healthy democracy is very difficult. In addition, he explains that it is even more difficult to agree upon how much involvement is actually occurring (2008, pp. 22-23).

In his book *The Good Citizen - How A Younger Generation Is Reshaping American Politics*, Dalton identifies two general models of what American’s view citizenship. The first, traditional one is called “**duty-based.**” In it, people are expected to: pay taxes, vote, obey the laws and belong to political parties, among other things. However, forming public policy is mainly left to elites. The second type of view is referred to as “**engaged.**” Here, helping define policy through direct action and concern for others are key elements. In addition, leaders decisions should not go unchallenged if they seem improper (2008, pp. 31-32).

Dalton argues that American political engagement is much stronger than many experts have been saying because those experts have focused mainly on eroding **duty-based** involvement, overlooking the newer and increasing **engaged** form (2008, pp. 2, 45). However, he speculates that this societal shift in norms towards the increased challenging of political leaders may have heightened the feeling of political polarization (2008, p. 175). Reducing this tension and making this democracy function properly will require both forms of civic ideals. And, Dalton believes that ideally, both sets of values will be possessed by individual citizens (2008, p.135).

One interesting perspective on public participation comes from Princeton University's J. Eric Oliver. An Assistant Professor of Public Affairs, Oliver looked at the influence of suburban development on political involvement. Based on research and statistical analysis, he has concluded that "suburbanization is undermining the optimal functioning of America's local democratic institutions" (Oliver, 2001, p. 5).

Why is this the case? Although he notes that the physical design and air conditioning *may* play a role, not enough evidence exists to clearly cite these factors (Oliver, 2001, p. 188). Instead, verifiable dampening factors are: high economic status, and uniform racial composition. Basically, these people live within an environment that does not require them to be involved since few issues need debate. They're content. So, with these people sitting things out, their higher educational and economic resources are thus not being utilized to solve larger society problems that more-directly affect others just beyond their community's borders (Oliver, 2001, pp. 82, 96, 7).

To summarize, public participation, in its many forms, is needed. Yet, our physical and social suburban environments appear to hinder some people from doing so.

2.2 POLITICAL POLARIZATION PROBLEM

A good place to start the discussion of *polarization* is to better define what it means. James Q. Wilson, a Pepperdine University Public Policy professor, describes it in this manner:

Polarization - An intense commitment to a candidate, a culture, or an ideology that sets people in one group definitely apart from people in another, rival group (Thomas, Beckel, 2007, p. 3).

Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal draw similar conclusions. As stated their book *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches* (2006, MIT Press), they find that the United States has become more polarized politically in the last thirty years. “Polarization is, for short, a separation of politics into liberal and conservative camps,” and the Democrats and the Republicans have become almost synonymous with each camp, respectfully, they explain (p. 3).

In their 2007 book *Common Ground - How to Stop the Partisan War That is Destroying America*, Cal Thomas and Bob Beckel make this “point to remember”:

Extreme ideologues in both parties are partisans. Partisans are polarized. These same partisans pick the nominees from whom “the rest of us” must choose. The vast majority of eligible voters are moderates who lean toward one of the two parties. The majority of voters are not polarized, but their choices are (p. 40; italics in original).

These two should have some familiarity with the subject. What many would consider as “Washington insiders,” Thomas is a longtime conservative syndicated columnist, while Beckel is a longtime liberal political consultant (Thomas, Beckel, 2007, back inside-cover). Both admit that they have personally benefitted from polarization over the years, but now believe that it is in everyone’s best interest to do away with it.

Polarization has affected policy creation because fewer political moderates exist who can help craft new legislation that actually has a chance of being passed into law. According to Deborah Stone, politics is mainly about two things: 1) Obtaining and maintaining power, and 2) solving problems (2002, p. 2). The efforts of extreme partisans over the last few decades have overemphasized the first of these at the expense of the second.

Ronald Dworkin, a law and jurisprudence professor, states that: “Our degraded politics are not only insulting and depressing; they are not even democratic” (Dworkin, 2006, p. 147).

As we all are aware of, political debates can get very emotional. Interestingly, a study lead by Emory University Psychology Professor Dr. Drew Westen helps explain what goes on in people's brains. Conducted in 2004, Weston's effort looked at 30 men that identified themselves as either devout Democrats or Republicans (Carey, 2006).

Paid \$50, the participants sat in a MRI (Magnetic Resonance Imagery) machine as several statements attributed to either Senator John Kerry, that year's Democratic presidential nominee, or President George W. Bush, the Republican candidate, were presented. For each, one "quote" about some subject was shown, than moments later, a second "quote" was displayed that indicated that the candidate had reversed his first position. Based on real positions, all "quotes" were exaggerations, so as to get the maximum response (Carey, 2006).



Figure 3 - Senator John Kerry (left) and President George W. Bush (CNN.com, 2004, 2)

Results showed that after participants read the second, contradicting statement by their candidate, they had increased activity in the part of the brain that deals with *forgiveness*. However, after participants read the second, contradicting statement by the opposing candidate, they had increased activity in the parts of the brain that regulate: *negative emotions*, *relief*, and *rewarding*. Basically, both groups of participants let their own candidate get away with the flip-flop, while became angered and bolstered by the other party's nominee's flip-flop. Yet, the cortex's reasoning areas showed little activity (Carey, 2006).

"Everything we know about cognition suggests that, when faced with a contradiction, we use the rational regions of our brain to think about it, but that was not the case here," stated Weston (Carey, 2006).

So, does that mean that we humans need to cut out the emotional part of us to deal with political issues? Actually, it is probably both impossible and something we do not want, as an example from Public Broadcasting System (PBS) illustrates. In the PBS series *The Secret Life of the Brain*, the case of Marvin is presented. Although his body can still produce emotional responses, Marvin cannot feel these emotions because a stroke he suffered over twenty years ago. Figure 4 shows on the top how the emotions produced by a healthy human travel to the back of the brain, where conscious thought operates. On the bottom it shows how the now-missing part of Marvin's brain prevents him from feeling.

Marvin's wife explains how the stroke has changed him: "He was very ambitious; driven. Now, he doesn't really want to make any decisions as far as anything important, you know" (Grubin, 2002).

Dr. Antonio R. Damasio of the University of Iowa explains it this way:

Each decision has some kind of similarity with a decision of the past. And when you are in the position to decide once again, you will call up an emotional memory that will appear as a gut feeling, and will lead you in one direction or another. So, what you have is, literally, a navigational aid. Something that helps you get to the right decision. If that is broken down, then you are at the mercy of facts and logic, and that's just not good enough (Grubin, 2002).

To sum up, people need emotions in order to make good decisions because we are depending on the lessons learned from past experiences. However, as we have already seen with the partisan political brain, emotions alone are not enough for good decision making. *What we need is a healthy balance between emotion and reasoned thinking.*



Figure 4 - A healthy brain (top) and Marvin's damaged brain (Grubin, 2002)

Since partisans are so emotional, we need to determine what is needed to get people shifted away from using so much unconscious emotion and towards utilizing more thoughtful reasoning. According to Dr. Westen, what people have to do is “engage in ruthless self reflection, to say, ‘All right, I know what I want to believe, but I have to be honest.’” But, he also, glumly, notes: “It speaks to the character of the discourse that this quality is rarely talked about in politics” (Carey, 2006).

From a sociological point of view, the emphasis on knee-jerk emotions ruling our policy debates can be illustrated in this way. Consider the example presented in Figure 5. At first (1), when the issue of military force use is not a subject of much concern for most people, they fairly easily get along, despite having varying opinions about it. However, after the issue becomes important (2), people start expressing their views more (3). This expression has the effect of unifying like-minded persons and dividing those with

differing positions. If the matter continues on with no positive end in sight (4), then opposing groups are pulled apart further as extremist members attack opponents

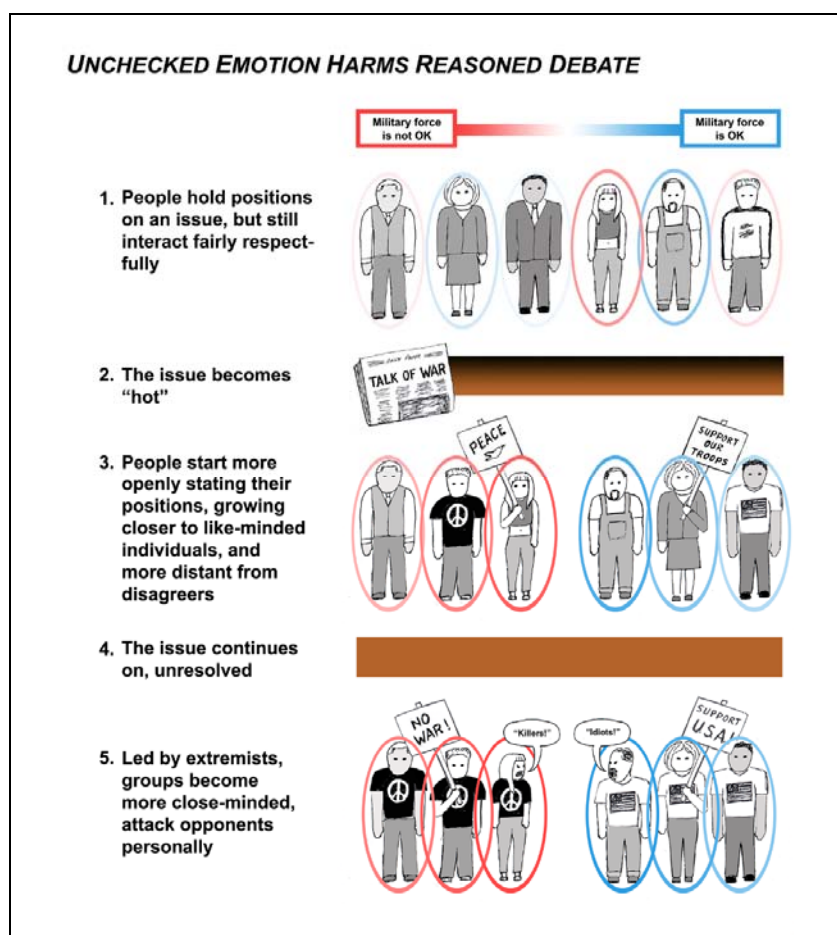


Figure 5 - “Unchecked Emotion Harms Reasoned Debate” illustration

personally (5). Thus, things have degraded to emotional battle between personalities, and away from a reasoned discussion about ideas and principles.

One more light-hearted example of the emotion reactions people have to politics and politicians is shown in Figure 6. It is an editorial cartoon by Mike Luckovich.



Figure 6 - This cartoon has fun with people's emotional reactions to politics (*Newsweek*, 2008, p. 21)

[Note: The name of the leader stated in the cartoon was covered by “(that politician).” Throughout is document, when possible, the names of people or organizations will not be used. Positions and actions are what are under scrutiny here, and not specific people.]

With regard to *objectivity*, can we American's critically and accurately assess problems that we ourselves are a part of? Some research done by sociologists indicates that this is going to be a challenge. It focused on attribution, which is defined:

	Self	Others
Success	Internal	External
Failure	External	Internal

Figure 7 - Attribution of Event Outcomes - About Success

	Self	Others
Success	Internal	External
Failure	External	Internal

Figure 8 - Attribution of Event Outcomes - About Failure

Attribution - the process by which we explain and interpret the events we encounter (Mitchell, 2003).

It was found that when it comes to **personal success**, Americans believe that it is *internally* controlled (personal hard work, skill, etc.), while when it comes to the **other's success**, people think that it is *externally* controlled (e.g. family helps) (Figure 7). Conversely, **personal failure** is thought to be *externally* controlled (e.g. injustice), while **other's failure** is *internally* controlled (e.g. they are lazy, stupid) (Figure 8) (Mitchell, 2003).

Clearly, given these results, there is some work needed to be done for people to become more objective when it comes to assessing what causes our collective problems.

As this pertains to citizen involvement, Creighton says:

In the final analysis, those who choose to participate in a public participation program are self-selecting. Their only job is to represent their self-interest, not discern the public interest. Because they do not, and cannot, claim to be “the public” in the same way that an election speaks for “the public,” their contribution can be influential but cannot dictate the final decision (2005, p. 13).

To underscore the need for good, objective public participation in policy, consider Thomas Homer-Dixon’s 2000 book *The Ingenuity Gap*. Basically, the political scientist believes humanity is facing more and more complex problems, but we are less able to come up with effective solutions - thus, the “ingenuity gap.” When he refers to “ingenuity,” he means not only the typical mechanical and scientific improvements like faster computers and drought-resistant crops, but also *ideas* on how to develop higher quality communities, governments and markets (pp. 2-3). Of course, he wrote his book before 9/11, the decision to use military force against Iraq was made, and the recent economic crisis.

One area that is particularly slow to advance is the social sciences (p. 5). Homer-Dixon specifically points to economics and political science, which should be at the forefront of problem solving. Yet, he sees them as “blunt” and “broken” (p. 291).

An important reason that an ingenuity gap exists is that we are unaware of our collective ignorance about these complex matters. This ignorance is something tremendously unsettling, so we try to tell ourselves ‘we know enough,’ or ‘others out there, *the experts*, understand things sufficiently.’ This assuming of greater understanding than actually exists, of course, ends up leading us to making poorer decisions (pp. 172-174).

So, as we have seen, American politics has been polarized by extreme partisans. Such people react emotionally to policy debates, attacking opponents personally. However, such unchecked emotion keeps these extreme partisans from thinking about problems with the reasoning parts of the brain. Thus, big problems generally do not get the bipartisan attention that they need.

2.3 NEW APPROACHES

To help guide us toward better ways functioning as a society, let us look at some contemporary ideas. Our first expert is John Graham. He is the founder and president of the Giraffe Heroes Project, an organization about making a difference in society through service. It brings to light the stories of people that have ventured to personally address some problem and it encourages others to 'stick their necks out.' Having gained knowledge in this area from time as a United Nations diplomat, environmental land-use negotiator, and foreign peacemaker, Graham has passed on his knowledge to communities, companies, universities, and organizations (Graham, 2005, p. xi).

Graham sees "respect, integrity, and concern for the common good" as being necessary in the public policy process for its problem solving ability to be maximized (Graham, 2005, p. 36). *Respect* - defined as "(v)aluing other people's priorities, needs, backgrounds, outlooks, and styles" - is particularly important because it helps achieve the needed *trust* with others, especially those that hold a clearly differing opinion. *Competence, accountability, and honesty* are three other factors that contribute to trust building (Graham, 2005, p. 39).

Ronald Dworkin, believes that in order to bridge the polarized "culture gap" in society and allow us to have constructive debates, we need to get to the philosophical level of values and principles (Dworkin, 2006, back, inside cover; pp 4-5). The two he feels are the key ones people could agree on, thus creating common ground, are:

1. **The principle of intrinsic value** - each human life has a special kind of objective value
2. **The principle of personal responsibility** - each person has a special responsibility for realizing the success of his own, life responsibility that includes exercising his (or her) judgement about what kind of life would be successful for him (or her) (Dworkin, 2006, pp. 9-10)

Two ideas of what "democracy" is are at the heart of the problem, thinks Dworkin. One is the majoritarian view in which government works according to the desires of most people as expressed through acts such as voting. The second model is the partnership view. In this, everyone is "a full partner in a collective political enterprise,"

with the majority's resolutions being only democratic because everyone has been given protections a partners (Dworkin, 2006, p. 131).

Is there a deep division between liberals and conservatives about which idea of democracy is best to pursue? Interestingly, there is not. Dworkin finds that, generally, people shift to which ever version is most likely to serve his/he political goals at that time (2006, pp. 134-135, 138).

Another possible foundational idea comes from Larry R. Bradley. In his 2006 book *Neither Liberal nor Conservative Be - An Action Plan for People Disgusted by Polarized Politics*, he states the following about what we all are attempting to accomplish with politics:

(Isn't the ultimate goal to find those solutions that serve the largest number of people for the longest period of time balanced with doing the least harm or disruption to the least number of people and at the same time to be the best solution monetarily for the funds available among competing priorities (p. 15)?

A good summation is stated by Homer-Dixon:

The challenges we face - within our respective societies and collectively as a species - are tangled, dynamic, and barely understood. Our responses to them require careful deliberation. When we reduce these challenges to angry dichotomies, and when we reduce the quality of information available to us about these challenges, we limit our ability to supply the social and technical ingenuity we need (2000, pp. 322-323).

2.4 IDEAS: FOLLETT, DEWEY, AND KING

In order for to rework our public policy process towards something much more functional, let us consider several higher ideas about democracy and social change by three American philosophers. The first person is scholar/activist **Mary Parker Follett**. During the 1910's, she helped set up and ran numerous "Community Centres" in Boston, Massachusetts. Besides providing recreational opportunities, these social activity gatherings set up "City Councils" in which citizens each week could discuss local problems (Mattson, 1998, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii).

These experiences would help Follett shape her definition of democracy. For one thing, she came to believe that majority rule is only “democratic” when it approaches an “integrated will” (Follett, 1918, p. 142). Democracy is really founded on the interactions among individuals, and that the best way to get real democracy is to have *all* people contribute to a “collective idea” of how things ought to be (Follett, 1918, p. 24). However, we need to let go of the ideas of “compromise” and “concession,” because these imply a battle and that we are losing something by working together (Follett, 1918, pp. 26-27).

Writing about two decades later, philosopher **John Dewey** stated the following:

The existence, even on a relatively narrow scale, of a morale of fairmindedness, intellectual integrity, of will to subordinate personal preference to ascertained facts and to share with others what is found out, instead of using it for personal gain, is a challenge of the most searching kind. Why don't a great many more persons have this attitude?

The answer given to this challenge is bound up with the fate of democracy (Dewey, 1993, p. 57).

For Dewey, the use of a *scientific approach* is required to improve society. Key qualities of this method are:

- A. Willingness to hold belief in suspense
- B. Ability to doubt until evidence is obtained
- C. Willingness to go where evidence points instead of putting first a personally referred conclusion
- D. Ability to hold ideas in solution and use them as hypotheses to be tested instead of as dogmas to be asserted
- E. Enjoyment of new fields of inquiry and of new problems (Dewey, p. 56)

Finally, iconic American **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was the proponent of the non-violent social movement and lifestyle. One of the key principles of non-violence was that “it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his (or her) friendship and understanding” (King, 1958, p. 18).

In summary, democracy is collective in nature, with objectivity and mutual respect needed for its full realization.



Figure 9 - Martin Luther King, Jr.
(Author)

3. HISTORIC EXAMPLES

3.1 SOCRATES

The first historical example deals with the Greek philosopher **Socrates**. He lived from 469 to 399 B.C., and only three first-hand accounts of him and his life exist. Two are in the writings of disciples Plato and Xenophon, and the third is in the plays of friend Aristophanes (Stone, I. F., 1980, pp. 3, 5). Thus, our sources to access this man are few and not exactly unbiased.

At the time he lived, Socrates' home town of Athens was governed as a *polis* - a limited democracy in which “freeborn” men ruled themselves (Stone, 1980, pp. 10-11). Socrates disagreed with this approach, instead advocating a kingship-type rule by “the one who knows” because he believed that the general public was like a herd of sheep in need of a good shepherd (Stone, 1980, pp. 11, 14). Although it may have appeared to many contemporary Greeks that he advocated a traditional monarchial system, Socrates

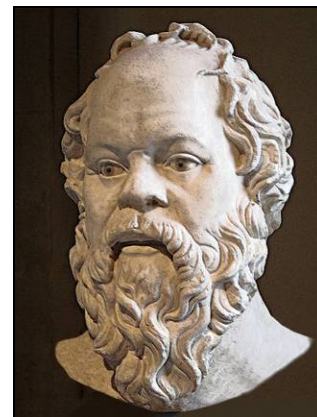


Figure 10 - Socrates
(Base image: Wikipedia)

rejected rule by those persons who: claimed divine ordination, were picked by lot, or used “force or deception” to gain power (Stone, 1980, p. 12). Instead, his vision was of a new type of leadership - one done by a knowledgeable ‘expert’, and “that it is the business of the ruler to give the orders and of the ruled to obey” (Stone, 1980, pp. 12, 16). However, he thought **no one** could ever actually possess the knowledge necessary to be such a leader (Stone, 1980, pp. 86, 97).

Perhaps what people today remember the most about Socrates is that this seemingly great mind was sentenced to death by his fellow Athenians. How could this have happened? Clearly, the tumultuous years preceding the trial in 399 B.C. had played a key role. In both 411 and 404 B.C., Athenian limited democracy was overthrown and brutal dictatorships were put into its place, and in 401 B.C., two years prior to the trial, a similar coup attempt was defeated (Stone, 1980, p. 140). In all three cases, former Socratic disciples played prominent roles in suppressing or attempting to suppress democracy (Stone, 1980, p. 140). No doubt Athenians were sick and tired of this and wanted it stopped. However, putting Socrates to death was an extreme given Athenian’s general tolerance of dissenting voices. Plus, Socrates apparently did not advocate the use of physical violence to bring about social change, but rather the use of persuasion instead (Stone, 1980, p. 64). Something more was going on.

For most Athenians, Socrates was viewed as a strange, even endearing character, and as being politically disengaged, which was against their societal values (Stone, 1980, pp. 136, 11). Born middle class, he lived until 70, marrying and fathering three sons along the way. Yet, he never worked to earn a wage, spending most of his time in conversation with others (Stone, 1980, p. 118). How he did this conversing needs more scrutiny.

As he stated at his trial, Socrates had a propensity to approach prominent community members and quiz them about their area of expertise. Be they politicians or shoemakers, Socrates skillfully would point out seeming contradictions and gaps in the other person’s understanding (Stone, 1980, p. 56). In addition, these exchanges apparently often occurred in front of other people. In one case, as recounted by Plato, thinker and teacher Hippias declines Socrates’ invitation to debate, saying: “You mock at others, questioning and examining everybody, and never willing to render an account yourself or

to state an opinion about anything” (Stone, 1980, p. 56). No doubt, Socrates’ interlocutors felt embarrassed and angry because of these experiences.

Over the years, scholars have weighed in on the Socratic approach. In his *On the Nature of the Gods*, Cicero wrote three-hundred years later that it was “‘a purely negative dialectic which refrains from pronouncing any positive judgement [sic]’” (Stone, 1980, p. 60). St. Augustine, who lived from 354 to 430, stated that the method was “used to mock and assail,” and concluded that: “In fact, this is how it came about that he stirred up enmities, was condemned on a false charge and incurred the death penalty” (World Book, 1967, A, p. 864; Stone, 1980, p. 61).

Overall, Socrates contributed both positive and negative elements to humankind’s efforts to do public policy. On the plus side, his focus on pinning down definitions was significant for philosophy and science. Aristotle thought this was Socrates’ greatest contribution (Stone, 1980, p. 68). Socrates’ best known definition dealt with what was the best way to live one’s life. He believed that the ideal approach was to avoid doing harm to others; in alternate words, injustice. How? Through a continual questioning and critical analysis of your own actions.

Unfortunately, on the negative side, he did not effectively connect the ideal of the perfect life to practical public policy. Even worse, his incredible lack of respect for others manifested in his anti-democratic beliefs and in his negative dialectic method. Disciples of Socrates filled in the blanks themselves, and would go about ending Athens’ limited democracy on several painful occasions.



Figure 11 - Galileo Galilei
(Bronowski, 1973, p. 199)

3.2 GALILEO GALILEI

The second historical example comes from the 16th Century A.D. Galileo Galilei was an inventor, teacher and entrepreneur in the Republic of Venice, now a part of Italy. It was a place where the pursuit of new ideas, artistic expressions, and wealth went on rather unimpeded (Bronowski, 1973, p. 198). In late 1608, word had spread about the invention of a

simple spyglass in Flanders (Bronowski, 1973, p. 200). Excited by this, Galilei quickly made a similar device at a magnification of three, and then a far superior one with an eight-to-ten magnification (Bronowski, p. 200). In an August 29th, 1609, letter to his brother-in-law, Galilei described some of what occurred after this advancement:

...I was called by the Signoria, to which I had to show (the telescope) together with the entire Senate, to the infinite amazement to all... (Bronowski, 1973, p. 202).

Later, Galilei would increase the magnification to thirty and begin studying the heavens, discovering four new satellites around Jupiter and observing the moon in far greater detail than anyone before him. In March of 1610, his findings were published in *Sidereus Nuncius*, or *The Starry Messenger*. For this, many today credit Galileo Galilei with doing the first practical scientific work (Bronowski, 1973, p. 204). At that time, it provided strong evidence the Nicolaus Copernicus' published speculation that *the sun*, not the earth, was at the center of the planetary system was right (Bronowski, 1973, pp. 197, 204).

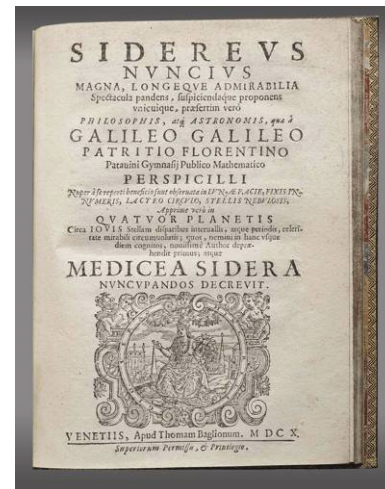


Figure 12 - Title page from *The Starry Messenger* (Rarebookroom.org, 2008)

Not everyone was pleased with *The Starry Messenger*. The Roman Catholic Church had the stated doctrine that all planetary bodies revolved around *the earth*, so Galilei's revelation was an unwelcomed undermining of their authority at a time it was under attack from other sources. The pressure of the Protestant Reformation caused the Catholic's to push back with a Counter-Reformation. It was a polarizing, violent struggle occurring through large parts of Europe (Bronowski, 1973, p. 205;).

To address the threat from Galilei's research, the Church declared in February of 1616:

Propositions to be forbidden: that the sun is not the centre of the heaven; that the earth is not at the centre of the heaven, and is not immovable, but moves by a double motion (Bronowski, 1973, p. 207).

In addition, Galilei is asked by Cardinal Bellarmine not to believe in or defend the Copernican planetary theory. So, Galilei decides to wait on backing the sun-centered system in public until an “intellectual” Pope is elected (Bronowski, 1973, p. 207).

The appropriate time that Galilei was waiting for seemed to have arrived in 1623, with the election of Maffeo Barberini as Pope Urban VIII. Interested in artistic matters such as music and architecture, the new Pope had even years earlier written a sonnet extolling Galilei’s astronomical research. However, Pope Urban VIII was also self-absorbed, lavish, and nepotistic. Galilei would meet the new Pope six times in an attempt to get the pontiff to rescind, or at least ignore, the 1616 prohibition. The Pope refused (Bronowski, 1973, p. 208). However, as scholar J. Bronowski describes it:

...Galileo still hoped - and the officials of the Papal court expected - that Urban VIII would let the new scientific ideas flow quietly into the Church until, imperceptibly, they replaced the old. After all that was how the heathen ideas of Ptolemy and Aristotle had become Christian doctrine in the first place (Bronowski, 1973, p. 208).



Figure 13 - Pope Urban VIII (Bronowski, 1973, p. 206)

Since openly defending the Copernican ideas was forbidden, Galilei began writing the *Dialogue on the Great World Systems*. Done in Italian, its format was one in which the theory is objected to by one person, and two other people smartly point out why those objections are ill founded (Bronowski, 1973, p. 211). Finished in 1630, the book was not published until 1632; there had clearly been considerable pressure on printers to keep the book under wraps (Bronowski, 1973, p. 212).

Reactions to the book were immediate. Readers quickly bought up all copies, while the Church quickly stopped its further printing, ordered all copies bought back, and ordered Galilei to Rome to account (Bronowski, 1973, p. 212).

Bronowski describes further what was occurring:

It was clear that the Pope himself had taken great umbrage at the book. He had found at least one passage which he had insisted on, put in the book in the mouth of the man who really makes rather the impression of a simpleton...whom Galileo had named 'Simplicius.' It may be that the Pope felt Simplicius to be a caricature of himself; certainly he felt insulted. He believed Galileo had hoodwinked him, and that his own censors had let him down (Bronowski, 1973, pp. 212, 213).

Galilei went before the Inquisitor to stand trial on April 12, 1633. He acknowledged that in 1616 he had agreed to neither hold or defend Copernicus; however, the Copernican ideas could be used as a hypothesis, and Galilei had the certificate from Cardinal Bellarmine to prove this agreement. Yet, the Inquisitor stated that another document forbid Galilei, and Galilei only, from also teaching the Copernican ideas even as a hypothesis. Galilei recalled no such document with such a directive. He could not possibly recall because there had not been such a document with that directive. It was just attempt by the Church to show he, Galilei, had committed a wrong (Bronowski, 1973, p. 214).

Presided over by Pope Urban VIII, the Congregation of the Holy Office found Galilei in violation of the Church's dictates. The punishment: Galilei was to be humiliated by having to retract. After being shown the rack twice, and considering the implied threat of torture, Galilei recanted. He was confined to his Florence villa until his death 9 years later (Bronowski, 1973, pp. 214-218; World Book, 1967, *G*, p. 10).

In the larger scheme of things, Galileo Galilei and Pope Urban VIII were two important and powerful 17th Century figures who simply held considerably different "world" views. Disagreement was inevitable. However, Galilei could have been more tactful in his writing. The objector in his *Dialogue on the Great World Systems* was called 'Simplicius,' and, very likely, made statements that Pope Urban VIII almost

certainly remembered saying to Galilei. The Pope felt humiliated, so Galilei was humiliated, too.

4. LESSONS LEARNED FROM EARLIER DOCUMENTS

Fast-forwarding to the late Twenty Century and from Europe to Oregon, we now consider four solution papers in which this author was involved. All relate to some aspect of urban planning and design. For each, there will be: a short overview of the civic problem, a description of the document the author either helped-prepared or prepared, and, the highlighting of examples of lessons learned as they pertain to either *objectivity* or *mutual respect*.

4.1 FRED MEYER AND MUTUAL RESPECTFULNESS

The initial case deals with a proposed shopping center in Northeast Portland, Oregon, and looks at two examples dealing with *mutual respect*. In August of 1984, Fred Meyer, Inc., a prominent local retailer based in the city, announced plans to purchase 15.3 acres of land from the Hyster Company and build a store up to 175,000 sq. ft. in size. However, Fred Meyer's plans were contingent on them receiving a comprehensive planning map and a zoning change from light industrial to general commercial (Oliver, 1984, p. B4).

Although at first supportive of the idea, the neighborhoods around the planned new retail center soon joined forces to fight its construction. There primary point of concern was the approximate 12,000 vehicle trips that would be generated to and from the 800 space parking lot (Oliver, 1984, p. B4). The debate would become very



Figure 14 - Surrounding neighborhoods rallied to oppose the shopping center (The Oregonian)

heated. Neighbors for the store were pitted against neighbors opposing it. At one point, accusations were made claiming that signs were being ripped from people's front yards by those that disagreed with the message.

The author became actively involved in the issue after a drive through a nearby commercial district. On the trip, my fraternal-twin brother Andis, upon seeing an empty structure that once housed a Sears department store, suggested (paraphrasing): 'Why don't they put the new Fred Meyer there?' Thus, we began to look into the subject further, and the more and more we felt the possible "win-win" solution was being overlooked. We would eventually prepare a paper entitled *A New Fred Meyer in Northeast Portland - An Alternate Site* (November 10, 1986; 66 pages.) Figure 15 shows the cover and a sample page.

Unfortunately, our document came too late to matter legally in the battle. Portland City Council had already decided to approve the comprehensive plan map and zoning

change.

Disappointed and frustrated, we looked for a way to make our efforts not totally useless. So, we prepared a short paper that detailed what we thought might be a legal error made by

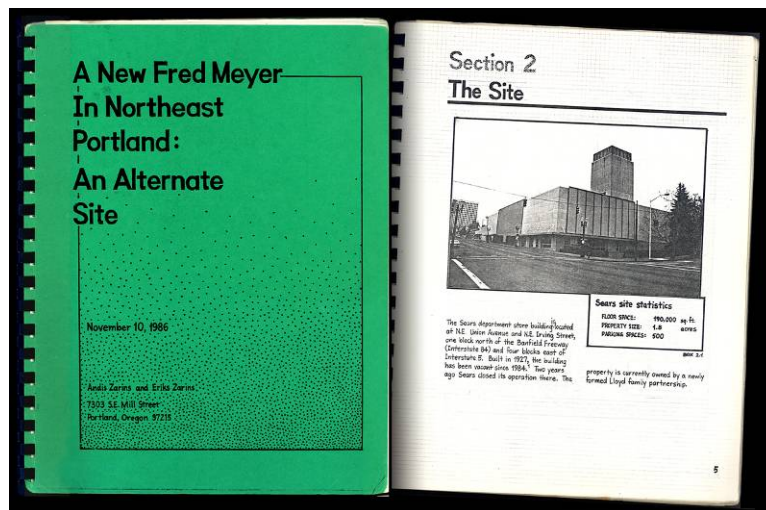


Figure 15 - Cover and sample page from the Fred Meyer paper

Portland's mayor when he voted on the proposal. We also called a news conference to highlight these points, but no one showed. At some point a little later, we met with The City's attorney about the overall matter. In our conversation with her, she expressed to us that it felt like we were "out for political blood." This came as a slight shock to us. Our actions had *not* been motivated by a desire harm specific political careers, but,

instead, were wanted to prevent a major mistake that we thought was being made. The lesson that we took from this was that we needed to do a better job of separating *the issue* we were arguing about (the site of the new shopping center) and *the other people* that were involved in the discussion (the mayor, the city attorney, etc.). We needed to be more respectful of others involved in the debate.

Fred Meyer would eventually construct its store, opening it in 1989 (Hamburg, 1991, p. A18). Yet, a second lesson about *mutual respect* related to this battle would come ten years later. In 1996, Fred Meyer would propose building an outlet in Southeast Portland. This is how Kristian Foden-Vencil of *The Oregonian* described it:

It seems like manna from heaven.

The Brooklyn Action Corp. had asked for a full-service grocery store in its neighborhood plan, and it began to look this week as though it may get one.

And it's not just any grocery store.

Fred Meyer Inc. revealed that it's hoping to build a multi-million dollar flagship outlet next to its southeast Portland headquarters (Foden-Vencil, March 1, 1996).

Initial plans called for a two-level, possibly-brick structure placed on the street corner. Parking would be located under and behind the store. However, in order to get the spot directly on Powell Boulevard, land would need to be swapped – part of a city park (for new store) for nearby company property (for replacement park section) (Foden-Vencil, March 1, 1996).

After numerous meetings with neighbors and the general public, Fred Meyer gave up on the idea. Although no one issue was cited, opposition and lack of support helped doom the proposal (Christ, 1996, p. C4). Along with a recent labor contract dispute, the Hyster-site conflict still bothered many. The author heard this first hand at a meeting. At

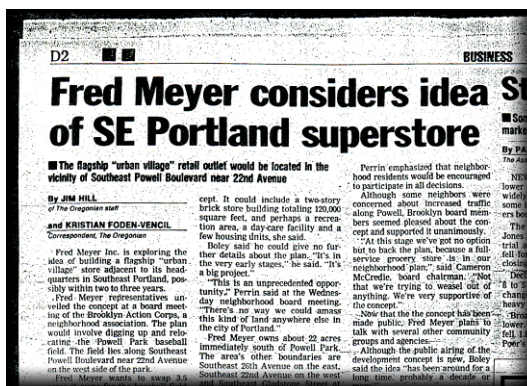


Figure 16 –Fred Meyer’s creative proposal (The Oregonian, 1996)

the back of the theater, one man exclaimed that they (Fred Meyer) were not going to do to *them* what they had done to the people in Northeast Portland.

Clearly, many Portlanders, even those that did not live in the immediate vicinity, felt the retailer had disrespected the neighborhoods, and this bitterness was lingering.

Even with the offering of a far superior store proposal, people had a hard time forgiving.



Figure 17 – Lingering bad feelings cooled support (The Oregonian, 1996)

4.2 UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES AND OBJECTIVITY

In large part because we were left with a feeling of having 'not come through' with regard to the store conflict back in 1986, Andis and the author soon embarked on an even more complicated project. **Our first *objectivity* lesson example comes from a paper about major league sports and convention center/spectator facility planning in Portland.** Although there was no *public* controversy, we were noticing questionable

decisions being made by those assigned with sorting out the matter.

The first key decisions came in 1983, when the Portland Development Commission (PDC) recommended and the Portland City Council endorsed the land next to Memorial Coliseum as the best site for a new convention center. A year later, the Mayor-Elect threw his support behind the idea (Figure 18).

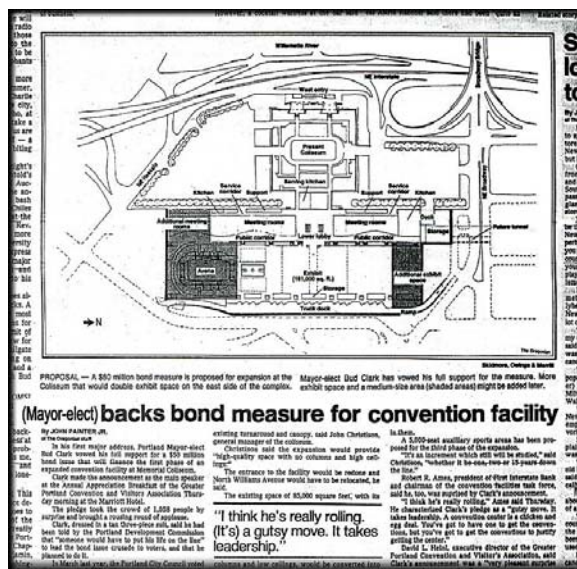


Figure 18 - The incoming mayor boldly supports a new convention center next to the Memorial Coliseum in 1984 (The Oregonian)

A more inclusive effort to plan the new structures came in January

of 1985, when The Committee on Regional Convention, Trade, and Spectator Facilities (CTS) was formed. One year later, the group's chairman wrote in *Portland* magazine that both the Coliseum location and property beside Union Station in Northwest Portland were "the best options" (Zarins, Zarins, 1989, pp. 70-71). He also stated:

Phase one of the 20-year master plan envisions the construction of a world-class convention center, and the preservation of promising sites for stadium and/or arena (Zarins, Zarins, 1989, p. 71).

However, also immediately after this article was published, the CTS would inexplicably drop all consideration for a new arena and stadium, instead focusing their attention on siting a new convention center. In May, they selected the Holladay/Union site, which had been, up to that point, only considered as a candidate for a new spectator facility. The reason given for not choosing the Coliseum site was that the committee members feared that building next to the arena would force the Portland Trail Blazers professional basketball franchise to leave (Zarins, Zarins, 1989, p. 72).

Again working with my brother Andis, this author would prepare a report that looked at major league sports and facility planning in Portland. Entitled *Unprecedented Opportunities*, the document was completed on April 13, 1989. It was 89 pages long and listed 550+ entries in its bibliography. Its cover, done by Andis, and page 39 are presented in Figure 19.

Our analysis of facility sites found the best being:

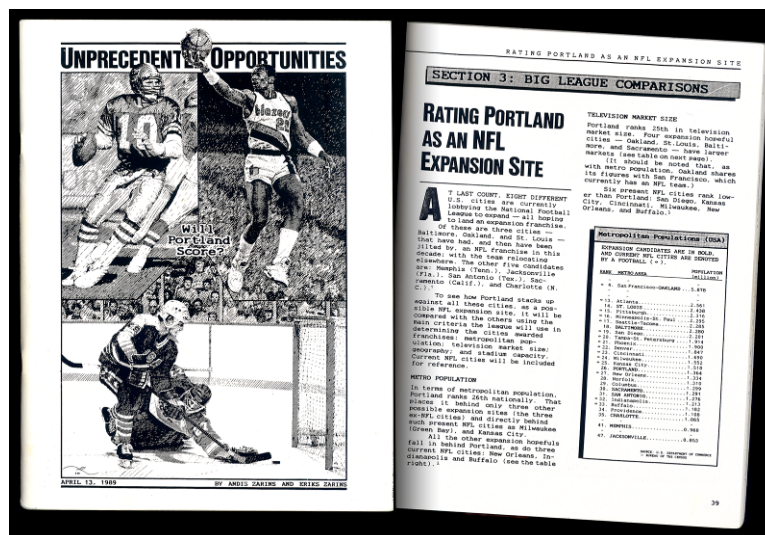


Figure 19 - *Unprecedented Opportunities*' cover and page 39

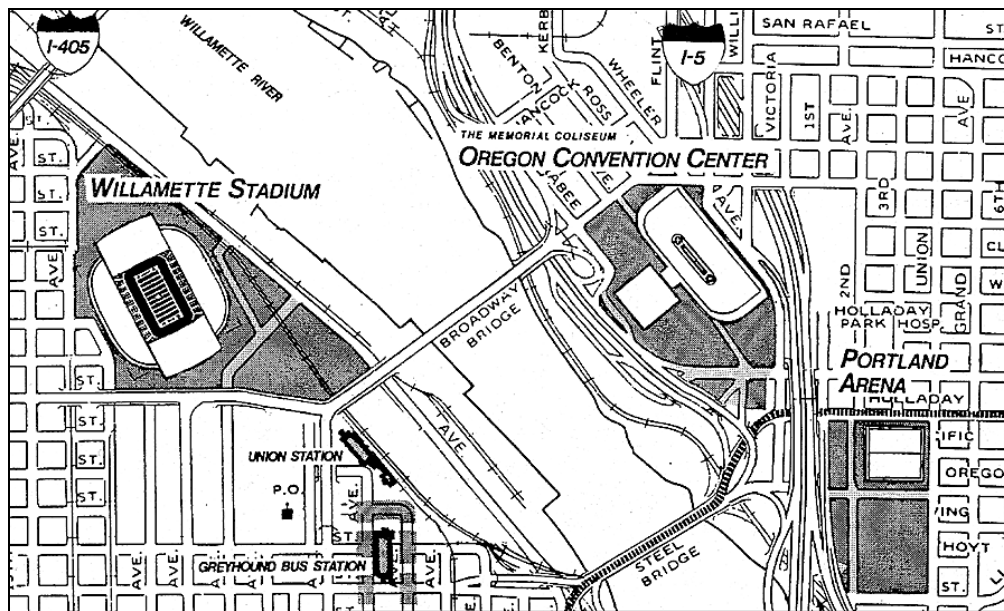


Figure 20 - The best facility locations, as presented in *Unprecedented Opportunities*

1. For a convention center: the land next to Memorial Coliseum
2. For an arena: The Holladay/Union site
3. For a stadium: The Northwest Triangle (Figure 20)

We would distribute our paper to local politicians, media and business leaders.

Interestingly, the mayor (the same one as before) wrote back to us and said the following:

As a member of the CTS, I supported the careful study of arena options for the region, and I stated my personal opinion that the appropriate location for an arena would be away from the center of town, where land was less expensive and transportation access to the entire region would be good. That remains my opinion today.

Clearly, this position by the mayor was seriously inconsistent with good planning practices and the principles that the CTS had established for itself. It, in 1986, had concluded a spectator facility is best sited “so that it can be conveniently reached by residents throughout the region” and “as close as possible to the center of the region” (Zarins, Zarins, 1989, p. 61). In a way, the CTS’s concerns that the Trail Blazers would move from the Coliseum if a convention center was built next to it were a self-fulfilling prophecy because key members, including the mayor, actually wanted them to leave. Sure, they would likely be still in Portland-The Region, but not in Portland-The City.

Besides, the mayor's position ignored the fact that the Blazers wanted any new arena located in the Downtown area (Zarins, Zarins, 1989, p. 9)

It turns out, as reported in *The Oregonian*, that there had been a secret deal among members of the CTS. Apparently, the City of Portland officials got support from Clackamas County officials with regard to the convention center being built near Downtown, while city officials would back the construction of a new Tacoma Dome-type arena in the suburban county. Besides being unethical (*and possibly illegal*), this deal making was dismissing objective site analysis, which is of course needed if the region is to gain the most from pursuing these projects.

If anyone is still skeptical about whether it matters if a major spectator facility is located near the center of a region or somewhere on the edge, consider the more recent, local case of the 18,000 seat Amphitheater at Clark County. Choosing to go it alone, county officials planned and built the facility at their fair grounds, north of Vancouver, Washington. Unfortunately, their desire for revenue blinded officials to the fact that the site was tremendous inaccessible from the vast majority of Portland-Area residents (Figure 21). Since opening in 2003, the facility has lost at least \$1 million annually due to lower than expected concert attendance

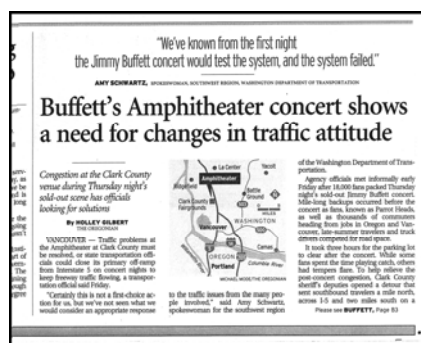


Figure 21 - Traffic problems were inevitable at the amphitheater (The Oregonian, 2003)



Figure 22 - Even twenty years later, the Memorial Coliseum's future is clouded (The Oregonian, 2003)

(Brettman, 2008)

In addition, consider the Memorial Coliseum's situation. Since its main tenant, the Trail Blazers, and many events shifted to a new arena in 1995, the problem of its underutilization has lingered. Figure 22, an *Oregonian* front page article from May 11, 2009, highlights the issue.

4.3 7 UP SIGNS AND MUTUAL RESPECT

The second of our *mutual respect* cases occurred in 2003 and it deals with historic landmark 7 Up signs in Northeast Portland. That June, it was announced that the two signs would be removed and replaced with ones promoting a prominent global brand of beer. As I took some photos of the old soda advertisements, this author began to feel that this replacement was not right. The first action was to write a letter to the editor of *The Oregonian* in which a rhetorical question was posed: what if some other large corporation came into the beer company's home town and altered its biggest landmark,



Figure 23 - The cover and page three from *Maintaining a Portland Landmark*

Maintaining a Portland Landmark (July 7, 2003), the four page document was finished in about two weeks and given to the local beer label's distributors, the sign company hired for the work, Hollywood neighborhood officials, and the media. My idea was to have two new signs placed under the historic ones, which would allow: a. the beer manufacturers a space to promote their product, and b. the building's owners to earn some money, part of which would go to maintaining the 7 Up signs.

Three days after the paper was completed, I was contacted by phone by the Portland Tribune, a bi-weekly newspaper that had, to a great extent, broke the sign change story.

how would they feel? Fortunately, the letter was not run; too emotional.

The next course of action was to prepare a short paper explaining why and how the 7 Up signs should and could be saved. Entitled

Its editor wanted me to allow them to run my paper in their editorial section. This was a surprising development for me. I had not imagined that someone would want to do this. It was a tremendous opportunity to publically state my case, but I needed to make my decision right then. The pressure was on.

I told him “No.”

So, why did I pass on this seemingly-great opportunity to get my message out? First of all, I already got the message out to the key people involved, and, as I explained over the phone, it was primarily a private matter between the building’s owners and the beer company. By making my ideas public, I would have embarrassed the beer company and the tower’s owners because they would have had to explain why they did not consider or are not considering my proposal. What I hoped for was the these people would see that maybe they initial plan was not that thought out, and could come back with a better one that could save the signs while at the same time allow them not to lose too much face.

The Tribune’s editor was clearly not happy with my decision, but I felt it was the right one.

A few minutes after I hung up from that conversation, the phone rang again. This time it was a reporter from *The Oregonian*. He had been given a copy of my paper by his editor, and was interested in writing a piece about me and newspaper-type writings. The author told him that the goal was to save the signs, and that the author was not interested in an article that focused mainly about him. Although we did talk again (the author believes), no article was written.

The change over from the soda signs to the beers ones was delayed until the end of summer, but it did come. However, it should be noted that the 7 Up signage did not come down - *they were just covered up by the new billboards*. Plus, the author learned from a Hollywood neighborhood representative, that the beer company had signed a three-year lease for the signs. So, at some point in the future, if money is available, the 7 Up signs can live again.

These two opportunities - to have the paper published and bring attention to the author - where things that would have undermined the effort to preserve the 7 Up signage

because people would have been embarrassed. It should be noted that the author did not protect the beer company out of some sort of loyalty to them, as some may have

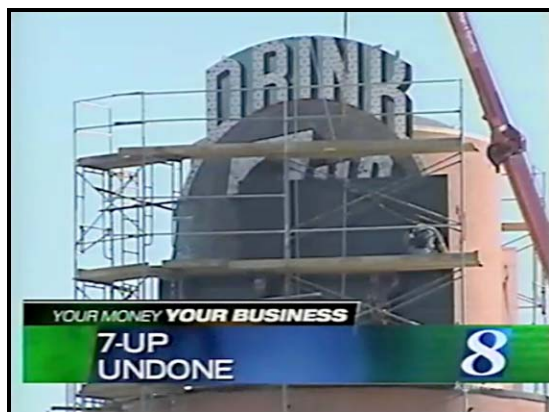


Figure 24 - News Channel 8's coverage of the sign switchover

concluded. In fact, the author does not drink beer. It was done out of respect - a respect that was hopefully held mutually.

A second example of the importance of mutual respect came when the signs actually made the transition from soda pop to beer. In their broadcast on the day that the second, more prominent sign was covered up, KGW News Channel 8

ran a short story about it (Figure 24). At the end of it, when the scene returns to the studio and shows the reporter who did the voice-over, the reporter finishing up by saying:

...(the local beverage company), distributor of (the beer), hopes the new sign creates a new landmark....Probably in a different way. [He grins; news anchors laugh.] That's *Your Money, Your Business*.

The female anchor then adds: "It's kind of sad to see the old 7 Up sign go."

Besides giving viewers the facts about the sign switchover, the news crew also added a little editorializing. The reporter's quip "Probably in a different way," was not appropriate, while the anchor's "It's kind of sad to see the old 7 Up sign go" remark was more acceptable; it humanized the events.

The whole '7 Up signs situation' would start to fade from thought until the next Sunday, when the author was informed by my brother Andis of a television ad that he had seen during a nationally broadcast NASCAR race on Channel 8. What he described was hard to believe. I would eventually see it from a clip captured from a subsequent event broadcast.

In the advertisement, a sports news crew from channel “8” arrives at the home of a well known race car driver that works for the beer company involved in the 7 Up change (Figure 25, top). The driver asks the sports reporter where they would he like to conduct the interview, the reporter responses: “Where ever you’re most comfortable.” The driver displays a mischievous grin. In the next scene, the three are shown inside a speeding race car with the two TV crew members screaming their heads off (Figure 25, middle). I the final scene (Figure 25, bottom), the two media people are shown cowering next to the now-parked race car as the driver walks away saying “Thanks guys.”

Now, this may have been all a big coincidence, but that is very hard to believe. Instead, what appears to have happened is that the beer company took exception to the remarks made by News Channel 8’s crew, and was partaking in a little pay back. Of course, the vast majority of viewers would be totally unaware of the allusion made in the TV spot, so the beer company probably thought it would not create some controversy. Besides, they were trying to keep it light-hearted.

The author was just happy that a skinny, white guy with brown hair and a camera did not appear in the advertisement (If you have seen the author, you would understand *this* allusion).

In adding a small barb to their news coverage of the 7 Up signage change, News 8 showed a lack of respect for the beer company being represented on the new signs. In response, the beverage manufacturers would take a swipe back at them, showing that they too have the capacity to be disrespectful of others.



Figure 25 - A beer company ad poking fun at a channel “8” crew

4.4 WAL-MART AND OBJECTIVITY

The final example of lessons learned, this about *objectivity*, comes from another plan to build a large shopping center. This time the location was Albany, Oregon, and the applicant was the world's largest retailer - Wal-Mart. In May of 2004, the company submitted a request for a comprehensive plan map and zoning change to some industrial land, which was right in the middle of a large industrial zone. Upon hearing of this plan, the author became concerned for numerous reasons. For one, studies had apparently shown that when the retailer moved into small towns with one of their gigantic outlets, all kinds of negative consequences would follow along with the benefits. So, it was concluded that an effort should be made to help sort out the situation.

Although it started out as a project through the Oregon State University Department of Sociology, the paper that the author would complete and submit would end

up being a private endeavor. *Albany, Wal-Mart, and Big Boxes* was finished on October 5, 2005, and was 16 pages long. The cover and page 7 appear in Figure 26. Copies were sent to the planner for the City of Albany on the case and to the CEO of Wal-Mart, Inc.

Albany officials would review the store plans, but some concerns about the traffic came up. So, they requested that the retailer address those issues. Wal-Mart never

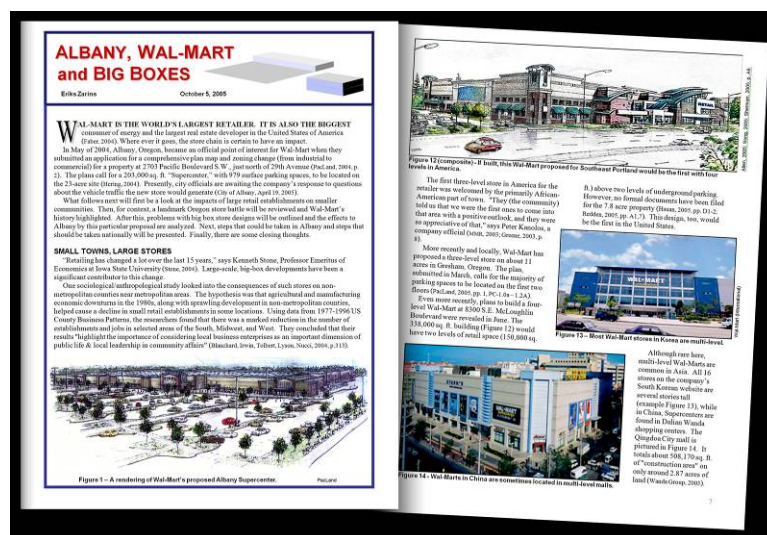


Figure 26 - The Wal-Mart paper's cover and a sample page

responded and that was the end of the store proposal. Anyone familiar with the company's reputation with its outlet development knows that they are tenacious. This backing away was rather unprecedented.



Figure 27 - An illustration of what an Albany Wal-Mart could look like at a different location

What *may* have played an important part of their decision is that the author's paper about the proposal is something that they really were not prepared for. Whenever Wal-Mart proposes a new store, locals are either clearly in support of it or they are clearly opposed to it. The paper takes no such position. Instead, it does point out the negative aspects of the scale, the location, and the configuration of the planned store. But it is also makes clear that it is not just Wal-Mart that has been building problematic stores. In addition, there is a brief recounting of the chain's history, and examples of where they developed have more community-friendly outlets. Finally, at the end of the paper, a better designed and sited store idea (Figure 27) is offered as an alternative.

So, what *may* have contributed to the uncharacteristic stepping away from the Albany big box store proposal is that they were not prepare to deal with the objectivity of Albany, Wal-Mart, and Big Boxes. However, this is primarily speculation at this point.

Interestingly, this rare event may have occurred *again* in 2007, not that far away from Albany. This time, a new retail development that included an anchor big box store was planned for Northeast Portland. The site, on Northeast 82nd Avenue, across from Madison High School, had once been a landfill, then a golf driving range. Although the Canadian developer would not reveal who the main tenant was going to be, there was a strong belief that it was Wal-Mart.

Wal-Mart already had one big-box-type store in Portland, so if this was Wal-Mart, it would be only their second location in the city. However, unlike that first proposal, this newer one actually had people organizing to fight it.

Upon hearing about this proposal, the author submitted copies of *Albany*, *Wal-Mart*, and *Big Boxes* to the neighborhood groups affected by plan and to City of Portland planners. One neighborhood group would e-mail back, expressing appreciation for the paper. It should be also mentioned that the author has relatives living in one of these neighborhoods.

A public hearing to consider the plan was scheduled. However, a couple weeks before, the developer announced that it was withdrawing its proposal and would return after it had come up with a design that people agreed with more. "Our intention is to resubmit in the near future after having considered all of the environmental - figuratively speaking - concerns," explained a spokesperson (Hoover Barnett, 2007, p. D1).

They would not.

Again, if Wal-Mart was involved, this would be very out of character. With all of their recent store debates in the region, Wal-Mart has pressed the matter every time. For four of these - in Gresham, Beaverton, Cornelius, and White Salmon - *Albany*, *Wal-Mart* and *Big Boxes* was submitted to someone involved.

Is there any way to assess whether the objectivity of the paper made the retailer back away twice? Of course *they know*, but this author is not going to ask. But, something caused them to act unusually. Again, this is mainly speculation.



Figure 28 - The plans withdrawal for reworking was stunning

[Note: On December 9, 2009, it was announced Wal-Mart would anchor a new SmartCentre's mall elsewhere in Albany; a mall approved in late 2008 (Ingalls, 2009).]

Table 1 summarizes all the examples of lesson learned about *objectivity* and *mutual respect* that resulted from the four solution papers that were highlighted.

Table 1 - Summary of Lessons Learned from Earlier Papers

PAPER TITLE (Subject)	MINDSET ASPECT	HIGHLIGHTED-POINT BASICS
<i>A New Fred Meyer in Northeast Portland - An Alternate Site</i>	Mutual Respect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Author, brother perceived as "out for political blood," but really only trying to prevent mistake ▪ Hyster-conflict bitterness lingers as better 1996 store idea dies
<i>Unprecedented Opportunities</i> (Major league sports and facilities)	Objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mayor defies logic, supports suburban arena site ▪ Coliseum's future still in question after convention center miss-sited
<i>Maintaining a Portland Landmark</i> (7 Up signs)	Mutual Respect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Author passes on: reprint in newspaper (signs mainly a private matter), and article about self (saving signs goal) ▪ News 8 reporter quips about new beer sign, then beer company TV ad has "8" news crew cowering
<i>Albany, Wal-Mart and Big Boxes</i>	Objectivity (speculation mainly)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wal-Mart backs off Albany store plans (rare event) ▪ Wal-Mart (apparently) backs off NE Portland store plans (rare event)

5. METHODS

5.1 PROJECT PAPER

As we have learned, America politics has suffered because too many people involved have let themselves become too partisan. The emotional states that feed such behavior not only prevent people from using critical analysis, but also enable the mistreatment of individuals with differing opinions. Objectivity and mutual respect are lacking.

In order to get feedback from public officials about the effectiveness of a solution paper as a form of public participation that encourages objectivity and mutual respect, a solution paper was

produced. The urban policy subject selected was:

conventional,
suburban
neighborhood street
design and its
effects on people's
ability to get
around. As with

earlier documents, this one was designed to not

only to identify the problem, but to explain what would be a good course of action to take moving forward.

Completed on April 23, 2008, the paper was entitled *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*. Along with this 31 page document (Appendices, page 74), a two page *Executive Summary of: Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* was also made (Appendices, page 106).

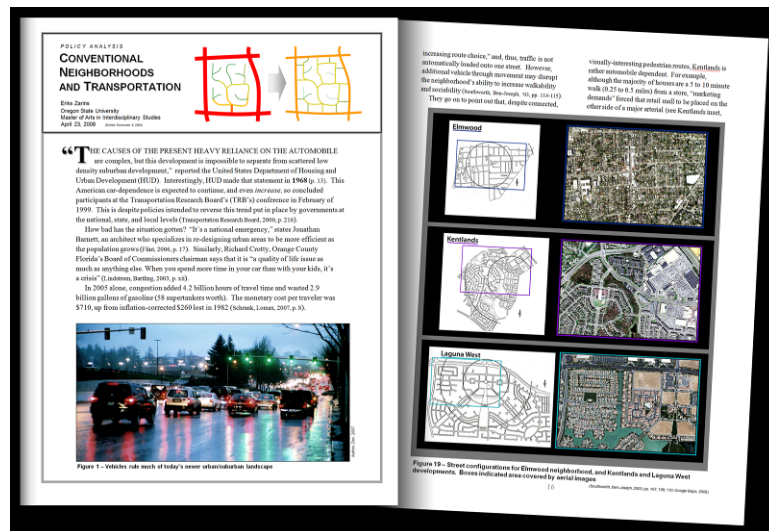


Figure 29 - Cover and page 16 from *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*

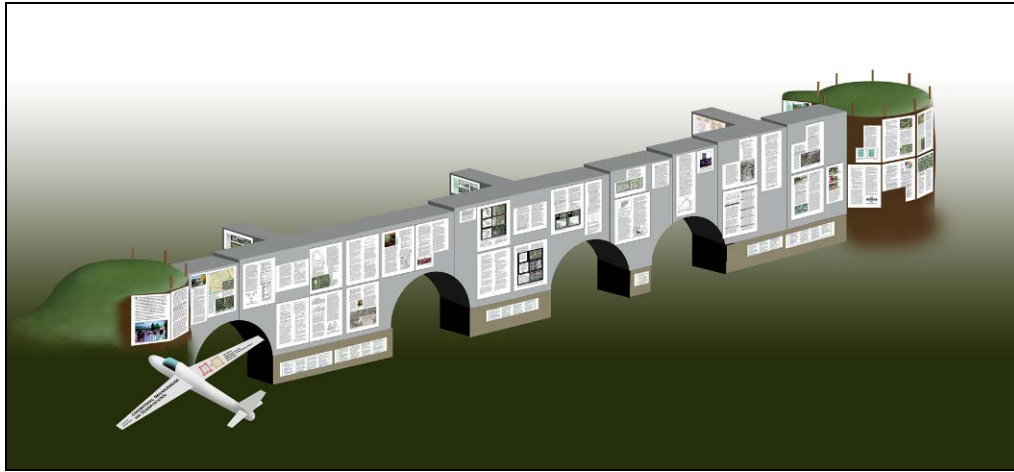


Figure 30 - *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* as a bridge

To better understand the reasoning behind the paper's structure, it could be helpful to consider an analogy. The first part of the document - the visuals and introductory words - is like a glider that transports the reader to the place that could be considered as "common ground." From here, she or he starts on a journey across a bridge, with each section of the paper acting as a part of the bridge's main structure. This all eventually brings the traveler the conclusion - some place that they probably have never been to before. Along the way, she/he would have encountered the boxes in the paper, which are short side trips that can or cannot be taken. Underneath the main part of the bridge are the sources which provide the strong foundation. Finally, typos and grammar mistakes are like cracks and other imperfections that can trip-up the traveler and make the journey a little less pleasant. Figure 30 is a visual interpretation of this "document as bridge" analogy.

One important paper-structure approach that the author has come to use is **the vague introductory summary** of where the reader will be heading. This is in contrast to what people usually expect. What the standard approach now is to give a clear, concise abstract of the findings and conclusion. If you, the writer are attempting persuade people about a complex matter, than it is best to start with common ground and only slowly make your way. As you go, you are constantly making sound points, which are backed up with solid research and logic. At the end, reader will be far more likely to understand

your conclusions; conclusions that had otherwise been stated openly at the start, could have come off as controversial and the emotional rush the reader could have felt could keep her or him from ever seeing how everything is pieced together.

Now, it is argued that people want clear abstracts because they are crunched for time and need to know the information quickly. However, having quick, simple understandings of complex matters is not good enough if you truly want to solve problems. Those who are sincere problem solvers will not mind the lack of specifics, because depth is needed and that can only be acquired by taking the time to read and think about the subject a lot.

5.2 THOSE CONTACTED

In order to get feedback, 110 elected leaders and government officials were asked to read *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* and fill out the survey. United States Senators and Representatives were selection primarily if they were members of some transportation-related committee. Also, trying to including both Republicans and Democrats, and males and female was attempted when possible. As for Governors, those with large areas of suburban housing were contacted, as were planning officials in many of the country's major urban areas.

Table 2 and Figure 31 show the brake-down by profession. The list of all of those contacted can be seen in the Appendices (page 67).

Table 2 - Types and number of officials contacted

JOB	NUMBER
Senators	7
Representatives	8
Federal Dept.	4
Governors	17
State Trans. Officials	21
Regional Govern.	22
Regional Planning	11
City Planning	20
Total	110

On the next page, Figures 32 contains maps showing some of the places that these officials represented.

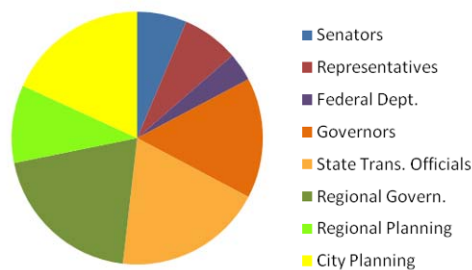


Figure 31 - Pie-chart of the types of officials contacted

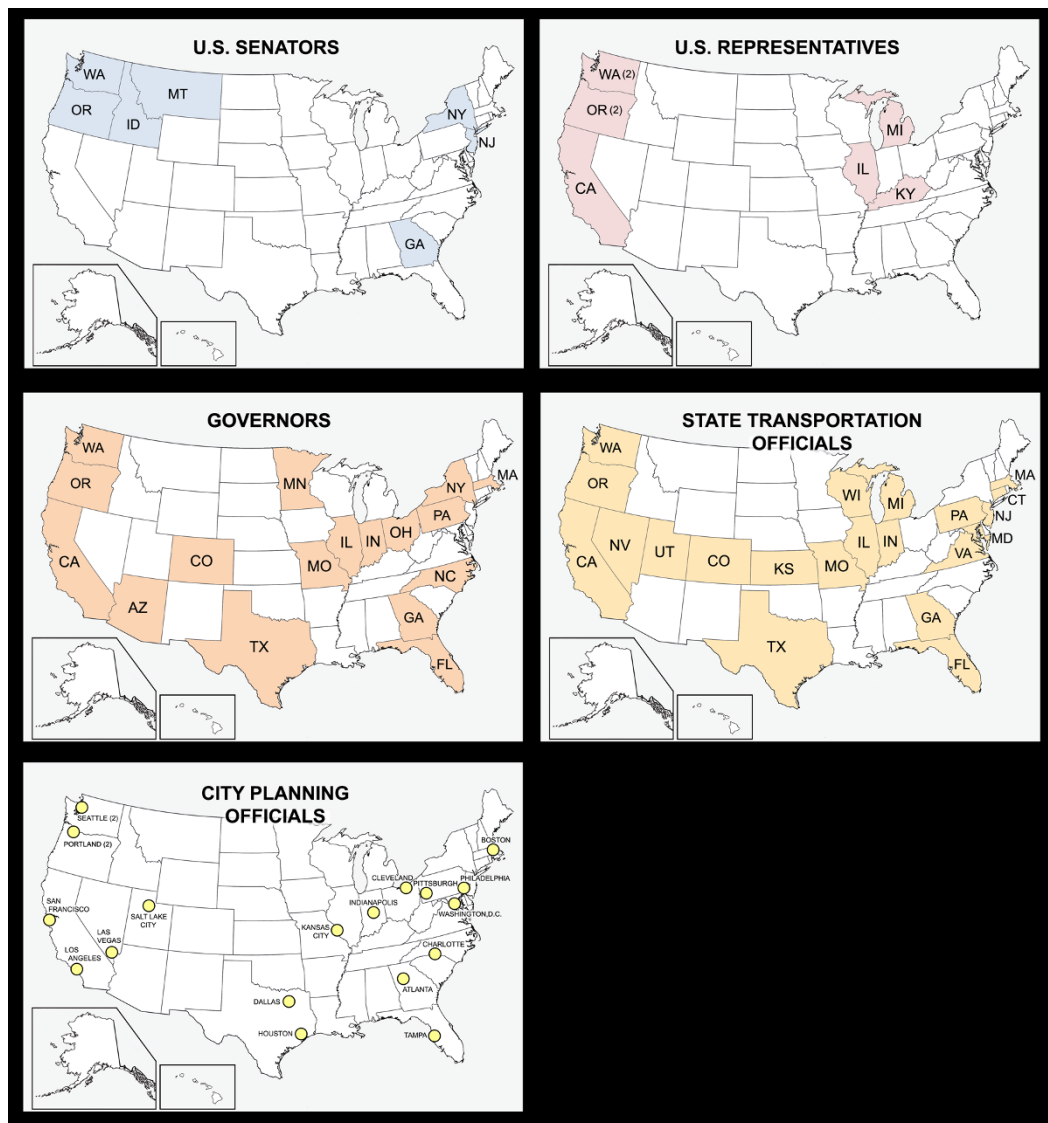


Figure 32 - Maps illustrating areas that are represented by the officials contacted

As for the method used to get people the solution papers, what had been traditionally done with the earlier author-involved projects is that paper versions were either delivered or mailed. However, unlike these earlier efforts, this project needed to reach many more

people to assure at least some responses to the survey. So, along with the hard copies, electronic versions were made available at a website that was created.

Five different ways of getting people to participate were used. They, plus the number of occasions each was used, were:

- Letter and hardcopy version
dropped off ----- 7
- Letter and hardcopy version
mailed ----- 7
- E-mailed letter sent directing
person to website with PDF files -- 65
- E-mailed pasted into official's
website form directing person to
website with PDF files ----- 27
- Letter mailed directing person to
website with PDF files ----- 4

Figure 33 is a photograph of the things that were dropped off and mailed to officials. Those items were:

- A letter
- *Executive Summary of: Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*
- A return envelope
- The survey form
- *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*

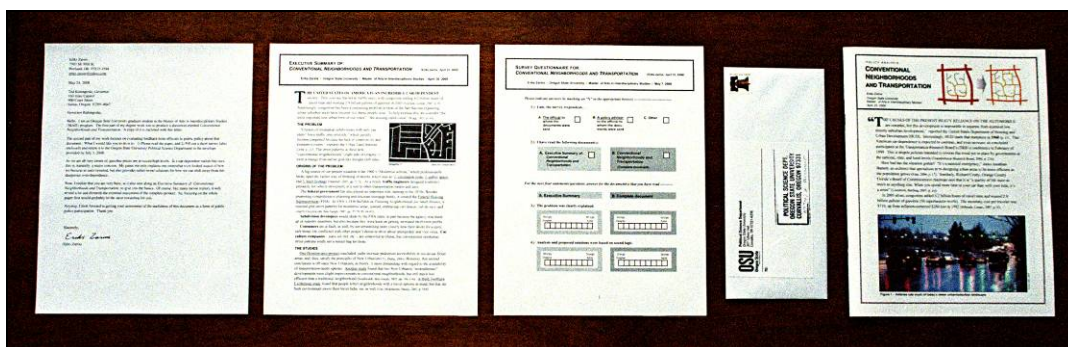


Figure 33 - Items dropped off and mailed: (from left) a letter, the summary, the survey, a return envelope, and the paper

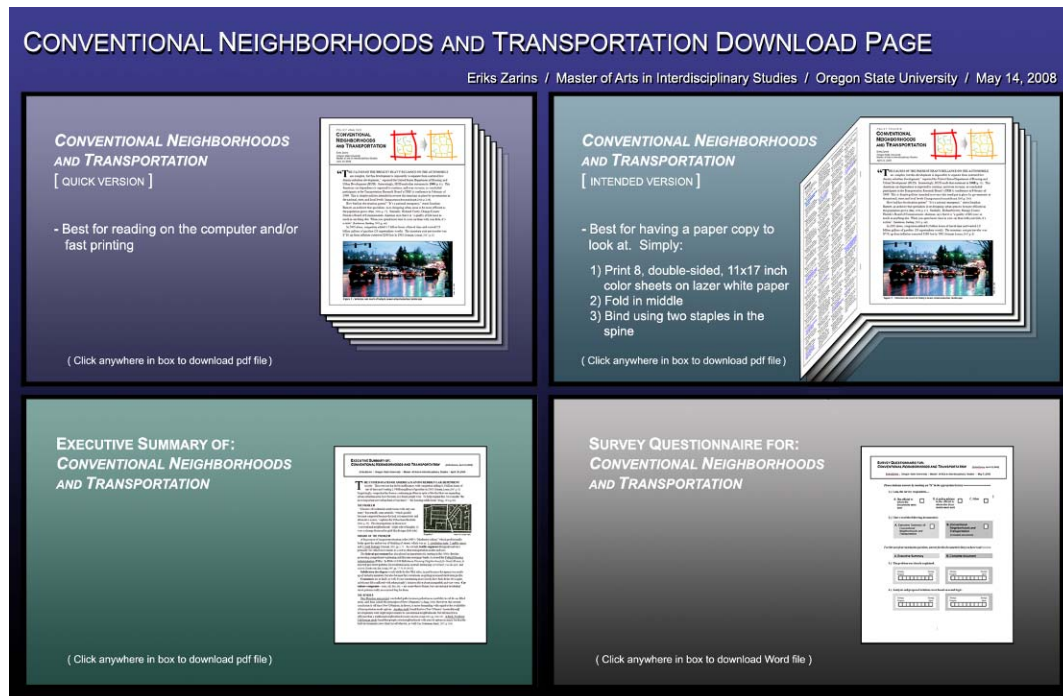


Figure 34- Download page for the *Conventional Neighborhoods* PDF files

Those that were electronically contacted were given the address to access the Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation Download Page. Shown above in Figure 34, the web site's address is:

http://oregonstate.edu/~zarinse/Zarins_Conv-Neigh/downloads.html.

After the final deadline (July 3, 2008) passed, the survey section was dimmed, blurred, and the connection to the PDF removed.

All of the completed surveys, paper or electronic, were sent to Oregon State University's Department of Political Science. There, then Office Manager Katherine Brenner kept them until survey window was closed.

5.3 Survey Questionnaire and Expectations

The survey questionnaire was a two-page Word document with nine (9) questions (Figure 35). It was done in Word to allow for people who accessed it electronically and to place

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR: CONVENTIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS AND TRANSPORTATION (Brida Zetino, April 23, 2009)
Brida Zetino / Oregon State University / Masters of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies / May 7, 2008

Please indicate answers by marking an "X" in the appropriate box(es) -----

1.) I am, the survey respondent,...

A. The official to whom the documents were sent ☐ B. A policy adviser to the official to whom the documents were sent ☐ C. Other ☐

2.) I have read the following document(s):

A. Executive Summary of: Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation ☐ B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (Complete document) ☐

For the next four statement questions, answer for the document(s) that you have read -----

A. Executive Summary B. Complete document

3.) The problem was clearly explained.

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

4.) Analysis and proposed solutions were based on sound logic.

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

5.) Information was presented in an objective manner.

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

6.) On the American political ideology continuum, where would you place the perspective of the document?

Liberal ☐ Conservative ☐ Moderate ☐ Libertarian ☐

For the following two questions, answer only for The Complete Document -----

7.) Prior to now, how often have you encountered a policy document such as this one?

Never ☐ Rarely ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Always ☐

8.) How often does a document like this have a place in the public policy process?

Never ☐ Rarely ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Always ☐

9.) Finally, are there any comments that you would like to share?

Thank you for participating

Figure 35 - The front (left) and the back of the *Conventional Neighborhood's* survey Questionnaire

"Xs" in boxes and to type in short comments.

The initial instructions and Question/Statement 1 were as follows:

1.) I am, the survey respondent,...

A. The official to whom the documents were sent ☐ B. A policy adviser to the official to whom the documents were sent ☐ C. Other ☐

Figure 36 - Question/Statement 1

Since many of officials that were contacted are at a high level in public policy, and, thus, very busy, it was very likely that these people would have someone working for him or her that could actually read the *Conventional Neighborhoods* paper and then respond to the survey. So, "A. The official," "B. A policy adviser," and, "C. Other" were the possibilities provided.

To better understand how an overall expected breakdown of respondent-types can be guesstimated, we consider pool subgroups. There were 54 **elected officials** (senators, representatives, governors, and regional councilors) and it was anticipated that almost *none* of them would actually respond. It may go like this: A. the official (1 in 54); B. A policy advisor (2 in 54), and C. Other (0 in 54). If an elected official would actually participate, it would likely be local politician with a keen interest in the subject matter; most likely Oregon Representative Earl Blumenauer. **Federal agency employees** (4) and **state transportation department heads** (21) were probably a little more likely to participate, going like this: A. the official (2 in 25); B. A policy advisor (3 in 25), and C. Other (0 in 25). However, the most likely to participate were the **regional** and **city planners** (31). Here, the breakdown could be: A. the official (7 in 31); B. A policy advisor (2 in 31), and C. Other (0 in 31). The *overall breakdown* of respondent-types is then expected to be about: A. The official (11 in 110); B. A policy advisor (7 in 110); and, C. Other (0 in 110). So, the breakdown for respondent-types (category respondents divided by total respondents) should be: A. The official (61%); B. A policy advisor (39%); and, C. Other (0%).

One compounding factor in knowing the level of the person answering the survey is that an “official” responding to one survey may or may not be at the same level of power as a “policy advisor” responding to a different survey. For example, one state’s department of transportation’s (DOT) chief may receive my request directly and reply; thus, marking “A. The official.” However, a governor of a different state may ask the head of that state’s DOT to read my paper and respond. He or she (the DOT executive) would thus mark “B. A policy advisor.”

Of course another possibility is that a governor defers to the DOT head, a person that was directly contacted by me, as well.

As mentioned earlier, finding out who specifically responded to this feedback request was not part of this effort’s structure.

Question 2 simply asked which document was read:

2.) I have read the following document(s):

<p>A. Executive Summary of: <i>Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation</i></p> <input type="checkbox"/>	<p>B. <i>Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation</i></p> <p>(Complete document)</p> <input type="checkbox"/>
---	--

Figure 37 - Question/Statement 2

As you may recall, in the contact letter to officials, it was suggested that people *not* read the Executive Summary of: *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* since it would likely lower the value of the whole paper when they read that document. However, it is expected that it would be unrealistic for the vast majority of respondents - they simply would want to know more about the subject before investing additional time. So, it is expected that 95 % would have read “A. Executive Summary of: *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*.”

With regard to the percentage that read “B. *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (Complete document)*,” it is unlikely that someone would complete the survey when the contact letter mentioned that the point of this study was to get reader’s impressions of the full paper. However, if a contacted official sends the request to an assistant, it becomes more likely that the assistant would not read the initial contact letter and may just read the summary, then return the survey. So, the response rate for “B.” should be around 95% of survey respondents having read the entire document.

The third statement/question started the feedback part of the survey and dealt with the paper’s **clarity**. It and the highest expected response levels are:

For the next four statements/questions, answer for the document(s) that you have read -----

A. Executive Summary

B. Complete document

3.) The problem was clearly explained.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Expected: -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 X 3 4 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 X 3 4

Figure 38 - Question/Statement 3 and expected top responses

It is expected that for both the summary and the complete document, respondents will have found the problem quite understandable. However, there are bound to be things that: the readers did not understand, were not presented clearly, or a combination of the two. So, it is expected that most survey takers will have marked on the right of “neutral” (the middle “0” box), but short of the “Strongly Agree” box (“4”) at the right.

Reasoning was the focus of the fourth question/statement. It and the anticipated top response are:

4.) Analysis and proposed solutions were based on sound logic.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Expected: -4 -3 -2 -1 0 X 2 3 4 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 X 2 3 4

Figure 39 - Question/Statement 4 and expected top responses

Although people will most likely feel that a great deal of the analysis and possible solutions do make sense, there are no doubt be a point or two that he or she thinks did not follow according to the information presented, or that he/she simply disagrees with. Thus, an indication on the “Strongly Agree” side will be most popular (1), but it will weaker than for the #3 question/statement and have a wider distribution.

How **objective** was the presentation in the two documents is the topic of Question/Statement 5. Again with the expectations, it is:

A. Executive Summary	B. Complete document
5.) Information was presented in an objective manner.	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 5px;"> Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; height: 20px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 5px;"> Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; height: 20px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> </div>
Expected: -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 X 3 4	Expected: -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 X 3 4

Figure 40 - Question/Statement 5 and expected top responses

Again, it is anticipated that most people will find that for the most part the documents attempted to be objective. However, there is bound to be a point or two that readers will have felt that was not fair (regardless of the intent), and, thus, the median answer will be short of “Strongly Agree.”

Question/statement #6 dealt with the perceived **ideological slant** of the works. That statement and the expectations are:

6.) On the American political-ideology continuum, where would you place the perspective of the document?	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 5px;"> Liberal Conservative </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; height: 20px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 5px;"> Liberal Conservative </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; height: 20px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black;"></div> </div>
Expected: L4 L3 L2 X 0 C1 C2 C3 C4	Expected: L4 L3 L2 X 0 C1 C2 C3 C4

Figure 41 - Question/Statement 6 and expected top responses

Although the two works were written in an effort to be at the middle of the Liberal-Conservative American political-ideology spectrum, the overall summation of ideas would likely place it just on the Liberal side of the middle, neutral box (0). It is assumed that respondents will get this same general impression.

Additional thoughts about the question: It may be the most abstract of the questions asked, so, the answers may vary considerably and respondents may be more likely to not answer it at all.

As stated in the survey's instructions, the next two question/statements deal only with the complete document. Familiarity with papers like *Conventional Neighborhoods* was

For the following two questions, answer only for The Complete Document -----

7.) Prior to now, how often have you encountered a policy document such as this one?

Never Always

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Expected: X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Figure 42 - Question/Statement 7 and expected top response

the focus of Question/Statement 7. With the expected high response, number 7 is:

Of the officials on my contact list, only three have received papers of this type that were prepared at least in part by me (to the best of my knowledge). One is Oregon Representative Earl Blumenauer, who has been given: *A Fred Meyer in Northeast Portland: An Alternate Site* (1986; handed to him directly in a lobby/hallway); *Unprecedented Opportunities* (1989; mailed to his office); and, *Albany, Wal-Mart and Big Boxes* (2005; left at his office). Another is Oregon Representative Peter DeFazio, who was handed a copy of the Wal-Mart paper. The third is Oregon Senator Gordon Smith, whose career-fair representative has given a copy of *Albany, Wal-Mart and Big Boxes* (the author thinks). So, other than these three gentlemen, it is possible that none of the other people has encountered a policy document like *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*. So, "Never" (box "0") is the most likely high answer.

Compounding things a little, however, is the possibility that other officials, especially local ones, may have seen one of the papers when they meet with officials who did have copies (including many officials not on the mailing list for this project). An additional

factor may be that policy officials have dealt the documents by citizens that are fairly similar at some point, and will just lump those experiences in with this one.

Question/Statement 8 addresses the document's **role in politics**:

8.) How often does a document like this have a place in the public policy process?

Never Always

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Expected:

0	1	2	3	4	5	X	7	8
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Figure 43 - Question/Statement 8 and expected top response

It is anticipated that documents like *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* can be helpful in the public policy process. Yet, it is unlikely respondents will mark “Always” in part because there would be a seemingly-mandated element to the process; a process that may need to be a little more flexible than that. In addition, there will be times, such as when legal questions are being taken up in court, that documents such as this, coming in after a specific legal deadline, can frustrate those involved more than contribute constructively in the short term.

The final question (9) simply allows respondents a place for short comments:

9.) Finally, are there any comments that you would like to share?

Thank you for participating

Figure 44 - Question/Statement 9

Here, it is expected that people will note something that they found erroneous or objectionable in the paper, and/or mention something that they thought insightful or right-on-the-money. Now, it is also possible that someone could leave this blank, not interested in sharing anything, but this seems unlikely since she or he has all ready read a 30 page paper and answered eight mark-the-box questions. They already made a significant commitment, so why not give some additional feedback.

One final note on something that might affect the survey responses: the electronic file was prepared in Word 2007, and viewed with this program the questions appear pretty much as you have seen them. However, in older versions of the software, the lines of the tables that have “no color” still appear as grey lines. So, this does make things slightly less straight-forward for those taking the survey in this format.

When it comes to measuring the *objectivity* of *Convention Neighborhoods*, clearly Question/Statement 5, which asks that directly, will be the main thing we will look at in analysis. For *mutual respectfulness*, the written comments will give respondent’s impressions of how respected they feel by my paper and inquiry.

[Note: This section’s predictions were written, of course, prior to the survey results being reviewed.]

6. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Out of the 110 requests for feedback, fifteen (15) surveys were returned. This was about the number expected given the sample size. Of those, four (4) were from “Officials”, seven (7) from “Policy Advisors,” and four (4) from “Other.” That is 27% Officials, 46% Policy Advisors, and 27% Other. The predicted figures were 61%, 39%, and 0%, respectfully. So, it appears that the responsibility for dealing with the paper and survey was passed more often down the hierarchies than had been anticipated. [However, this was not that important a prediction in the bigger scheme of things since this is not a study about who responds to and who does not to surveys.]

With regard to the percentage of respondents that read each of the two documents the predicted figures were 95% for both. The actual numbers are instead 40% for the summary and 73% for the document. In a way, it shows that most people were willing to read *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* without bothering with the synopsis, which is what was requested.

Since the “Other” response category was primarily put in ‘just to cover the bases,’ so to speak, and since these respondents could be anybody, we will not consider them in this part of the review and analysis. Instead, we will focus on the eleven (11) Officials and Policy Advisors responses.

6.1 MARK-THE-BOX SECTION

The first question about an opinion was Question/Statement 3. For the **Officials and Policy Advisors**, it was predicted in the “expectations” section that answers would center around 2, between neutral (0) and “Strongly Agree.” To see what the group collectively

selected, we will add the numbers and divide by 8, the number that answered this. The equation and answer are:

$$[(-3)+1+2+2+3+3+4+4]/8 = 2$$

So, this expectation was fairly accurate.

For Question/Statement 5, Figure 46 displays selections. It was expected that respondents would center at 1, but the results show:

$$[(-3) + (-2)+1+2+2+3+3+3]/8 = 1.125$$

The prediction and the collective result are very similar, with the second being a little more towards the “Strongly Agree” end.

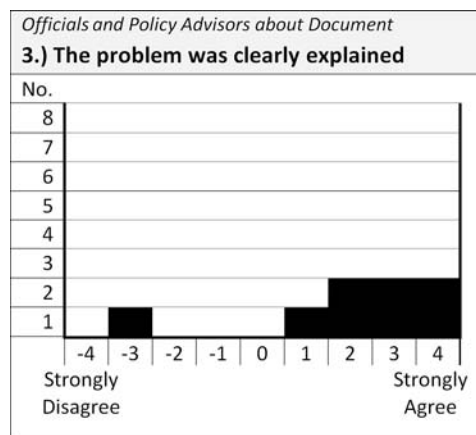


Figure 45 - Responses to Question/Statement 3

Question/Statement 5 asked about objectivity of the paper. Responses appear in Figure 47. The author had thought that this would center at 2, but, instead, it was noticeably lower:

$$[(-4)+(-3)+(-2)+(-1)+(0)+(2)+(2)+(3)]/8 = -0.375$$

This difference requires some analysis.

Two things come to mind. First, since this is such a small sample, one person's extreme response can shift things considerably. In this case, when we look at the written comments, we find that both respondents R10, with the -4 selection, and R9 (-2), make several comments each. However, all of their comments are negative; none are positive, or even neutral. So, *the seeming lack of objectivity of these respondents* is probably one significant factor in why the document was not rated closer to what was expected.

The second important factor may also be revealed in the comments. R4 gave a -3 answer and yet stated the following:

Because this report obviously presented a thesis, I didn't understand why we were asked to measure objectivity.

In addition, the person was one away (2) from "Strongly Agree" (3) for both "The problem was clearly explained" and "Analysis and proposed solutions were based on sound logic." So, what appears to be the case here is that the inconsistent response to the

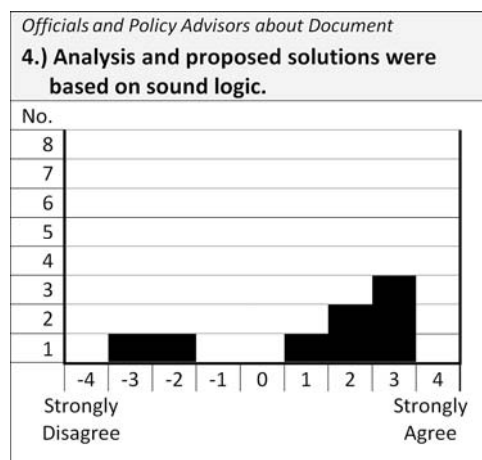


Figure 46 - Responses to Question/Statement 4

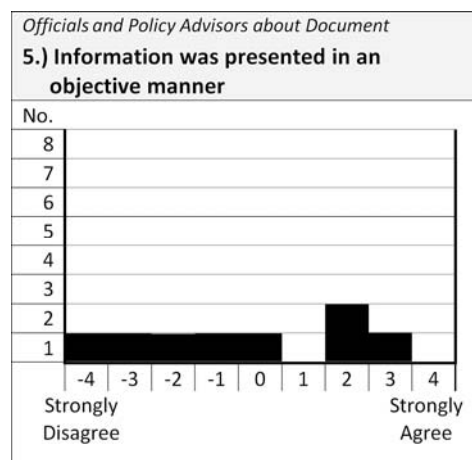


Figure 47 - Responses to Question/Statement 5

Objectivity question may have been because of confusion about what was being asked.

Placing the document's perspective on the American political continuum was the subject of Question/Statement 6. L1 was where the author anticipated the group would choose overall. Now, to come with the collective number, we must convert the scales' selection options from L4-C4 to real numbers. So, the new range is -4 to 4. This is *not* saying that "liberals" are negative or bad. The equation and number are:

$$[(-4)+(-4)+(-4)+(-2)+(-2)+(0)+(0)]/8 = -2$$

The -2 converts to L2, which is slightly more liberal than the author's predicted -1 of L1.

Question/Statement 7 asked about how often the person has dealt with such a document such a *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*. The forecasted number was 0, or "Never." The collective response was:

$$[2+3+3+6+7+7+8+8]/8 = 5.5$$

Clearly, there is a substantial difference. As with the objectivity result, needs to be addressed.

In the expectation section, it states that one factor in a higher than predicted result would be that "policy officials have dealt the documents by citizens that are fairly similar at some point, and will just lump those experiences in with this one." That may be a small part of it.

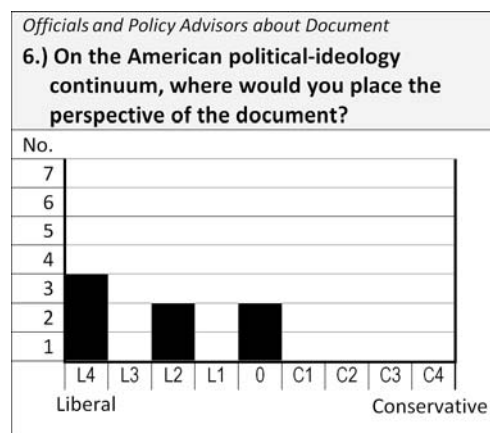


Figure 48 - Responses to Question/Statement 6

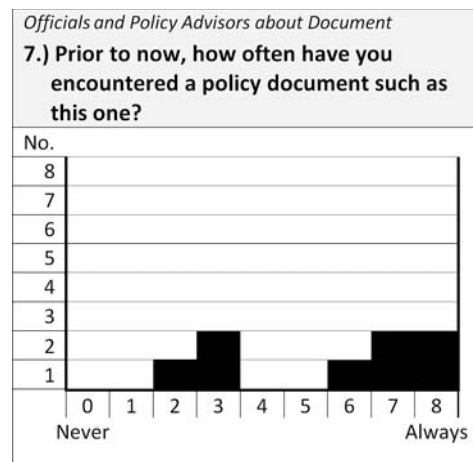


Figure 49 - Responses to Question/Statement 7

In this vein, what is probably the biggest factor is: officials have lumped the *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* paper in with all of the documents that they deal with, not just those authored by private citizens - be those documents government agency reports, private contractor assessments, or academic research papers. As already mentioned, one person referred to it as a “thesis,” which, technically, it is not. Another person alludes to it being “published,” which was not the point of it.

However, much of the fault lies with this author. First, the paper is an extreme example of public participation, so it would be easy for people to assume that it was something more. Second, it should have been made clearer to study participants that only other citizen-written papers should be considered for the question. Even though it was mentioned in the initial letter that this research was about public participation, the questionnaire in-general, and Question/Statement 7 specifically did not sufficiently reinforce the point.

The final, fill-in-the-box question/statement, # 8, asks: “How often does a document like this have a place in the public policy process?” The predicted median selection was 6, while the equation and answer are:

$$[2+4+8+8+8+8+8+8]/8 = 6.75$$

This is a fairly close result to the expected number.

So, one key point to take away from this check-the-box section of responses is that that solution papers like *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* has a definite place in the public policy process. The second key point is that the document was assessed

to be less objective than expected. However, this low rating appears to be in large part due to *lack of objectivity* by two respondents, plus possible confusion by a third, as determined from considering the focus of our next section - written comments.

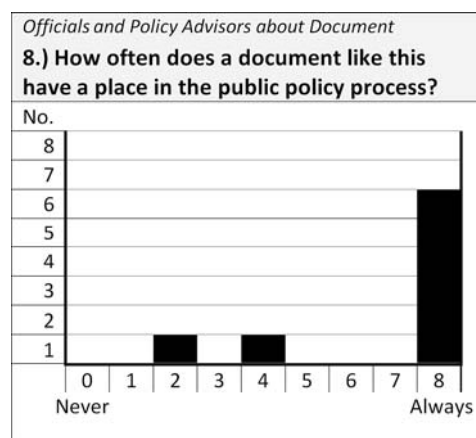


Figure 50 - Responses to Question/Statement 8

6.2 WRITTEN COMMENTS

Of the fifteen (15) surveys submitted, eight (8) had some type of written remark. Question/Statement 9 was the primary venue for this, although there was one of the author's participation-request letters returned with comments on it. Since the comparison of handwriting from this letter to the written comments on survey forms suggests that this person's only shared thoughts are on the returned letter, the statements will be also included in the discussion.

As with analysis of the **Mark-the-Box** portion, only the responses from Officials and Policy Advisors will be considered here. Basically, groups of similar written comments will be presented and then commented of by the author. Those statements appear in Table 3 on the next two pages.

Table 3 - Officials and Policy Advisors Comment Summary

SUBJECT	HOW MANY MENTIONED	COMMENTS
Typos/Grammar Issues	4	<p>Document <u>needed more editing</u>,... (R4)</p> <p>The paper needs a good scrubbing for typos. (R7)</p> <p>Before publishing, review for numerous syntax errors. (R11)</p> <p>...lots' of grammatical errors. (L1)</p>
Missing Information	3	<p>The document didn't focus enough on street connectivity regardless of cul-de-sacs. (R7)</p> <p>...lacked depth in the technical and political aspects of the reconnecting streets in traditional suburban neighborhoods. (R8)</p> <p>Could strengthen by linking research on public health benefits of walkable streets. (R11)</p>
You Are Incorrect	2	<p>The causal link between community design and automobile dependence is weak. The availability and popularity of automobile ownership caused communities and transportation systems to change, not the contrary. The author also soft sells the impact of government taking such a strong role in private land use. (R9)</p> <p>Topic is of great interest, however, many of the literature cite/sources were very old -- Planning as a discipline has moved beyond much of this; language used was not always Professional, i.e. references to</p>

Table 2 - Officials and Policy Advisors Comment Summary (Continued)

SUBJECT	HOW MANY MENTIONED	COMMENTS
You Are Incorrect (Continued)		the “current mess”, how did it turn out “horrible”, Mr. Walker and Mr. Wheeler - stereotypes; many of the factual information included was not toed (sic) to arguments being made in the article; many positions in the paper appeared to be simply opinions; solutions in paper under General Plan, not new or particularly creative.... (R10)
Liberal-Conservative	2	? (next to question) (R4) “Liberal” and “conservative” may not be meaningful in this context. New urbanism is actually conservative, in the sense of conserving & tradition. (R15)
Good work	4	Based on lots of research - good job of drawing connections between many related issues on a complex subject.....nicely produced. (R4) Good overview... (R8) Excellent. Liked the progression from historic roots to critique to possible solutions....Liked that is addressed nettlesome issue of retrofitting suburban development....Overall, strong contribution to policy and practice. Look forward to broad distribution. (R11) Great paper, well researched. (L1)

The first subject, mentioned by four respondents, is that of **Typos/Grammar Issues**. Of course, no one likes to have such errors in their papers, including this author. However, people need to remember that this document reviewed was done by one person with limited resources. After reading these comments, the author went in search of finding someone to read through the document. At the Oregon State University Center for Writing/Learning, they can give help *doing* the writing, but not proof reading. When posed with the concern about catching mistakes in one's own writing, Assistant Director Dennis Bennett mentioned that it is very difficult. After noting that *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* looked "professional," he mentioned that there are those who do proof read *for a fee*. In my case, it could have been around \$100.

Thankfully, Katherine Brenner was kind enough to read through it. Working off her input, the author fixed up and posted an edited version of the paper on the download page back in December of 2008 so that anyone interested could get a more-readable version.

Missing Information is the second comment category. Basically, people point out more should have been said about: street connectivity; the technical and political parts of reconnection; and the health benefits of walking.

For those who choose to be engaged in public debates of any kind, the next statements, in many ways, are the most important. Called **You Are Incorrect** here, the main thing that this author can say is that he simply disagrees with these two respondents on: neighborhood design and car dependence (*the paper* makes my case), the professional quality of phrases like "current mess" and "horrible" (what should be used?); the positions are "simply opinions" (clearly dismissing too much); and, the documents "General Plan" is uncreative (urban-planning wise, of course; *the creative part* is about acting in a more constructive, democratic way).

The point made about the author soft selling government's role in private land use is intriguing. It would be interesting to find out more, see where our views start to diverge and go from there.

Also, the example of Goofy as Mr. Walker and Mr. Wheeler was placed in *Conventional Neighborhoods* in part to add a little levity. Besides, they are not really

“stereotypes,” but more like “characterizations.” The reasons that they are funny is because they are based on how people really act. Mr. Walker and Mr. Wheeler are just silly extremes.

Although most answered the question about the **Liberal-Conservative** continuum, two respondents were puzzled by the opinion request. Perhaps they are looking at urban design and the functioning of government agencies as being ideologically neutral. They may try, but they are still influenced. Remember at the start of the paper (Public Participation), James L. Creighton mentioned that most of the decisions being made by government agency officials are not technical in nature, but deal with value judgments. Thus, ideology does play a role, especially when extreme partisans are involved.

Finally, the last group of comments deals with **Good Work**. Although it raked up as many tallies as **Typos/Gammar Issues** (4), it was saved for last to finish on a positive note. These statements reflect the level to which the author was hoping to take *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*.

The key point learned from all of the written comments deals with *mutual respect*: People were generally civil in the responses, even when they disagreed with some of the paper’s conclusions. Perhaps ‘Your an idiot’ may have come to some one’s mind, but the respondent reframed from conveying that message back to me, which is the way it should be.

6.3 ADDITIONAL OBSERVATION

Only one Official or Policy Advisor read both *Executive Summary of: Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* and *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*. Interestingly, for the questions about clarity, sound logic, and objectivity, the answers were exactly the same. However, when it can to placing each document’s ideological perspective on the continuum, the whole

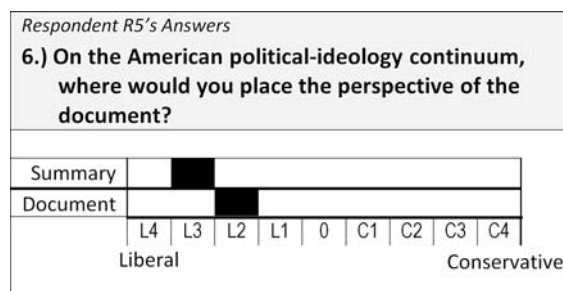


Figure 51 - R5’s Responses to Question/Statement 6

document was rated a little more towards the middle than the executive summary (Figure 51). Perhaps there is not much to this, but it could imply that the greater detail of the completed paper actually has the ability to show that the ideas are more middle-ground than the much-shallower summary could demonstrate. If true, this would support the idea of not having a detailed summary at the start of documents that try to address complex issues.

7. “HOT” ISSUE EFFORT

As this author prepared to wrap up work on this thesis in December 2008, an opportunity presented itself. Working on the behalf of the University of Oregon (UO), Ramsay Signs Inc. submitted to the Portland’s Historic Landmarks Commission a proposal to change the historic “Made in Oregon” Sign to say instead “University of Oregon” (Seimers, 2008). This was an opportunity to get feedback on a solution paper that dealt with a controversial issue government officials had to imminently make a decision on, in the vein of earlier author-involved documents. Of course, it was also just a great chance to be a good citizen.

So, a document was produced and submitted by the first, and could have been last, deadline that the Landmarks Commission had set for public input. That deadline was on March 9th, at the end of a meeting on the matter. However, they decided to consider the sign change further at a meeting April 6th. With the record still open, this author went and produced a better document based in large part on the first. The second document was completed on



Figure 52 - *Made in Oregon Sign* document cover and page 18

April 3, 2009. Called *The Made In Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon* (Appendices, page 108) it was submitted to the seven member Landmark's Commission and to the Portland City Council, which would have to hear the issue if it were appealed, which was highly likely. Figure 52 shows the cover and page 18.

The main conclusion of the report was that the sign was historic by precedent and regulation, so could not be changed by anyone. This absolutely-protected status was contingent on securing a source of funds to pay for lighting and upkeep.

So many Portlanders were expressing concern about the possible change that the Council held a meeting on April 1 to discuss using eminent domain to prevent UO from altering the sign. They took such a drastic step because they, like most everyone else involved, was convinced that it was not a question of *if* the Landmarks Commission would approve the switch, but *when*.

The Commission received a hard-copy of the paper on April 6, a few hours before their meeting. They were also given a CD with the PDF files of the paper, letters to each asking for feedback on the paper, and a survey form. They were also, as were the five City Council members the night before, directed to a website that also had the electronic files. Figure 53 shows the The Made in Oregon Sign – A Powerful Portland Icon Download Page. Its address is:

<http://oregonstate.edu/~zarinse/historic/made-in-oregon--portland-icon.html>.



Resolution would not come at the April 6 gathering. However, Portland's council would back-off the threat to seize the sign two days later as they had reached "a compromise" with the University of Oregon and Ramsay Signs. The sign would be changed to say "Oregon," plus some sub-text would be

Figure 53 - *Made in Oregon Sign* Download Page

altered from “Old Town” to “Old Town - Portland” with UO colors. In addition, the school’s “O” logo would appear in neon on the nearby water tower.

Although an aide to the mayor and two city council members did e-mail responses back regarding the solution paper, no one sent back a survey form. Perhaps this is understandable given the intensity of the debate.

One important note about all this: the author did not go to the media with *The Made In Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon*. As it was mentioned earlier, drawing publicity to the paper and the author would actually make it harder to get the sign matter resolved in constructive, “we’re in this together” manner.

To see what an alternative situation looks like, we need look to Eugene, Oregon, the home of the University of Oregon. At the start May, it was revealed that a female professor at the school had filed a complaint with the city that a large, yellow “O” sign on the college’s football stadium was there illegally. What prompted her was the fact that it was clearly visible from her home, and it disrupted her view.

The sign was put up in the fall of 2007 to give a better backdrop to a pre-game media broadcast. However, it went up without approval from the city and it never came down. It is also eight times larger than is permitted.

On May 13, a city meeting was to cover the issue. However the complaint was withdrawn two days prior, with the woman citing “escalating harassment.” The Register-Guard newspaper even had to disable the part of its website for comments on the matter due to repeated violations by bloggers (Dietz, May 6, 14, 2009).

“I don’t know whether there’s been a decline in civility or if we just see more of this uncivil behavior because the Internet is so accessible,” states Tim Gleason, the dean of the School of Journalism and Communications at the U of O. “But it is quite alarming that when an individual raises a concern, that he or she is descended upon by people who aren’t willing to engage in a respectful conversation” (Dietz, May 14, 2009).

Fortunately, the Made in Oregon Sign debate in Portland did not degrade to that level. Significant resolution to the matter came in September. Citing various reasons, the UO

withdrew its proposal to change the sign and did not renew its lease. Recently, there is talk of City of Portland taking over ownership of the sign, which has ‘Rudolph’ sporting his traditional red nose for the holiday season.

One last point about Portland sign debate: one needs only look at the instructions about commenting provided by The City to see how some core elements of how a democracy should operate. It states:

The applicant and proponents have the burden of proof to show that each and every element of the approval criteria are satisfied. In order to prevail, the opponents must persuade the Landmarks Commission to find that the applicant has not carried the burden of proof with regard to one or more of the approval criteria. The opponents may also explain to the Landmarks Commission how and why the facts asserted by the applicant are not supported by the evidence in the record. Opponents may wish to recommend conditions of approval which will make the proposal more acceptable, if approved (Walhood, May 6, 2009, p. 3).

8. CONCLUSION

American’s political system, and its varying levels of government, is expected to help solve our collective problems. However, the system itself has problems in need of fixing. This project was done in an effort to indentify a better way of doing things.

Research and analysis revolved around “solution papers” that are produced by one to two citizens as a form of public participation in urban policy issues. Specifically, two aspects of these were under scrutiny: *objectivity* and *mutual respect*.



Figure 54 - In a democracy, voting is but one activity citizens must be involved in

To assess how these two elements play a role, a solution paper called *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* was produced and policy officials were asked to give feedback on it. *Objectivity* of the paper was rated lower than predicted. However, analysis of written responses indicates that a lack of objectivity by a few participants themselves is likely a significant reason for the low rating.

As for *mutual respectfulness*, written comments were generally civil and about the subject under consideration. However, this aspect really could not be tested to its full extent with this research project for two main reasons. The first is that the issue of poor transportation options in and around suburban residential neighborhoods was probably not a hot issue to respondents. In other words: they did not need to make a decision about it soon. Second, there was only one give-and-take exchange with regard to the *Convention Neighborhoods* paper. Mutual respectfulness is best tested over the span of many exchanges since then frustration is more likely occur by one or more of the parties involved. Only with frustration do we get to see how in control one is of one's emotions.

Fortunately, there was much more to the thesis effort than just the new paper and its feedback. Additional information came from: 1) A survey of relevant literature from multiple disciplines, 2) the consideration of two historic figures, and 3) a review of author-written paper projects. Taking *all* of this information into consideration, it can be concluded:

In order to make our public policy system more effective, we need to think more critically about issues and be more honest to ourselves. At the same time, we need to work with others more as partners instead of as opponents. Being objective in a mutually respectful atmosphere *does* allow us to better solve our collective problems and for the United States to become a truer democracy.

Although there is substantial evidence to support this claim, further research into this complex and important subject should no doubt occur. Two ideas for such efforts are: A) Creating an intentionally non-objective, partisan solution paper as well as one attempting to be objective, and seeing how the two are perceived by readers, and B) including in a future survey form a question asking the respondent to place himself or herself on the American political-ideology continuum to see how this affects the perceptions of solution paper objectivity.

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Appendices

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	P a r t y	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Gordon Smith	1	Senator	Oregon	R	<i>Dropped off</i> <i>5-28-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Frank R. Lautenberg	2	Senator	New Jersey	D	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-2-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Maria Cantwell	3	Senator	Washington	D	<i>Dropped off</i> <i>5-27-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Chuck Schumer	4	Senator	New York	D	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-2-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Mike Crapo	5	Senator	Idaho	R	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-2-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Max Baucus	6	Senator	Montana	D	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-3-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Johnny Isakson	7	Senator	Georgia	R	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-3-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Earl Blumenauer	8	Representative	Oregon	D	<i>Dropped off</i> <i>5-27-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Peter DeFazio	9	Representative	Oregon	D	<i>Mailed</i> <i>5-23-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Brian Baird	10	Representative	Washington	D	<i>Dropped off</i> <i>5-27-08</i>	July 3, 2008
David G. Reichert	11	Representative	Washington	R	<i>Mailed</i> <i>5-23-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Ellen O. Tauscher,	12	Representative	California	D	<i>Paper Letter Mailed</i> <i>6-9-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Candice S. Miller	13	Representative	Michigan	R	<u>Pasted Address</u> <i>6-3-08?</i> <i>Paper Letter Mailed 6-9-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Bobby L. Rush	14	Representative	Illinois	D	<i>Paper Letter Mailed</i> <i>6-9-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Ed Whitfield	15	Representative	Kentucky	R	<i>Paper Letter Mailed</i> <i>6-9-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Tyler D. Duvall	16	Assistant Secretary for Transportation	U.S. Department of Transportation		<i>Mailed</i> <i>5-29-08</i>	July 3, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Richard (Rick) F. Krochalis	17	Regional Administrator	Federal Transit Administration's (FTA) Region 10 (Seattle, WA)		Sent address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Roberta Ando	18	Field Office Director	Homes & Communities, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Portland, OR)		Dropped off 5-28-08	July 3, 2008
Elin Miller	19	Regional Administrator	U.S. EPA, Region 10 (Seattle, WA)		Pasted Address 6-3-08	July 3, 2008
Arnold Schwarzenegger	20	Governor	California	R	Mailed 5-23-08	July 3, 2008
Rick Perry	21	Governor	Texas	R	Pasted Address 6-3-08	July 3, 2008
Charlie Crist	22	Governor	Florida	R	Sent Address 6-11-08	July 3, 2008
Ted Strickland	23	Governor	Ohio	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
David A. Paterson	24	Governor	New York	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
Bill Ritter	25	Governor	Colorado	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
Tim Pawlenty	26	Governor	Minnesota	R	Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Chris Gregoire	27	Governor	Washington	D	Mailed 5-23-08	July 3, 2008
Ted Kulongoski	28	Governor	Oregon	D	Mailed 5-29-08	July 3, 2008
Janet Napolitano	29	Governor	Arizona	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08 ????????	July 3, 2008
Sonny Perdue	30	Governor	Georgia	R	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
Michael F. Easley	31	Governor	North Carolina	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
Mitch Daniels	32	Governor	Indiana	R	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008
Rod R. Blagojevich	33	Governor	Illinois	D	Pasted Address 6-6-08	July 3, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Deval Patrick	34	Governor	Massachusetts		Pasted Address 6-19-08	July 18, 2008
Matt Blunt	35	Governor	Missouri		Pasted Address 7-1-08	July 18, 2008
Edward G. Rendell	36	Governor	Pennsylvania		Pasted Address 7-1-08	July 18, 2008
Matthew Garrett	37	Director	Oregon Department of Transportation		Mailed 5-29-08	July 3, 2008
Will Kempton	38	Director	California Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Paula J. Hammond	39	Transportation Secretary	Washington State Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Amadeo Saenz Jr.	40	Executive Director	Texas Department of Transportation		Pasted Address 6-9-08	July 3, 2008
David S. Ekern	41	Commissioner	Virginia Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Gena Lester Abraham	42	Commissioner	Georgia Department of Transportation		Pasted Address 6-19-08	July 18, 2008
Stephanie C. Kopelousos	43	Secretary	Florida Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-19-08	July 18, 2008
Milton R. Sees	44	Secretary	Illinois Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-19-08	July 18, 2008
Tom Sharp	45	Commissioner	Indiana Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-27-08	July 18, 2008
John D. Porcari	46	Secretary	Maryland Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-20-08	July 18, 2008
Bernard Cohen	47	Secretary of Transportation	Commonwealth of Massachusetts Office of		Sent address 6-20-08	July 18, 2008
Kirk T. Steudle	48	Director	Michigan Department of Transportation		Sent Address ??????	July 18, 2008
Susan Martinovich	49	Director	Nevada Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-20-08	July 18, 2008
Kris Kolluri	50	Commissioner	New Jersey Department of Transportation		Pasted Address 6-27-08	July 18, 2008
Russell George	51	Executive Director	Colorado Department of Transportation		Pasted Address 6-27-08?	July 18, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Frank Busalacchi, ↓	52	Secretary	Wisconsin Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-27-08	July 18, 2008
Sandy Beaupre'		Director	Planning & Economic Development			
Deb Miller	53	Secretary	Kansas Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
Pete Rahn	54	Director	MoDOT - Missouri Department of Transportation		Pasted Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
Joseph F. Marie	55	Commissioner	Connecticut Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
John R. Njord	56	Executive Director	Utah Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
Allen D. Biehler	57	Secretary	Department of Transportation Commonwealth of Pennsylvania		Pasted Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
<u>David Bragdon</u>	58	Council President	Metro Portland, OR		Dropped off 5-27-08	July 3, 2008
Rod Park	59	Councilor, District 1	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Carlotta Collette	60	Councilor, District 2	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Carl Hosticka	61	Councilor, District 3	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Kathryn Harrington	62	Councilor, District 4	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Rex Burkholder	63	Councilor, District 5	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Robert Liberty	64	Councilor, District 6	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Gloria Molina	65	Supervisor, 1st District	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Yvonne B. Burke	66	Supervisor, 2nd District, Chair	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Zev Yaroslavsky	67	Supervisor, 3rd District	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Don Knabe	68	Supervisor, 4th District	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Michael D. Antonovich	69	Supervisor, 5th District	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Nancy McNally	70	Chair	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Ed Peterson	71	Vice Chair	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Rod Bockenfeld	72	Secretary	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Jim Taylor	73	Treasurer	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Rick Garcia	74	Immediate Past Chair	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
William T. Roberts	75	Chairperson	SEMCOG Southeast Michigan Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Peter Bell	76	Chair	Metropolitan Council St. Paul, MN		Sent Address 6-24-08	July 18, 2008
Tony Pistilli	77	Councilor, District 2, and Chair, Land Use	Metropolitan Council St. Paul, MN		Sent Address 6-24-08	July 18, 2008
Mary Hill Smith	78	Councilor, District 3, and Chair, Transportation	Metropolitan Council St. Paul, MN		Sent Address 6-24-08	July 18, 2008
Natalie Steffen	79	Councilor, District 9, and Chair, Community	Metropolitan Council St. Paul, MN		Sent Address 6-24-08	July 18, 2008
Andy Cotugno	80	Director of Planning	Metro Portland, OR		Sent Address 5-31-08	July 3, 2008
Fred Hansen	81	General Manager	Tri-Met Portland, OR		<i>Dropped off 5-28-08</i>	July 3, 2008
Weidner, Joan	82	Transportation Senior Planner	SEMCOG Southeast Michigan Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Johnson, Kevin	83	Community & Economic Development Senior Planner	SEMCOG Southeast Michigan Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-1-08	July 3, 2008
Bruce W. McClendon	84	Director of Planning	Los Angeles County		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
Steven D. Rudy	85	Transportation Planning and Operations	Denver Regional Council of Governments		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Arlene McCarthy	86	Director	Transportation Planning Metropolitan Council St. Paul, MN		Sent Address 6-27-08	July 18, 2008
Mike Dearing	87	Manager	Indianapolis Metropolitan Planning Org.		Sent Address 7-2-08	July 18, 2008
MarySue Barrett	88	President	Metropolitan Planning Council (Chicago)		Sent Address 7-2-08	July 18, 2008
Jason Harper	89	Chair	Atlanta Regional Government Environment & Land Use Committee		Sent Address 7-6-08	July 18, 2008
Richard S. (Rick) Copeland	90	Director	Memphis & Shelby County Division of		Sent Address 7-6-08	July 18, 2008
Gil Kelley	91	Director	City of Portland, Oregon Bureau of		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
Paul Smith	92	Division Manager	City of Portland, Transportation Planning		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
Diane Sugimura	93	Director	City of Seattle, Department of Planning &		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
Tracy Krawczyk	94	Director	Seattle Department of Transportation		Sent Address 6-16-08	July 18, 2008
Gail Goldberg	95	Director	City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
John Rahaim	96	Director	San Francisco Planning Department		Sent Address 6-16-08	July 18, 2008
Marlene L. Gafrick	97	Director	City of Houston Planning and Development Department		Sent Address 6-13-08	July 18, 2008
Theresa O'Donnell	98	Director	City of Dallas Development Services Long Range Planning Division		Pasted Address ????????	July 18, 2008
Emeka C. Moneme	99	Director	District Dept. of Transportation Government of the District of Columbia		Pasted Address 6-19-08	July 18, 2008
Noor Ismail	100	Planning Director	Pittsburgh City Planning		Sent Address 7-2-08	July 18, 2008

A. Mailing List for *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)

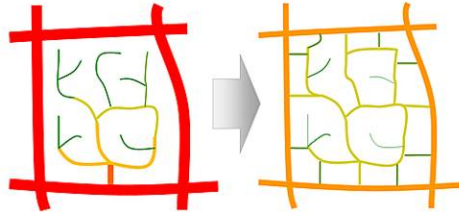
PERSON	#	JOB	PLACE FROM / ORGANIZATION	Party	Version Sent	Cut-off Date
Deborah McColloch	101	Director	City of Philadelphia, Office of Housing and Community Development		Sent Address 6-30-08	July 18, 2008
Mike Peoni	102	Administrator	Department of Metropolitan Development (Indianapolis)		Sent Address 7-2-08	July 18, 2008
Thomas G. Coyle	103	Director	City Planning and Development Department (Kansa City)		Sent Address 7-2-08	July 18, 2008
Charletta Wilson Jacks	104	Acting Director	Bureau of Planning (Atlanta)		Sent Address 7-6-08	July 18, 2008
Danny C. Pleasant	105	Interim Director	Charlotte Department of Transportation		Sent Address 7-7-08	July 18, 2008
M. Margo Wheeler	106	Director	City of Las Vegas Planning and Development Department		Sent Address 7-6-08	July 18, 2008
Mary De La Mare-Schaefer	107	Interim Director	Salt Lake City Department of Community & Economic Development		Sent Address 7-7-08	July 18, 2008
Cynthia Miller	108	Director	City of Tampa, Growth Management and Development Services		Pasted Address 7-7-08	July 18, 2008
Thomas J. Tinlin	109	Commissioner	City of Boston, Department of Transportation		Sent Address 7-6-08	July 18, 2008
Robert N. Brown,	110	Director	Cleveland City Planning Commission		Sent Address 7-7-08	July 18, 2008

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation

POLICY ANALYSIS

CONVENTIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS AND TRANSPORTATION

Eriks Zarins
Oregon State University
Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies
April 23, 2008 (Edited: December 8, 2008)



“THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT HEAVY RELIANCE ON THE AUTOMOBILE are complex, but this development is impossible to separate from scattered low density suburban development,” reported the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Interestingly, HUD made that statement in 1968 (p. 13). This American car-dependence is expected to continue, and even *increase*, so concluded participants at the Transportation Research Board’s (TRB’s) conference in February of 1999. This is despite policies intended to reverse this trend put in place by governments at the national, state, and local levels (Transportation Research Board, 2000, p. 216).

How bad has the situation gotten? “It’s a national emergency,” states Jonathan Barnett, an architect who specializes in re-designing urban areas to be more efficient as the population grows (Flint, 2006, p. 17). Similarly, Richard Crotty, Orange County Florida’s Board of Commissioners chairman says that it is “a quality of life issue as much as anything else. When you spend more time in your car than with your kids, it’s a crisis” (Lindstrom, Bartling, 2003, p. xii).

In 2005 alone, congestion added 4.2 billion hours of travel time and wasted 2.9 billion gallons of gasoline (58 supertankers worth). The monetary cost per traveler was \$710, up from inflation-corrected \$260 lost in 1982 (Schrank, Lomax, 2007, p. 8).



Figure 1 – Vehicles rule much of today’s newer urban/suburban landscape

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

Interestingly, all this traffic congestion is occurring during a time our urban/suburban areas have become *less dense* people wise. From 1982 to 1997, America's population grew 17 percent, yet land that became urbanized expanded by 47 percent (Lindstrom, Bartling, 2003, p. xii). Similarly, since 1950, 90 percent of metropolitan-area growth has come in the suburbs (Flint, 2006, p. 1). In fact, the 2000 U.S. Census shows that 50 percent of the nation's citizens now live in the suburbs, up from 37 percent in 1970 (Nicolaidis, Wiese, 2006, p. 2).

This all concerns Americans. A 2000 Pew Research poll asked the question: "Now, what do you think is the most important problem facing the community where you live?"

"Development/Sprawl/Traffic/Roads," was tied for the top spot with "Crime/violence," with 18 percent selecting each (Pew, 2000).

According to geographer Dean Rugg, "the most important new urban form of our times" is "the housing subdivision" (Rugg, 1972, p. 64). Accordingly, this paper looks at the issue of urban/suburban neighborhood subdivision street design since World War II and the design's effects on our ability to get around.

What follows next will first be a description of the problem, then, a look at key players and ideas that unpin the situation. Next, a few studies considering aspects of our subject are reviewed and analyzed, which is followed by an overview of possible solutions mentioned by others and the highlighting of additional reasons for action. A better definition of the situation and the addressing of misperceptions comes subsequently. Finally, implementation and leadership examples, theories on democracy, a general plan, and some closing thoughts are presented. Along the way are a few, worthwhile short side-trips.

THE PROBLEM

"Why is congestion so bad in the suburbs? One reason is that road networks are laid out to benefit each development project," explains the Urban Land Institute (ULI), a real estate think tank. "Clusters of residential subdivisions with only one entry and one exit concentrate the traffic onto and off arterial roads, which quickly become congested



Figure 2 – Many newer residential streets now lead only to garages

because the lack of connectivity and alternative routes" (2004, p. 22).

A recent transportation study done in the Charlotte, North Carolina, found that intersections near cul-de-sac-based neighborhoods built from the 1960s through the 1980s had the heaviest congestion (Efrati, 2006).

An American city that is a full-fledged example the modern community transportation planning is Irvine, California – a "New Town." Located in Orange County near Los Angeles, its design and construction began in the early 1960s. Unlike its established neighbors to the north and west – Anaheim, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana – Irvine would not adopt a grid-like street pattern. As Raymond Watson, Irvine Company's first planning chief puts it, "The grid is a throwback to when the total area of urbanization was smaller." Instead, a "village" concept was used. Averaging 1.4 square miles in size and 9,000 residences, each has its own schools and shopping areas, and they are defined by large arterials that separate them. Within, there are many cul-de-sac streets, since planners wanted to keep cross-town traffic out of residential areas (Langdon, 1994, pp. 32-33).

So, how did it all turn out? Well, at least as of 1994 and from a transportation standpoint: *horrible*. Many residents apparently hated having to drive out onto major arterials, which are often clogged, just to get to another part of town. Geographer Peter O. Muller says, "Irvine has worse congestion than most other places in the country. The irony is that Irvine

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

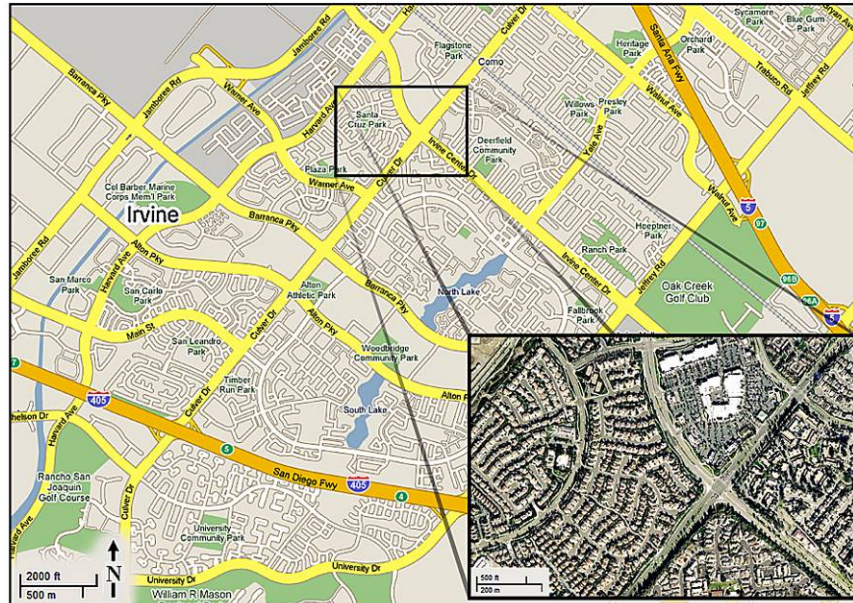


Figure 3 – The disjointed street pattern of Irvine, California, was designed that way

(Base from Google Maps, 2008)

was designed specifically to *avoid* congestion” (Langdon, 1994, pp. 33-34). Figure 3 is a map of present-day Irvine’s street lay-out.

In the United States, prior to around 1950, most communities and their residential neighborhoods were based on a fairly grid-like street layout.

However, a shift occurred to where new suburban subdivisions incorporated more curved streets, many cul-de-sacs and few access points to the area. Figure 4, an aerial image/graphic from Northeast Portland, Oregon, illustrates this change. On the left, west of NE 148th Avenue, the residences can be accessed by four local streets from 148th. Conversely, the newer development to the

right (east of 148th), with many dead-end and curving streets, can only be reached by one. Also, a few homes located in the older part actually face 148th, while *all* of the homes in the newer area along 148th have their backs, and a wall, to that roadway.



Figure 4 – An older, more-traditional grid street pattern prevails in the neighborhood to the west (left) of NE 148th (middle street); while to the east, a conventional, cul-de-sac pattern dominates

(Base from Google Maps)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM

According to Stephen Marshall, author of the 2005 book *Streets & Patterns*, a big contributor to the problem we face today is the 'revolution' in transportation planning and urban design that took place in the 1960s (p. 3). Prior to that time, urban streets brought together three different physical roles. Those roles were as: 1. circulation route, 2. public space, and 3. built frontage. However, an alternate paradigm, called "Modernism," pushed the separation of these aspects (Figure 5). As a result, transportation engineers focused on traffic flows, architects on designing building that were "sculpted three-dimensional forms set in flowing space," while landscape architects narrowed their focus, as well (Marshall, S., p. 7).

Although architects and planners deserve some of the blame for the current mess, says Marshall, **transportation engineers** are the most at fault for the distorted streets-for-vehicles-only emphasis of modernist road design (Marshall, S., 2005, p. 12). The keep-traffic-flowing, branching-streets perspective is rooted in other engineering disciplines, such as electrical and fluids. Public utilities, such as transmission lines for electricity and plumbing for water, start out large (high capacity) at their origins, and then branch off into smaller and smaller capacity segments until they dead-end at their final destinations. So, in a similar vein, traffic would 'flow' at high speeds from large-capacity segments down to smaller, slow-speed ones (Langdon, 1994, p.

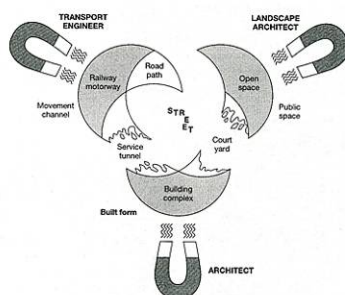


Figure 5 – How the modernist schism destroyed the traditional concept of the street
(Marshall, S. 2005, p. 6, 7)

29). The hierarchical scheme for roadways is, in general, as follows:

- Limited-access highway – for vehicle movement across a metropolitan region
- Arterial roads – for movement through a town at 50 miles per hour
- Collector roads – access into residential subdivisions; often one per neighborhood
- Minor streets – looping from collectors or just dead-ending, these have homes on them (Langdon, 1994, pp. 27-29)

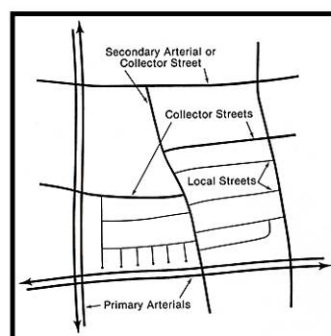


Figure 6 – A graphic of a grid-based hierarchical street system
(ITE, 1992, p. 337)

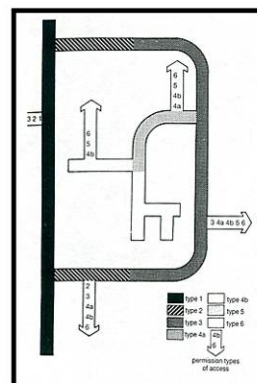




Figure 7 – A schematic of a curvilinear, hierarchical street system
(Marshall, S., 2005, p. 37)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)


Box 1
INFORMATION SUPER-“HIGHWAY”
(A recent Autotrader.com TV ad)




A couple shops for a car online at home.




Immediately, thousands of vehicles race from the hills.




A model is selected and other types of vehicles pull off.



Then, the color is chosen, and more peel away.



The remaining vehicles barrel forward.



Finally, the selected car slides into the couple's driveway.

Images 1-6

For engineers, this structure was viewed as “superior” to the older, grid-like patterns because it was more orderly, and, thus, would be more efficient (Langdon, pp. 29-31). However, this has not proven to be the case. One rare study looking at the effects of this hierarchical road development found that those in vehicles and on foot were less pleased by it than the more traditional grid patterns. They felt that traveling through the modernist areas was less pleasant and less efficient in many ways. Transportation engineer Walter Kulash, who was involved in the study, points out that people, unlike electricity and water, do not want to flow in just in one direction, but in many different ones (Langdon, pp. 31-32).

Through various publications, the Institute of Traffic Engineers (ITE) has advocated street design standards that have virtually unchanged since 1965. These standards have been used by many local public work agencies throughout the nation as the basis of their rules dealing with new subdivisions (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 104).

Two key concepts in this discussion are *mobility* and *accessibility*. In the *American Heritage Dictionary* (2007), they, and their base words, are defined accordingly:

Mobility (noun) – 1. The quality or state of being mobile.

Mobile (adjective) – 1. Capable of moving or of being moved readily from place to place.

Accessibility is not given in this particular dictionary. However, following the definition of *mobility*, we can conclude:

Accessibility (noun) – 1. The quality or state of being accessible.

Accessible (adjective) – 1. Easily approached or entered.

The National Research Council sees *accessibility* as “a key component of *livability* (italics added),” which “encompasses broad human needs ranging from food and basic security to beauty, cultural expression, and a sense of belonging to a community or a place.” In broader definitions of *accessibility*, *mobility* is but one component of travel, along with opportunities at destinations and various costs, like social or economic (2002, pp. 92, 23, 93).

Traffic engineers, however, take a more direct-relationship point of view. Figure 8 (next page) shows how mobility (“Movement Function,” X-axis)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

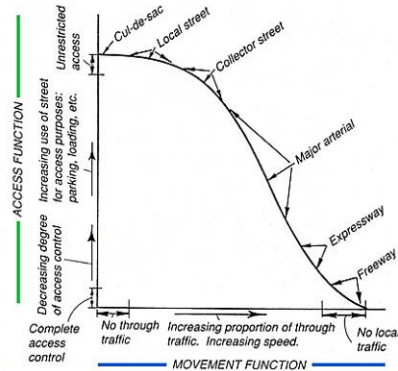


Figure 8 – Streets as a function of movement and access
(Homburger, et. al, 1989, p. 20; bold lines added)

and accessibility (“Access Function,” Y-axis) relate to street type.

Note that Figure 8 only deals with vehicles. To more effectively think about *pedestrian* mobility and accessibility, it is important to know how far people walk. Typically, planners use a 0.25 mile (1320 feet; 400 m) as a standard distance pedestrians will travel.

Referring to Figure 9, we can see how conventional neighborhood design adversely affects walking. From a direct-line distance of 0.25 miles from the big-box store’s entrance, most homes in

the neighborhood to the east are within range. However, for many, the on-the-ground network path is much greater than 0.25 miles.

Besides traffic engineers, the **federal government** is an important player in creating today’s numerous conventionally-designed neighborhoods. About eighty years ago, the United States began to subsidize privately developed housing projects at the prodding of an increasingly powerful real estate and construction lobby. These subsidies resulted through changes in the taxation, insurance, and banking systems (Hayden, 2003, p. 4).

Three events in the 1930s instigated by the national government have played a key role in how our classic suburban residential areas have come about. The first was the President’s Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. It was the depression, and mayors from around the nation looked for help from the U.S. government. In an effort to provide some, President Hebert Hoover called together 3,700 home finance, taxation, and residential planning experts (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 85). Their overall recommendations were to:

- Pass state-enabling acts granting city planning powers to municipalities
- Give priority to housing
- Follow the Neighborhood Unit principles in designing residential areas
- Adopt a set of subdivision regulations to control the design of new areas



Figure 9 – Even though most homes shown near this big-box store (left) are within 0.25 miles, the walking distance is *much* longer for many residents

(Base from Google Maps, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

- Adopt comprehensive zoning plans for cities, urban regions, towns, and counties
- Develop comprehensive mass transportation plans
- Preserve and develop an open space system in residential neighborhoods (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, '03, p. 85)

Some of the most influential proposals from specific subcommittees were:

Committee on Finance – Private enterprise alone could not guarantee affordable housing for all, so federal regulation and a system of discount mortgage banks was needed

Committees on Zoning and City Planning – Rethinking regional planning and adjusting laws was the only way to have massive decentralized development be successful

Committee on Subdivision Layout – Minimum engineering standards were needed for things like: street alignments, right-of-way widths, and block lengths (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, '03, pp. 86-87)

Many of the conference's suggestions would be adopted by subsequent administrations (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1997, pp. 85-86).

The establishment of the National Planning Board (NPB) in 1933 was a second important event. It would embrace the President's Conference ideas, and the ideas of those belonging to the Regional Planning Association. A major goal of the NPB was to have local, regional, and state planning all coordinated. Supporters of the agency included social activists and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1997, p. 80).

In 1934, the third key development was the establishment of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). It was an aspect of the National Housing Act, which attempted to use U.S. government mortgage insurance plans to rework the failed private house financing system. To get approved for a loan, site plans and supporting documentation had to be provided by developers, lenders, and other borrowers so that the administration could determine the soundness of the proposal. As a result, FHA criteria quickly became the

underwriting standard (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 90).

A significant document of the FHA's was its 1936 Bulletin on *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses*, which showed the organization's preferences for the planning ideas of Raymond Unwin, Clarence Perry, and Clarence Stein. For the first time, FHA rejected grid street patterns for residential neighborhoods; a position maintained in all later publications (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1997, p. 84). Instead, *curvilinear*, *cul-de-sacs*, and *courts* were the street layouts recommended, which should be guided by these standards:

- Layouts should discourage through-traffic.
- Wide intersections should be eliminated.
- Streets should follow the topography to reduce cost, create interesting vistas, and eliminate the monotony of long straight rows of houses.
- Minimum width of residential street should be 50 feet (15.25 m), with 24-foot (7.3 m) pavement, 8-foot (2.4 m) planting/utility strips, and 4-foot (1.2 m) walks.
- Cul-de-sacs are the most attractive street layout for family dwellings; street construction costs are thereby reduced since an 18 foot (5.5m) pavement with a minimum 30-foot (9.2m) radius turn-around are [sic] sufficient.
- Setbacks for houses should be 15 feet (4.5 m) minimum.
- Permanent trees should be planted 40 feet (12.2 m) apart on both sides of the street, either halfway between the sidewalk and the curb, or on the outer side of the sidewalk and the property line.
- Front yards should avoid excessive planting for a more pleasing and unified effect along the street (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, '03, pp. 92-93).

In 1938, FHA began to offer reviews and redesigns for neighborhood plans submitted to them (Lucy, Phillips, 2006, p. 253). Figure 10 is such a case

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

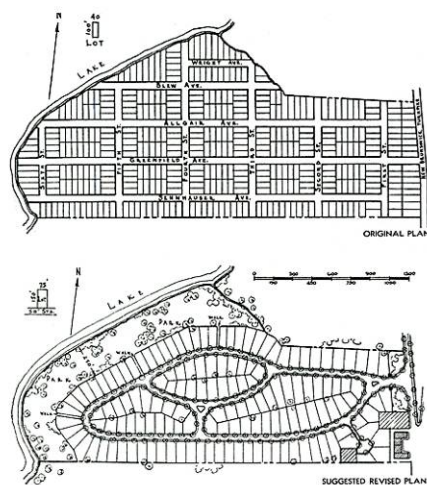


Figure 10 – A subdivision redesign from FHA's 1939 *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (Hayden, 2003, p. 124)

from their 1939 publication *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (Hayden, 2003, p. 124). Although the lake side park (left edge) and the apparent non-residential uses (right edge) of the “Suggested Revised Plan” (bottom one) are improvements, the elimination of all of the street connections that exist in the “Original Plan” seriously restricts the transportation mode options to the automobile alone.

As of 1941, local planning commissions in thirty-two states were legally in charge of the standards that subdivision developers had to meet. Interestingly, a survey of 200 cities found that in those locales, all of the guidelines were strikingly similar. Basically, local officials just adopted the recommendations of the FHA. Thus, the Federal Housing Administration standards would go on and shaped many residential developments in the United States from that point on (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1997, pp. 88-89).

Although it did plan redesigns, the Federal Housing Administration was not a formal planning agency. Instead, most of those who worked at FHA were representatives of real estate and lending institutions. Thus, their strict guidelines seemed non-coercive to private enterprise; the guidelines

were viewed as just sound business practices (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 90-91).

This leads us to a third key participant in the suburban transportation dilemma—**subdivision developers**. For them, the combination of FHA's tremendous financial clout and construction-business orientation made it difficult, and seemingly unnecessary, to refuse the administration's dictates (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 90-91). Although many local planning commissions throughout the country adopted subdivision standards similar to FHA's, the housing industry feared that these organizations would make their lives more difficult. In response, the National Association of Real Estate sponsored the Urban Land Institute (ULI) in 1939, a planning and land development research entity. A consultant to the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), ULI discouraged radical departures for FHA guidelines, but pressed local agencies to allow for less infrastructure, such as roads, sewers, and power lines (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 96-98).

Figure 12 comes from the NAHB's 1976 publication *Cost Effective Site Planning – Single Family Development*. In the document, they recommended that: “In general, short loop streets and cul-de-sacs should provide the majority of frontage opportunities for single-family dwellings” (p. 27).

Note how in Figure 11 the residential sections are separated. Because of their organizational location, they are called “pods.” According to Philip Langdon, they are in large part a result of the

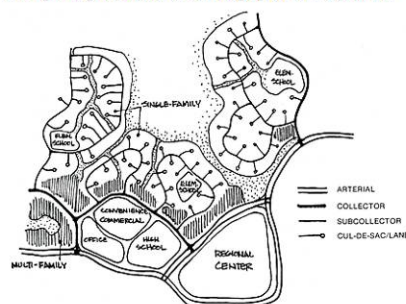


Figure 11 – A NAHB street hierarchy illustration from 1976's *Cost Effective Site Planning – Single Family Development* (p. 26)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

marketing concept called “market segmentation.” In essence, each “village” has a different type of housing that targets persons of different, moderate-to-high socio-economic levels. These enclaves usually have only one entrance, and pedestrian access, even to neighboring pods, is usually not included in the design (Langdon, 1994, pp. 65, 68, 72-73).

An important guiding document for builders was *Residential Streets*. Jointly produced by the NAHB, ULI, and the American Society of Civil Engineers, it was published in 1973 and 1990. In the newer version, they state that:

Residential Streets, Second Edition is based on the premise that the design of a residential street should be appropriate to its functions. A residential street's functions include not only its place in the transportation system but its role as part of a residential community's living environment (p. 20)

They go on to explain the hierarchy of street classifications. Highest to lowest, they are:

Arterial – (It is) a high-volume street that should have no residences on it. Its function is to conduct traffic between communities and activity centers and to connect communities to major state and interstate highways.

Collector – As the principal traffic artery within residential or commercial areas, the collector carries relatively high traffic volumes and conveys traffic from arterial streets to lower-order streets. Its function is to promote the free flow of traffic; as such, communities should not encourage parking or residences along a collector. The collector's secondary function is to serve abutting land uses. A collector street may also accommodate public transit such as buses.

Subcollector – (It) provides passage to access streets and conveys traffic to collectors. Like the access street, the subcollector provides frontage and access to residential lots but also carries some through traffic to lower-order (access) streets. The subcollector is a relatively low-volume street.

Access Street – Sometimes called a place or lane, the access street is designed to conduct traffic

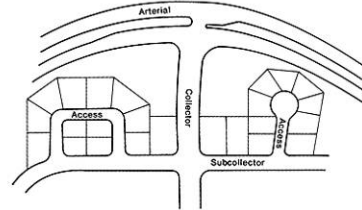


Figure 12 – The street hierarchy from 1990's *Residential Streets*
(ASCE, NAHB, and ULI, p. 26)

between dwelling units and higher order streets. As the lowest-order street in the hierarchy, the access street usually carries no through traffic and includes short streets, cul-de-sacs, and courts. The cul-de-sac, a dead-end street with a turnaround area at the end, is used extensively because it provides a quiet, low-traffic environment, eliminates through traffic, and permits the efficient use of the land.... Access streets are noteworthy for their complete lack of through traffic and for the fact that they serve only a few dwelling units. Subcollectors usually serve more dwellings and carry a small volume of through traffic to one or more access streets” (pp. 25, 27).

Figure 12 is a graphic from *Residential Streets* showing the differences.

Finally, when it comes to neighborhood accessibility, they say:

Entrances to residential areas from arterial streets should be designed to allow convenient access without encouraging through traffic, yet should provide for safety and convenient turning. If a collector street allows access to community facilities, retail areas, and arterial streets, it may require more than two moving lanes, with turning lanes located at major access or discharge points.

Opinion differs as to whether a residential area should have one or several entrances from arterial streets. The advantages of multiple access points include reduced congestion and internal travel volumes as a consequence of alternative routes; diffusion of the development's traffic impact to the external road system; and continuity in the

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

internal street system for service, delivery, and maintenance vehicles (such as snow plows). The advantages of a single access point include elimination of through traffic and short-cutters, increased security, and a greater sense of community identity (p. 30).

The practice of using cul-de-sacs and loops in their developments has an additional marketing benefit that construction companies are no doubt aware of but do not probably discuss much. The story of Jane Kershner helps illustrate what can occur. She moved with her family from Michigan to Highlands Ranch, a new developed area south of Denver, Colorado (Bullfrog, 1999). Kershner:

“Obviously, we’re real interested in getting a community that we felt would be good to have the kids in. But, we also wanted to live ... *feel* like we’re living in the country or a little bit. Have some views, have some open space around us.

One morning, I woke up and looked out



Figure 13 – Jane Kershner
(Bullfrog, 1999)

the back. There were bulldozers grading and I was ... devastated” (Bullfrog, 1999).

According to planner Mike Hughes, who was around when the Highlands development was first proposed, says:

“People move here thinking that the open space that’s right next to ‘em is going to stay that way, and, they find that, pretty quickly, that that isn’t open space at all. It’s the next subdivision that looks just like this one” (Bullfrog, 1999).

Basically, by almost exclusively using dead-end cul-de-sacs and looped streets, housing developers present to prospective home buyers the illusion that undeveloped land just beyond the neighborhood the buyers are considering is going to remain untouched. If, however, the developers used streets with dead-end stubs, which would eventually continue the street into the next developed section, then prospective home buyers would clearly have an indication that something was planned for the land beyond. Figure 15 is an aerial image that not only shows this replacement of countryside by housing, but also Highland Ranch’s curvilinear, dead-ending street system.



Figure 14 – New homes are being constructed on land that once was just “countryside” to earlier residents of Highlands Ranch, Colorado
(Google Maps, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

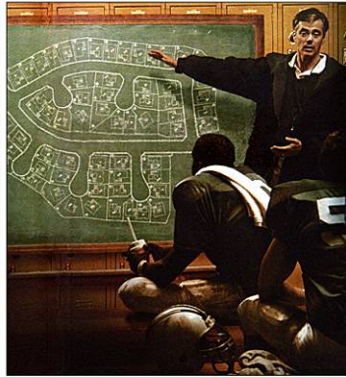


Figure 15 –
An illustration
from
Builder
magazine
using
football as
a metaphor
(Barkat, 2007,
pp. 11, 86-87)

As noted to some extent already, **architects and planners** have a hand in all this, as well. One early important figure – Le Corbusier – was a European Modernist architect in the early 1920s. Discarding historic street concepts, he and colleagues started a “machine-age revolution.” Cities would be designed for fast and efficient vehicle travel, and cars and pedestrians would be kept separated. “The street is a traffic machine; it is in reality a sort of factory for production speed” he once stated. Le Corbusier also said that: “Traffic is a river; traffic can be thought of as obeying the same laws as rivers do” (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 79, 81-82).

Fellow Modernist Ludwig Hilberseimer once detailed a lower-density community with square, hierarchical streets, separated land-uses, and residential street cul-de-sacs (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 79, 82).

About this same time, American architects Clarence Stein and Henry Wright were planning a community in Fairlawn, New Jersey. Called Radburn, the project was designed with an eye on rising car usage. “The flood of motors had already made the gridiron street pattern, which had formed the framework for urban real estate for over a century, as obsolete as a fortified town wall...” Stein expounded. Two huge super-blocks formed the basis of Radburn residential areas, with their interiors containing pedestrian paths and park space. In addition, on the exterior, all homes were situated

on short dead-end streets. Stein mentions that at that time, all realtors and most planners could not fathom a solely residential street. It was “contrary to the fundamentals of American real estate gambling” (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 70-73).

Another influential planner was Clarence Perry, who formulated the “The Neighborhood Unit.” It had six main principles:

1. Sufficient population to need an elementary school; on 150 to 300 acres
2. Bounded by wide (120 foot right-of-way) arterials to prevent through traffic
3. Streets large enough for internal movement only
4. Parks and recreation areas
5. Schools and other community structures placed in the center
6. Shopping districts located at edges, street junctions, and next to neighboring neighborhoods (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 76-77)

Figure 16 is one of Perry’s illustrations (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 77).

In her 1961 book *The Life and Death of Great Cities*, Jane Jacobs comments on these professionals in general. She explains that “a growing number of planners and designers have come to believe that if they can only solve the problems of traffic, they will thereby have solved the major problem of cities.

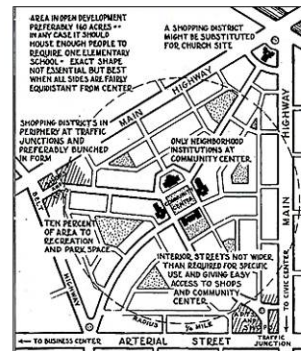


Figure 16 –The Neighborhood Unit concept
(Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 77)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

Cities have much more intricate economic and social concerns..." (pp. 10-11).

Addressing urban planners in more recent times, Alexander Garvin thinks that they often make good-hearted efforts to improve society, but fall short because they do not line up the needed political and financial support, plus, do not specify who will do implementation. In addition, people in general need to get away for thinking that if a project is a success (e.g. many cars on a new road), then that means *overall* planning is being successful, as well (Garvin, 2002, p. 1.6-1).

Over the past five decades, planning has suffered for various reasons, according to journalist Philip Langdon. Key reasons are:

- ◊ Embracing Modernism in the 1960's helped lead to failed projects
- ◊ Relinquishing to private interests their responsibility to determine the built environment
- ◊ Focusing on doing the planning process (i.e. holding hearings); becoming "application-acceptors and permit-dispensers" (Langdon, 1994, pp. 77-78)

Planners, Langdon feels, need to better understand the physical places they are working with to achieve "compelling purpose and vision, something that planning has sorely lacked in recent years" (Langdon, 1994, pp. 84).

Two final major groups remain that should be mentioned with regard to conventional neighborhood design and our transportation problems. The first is **consumers**. While discussing suburban sprawl and auto-dependency, urban planner Dom Nozzi suggests that one main

reason we cannot solve the problem of traffic is because we, people in general, do not want to admit *our own* role – a "self-indictment" (p. 137). Many Americans want the following:

- ✓ Own a single-family house
- ✓ Own an automobile
- ✓ Be close to nature (Kotval, Mullin, 2006, p. 83)

Of course, all those cars cause traffic that can disrupt the quality of life in our single-family home, so, we prefer homes on cul-de-sacs. One Irvine, California-based home builder estimates that houses on cul-de-sacs can earn 5% more than others. As an example, the national median price for a unit in April 2006 was \$223,000. The added profit would be \$11,000 (Efrati, 2006).

The second, final important group is the **private corporations involved in car culture**: auto companies, oil producers, tire manufactures, etc. Although all benefited from overall suburban sprawl development, which is very car-dependent, their gain from conventionally designed residential neighborhoods is more fixed. Yes, other modes of transport are fairly impractical because of the street layouts, but, the greater distances needed to travel and the more congested arterials make automobile use much more unpleasant for people.

As we have seen, the origins of our mass numbers of conventional residential neighborhoods and their subsequent adverse effect on our ability to get around are numerous. To understand our options to solve this dilemma, academics have been at work on various research endeavors. We will look at three of those.

THE STUDIES

In one recent project, Chang Yi and Ming Zhang of University of Texas' Community and Regional Planning department looked at how a traditional grid patterned neighborhood compared to two different, cul-de-sac filled suburban areas. Their stated emphasis was not on the *types* of streets that make up the neighborhoods, but on each area's connectivity and accessibility (2006, p. 3). They note that many newer suburban neighborhoods are fragmented and lack a community feel to them. Addressing these problems has been a focus of an important movement in America called *New*



Figure 17 – The American ideal - a family, a house, a car
(Dregni, Miller, 1996, p. 25)

B. *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation* (continued)



Figure 18 – The layouts of the three Houston-area neighborhoods. Boxes indicated area covered by aerial images

(Yi, Zhang, 2006, p. 17; Google Maps, accessed: 3-3-08)

Urbanism. Since its inception in 1993, New Urbanists have promoted the use of the traditional grid street pattern as a way of overcoming these suburban ills (p. 6).

The three Houston-area neighborhoods studied

are: 1. Houston Heights (urban grid; 1,500 acres), 2. Grand Lakes (suburban cul-de-sac; 1,400 acres), and 3. Panther Creek Village (suburban cul-de-sac; 1,700 acres) (pp. 8-9). The layouts of the three appear in Figure 18.

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

They state their major findings as follows:

- Street connectivity was the highest in the neighborhood with the grid street pattern [Houston Heights].
- While the grid street neighborhood [Houston Heights] created large walkable areas around major destinations, master-planned communities promoting pedestrian travels [Grand Lakes], even though cul-de-sacs are primarily utilized in their designs, had overall better accessibility than the grid urban form.
- Between the two cul-de-sac-based neighborhoods, the urban form designed with neighborhood unit concept and pedestrian trails [Grand Lakes] had higher connectivity and accessibility than the urban form without such design [Panther Creek Village] (p. 12).

They go on to say that:

“Our intent was to see if a creatively designed cul-de-sac neighborhood could achieve the benefits of both grid and cul-de-sac street patterns. The results of the analysis indicate that the interconnected pedestrian trails possibly promoting pedestrian activities have the potential to create a residential environment that would satisfy the demands of New Urbanists and developers” (p. 12).

In addition:

“Essentially, we find that what type of “street” is designed in a neighborhood may not be important for accomplishing high accessibility and street connectivity. Rather, those desirable characteristics of urban form can be independent of a particular street pattern” (p. 13).

The most significant points illustrated by Yi and Zhang’s study are that: 1) grid-based paths to a central location are a little longer than paths in a radial-based pattern, and, 2) including separate pedestrian paths in a cul-de-sac based neighborhood does offer more walking opportunities than without those paths. However, neither of these points is really that startling.

Yi and Zhang’s bigger conclusion about the principles of New Urbanism being fairly met by the inclusion of pedestrian paths is way over simplifying. The more-complex New Urbanists’ principles are at three levels: the region, the neighborhood, and the building (Calthorpe, Fulton, 2001, p. 279). From their charter, key principles that are relevant here are:

Regional Level

- ❖ The metropolitan region is a fundamental economic unit of the contemporary world. Governmental cooperation, public policy, physical planning, and economic strategies must reflect this new reality.
- ❖ The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence upon the automobile.

Neighborhood Level

- ♦ Neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian friendly, and mixed use.
- ♦ Many activities of daily living should occur within walking distance, allowing independence to those who do not drive, especially the elderly and the young. Interconnected networks of streets should be designed to encourage walking, reduce the number and length of automobile trips, and conserve energy.
- ♦ Concentrations of civic, institutional and commercial activity should be embedded in neighborhoods and districts, not isolated in remote, single-use complexes. Schools should be sized and located to enable children to walk or bicycle to them (Calthorpe, pp. 283-284).

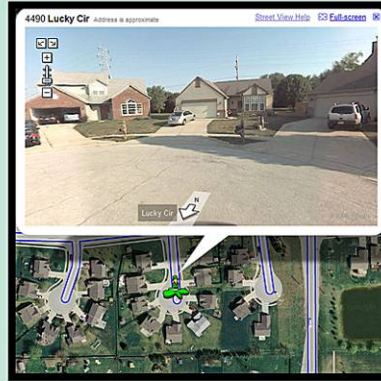
One important point that Yi and Zhang miss is the idea of a regional transportation system. To have better covered this, they could have included mass transit bus stops as destinations in their analysis. How far do people have to walk to reach these?

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

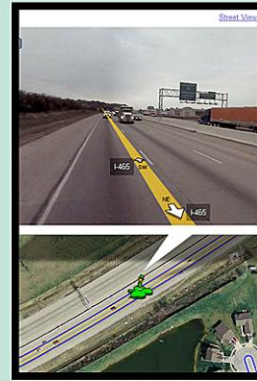
Box 2

TREASURE MAP

One feature of the Google Maps website is something called "Street View." When you move a person icon around to a highlighted street, you can see images of what is in the vicinity.



Around St. Patrick's Day, the icon was a leprechaun. For homebuyers, a house on a cul-de-sac can seem like "a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow."



Caution: if you place the little Irish guy on a nearby freeway, his luck may just run out!

Images 7,8

Additionally, although they point out that "interconnected pedestrian pathways" could "possibly" encourage walking, they gloss over the fact that residents in Grand Lakes, the cul-de-sac neighborhood with paths, would still have to drive to do things like shopping. Plus, their inclusion of foot paths as "additional street miles" was improper; vehicle and pedestrian routes should be calculated separately.

Yi and Zhang themselves make two other points that weaken their overall conclusion even more. First, they clarify the walking distance analysis did not "differentiate between different levels of pedestrian-friendliness of streets" (p. 11). Second, and more significantly, they point out that "(u)nlike the Grand Lakes and the Panther Creek Village neighborhoods, the Houston Heights neighborhood is not surrounded by major arterials that block foot traffic, and thus, the behavioral boundary of the neighborhood is not obvious" (p. 8). Basically, Houston Heights residents can more easily walk to *any* destinations beyond their neighborhood boundaries, not just the ones included in this study.

Comparing conventional, traditional and "neotraditional" developments was the focus of a study by planners / landscape architects Michael Southworth and Eran Ben-Joseph. Unlike

conventional suburban neighborhoods, neotraditional ones are supposed to be denser; have more land uses; support public transit, pedestrian, and bicycle modes; and, have a more connected street pattern (p. 105). The three they analyzed are: Elmwood, in Berkeley, California (1905, traditional); Kentlands, outside Gaithersburg, Maryland (1989, neotraditional); and, Laguna West, near Sacramento, California (1990s, neotraditional) (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 106-114). Figure 19 (next page) illustrates their street layouts.

In general, Elmwood, the traditional neighborhood, is still more connected to the outside and easier to get around (even with 7 cul-de-sac-creating barriers) than the neotraditional developments of Kentlands and Laguna West. However, the two newer areas do fair better in these regards than most *conventional* suburban neighborhoods built from the 1960s to the 1980s. Yet, neotraditional designs still have higher infrastructure costs than conventional ones; costs which get passed on to home buyers (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 113-114).

In addition, Southworth and Ben-Joseph conclude that: "Computer modeling suggests that a neotraditional street network will function more efficiently than a conventional suburban network by

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

increasing route choice,” and, thus, traffic is not automatically loaded onto one street. However, additional vehicle through movement may disrupt the neighborhood’s ability to increase walkability and sociability (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, ‘03, pp. 114-115).

They go on to point out that, despite connected,

visually-interesting pedestrian routes, Kentlands is rather automobile dependent. For example, although the majority of houses are a 5 to 10 minute walk (0.25 to 0.5 miles) from a store, “marketing demands” forced that retail mall to be placed on the other side of a major arterial (see Kentlands inset,

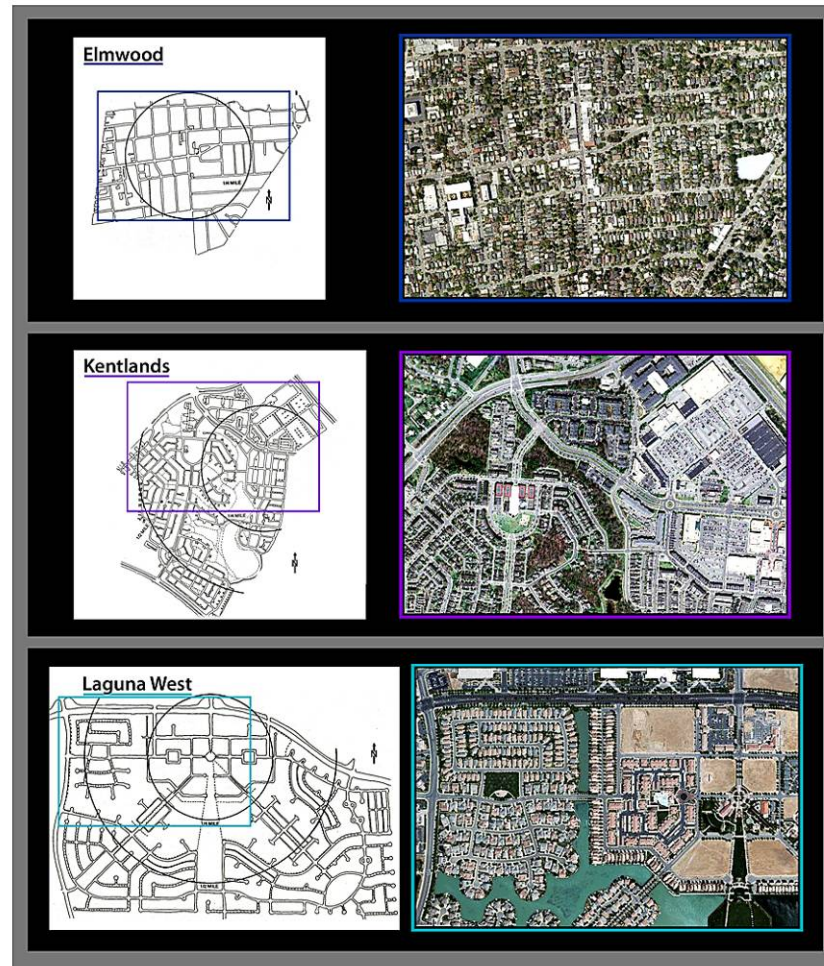


Figure 19 – Street configurations for Elmwood neighborhood, and Kentlands and Laguna West developments. Boxes indicated area covered by aerial images

(Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 107, 109, 110; Google Maps, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

Figure 19). Laguna West is in worse shape. Interestingly, this is the case in spite of the fact that both projects were designed by prominent New Urbanists. Even without exclusive pedestrian and bicycle paths, Berkley's Elmwood is still easy to get around without a car, and it's convenient, centrally located College Avenue retail section is doing well (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 116, p. 106).

Overall, Southworth and Ben-Joseph conclude that neotraditional projects "represent modest improvements over most conventional suburban planned unit developments" (2003, pp. 117).

Seeing if there is a causal link between the built environment and travel behavior was the purpose of a study by Xinyu Cao, Patricia Mokhtarian and Susan Handy. More specifically, their work would try to answer these two questions:

- 1) Are changes in the built environment associated with changes in travel behavior, after taking multiple interactions into account and controlling for socio-demographics, attitudes, and preferences?
- 2) To what extent does residential self-selection explain individuals' travel behavior? (2007, pp. 535, 536)

Four "traditional" and four "suburban"

residential neighborhoods in Northern California were analyzed. Sacramento's pair, the traditional Midtown and the suburban Natomas appear in Figure 20. From New Neighborhoods Contact Service, two databases were compiled. One was of "movers," people who had in the last year moved into the neighborhood, and the second was of "non-movers" (p. 539).

From each group, 500 were randomly selected for each traditional area and each suburban area (8,000 total). The fall 2003 survey resulted in 1,682 responses. Unfortunately, a design flaw (non-mover auto ownership not measured) forced the reduction of the sample size to 547 (pp. 539). Two additional short-comings they note are that both changes in attitudes and feedback loops between attitudes and the built environment could not be gauged. Besides socio-demographic questions, the surveys measured:

- *Travel behavior*
- *Neighborhood characteristics*
- *Neighborhood preference* and present area
- *Travel attitudes* (pp. 539-542).

After surveys were returned, accessibility to "institutional" (e.g. a bank), "maintenance" (e.g. a grocery store), "eating-out," and "leisure" (e.g. a theater) were assessed for each person. Network distances were computed and input into ArcGIS.



Figure 20 – Sacramento's traditional neighborhood, Midtown (left) and suburban neighborhood, Natomas (right). Boxes indicate aerial photo location (Handy, 2005, p. 38)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

Measures for accessibility included: variety of businesses within a set distance; distance to nearest of each kind; and, number of one type of establishment with a given distance (p. 540).

Analysis was done through the construction and running of structural equation models (SEMs).

Figure 21 illustrates the conceptual model *driving & walking*. Key conclusions from this study are:

1. **Residential self selection significantly impacts (directly and indirectly) travel behavior.** Specifically, neighborhood preferences and/or travel-related attitudes: a) directly affect neighborhood choice, which then influences travel behavior, and b) directly affect auto ownership, driving behavior, and/or walking behavior even after influences of the built environment are accounted for.
2. **Changes in the built environment associate with changes in travel behavior in a statistically significant way.** This is even after controlling for present attitudes, socio-demographic changes, and account for multiple interactions. "Specifically, our models point to increases in accessibility as the most important factor in reducing driving" (p. 554).

Cao, Mokhtarian, and Handy go on to state that "the effects of built environment variables on travel behavior are similar to or larger than those of socio-demographics, suggesting that the influence of the built environment is not only statistically significant but also practically important" (p. 544).

Obviously, this study by Cao, Mokhtarian, and

Handy takes on numerous, complex questions in a systematic but complex way. Both main findings are interesting. Basically, people

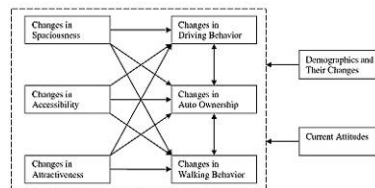


Figure 21 – The conceptual model for *driving & walking*. The factors inside the dash box are endogenous (Cao, Mokhtarian, Handy, pp. 549)

appear to choose a residential neighborhood with a certain type of travel behavior in mind. However, the built environment actually steers them towards or away for various types of traveling modes.

With all this research helping spur things along, what exactly are the neighborhood built-environmental changes needed to solve our transportation problems?

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

As mentioned earlier, New Urbanism and the ideas of smart growth are presently getting a lot of attention as the future of urban/suburban planning. Figure 22 presents two pairs of new urbanist illustrations of "discouraged" and "preferred" neighborhood street designs.

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) came up with a similar, but more grid-like construct. At its core is the "residential quadrant," which is about a 0.25 mile square (40 acres)

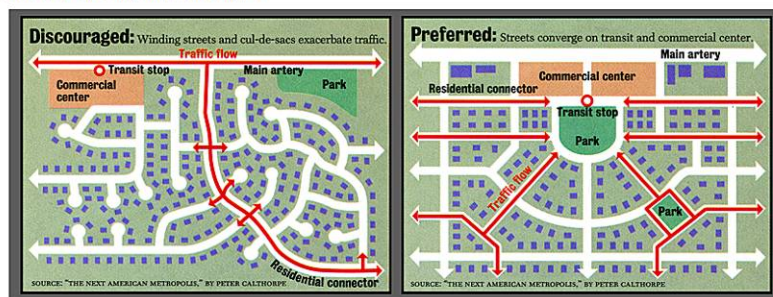


Figure 22 – New Urbanist's "discouraged" (left), and "preferred" (right) residential neighborhood designs (Newsweek, 1995, p. 549)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

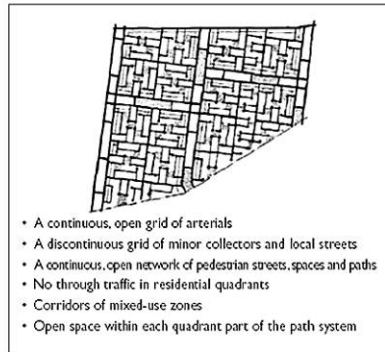


Figure 23 – CMHC's residential quadrant-based development concept
(CMHC, p. 8)

bounded by two collector and two arterial streets. Figure 23 is what a residential quadrant project could look like.

Moving to build new, green field developments based on the preferred concept – as New Urbanists and CMHC suggest – would definitely be a step in the right direction. In fact, communities and local governments throughout the United States are beginning to bar in new developments a main component of the discouraged, conventional design – the cul-de-sac. Around 90% of Oregon's 241 cities have altered their laws to restrict cul-de-sac use. Numerous smaller municipalities in the Philadelphia area have tightened rules or put in bans (Efrati, 2006). In Cary, Illinois, community officials still allow them, but developers must pay \$6,000 from any cul-de-sac, with the cost passed on the home buyers. The fee is in large part a response to the \$20,000 more in maintenance than regular streets need (Kane, 2007).

The move by planners and developers to shift away from cul-de-sac and loop residential street pattern concept in new subdivisions is an important step in helping address urban/suburban transportation problems. However, what about all of the conventional neighborhoods already put in place over the past fifty years?

Many involved in the planning and transportation seem to agree that something must change there, as well. Architects/planners Peter

Calthorpe and William Fulton think that “(t)he transformation of our existing suburbs, whether first-ring or newer areas, is fundamental to realizing a healthier regional form,” and that “mobility can be enhanced, and the lack of connections can be mended” (2001, p. 195).

Smart Growth Network, a conglomeration of engineers, planners, legal experts, and government officials (among others), put forth 10 general areas to address in its document *Getting to Smart Growth II: 100 More Policies for Implementation*. Smart growth Principle 4 is “Create walkable communities,” with Policy 10 under that being: “Retrofit superblocks and cul-de-sac street networks.” The suggested solution is for localities to “remove barriers and connect sidewalks and trails to services and places to which residents would usually drive” (p. 38).

Planners/architects Michael Southworth and Eran Ben-Joseph feel “(n)ew pathways could be designed to interconnect cul-de-sacs” (2003, p. 135). Journalist Philip Langdon also says that “(e)xisting cul-de-sacs might be connected to each other, allowing pedestrians and bicyclist, if not vehicles, easier movement.” He also thinks that commercial developments should have their sidewalks and “in some instances streets” extended to nearby residential neighborhoods (1994, pp. 235, 233).

Urban planner Dom Nozzi expresses similar thoughts: “pedestrian and bicycle path connections should be created between schools, shopping areas, parks, and neighborhoods, including connecting at the ends of cul-de-sacs” (2003, p. 100). From his book *Road to Ruin*, Figure 24 shows the idea.

Interestingly, one thing that is not brought up

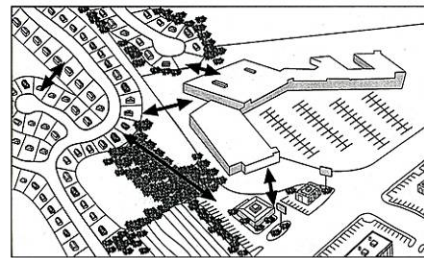


Figure 24 – Nozzi's graphic of possible pedestrian/bicycle paths linking housing and commercial areas
(Nozzi, 2003, p. 100)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

much in all of the discussion is the connecting dead-ends to other streets. And, apparently there is not a great effort to do so, either. As *Wall Street Journal* writer Amir Efrati puts it, “suburban planners aren’t trying to retrofit existing cul-de-sacs” (2006).

The reason this idea is not being brought up more often is because it would be really hard to do. Historian, and author of *Building Suburbia*, Dolores Hayden explains: “Introducing new urban design guidelines is uphill work; renovation of existing spaces is even harder” (2000, p. 175). More bluntly, planners William Lucy and David Phillips state: “Once cul-de-sacs are in place, connecting them for through traffic - and through pedestrian passage - is murderous politically” (2006, p. 260).

One of the biggest factors in making this difficult is that we very likely have to demolish people’s homes in order to make the connections. Of course, this is something that *should only be done* because *it has to be done*. Given the considerable evidence presented in this paper so far, it is clear that *it will have to be done*.

Though more justification is not needed, there are two additional compelling reasons that we need to improve our transportation options and reduce our over-dependence on the automobile.

BIG-PICTURE PROBLEMS

“America is addicted to oil,” proclaimed President George W. Bush in the 2006 State of the Union Address (CNN, 2006). Because of this fact, we need to be very worried about the peaking of global oil production. It was been concluded by many scientists studying petroleum reserves, that extraction rates will soon be leveling off and start to decline. “The peak will be a watershed moment, marking the change from an increasing supply of cheap oil to a dwindling supply of expensive oil,” explains *National Geographic* writer Tim Appenzeller (2004, p. 88).

In fact, we may have already crested. “I think it’s between 2005 and 2007. That’s what my model shows” said Ali Samsam Bakhtiari, a planning official for National Iran Oil Company, back in May, 2003 (The Electric Wallpaper, 2004). Figure 25 is a graph showing various estimates of when the crest is expected to occur.

How will American car owners react to a major gasoline price jump? “Their immediate, natural gut reaction will be that they’ve been jipped by somebody...,” says Dr. Colin Campbell, author of *The Coming Oil Crisis*. “(W)hen people feel themselves defrauded or conspired against, they often over-react...” he continues “...simply because the unfortunate people have not been properly told” (The Electric Wallpaper, 2004).

Unfortunately, at a time when we are facing imminent oil decline, demand in the United States is increasing, *and* the global demand is climbing, as well. In particular, the burgeoning economies of China and India, and their massive populations, are getting thirstier and thirstier for oil.

“We – all of us – now face a universal threat” explains former vice president Al Gore about global warming and the associated climate change – the second compelling reason (Gore, 2007). Most climate scientists now agree that the earth’s overall temperature has been increasing over the last century, and that humans, and our burning of fossil fuels, is the main reason for it.

Many Americans became very aware of this environmental crisis because of Gore’s 2006 documentary film *An Inconvenient Truth*. The movie would continue to bring attention to the global heating issue as it went on to win the best

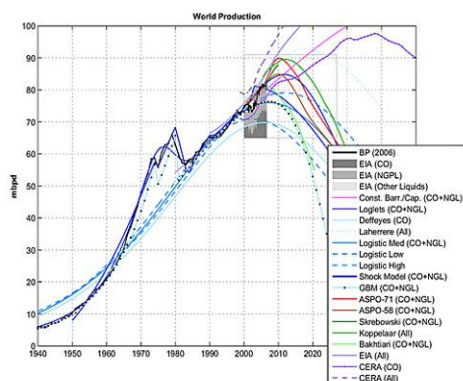


Figure 25 – The predictions of various global petroleum production models. Note, in the 1970s, U.S. production peaked
(www.theoil Drum.com, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)



Figure 26 – Did the packed parking lots at theaters showing *An Inconvenient Truth* make the movie producers happy or angry?

documentary Oscar, and would earn Gore, sharing with many climate scientists, the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize.

FURTHER DEFINING THE ISSUE

Besides understanding the compelling need to improve the efficiency of our transportation system, we must also realize that the placing of streets where people homes once were in conventional neighborhoods is not as extreme as it may seem initially when you consider two things. **First**, Americans generally believe that government's use of eminent domain to claim land is appropriate when some important public need is being met, such the building of a school, library, or *roads*. Of course, in the 1960s through 1980s, when large freeway projects were put into place, many residents, often the poor, had to move to make way for these projects (Figure 27). Nothing that extreme would need to be done today.

The **second** reason is that, in reality, when these housing subdivisions were originally designed, they *should have* included many more streets connecting to the outside than they actually did. In a way, what occurred was *the taking of public land by private interests*.

The significance of public right-of-ways is expressed in a City of Portland, Oregon, planning document from 1982:

- A. The public right-of-way is an important resource and the utility of the right-of-way shall not be impaired. The City shall discourage private ownership or use in the public right-of-way.
1. The public right-of-way provides for the movement of pedestrian and vehicles, and for open space, landscaping, light, air, and vistas. As an important public resource, the public right-of-way should not be easily given up for private ownership or use.
 2. The street level sidewalks are the primary pedestrian circulation system and encroachments should not be permitted which adversely affect this system (Bureau of Planning, p.4).



Figure 27 – Many Southeast Portland, Oregon, homes were removed by Interstate 205 in the 1980s
(Kimball, 2006; originally The Oregon Historical Society)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

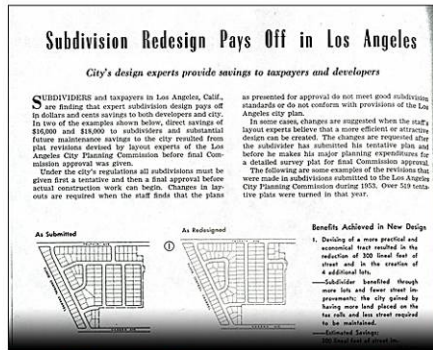


Figure 28 – The 1954 article that set off a lengthy discussion in *The American City* magazine (p. 102)

To illustrate the concept that public right-of-ways were taken for private gain, let us look back at a give-and-take that happened in the fall and winter of 1954-55 in *The American City* magazine. In September, the publication ran a story entitled “Subdivision Redesign Pays Off in Los Angeles” (Figure 28). It touts the big financial savings gained by local taxpayers and project developers that came from “plat revisions devised by layout experts of the Los Angeles City Planning Commission...” The biggest change was that of the total street area and connections being reduced, resulting in more land of additional lots (1954, p. 102).

Four months later, *The American City* ran a response by Joseph G. Conrath, in which the engineer attacks the revisions in design. It was accompanied by a rebuttal by Los Angeles’ director of planning Charles B. Bennett, and Carlton Block, a city planning analyst. Here are three points made by Conrath, and the L.A. official’s response:

Conrath:

Most early American cities, laid out by sound-thinking surveyors and engineers, before the day of experts, follow the well-know grid pattern. The grid pattern served pedestrians, horse and buggy, and then the automobile, without too much confusion or excessive

circular movement.

Bennett and Block:

Why has the modern-type subdivision become so popular throughout the country? Certainly it’s not because the planners have foisted it upon the people. On the contrary, it’s the people and the subdividers who have demanded a more attractive environment than provided by the monotonous layout of the grid pattern.

Conrath:

A growth of real estate promoted developments under the new system, conforming to the text of your article, which is followed in a good many cities, is leading more and more traffic into grossly inadequate number of continuous travel arteries. The condemnation and construction of new “thru” relief highways is not prorated to the cost of the many subdivisions of the type the article promotes, all of which have played a big part in forcing such superhighway planning.

Bennett and Block:

The tremendous increase in traffic in most cities is not related to subdivision patterns, but rather to the growth in population and the steadily increasing number of motor vehicles on the highways. Spreading this traffic on all streets, including local residential streets, is hardly the logical solution to this problem.

Conrath:

They (the experts) also forget that while a single subdivision may be at the edge of town this year, that 50 other uncoordinated subdivisions will stack up behind it over the next 100 years, all loading traffic, procuring water and electricity, and discharging sewage into a few overloaded trunk arteries which become the life-lines of their existence.

Bennett and Block:

In reply to this rash statement, we can assume that with proper subdivision control the subdivisions of the future will be *coordinated* with the land-use pattern of the city, rather than

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

"uncoordinated." Furthermore, the overloading of highways and utility lines has no bearing on whether the street system is entirely of the grid or of the modern-design subdivisions. Such overloading could occur with equal possibility under either plan.

(Conrath, 1955, p. 148; Bennett, Block, 1955, pp. 148-149)

Conrath also states that "many planners are becoming short-range thinkers." Bennett and Block counter: "The planner, in contrast (to the engineer), must not only keep in mind the point of view of the engineer, but he must also consider each problem from the standpoint of the architect, the economist, and the sociologist," and that "they are ever striving to improve existing conditions, even though it may require a departure from the 'horse and buggy days'" (Conrath, 1955, p. 148; Bennett, Block, 1955, pp. 148-149).

This fascinating debate would not end there, however. In the February 1955, *The American*

City published a letter by consulting engineer Thos. H. Wiggin. Given the title "Subdivision Planning – Stubs for Cul-de-sacs," it stated:

As one with past experience of a good many years as member and chairman of the planning commission of a rapidly growing suburb, I was interested in the discussion in your January 1955 number, pp. 148-9, on "Subdivision Redesign Pays Off."

Our planning commission frowned on cul-de-sacs and emphasized constant watchfulness to compel developers to provide stubs to be later connected with other stubs so as to provide through connections to arteries laid out on the master plan.

There was a constant pressure to approve cul-de-sacs, partly because families with young children strongly preferred houses

Box 3

DREAMS AND LINES OF COLOR

Cul-de-sac streets keep people apart. Of course, not that long ago, that was an openly stated policy in many

places in the United States. For example, in post-World War II Atlanta, new subdivisions for blacks were not

to be linked to areas of white residents, and "greenbelts" were required between the two (Image 9). All so that "Negroes may build and live without racial and economic conflict to strive with all of us for a more prosperous and more democratic community" (Atlanta Housing Council, 1947).

African Americans also could not get federally insured home loans for minority neighborhoods, which were "redlined" on

maps as being bad investments. In this discrimination, "the degree of state complicity was really quite striking," says scholar Jonathan Kaplan (Hannah-Jones, 2008).

Although they were prevented on several occasions, Sally and James Williams (Image 10) were eventually able to use his GI Bill to purchase a home in 1950s Portland, Oregon. Unfortunately, many other blacks were denied that opportunity (Hannah-Jones, 2008).

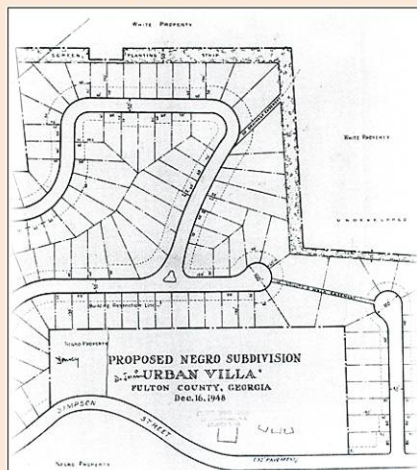


Image 9 (Atlanta Housing Council, 1947)



Image 10 (Judith Pitre, 1964)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

located on them and partly because developers generally bought small tracts, often widely separated from other tracts that were in line for later development, and they could squeeze out another lot or two if no stubs for future road connections were provided. The planning commission had to employ draftsman to make hypothetical layouts of future development in order to intelligently prescribe the stubs, and occasionally regretfully yielded the point with the thought that some time in the future a house or two would have to be torn down to permit a connecting street (Wiggin, 1955, p. 7).

That future has arrived. Regretfully, some homes will have to be torn down in order to fix this mess we have gotten ourselves into.

ADDRESSING PERCEPTIONS

What the public thinks and understands about the problem of conventionally designed neighborhoods is important. There is a saying in sociology that: ‘Something that is *perceived* as real, even if it isn’t, is real in its consequences.’ Accordingly, myths must be addressed.

One important myth, already addressed in this paper to some extent, is that the circuitous, cul-de-sac residential streets have no impact on an area’s traffic congestion. An example of perpetuating that myth can be found in an article by *The Kansas City Star*. It did an analysis of 40 regional suburbs with regard to quality of life factors. For many good, fairly-unrelated-to-our-topic reasons (e.g. school quality), South Overland Park came out on top. Yet, it is noted in the piece that at the heart of the community’s success is the residential cul-de-sac. However, with regard to South Overland

Park’s evolution, the writer says that “(t)here were a few missteps in the process – notably, the side-effect of congestion,” and that “(i)ronically, in some circles, all these suburban ills (e.g. “high accident rates”) get blamed on cul-de-sacs” (Spivak, 2005). Basically, it is being implied that cul-de-sacs do not help cause congestion or make some other problems worse. Cul-de-sac streets *do* make traffic congestion and some other problems, like arterial accident rates, worse.

Part of South Overland Park is represented in the aerial image Figure 29.

A second myth brought up in *The Star* report is that cul-de-sac streets make children’s lives so much safer. In their book, *Tomorrow’s Cities, Tomorrow’s Suburbs*, William Lucy and David Phillips address this matter extensively, finding no “direct evidence about the relative safety of grid and cul-de-sac street networks.” They also mention a Washington State study that learned that the leading cause of death for pedestrians younger than five years old was not from speeding through-traffic, but rather from being slowly backed over in the street or driveway, usually by a parent. Also, in general, children pedestrian deaths are a very small percentage of the total pedestrian fatalities (2006, p. 259).

Lucy and Phillips also argue that using cul-de-sacs as both play areas for kids and vehicle avenues sends children a confusing message which



Figure 29 – South Overland Park, Kansas, is considered a superb suburb. However, its arterials are congested and dangerous (Spivak, 2005) (Google Maps, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)



Figure 30 (mosaic) – Cul-de-sacs are still vehicle travel avenues, so having small children not play there is probably better for safety sake (Base from Google Maps, 2008)

hinders their ability to make sound street safety judgments in the future. In addition, they conclude that by making arterials wider and destinations further away, thus requiring car travel, cul-de-sacs increase the riding-in-vehicle danger and walking-across-the-street danger for *everyone* (2006, pp. 258-332).

A third myth that needs addressing is that neighborhoods with many cul-de-sac streets will automatically mean slow travel speeds for vehicles. As mentioned in one of the studies we reviewed, Laguna West is a New Urbanist-styled development near Sacramento. For those living on one of its numerous dead-ends, traffic speeds are not much of an issue. However, for those living on wide collector streets, speeders have become a real problem (Ewing, 1999, p. 182). Vehicle travel rates were so high in a conventionally design Bellevue, Washington, neighborhood, that speed humps were put in to slow traffic (Figure 31). It should be noted that, in general, most of the traffic on residential streets is generated by the residents of that neighborhood (Homburger, et.al., 1989).

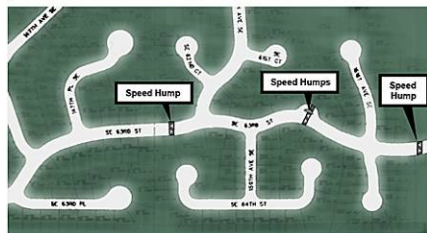


Figure 31– Speed humps added to a Bellevue, Washington, local street to reduce speeding (Base from Ewing, 1999, p. 107)

A final myth worthy of mention is the idea that cul-de-sacs create a close community. First of all, car use, made almost mandatory by dead-ends, discourages human interaction. Second, even if people do get to know their immediate neighbors, a “community” is much more than that. It was mentioned in *The Star* article that South Overland Park residents have a low rate of voting in local elections (Spivak, 2005). Thus, by this measure, they are *less* involved in the local community.

Furthermore, sociologist Richard Sennett thinks being geographically segregated from other groups makes it difficult for persons to develop the necessary skills needed to deal with real differences people have (Langdon, 1994, p. 74). Similarly, scholar Amitai Etzioni says “(t)he consensus of sociological and psychological work supports the basic notion that isolation – whether the product of urbanization, mass society or other phenomena – erodes the mental stability necessary for individuals to form their own judgments and resist undue external pressure and influence. Thus, individuals require community...” (Langdon, 1994, p. 21).

Now, people who live on cul-de-sacs should not get overly defensive. As it has already been clearly shown in this paper, many factors have contributed to our present situation. Besides, we all have competing goals and desires, and some times they come into serious conflict without us realizing why. In our case, the desire to live in a quiet, safe neighborhood comes into conflict with the desire to drive around unimpeded. Research has shown that people talked differently when they perceived themselves as an observer from the outside or as a user of a vehicle. As outsiders, people said nothing good about cars, but as insiders, they were safe areas permitting flexible transport to “social commitments” (Guiver, 2007).

Similarly, point-of-view bias became evident in Berkeley, California, when a grid street system was restricted through vehicle traffic using new dead-end-creating barriers. Naturally, local residents stronger supported them, while they were very opposed by outsiders who were losing a possible travel route (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, p. 135).

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)



Figure 32 –
A “quiet,
respectable
neighborhood”



Figure 33 –
Mr. Walker, “an
average man”



Figure 34 –
Mr. Wheeler,
“motorist”

The 1942 Disney short *Motor Mania* illustrated our competing desires quite well. As the male narrator describes: “Mr. Walker lives in a quiet, respectable neighborhood” (Figure 32). He is an “average man” (Figure 33). However, when he gets into his automobile, “Mr. Walker is charged with an overwhelming sense of power; his whole personality changes.” Mr. Walker becomes *Mr. Wheeler*, “motorist” (Figure 34).

Despite the seemingly overwhelming lack of desire to actually start connecting cul-de-sac streets, we need to immediately move our planning in that direction.

WHAT NOW

To better visualize the process that will need to take place with regard to making our conventional neighborhoods more conducive to many different transportation modes, not just the automobile, let us consider the opposition situation. As we have already seen, the pure grid street pattern allows tremendous through movement of vehicles, sometimes to great detriment to local livability. To counteract this problem, engineers, about 40 years ago, came up with *traffic calming*, which is:

(T)he combination of mainly physical measures that reduce the negative effects of motor vehicle use, alter driver behavior and improve conditions for non-motorized users (Ewing, '99, p. 2).

Seattle's Stevens Neighborhood was the first to have traffic calming devices placed in it in 1971. In the initial demonstration, 50-gallons drums created diagonal diverters (Figure 35-a). However, this made for inconvenient, indirect trips of residents. To correct this, traffic circles replaced two of the diverters, and one diverter was modified to allow for turns to the north (Figure 35-b). To accommodate emergency responder worries, additional fire hydrants were

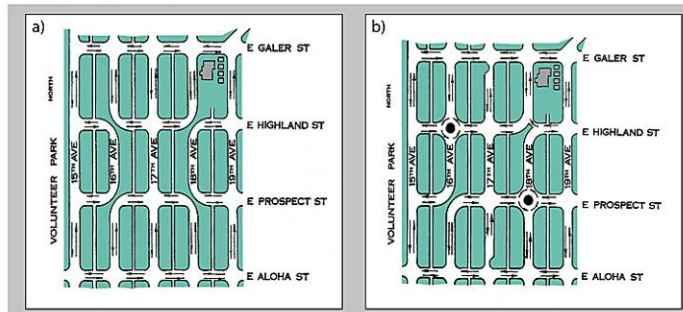


Figure 35 – a) The original traffic calming configuration in the Stevens Neighborhood, and b) the permanent composition
(Ewing, 1999, p. 14; modified)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

added and the diverters were designed passable by their vehicles. Traffic accidents dropped and residents were basically happy with the results (Ewing, 1999, pp. 14-15).

Practical lessons learned from the Stevens demonstration were:

- Testing complex areawide [sic] treatments before implementing them permanently
- Assessing public support for the treatment
- Conducting before-and-after studies of traffic impacts
- Including traffic accidents among the impacts studied
- Working with emergency services to address their concerns
- Opting for the conservative designs that will do the job (Ewing, 1999, pp. 14-15)

Obviously, in redesigning our cul-de-sac-based developments, we need to follow all of the principles; principles, had they been applied when all of these subdivisions were actually planned and built, could have saved us from a lot of pain now. Fortunately, some communities have already done some connecting on a small scale, which can give the rest of us some guidance.

EXAMPLES OF IMPLEMENTATION

Eleven years ago in Marshfield, Massachusetts, city officials decided to connect an existing cul-de-sac, Metacomet Way, with a proposed one to the east, linking Metacomet to Valley Path. Naturally, residents were opposed to the idea, with one expressing: "Cul-de-sacs are important item if you have kids." Opponents also cited a 1988 Planning Board decision to keep the street a dead-end. However, officials pointed out that the designation permitted a paved road if the land beyond was ever built on, as in this instance (Reid, 1997).

At a town meeting, Planning Board Chairwoman Kathleen Sferra gave the city's position. "It's a town road. Our responsibility is to make connections between streets in proposed subdivisions with those in existing neighborhoods. We're doing connections whenever feasible. We're trying to establish a sensible street layout" (Reid, 1997).



Figure 36 – Metacomet Way now extends past its original ending circle all the way east to Valley Path

(Google Maps, 2008)

The result is evident in Figure 36 – Metacomet is no longer a dead-end (Google Maps).

In Oregon, Forest Grove and Cornelius city planners put forth in 2000 the idea of extending Heather Street 824 feet west from Cornelius to next door Forest Grove. The plan, under consideration for two decades, came under fire by residents. A representative of a manufactured-home neighborhood stated: "When they open up that street, it's going to make more problems" (Anderson, 2000).

"Everybody wants to live on a cul-de-sac," mentions Forest Grove City Manager John Greiner. It's obvious it's going to be a through street someday, so be realistic. In reality, we have to do what's best for the whole community" (Anderson, 2000). Looking at Figure 37, we see they did.

Taking a proactive, long-term approach is



Figure 37 – Forest Grove and Cornelius are now joined by an extended Heather Street (Reitz, 2008)

(Google Maps, 2008)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)



Figure 38 – Erin Lane once was a cul-de-sac, but was “punched through” when it became necessary (Google Maps, 2008)

Norfolk, Massachusetts, outside Boston. Local officials began to deal with cul-de-sacs back in the late 1980s. Basically, they required dead-ends in new residential subdivisions to be set up in a way that would allow the street to be “punched through” to a street in even-newer neighboring developments. Planners also limited cul-de-sacs to 500 feet and seven lots or less (Bristol, 2005).

Erin Lane once was a dead-end, but is now connected. Living at Erin’s intersection with Berkshire Street (Figure 38), resident Scott Biron likes that he is now part of a larger community, mentioning “I know everybody, if not by name, by sight” (Bristol, 2005).

“Children can bicycle for miles and never leave a neighborhood street,” explains Daniel Winslow, chairman of the panel that established the street



Figure 39 – In Apex, North Carolina, connecting and dead-ending streets are being built (Google Maps, 2008)

guidelines. “They can visit their friends from other neighborhoods without going on the main roads. Residents can take walks that go somewhere... There’s multiple links into multiple neighborhoods, just knitting neighborhoods together” (Bristol, 2005).

Finally, referring to Figure 39, visually we can see that in Apex, North Carolina, connecting streets and cul-de-sacs are both being made in this residential area (Google Maps, 2008).

So, at the macro-level, what do we need to do policy wise to effectively correct this lack of street connectivity?

BETTER UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRACY

In their book *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches* (2006, MIT Press), Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal conclude the United States has become more polarized politically in the last thirty years. “Polarization is, for short, a separation of politics into liberal and conservative camps,” and the Democrats and the Republicans have become almost synonymous with each camp, respectfully, they explain. They go on to say that the American political process has become very polarized in large part due to an increased gap between the rich and poor (p. 3).

Polarization has affected policy creation because fewer political moderates exist who can help craft new legislation that will get passed into law. According to Deborah Stone, politics is mainly about two things: 1) Obtaining and maintaining power, and 2) solving problems (1997, p. 2). What we have had over the last several decades is an overemphasis on the first at a cost to the second.

To help guide us toward a healthier balance, let us consider several ideas about democracy and social change by various American philosophers. One such person is Mary Parker Follett, who wrote in the early 1900s. She felt that majority rule is only “democratic” when it approaches an “integrated will” (1998, p. 142). Democracy is really founded on the interactions between individuals, and that the best way to get real democracy is to have *all* people contribute to a

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

“collective idea” of how things ought to be (1998, p. 19).

Writing about two decades later, John Dewey stated the following:

The existence, even on a relatively narrow scale, of a morale of fairmindedness, intellectual integrity, of will to subordinate personal preference to ascertained facts and to share with others what is found out, instead of using it for personal gain, is a challenge of the most searching kind. Why don't a great many more persons have this attitude?

The answer given to this challenge is bound up with the fate of democracy (p. 57).

For Dewey, the use of a *scientific approach* is required to improve society. Some of the qualities of this method are:

- A. Willingness to hold belief in suspense
- B. Ability to doubt until evidence is obtained
- C. Willingness to go where evidence points instead of putting first a personally preferred conclusion
- D. Ability to hold ideas in solution and use them as hypotheses to be tested instead of as dogmas to be asserted
- E. Enjoyment of new fields of inquiry and of new problems (p. 56)

Finally, Martin Luther King, Jr., was the proponent of the non-violent social movement and lifestyle. One of the key principles of non-violence was that “it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his (or her) friendship and understanding” (1958, p. 18).

Thus, if we as planners, policy analysts and policy makers objectively attempt to study the built environment, present to everyone what we find, and make sure not to force upon anyone a decision that he or she does not see considerable validity to, then, we can make progress in this area.

Promisingly, examples in the area of political leadership following these general principles do exist. One is Charlotte, North Carolina, Mayor Pat McCrory. When he initially ran for the office in 1995, he did not have public transit and land use policy on his agenda. However, a report outlining future congestion, and attempted walks with

nephews changed things. “We had no connectivity or pedestrian access – just total reliance on the car,” he explains. He got a sales tax increase to fund a new regional transit system, including the new the South Corridor line. Even though there have been complaints for conservatives (cost overruns) and liberals (wrong location), McCrory did win election to his record sixth two-year term as mayor (Peirce, 2007; City of Charlotte, 2008).

Another case is that of U.S. Representative Brian Baird of Washington State. He is the chair of the House’s science committee, and is doing research to better understand people’s behavior as it relates to energy consumption. The goal is to use social science knowledge and its ties to technology, to formulate more effective energy policies (Kosseff, Sickinger, 2007).

At the state level, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has taken the lead in promoting “green” policies. “Schwarzenegger is (the nation’s) environmental pitchman, making the fight against global warming accessible, palatable and relatively painless to big-living Americans...” says Karen Breslau of *Newsweek* (2007, “The Green Giant,” p. 52). Initially when in office, he was somewhat polarizing, but the governor has transformed himself into a builder of consensus (Breslau, 2007, “The Green Giant,” p. 56). On his policy-making style, Schwarzenegger states, “...I’m not into criticizing people and looking for what is bad. I look for what is good” (Breslau, 2007, “We Are a Nation-State,” p. 60).

Lastly, in 1997, U.S. Representative Earl Blumenauer of Oregon founded the House Livable Communities Task Force. Federal policies it



Figure 40 – Bi-partisanship is needed to solve our pressing transportation problems (Ward, 2007, p. 11A)

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

would back include ones that:

- Require local community involvement in government decisions at all levels and provide communities with the tools and resources to solve their own problems.
- Focus on partnerships among and between local government, non-profits, and citizen groups.
- Promote alternative forms of transportation and increased housing and employment opportunities to citizens with disparate backgrounds and needs.

On finding examples of livable communities, Blumenauer explains that “every place has a little gem, a little neighborhood, a small town, something that really shows on a human scale connectivity and how the pieces fit together (Lindstrom, Bartling, 2003, p. 236).

A GENERAL PLAN

In order to get us out of this predicament regarding conventional neighborhood street design and transportation, here are key steps that should be taken:

- I. The public needs to know the seriousness of the problem, with the federal government taking the lead in getting the message out.

As a part of this, a program could be started promoting the positive aspects of adding street connections. Called *Connect for Flexibility*, citizens would get help in relocating and gain recognition for allowing their homes to be removed for the betterment of the nation and

planet.

Figure 41 is a logo concept for such a program.



Figure 41 Author, 2008

- II. Local governments of all kinds in and around our

major cities need to start working more closely together since roads and cars are a part of a region-wide transportation system.

Conventional neighborhoods with the best argument for *not* removing cul-de-sacs are: 1) it is unnecessary because of the natural landscape (e.g. steep inclines or natural water bodies), or 2) residents no longer choose to use private motorized vehicles. Since cars and roads are both needed to make autos a practical regional transportation component, auto users living on any street, even private ones, must connect to be a part of it.

- III. Planners must engage residents and get their input on how it is best to do the necessary redesigns of street networks.

- IV. Early physical, on-the-ground changes would include: new through collector and local streets; new paths for walkers and bike riders;

and street calming devices.

Figure 42 shows a hypothetical example.

- V. Later built-environment changes would include: the narrowing (or “dieting”) of nearby arterials, with the acquired land possibly being given back to neighbors, or converted to a rapid

Box 4

WHERE???

When planners start presenting proposed locations for where dead-end streets should be connected, local residents may well tell them to go “elsewhere.” However, officials need to realize that it is a *real* place in Oregon (Image 11).



In frustration, planners may throw up their arms and say they have to do it “somewhere,” and wonder “where else?” Of course, those are also dead-ending streets, which happen to intersect with Elsewhere.

Image 11

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)



Figure 42 – A hypothetical area is transformed first by adding street and path connections, then by adding higher-density housing, more land-efficient retail, and a new light-rail line, among other things (Base from Google Maps, 2008)

bus or light-rail line; the changing of zoning near main intersections to allow neighborhood retail and other services; and, higher density housing near those same main intersections.

THE ROAD AHEAD

The circuitous, cul-de-sac dominated subdivisions that have proliferated over the past forty years were in many ways a response to the shortcoming of the traditional grid street pattern as they relate to automobile traffic. Sadly, as we have seen, they have proven to be a far too extreme response to the problem.

What we must realize, as well, is that this crisis situation we are facing is not the result of some massive plot. Yes, there were some nefarious things that took place along the way, but for the most part, people simply were trying to do their best given their skills and knowledge.

To move forward, we are going to need more skill and knowledge than was employed in the past. The Institute of Transportation Engineers put forth this view in their book *Residential Street Design and Traffic Control*:

In solving the conflicts that exist on residential streets, it is essential that designers develop compromises and consider

tradeoffs. Professionals with creative ingenuity can design streets to serve several groups' needs within limited space ('89, p. 21).

Dan Chiras and Dave Wann, coauthors of the 2003 book *Superbia! – 31 Ways to Create Sustainable Neighborhoods*, summarize the work as follows:

Creating sustainable neighborhoods will require flexible thinking and a willingness to experiment, but it can be an adventure that adds purpose and excitement to our lives. The truth is, we need fresh ideas that will carry our neighborhoods through the challenges and transitions that lie ahead (p. 2).

Finally, we finish with a quote from a report by the President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, which sums up the present predicament rather well:

The suburbs do not stand alone. They are an integral part of the great metropolitan areas where two out of three Americans already live. Help to the troubled central city and the suburb must move in parallel. Without the improvement of both, all will suffer (*Time*, p.15).

Of course, the president of the group's title is Lyndon Johnson, and the year was 1968.

B. Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

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C. Executive Summary of: *Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF: CONVENTIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS AND TRANSPORTATION

[Eriks Zarins; April 23, 2008]

Eriks Zarins / Oregon State University / Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies / April 30, 2008

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS AN INCREDIBLY CAR-DEPENDENT society. This over-use has led to inefficiency, with congestion adding 4.2 billion hours of travel time and wasting 2.9 billion gallons of gasoline in 2005 (Schrack, Lomax, 2007, p. 8). Surprisingly, congestion has been a continuing problem in spite of the fact that our expanding urban/suburban areas have become *less* dense people wise. To help explain this, we consider “the most important new urban form of our times”: “the housing subdivision” (Rugg, 1972, p. 64).

THE PROBLEM

“Clusters of residential subdivisions with only one entry” force traffic onto arterials, “which quickly become congested because the lack of connectivity and alternative routes,” explains the Urban Land Institute (2004, p. 22). The street patterns in these new “conventional neighborhoods” (right side of Graphic 1) were a change from earlier grid-like designs (left side).



Graphic 1 (Base from Google Maps)

ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM

A big source of our present situation is the 1960’s “Modernist schism,” which professionally broke apart the earlier way of thinking of streets, which was as: 1. circulation route, 2. public space, and 3. built frontage (Marshall, 2005, pp. 3, 7). As a result, **traffic engineers** designed roadways primarily for vehicle movement, at a cost to other transportation modes and uses.

The **federal government** has also played an important role, starting in the 1930s. Besides promoting comprehensive planning and discount mortgage banks, it created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). In FHA’s 1936 Bulletin on *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses*, it rejected grid street patterns for residential areas, instead, embracing *curvilinear*, *cul-de-sacs*, and *courts* (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1997, pp. 77-79, 90, 84-85).

Subdivision developers would abide by the FHA rules, in part because the agency was made up of industry members, but also because they were keen on getting increased short-term profits.

Consumers are at fault, as well, by not scrutinizing more closely how their desire for a quite, safe home-life conflicted with other people’s desire to drive about unimpeded, and vice versa. **Car culture companies** – auto, oil, tire, etc. – are somewhat to blame, but conventional residential street patterns really are a mixed-bag for them.

THE STUDIES

One Houston-area project concluded: paths increase pedestrian accessibility in cul-de-sac filled areas, and, thus, satisfy the principles of New Urbanism (Yi, Zhang, 2006). However, this second conclusion is off since New Urbanism, in theory, is more demanding with regard to the availability of transportation-mode options. Another study found that two New Urbanist “neotraditional” developments were slight improvements to conventional neighborhoods, but still much less efficient than a traditional neighborhood (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 2003, pp. 106-114). A third, Northern Californian study found that people select neighborhoods with a travel options in mind, but that the built environment *steers* their travel behavior, as well (Cao, Mokhtarian, Handy, 2007, p. 554).

C. Executive Summary of: Conventional Neighborhoods and Transportation (continued)

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Building new, green-field developments based on a preferred concept is helpful, and many experts suggest pedestrian connections. However, most fail to state what is really necessary: the connection of existing dead-end streets to other streets for more modal options. This is not suggested more often because it is politically controversial. Yet, we need to do this.

BIG-PICTURE PROBLEMS

The two additional compelling reasons for action are the peaking of global oil production, which will make gasoline more expensive, and, global warming and its associated climate change.

FURTHER DEFINING THE ISSUE

Removing people's homes to make street connections is not as drastic as it sounds at first because: 1) eminent domain has historically been used for needed public projects, and 2) more streets should have been in built initially, as a long 1954-55 debate in *The American City* shows.

ADDRESSING PERCEPTIONS

Four myths about cul-de-sac neighborhoods are: 1. they have no effect on traffic congestion, 2. children are safer, 3. internal traffic speeds are slower, and 4. creates better "communities."

NOW WHAT

To help us better know the steps needed to open up conventional neighborhoods for greater mobility, we should look at the reverse situation: traffic-calming of traditional, grid neighborhoods.

EXAMPLES OF IMPLEMENTATION

Marshfield, Massachusetts, Forest Grove and Cornelius, Oregon, and Norfolk, Mass., have all successfully connected dead-end cul-de-sacs with nearby streets.

BETTER UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRACY

America has been politically very polarized, resulting in less worthwhile policy. To change this, it is helpful to remember the key democratic principles of inclusion, objectivity, and compassion. Promisingly, Mayor Pat McCrory, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and U.S. Representatives Brian Baird and Earl Blumenauer are examples of positive political leadership on transportation and community design issues.

A GENERAL PLAN

The federal government needs to take the lead, including a program that promotes street connections (Graphic 2 is a possible logo). Working with residents, planners would devise a regional plan that first adds new streets and paths, then later some higher-density housing, narrowed arterials, and light rail.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Pure grid pattern residential streets made auto use too easy, but conventional, cul-de-sac-based street layouts are too extreme in the other direction. Correcting this mess will require skill and knowledge, but is well worth the effort.



Graphic 2

Author, 2008

SOURCES

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D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon



D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 1 - The Made in Oregon Sign sits atop the White Stag Building, at the west end of the Burnside Bridge. To the left is the U.S. Bank Corp. Tower

OCCASSIONALLY, A COMMUNITY IS PRESENTED WITH AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY to evaluate what values it collectively holds and what identity it wishes to have. Portland presently faces such an opportunity. At the request of the University of Oregon (UO), Ramsay Signs Inc. on December 29, 2008, submitted to the city's Historic Landmarks Commission a plan to change the "Made in Oregon" Sign to say instead "University of Oregon" (Seimers, 2008). The reference number for this case is LU 08-191800 HDZ, and the city planner in charge of reviewing the case is Mark Walhood (mwalhood@ci.portland.or.us).

On March 9th, 2009, the commission met and heard from staff, the applicants and members of the public. Wanting to consider the matter further, the commission decided to meet again on April 6, 2009.

In order to help along the process, this paper will address important related issues. There are four main sections after this introduction. Section I - Background will have a recounting of: the UO in Portland, the applicant's justification, and the case so far. Section II - An Appropriate Message discusses the **Emphasize Portland Themes** criterion and how that applies. Section III - Becoming Historic will look at the **Historic changes** and related criteria, and apply those. Finally, Section IV- A Path Forward presents some ideas of what to do next and states a conclusion. In addition, there are a few boxes on related matters along the way.

Cover image: Author, June 2003

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

I - BACKGROUND

UO IN PORTLAND

The University of Oregon's presence in Portland began when it established the University of Oregon School of Law in 1884 and University of Oregon Medical School three years later (UO, 2009; Klooster, org. 1987, p. 124). In 1914, it also opened in Portland the School of Commerce and Industrial Survey, whose mission was to identify markets for products made in Oregon (UO, pdx.uoregon.edu, 2009).

The fates of these three are varied. In 1915, after 31 years, the School of Law would leave Portland for the college's main campus in Eugene. On the other hand, the Portland-based medical school would continue until 1974, when it formally broke ties with its Eugene-based parent. At that time, the medical school renamed its self to University of Oregon Health Sciences Center. However, to more



Figure 2 - A yellow rose greeted visitors to the UO's first modern-era Portland location at S.W. 2nd and Yamhill



Figure 3 - The Made in Oregon Sign's location

accurately represent this independent status, the name was again changed 1981, this time to Oregon Health Sciences University (Klooster, 1987, p. 125). What became the School of Commerce and Industrial Survey is unclear.

The UO would reestablish an official presence in the Rose City with the opening of its University of Oregon - Portland Center in the Willamette Building at 722 S.W. Second Avenue in 1987 (Figure 2) (Graves, 2008, p. B1). Elements included classes, offices and UO merchandise outlet.

In 2003, UO officials began looking for a new site to base their Portland operations. The United States government's 511 S.W. Broadway building was one place under consideration (Yim, 2006, p. D2). School officials would instead settle on moving into three buildings between N.W. Naito Parkway and N.W. First Avenue, and N.W. Couch Street and W. Burnside Street (Figure 3). While retaining the Willamette Building, the new center is comprised of the Bickel (1883), Skidmore (1889), and White Stag (aka Hirsch-Weiss) buildings (Figure 3). The

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

properties are owned by the Venerable Group, which bought them from the Bill Naito Company in 2006 (Hill, "The Dawn...", 2008, p. 2)

ATTEMPTING TO MEET CRITERIA

To get their sign change request approved, Ramsay Signs and the University of Oregon must convince the Landmarks Commission its proposal meets several standards. One group of such standards is called the Central City Fundamental Design Guidelines. Within these guidelines, criterion A2 is called "Emphasize Portland Themes." In their *Narrative*, the applicants explain that they meet this in the following manner:

The sign has historically represented the tenant occupying the building it sits on. Chronologically White Satin, White Stag then Made in Oregon and now University of Oregon have occupied this building. The University has done extensive improvements to the building and surrounding blocks. The outlines of the State of Oregon and the reindeer and it's [sic] red nose have been a long standing Portland tradition (p. 1).

In their *Project Description* ("Addendum A to Narrative"), the applicants further detail their case:

History of the Sign: The sign located above the Hirsch-Weiss Building. Now today as the Made in Oregon sign, was designated a local historical landmark by the Portland Historical Landmarks Commission in 1978. It was originally constructed by the Ramsay Sign Company in 1940 for White Satin Sugar. In addition to the "White Satin" lettering the sign included an outline of the state of Oregon in neon and bulb lettering. In 1950, the sign converted to the White Stag Company Sign. This modification included changing the lettering from "White Satin" to

"White Stag," the addition of a stag at the top of the sign, bulb lettering for the primary text, and a "sportswear" sign area towards the bottom of the sign. The lighting for the red nose was added as well creating the seasonal ritual for the deer now known as "Rudolph." In 1997, the "White Stag Sportswear" was changed to "Made in Oregon Old Town" in order to identify the commercial occupant of the building.

Commercial Nature of the Sign: As indicated in the history of changes described above, the sign has always been used for commercial purposes and reflected the commercial occupant of the Hirsch-Weiss building. The 1997 Staff Report to the Portland Historical Landmarks Commission (LUR 95-00426 DZ), which supported the modifications to establish the "Made in Oregon" sign, recognized the commercial purpose of the sign and the need for a commercial purpose to be established so the required funding to light and maintain the sign can be justified. The result of the 1997 hearing was to once again change the commercial message of the sign to "Made in Oregon" in order to identify the commercial occupant of the building. So the sign has been changed throughout its life to reflect the current uses of the building. With that series of changes in mind, the University of Oregon desires to continue that tradition in its request to alter the text of the sign to "University of Oregon" so the historic sign can once again reflect the current use of the building.

Maintain the Iconic Sign: The 1997 Staff Report reflects an understanding of the commercial value of the sign by stating "...it is the sign's role as a commercial promotional vehicle that has been primarily significant...Without modifications that foster

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

income, economic use of the site is precluded, and the sign, ultimately, would be lost."

Currently the future of the sign is in jeopardy. The Made in Oregon Company is no longer located in Old Town and is no longer leasing or paying to maintain and operating [sic] the sign. The University of Oregon has been paying for the sign lease and maintenance since January 2008. In order to preserve this historic icon, the UO plans to purchase the sign and ensure its continued community enjoyment by maintaining and lighting the sign - including lighting Rudolph's red nose during the holiday season. But it can only justify doing so if - as it has done throughout its history - the sign can be modified to reflect the building's current use, as the University of Oregon's landmark facility in Portland's historic Old Town.

There are many different claims made here by the applicants. To begin the analysis, we will first consider what the city's staff was found.

STAFF FINDINGS / MARCH 9TH MEETING

As mentioned earlier, Mark Walhood is the City of Portland planner in charge of reviewing the case. Entitled *Staff Report and Recommendation to the Landmarks Commission* (Case File: LU 08-191800 HDZ - White Stag Sign), his analysis was completed on February 27, 2009.

With regard to most of the criteria that the city staff deemed to be relevant to this request, it was concluded that expectations were met. However, there were criteria that staff concluded was not met. The first group is:

G. Approval criteria based of the Standards of the Secretary of the Interior: 1. Historic character. 2. Record of its time. 3. Historic

changes. 4. Historic features. 5. Historic materials (p. 15).

The second group is:

G. Approval criteria based of the Standards of the Secretary of the Interior: 7. Differentiate new from old. 8. Architectural compatibility. 9. Preserve the form and integrity of historic resources. 10. Hierarchy of compatibility.

The third group is:

Central City Fundamental Design Guidelines: C11. Integrate Roofs and Use Rooftops. C12. Integrate Exterior Lighting. C13. Integrate Signs.

The reasons that staff concluded that all these criteria were not met deal with the same basic issues:

(C) concerns remain with regards to the character of the proposed lettering, specifically with regards to the loss of the unique cut-off 'g' and the upper-case 'E' of the current sign, the reduced size of individual letters, and the proportional crowding of the interior sign text within the frame. The existing 'Made in Oregon' text re-cycled the historic, upper-case 'E' done in a lower-case size from the White Stag sign, and this historic feature would be removed. Similarly, the historic 'g' in Oregon, with the lower part of the letter missing, was also re-cycled from the White Stag sign, and this feature is also being removed. Therefore, with regards to the removal of these quirky historic letters, these criteria are not met.

In addition, the proposal for new interior text within the sign proportionally crowds the sign frame, in a manner inconsistent with both the existing sign, and the previous 'White Stag' version. The 'Made in Oregon' and 'White Stag' letters both included capital letters approximately 11'-0" tall, and lower case letters 5'-6" tall. The

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 4 - An illustration by the applicants of the proposed lettering change

proposed lettering includes capital letters approximately 8'-4" tall, and lower case letters 4'-6" in height. 'White Stag' included 9 letters, 'Made in Oregon' 12 letters, but 'University of Oregon' includes 18 letters, a full 50% increase over the current sign, and 100% more than the historic White Stag sign. In summary, although an imaginary rectangle drawn around the interior text is approximately the same size as before, the large number of letters proportionally crowds the sign frame as a whole (p. 16).

Staff makes several valid points with regard to the new lettering as comparing to the lettering that

has come before. However, a caution is in order. In all likelihood, staff is basing its visual assessments to a great extent on the illustrations presented to him by the applicants. Yet, these illustrations are fairly inaccurate with regard to the sign actual proportions, as Figure 5 (below) demonstrates. It appears that Ramsay Signs' drawings are based on a photo taken near the sign, but to one side (probably from the Burnside Bridge). Alternately, the photo taken by this author was from the east end of the Burnside Bridge, almost directly opposite of the Made in Oregon Sign. Thus, the photo contains far less distortion with regard to the signs proportions. [Note: this same distortion problem exists in the drawings submitted Ramsay Signs back in mid-1990s, as well.]

Before any decision by staff, the Landmarks Commission, and anyone else is made with regard to whether the new lettering fits properly into the State of Oregon frame, more accurate illustrations should be submitted by the applicants.

Staff goes on to suggest possible alternatives that could remedy the problems he found:

The words 'Made in' could be removed, for example, with 'Oregon' re-positioned on the sign and lighting re-sequenced (O-re-gon).



Figure 5 - a) A drawing by the applicants showing the present sign, b) a photo by this author of the present sign, and, c) the drawing is overlaid onto the photo, showing the inaccuracy of the drawing

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Other potential options that maintain the lettering size, overall proportions, and quirky capital 'E' and cut off 'g' could also work. Alteration of the text within the plaque at the bottom of the sign may be another potential avenue to achieve U. of O. identification. Through exploring these or other compatible options, the request may be able meet the mandatory historic review criteria, as well as community desires to maintain the beloved, iconic, landmark character of the current sign. At this time, however, the relevant criteria are not met, and the request should be denied.

With regard to the cut off 'g,' at the March 9 Landmarks Commission meeting, the matter came up and people speculated that it may have not been an official aspect of White Stag's brand. An advertisement in the July 31, 1955, *Oregon Journal* indicates the cut off 'g' was part of the company's official lettering. Figure 6 shows those words and logo (p. F 17).

There is an additional observation worthy of mention at this point. Staff states:

The historic character of the sign has also become specifically identifiable through the following features:

- A four-part light sequencing of the primary text, whereby a three-part cumulative sequence of neon outlines individual letters, followed by all letters



Figure 6 - White Stag's lettering and logo as they appeared in the summer of 1955

simultaneously being illuminated in neon outline and flashing clear lamps (p. 16).

He goes on to say:

Preservation of the sign's historic character is also achieved through retention of the unique light sequencing scheme... (p. 16).

In doing search at the Oregon Historical Society, this author uncovered a description of an alternate lighting sequence for the sign from when it promoted White Stag. The description is in a 1987 article by C. Clark entitled "Saga of the White Stag Sign," which appeared in the journal *The Webfooter*. The Webfooters are Portland-area postcard collector club. Clark explains that there are four "Rudolph" phases and 4 (of 5) postcards by Gloria Alten accompany these descriptions, which go as follows:

- 1 - Stag in blue w/ white stripes, solid white lettering for 'White Stag', and 'Sportswear' in solid red rectangle w/ yellow letters.
- 2 - Stag in white w/ blue stripes, outlined white letters for 'White Stag', and 'Sportswear' in individual red letters.
- 3 - Stag in white w/ blue stripes, solid white letters for 'White Stag', and 'Sportswear' in solid red rectangle w/ yellow letters.
- 4 - Stag in blue w/ white stripes, solid gold letters for 'White Stag', and 'Sportswear' in individual red letters. In this phase the state of Oregon outline is barely visible (p. 4).

The reason it may be important to point this out is because staff states that the "retention of the unique light sequencing scheme" helps preserve the historical character of the sign. Given the new

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

information, the historic sequence he refers to may only apply to more recent versions of the sign. This would be a good point to be clarified by someone more familiar with the sign, such as Ramsay Signs.

As for the March 9, 2009, Landmarks Commission meeting, two main themes dominated staff's and commission member's talking points:

1. The City of Portland, and by extension, the Historical Landmarks Commission, has no legal right to restrict the message that the applicants are proposing.
2. The only subjects that The Commission has any say on with regard to this proposal are dealing with the size and style of the lettering that the applicants are proposing to place on the sign.

On this first point, the subject is more nuanced. As for the second point, this is simply false. There are other matters covered by the guidelines that need evaluation by everyone, as well.

We will take a closer look at both of these, beginning with the first matter.

II - AN APPROPRIATE MESSAGE

FREEDOM OF SPEECH LIMITS

As already mentioned, at the March 9 meeting, the most prominent message expressed by commissioners and staff is that they have absolutely no right to dictate the type message the applicants, or anyone for that matter, can place on a sign. They cite that this is clearly stated in the Oregon Constitution, Article I - Section 8. From the Bill of Rights, that passage is:

Section 8. Freedom of speech and press.

No law shall be passed restraining the free expression of opinion, or restricting the right to speak, write, or print freely on any subject whatever, but every person shall be responsible for the abuse of this right.- (Oregon Blue Book, 2009)

Of course, freedom of speech is not a boundless right. Let us consider four examples.

The first, the well known example is the restriction on yelling "FIRE" in a crowded movie theater when there is no fire. The reason that such speech is forbidden is because that in the panicked rush to leave, moviegoers could be injured or trampled to death. So, basically, the speakers right to exclaim the message "Fire!" is superseded by the right of the other persons in the theater not to be exposed to unnecessary dangers.

Dealing more directly with messages on signs, **the second example is that of obscenity.** Commercial enterprises that sell adult-type products are allowed to advertise outside their establishments. However, they are not allowed to use very graphic illustrations or words. Figure 7 (pun unintended) is a sign at a local strip club.

Now, the definition of "obscene" will vary a little between communities, but there is a limit established everywhere. Again, the reason for this is because the right of the speaker to express a graphic sexual message is supplanted by the rights of others not to be harmed



Figure 7 - This sign illustration (slightly censored) is not "obscene" under Portland sign code

D. *The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon* (continued)



Figure 8 - In a clear attempt to counter act the mounting research showing the additive quality of cigarettes, this 1975 ad stresses "pleasure." Note the very small Surgeon General's warning in the lower right corner

by offensive visuals and words; with children especially the focus of protection.

In dealing with obscenity, society has given government strong enforcement power. However, there are cases where the government's power needs some help from the speakers in order to restrict a certain type of speech. This is the case with our **fourth example: The 1998 ban of tobacco advertising on billboards.** The ban was a part of what is commonly referred to as the "Tobacco Settlement," in which major tobacco companies agreed to pay \$ 206 billion to 46 states to clear up claims dealing with the harms of smoking (Meier, 1999, p.1).

How were these governments able to get these large corporations to 'give up' the right to advertise their legal product? Let us consider how knowledge and attitudes about smoking have changed over the years. Here is part of an editorial by The Oregonian from February 20, 1925 (p. 10):

The Oregonian would venture to congratulate the legislature upon its rejection of a measure to abolish cigarette advertising on billboards. We do not pretend that the cigarette is necessary to health and happiness. But of late there is a strong tendency, when someone feels like kicking a dog around, to kick the cigarette. If we so serve the cigarette, one of the mildest of smokes, why is it not

both expedient and logical to declare a jihad (sic) against all forms of tobacco?

However, by the mid-1990s, what society thought about smoking had change considerably do to a tremendous amount of scientific research. Studies had documented the incredible damage caused by smoking, including lung cancer and heart disease. In addition, internal documents revealed that the companies knew of the harms, yet did not modify products to eliminate those harms. Thus, these governments had tremendous clout to get the tobacco companies to agree to a ban on billboard promotions. Note that cigarettes can still be advertised with small signs in stores or in magazines, for example.

So, in the case of the 1998 tobacco billboard ban, the right of speakers was partially voluntarily withdrawn and partially restricted with governmental force; and it was done to keep others in society - again, especially children - from the harm that the speech would have promoted.

To see why this was the prudent move by society, consider this local example. In 1982, between SW Washington and Alder Streets on 2nd Avenue, a Camel cigarette billboard was displayed (Oregon Journal, p. 9). It featured a large, mustached man (chest-and-up only) who every 24 seconds pulls a lantern to his cigarette, then lets out a puff of smoke. Upon observing the sign, one man told an Oregonian reporter: "I think it's cute and original...I might

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 9 - After empty beer cans were found in a boat that was involved in a deadly accident, beer company officials withdrew these ads

bring my wife and kids down - they'd get a kick out of it" (Erickson, 1982, p. A1). Yes, he said "*kids*."

The fourth example deals with alcohol and motor vehicle operation. In 2005, after a Gresham man died in a boating accident where alcohol intoxication was a factor, a major beer manufacturer announced that it was pulling one of its billboard versions from the Portland area (Herzog, 2005, p. C9). The sign in question showed, among other things, a man on a jet ski, a large beer bottle, and the words "Get in Your Element" (Figure 9).

In this instance, the speaker voluntarily pulled the offending speech. This was done in part to avoid the likely calls for speech withdrawal by others, including the government. So, similarly as to before, the protection of greater society came before the speaker's right to express the speech.

What binds these four examples - 1) Yelling "FIRE" 2) obscenity, 3) smoking on billboards, and 4) alcohol and vehicles on billboards - is that the right of the speaker was supplanted by the need to protect others from the potential harms.

If the City of Portland were to make a legal case justifying the restriction of a message on a sign - in other words, curtailing free speech - it would have to do so in the same vain as these examples. Basically, it would have to say something like: 'Message X on

this sign will clearly bring harm to the citizens of Portland, and no municipality should be forced to permit harm to be inflicted upon its citizens.'

To summarize, the general view expressed by staff and the Landmarks Commission that The City is absolutely forbidden from controlling the message on any sign is not totally accurate. It is a complex issue, with the demarcation lines constantly being tweaked as new issues are confronted and resolved.

With regard to our debate, there is at least one criterion under consideration that deals with both the messages of signs and the promotion of Portland's well being. We consider it next.

THE POINT OF THE SIGN

Criterion A2 in the Central City Fundamental Design Guidelines (CCFDG) is stated as follows:

Emphasize Portland Themes - When provided, integrate Portland-related themes with the development's overall design concept (Walhood, p. 11).

There are five types of developments that the CCFDG are applied to: New Developments, Exterior Alterations, Storefront Remodel, Parks and Open Spaces, and Signs and/or Awning. Criterion A2 - **Emphasize Portland Themes** covers only three of these: New Developments, Exterior Alterations, and Parks and Open Spaces. A2 is probably being applied in this case because of it is a proposal to change to billboard.

Staff's finding with regard to A2 - **Emphasize Portland Themes** is:

Although the sign itself is a designated City Landmark, there are no explicit Portland-related themes associated with the proposed alterations. Nevertheless, the signature White Stag, state outline, and 'Rudolph' seasonal light

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

feature will remain. *Therefore, to the extent that this guideline applies, the guideline is met* (Italics in original; p. 11).

To better understand how staff is interpreting this criteria, it would be good to first look at the wording more closely. “Emphasize Portland Themes” is fairly straight forward. From the *Central City Fundamental Guidelines* manual, the “Background” section further elaborates: “There are many themes unique to Portland’s culture and geography that promote the city’s identity and image” (p. 24). Again, this is fairly straight forward.

Where things get a little awkward is with the words “When provided” in the Guideline. Again, the “Background” section helps explain what is meant. Basically, when a new structure, or development, is built, if the developer chooses to add elements such artwork depicting roses or salmon, or features like Benson Bubbler water fountains, then they are given credit for meeting the criterion. For new buildings, it is thus not a requirement that *must* be made by the developer; it is their choice.

Now, the Background section on this **Emphasize Portland Themes** criterion clearly deals with *features* (e.g. sculptures) added to *structures*. There is no specific discussion about *signs*, which are what we are addressing here. So, how should this criterion be applied in sign cases? Well, buildings have several purposes, and the rules are written to acknowledge that even if a structure may not contain Portland-themed artistic elements, it can still be a very worthwhile, well-functioning component of the city’s landscape.

As already indicated, when it comes to new signs and awnings for structures, the incorporating of Portland-themed elements is not requirement, either. Small business may have limited space to advertise

on their sign, so may want to avoid unnecessary elements; or they may simply want their business themed in some other manner.

However, in our exterior alteration case, we are dealing with the Made in Oregon Sign. It is 69 years old, is 51 feet high by 50 feet wide, sits on a rooftop on Portland’s Downtown waterfront, and was designated a Historical Landmark by The City in 1978 (Walhood, 2009, pp. 27, 2). Because of its importance, a strong Portland theme should be expected, though not required, *but a very un-Portland theme should be strongly discouraged*.

Unfortunately, when it comes to the enforceability of criterion A2, the manual is somewhat confusing. According to the CCFDG:

Design guidelines are mandatory approval criteria that must be met as part of design review and historic design review (Bold in original) (p. 10).

Of course, as we have already discussed, we must also consider First Amendment and ‘freedom of speech’ issues. As we have already seen, the only time when the City of Portland could possibly make a solid legal case to mandate a “Portland-Theme” to a sign is when that sign is really big and prominent, plus the proposed message must be very “un-Portland” - thus harm to the city would result.

In assessing how this proposal rates on the **Emphasize Portland Themes** standard, we must consider first consider the word “development” from the Guideline in the strict sense: the changing of the words “Made in Oregon” to “University of Oregon.” After this, we assess the criterion by considering the word “development” in the contextual sense: how does the “Made in Oregon” to “University of Oregon” wording change affect the entire theme of the sign.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Again, here is how the applicants claim that they meet this Emphasize Portland Themes aspect:

The sign has historically represented the tenant occupying the building it sits on. Chronologically White Satin, White Stag then Made in Oregon and now University of Oregon have occupied this building. The University has done extensive improvements to the building and surrounding blocks. The outlines of the State of Oregon and the reindeer and it's [sic] red nose have been a long standing Portland tradition (*Narrative*, 2008, p.1).

There are three premises that the applicants are using as supports to their claim of meeting this criterion:

Premise 1 - The sign has historically represented the tenant occupying the building it sits on. Chronologically White Satin, White Stag then Made in Oregon and now University of Oregon have occupied this building.

Premise 2 - The University has done extensive improvements to the building and surrounding blocks.

Premise 3 - The outlines of the State of Oregon and the reindeer and it's red nose have been a long standing Portland tradition.

The first two deal with "development" in the strict sense - the wording change - and thus will be addressed first. Premise 3 deals with the contextual aspect and will be discussed afterward.

With Premise 1, the applicants are saying that they are at the same level of "Portland-themedness" as the previous entities advertised on the sign by the simple fact of being in the White Stag Building below the sign. To see how valid a claim this is, we must take a better look back at the sign's history, and at the histories of the entities that have had their names emblazoned upon it.

As stated earlier, the sign was built in 1940 by Ramsay Signs to advertise White Satin Sugar. However, White Satin paid to rent the roof top of the then Hirsch-Weiss (White Stag) building (Paulsen, 2008, p. B5). Amalgamated Sugar Company owns the White Satin brand today, was headquarter in Ogden, Utah in '40, and according to longtime employee Mike Fowers, the only operation they have ever had in Portland is a plant at 2600 N.E. Columbia Blvd., which opened in 1950 (Ramsay Signs, 1940; Fowers, 2009; Dex Media, Inc., 2007, p. 21; The Oregonian, June 4, 1950, p. 9). Thus, White Satin never occupied the White Stag building. This is a small problem with the applicant's claim, but it is still a problem.

So, with White Satin Sugar no longer being considered as a good example by which UO's Portland-themedness can be measured, we need to focus on the two remaining examples: White Stag and Made in Oregon. However, before we do this, some relatively new facts about the sign's earliest versions.

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY

Figure 10 is a rare image of the sign as it appeared in its first year, 1940. Presented at the March 9 meeting, this night-time photo shows that within the

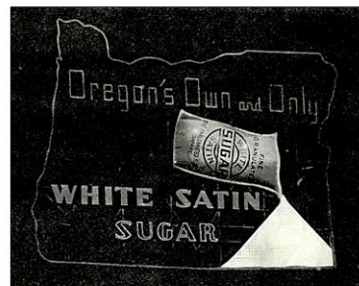


Figure 10 - Debuted in 1940, the original version of the sign promoted White Satin Sugar

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 11 - Cropped from a larger photo, this daytime image of the sign is also from its first year

Oregon frame were the words "Oregon's Own and Only," a large bag pouring out sugar, and the words "White Satin Sugar." A daytime view of the sign can be seen in Figure 11, also captured in 1940.

Although still for White Satin, the sign would change sometime later in the '40s, as Figure 12 shows. The image is from Portland City Commissioner Randy Leonard's website. Probably occurring during World War II, the changes were perhaps the result of one or both of the following: A) lighting restrictions, and/or B) the desire for people to ration sugar. We can conclude that the change occurred at least by 1947 based on photographs from the D. Grammer collection at the Oregon Historical Society, which were taken on June 14 of that year. Figure 13 is a drawing is based on the upper right-hand corner of a photo. The images were taken during the Rose Festival's Grand Floral Parade. The view is to the north-northeast.

Almost as rare as a photo of the White Satin Sugar Sign during the 1940s is a photo of it during the 1950s. Ramsay Signs did have such an image



Figure 12 - The second version of the White Satin Sugar Sign was much simpler

and provided it both the University of Oregon for a special Oregonian advertising section and to KOIN

Local 6 News for a story.

Featuring celebrity Roy Rogers in the foreground, a cropped version of the image (sorry Trigger) appears at right

(Figure 14). It was captured at the 1957 Grand Floral Parade (Hill, 2008, p. 10).



Figure 13 - A drawing of what the back of the White Satin Sugar Sign looked like on June 14, 1947



Figure 14 - Roy Rogers rides by White Stag headquarters and the White Satin Sugar Sign during the 1956 Grand Floral Parade

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Fortunately, Amalgamated Sugar's White Satin Sugar Portland plant came through with a photograph of the front of the White Satin Sugar Sign (Figure 15). Although it is undated, it is very likely from the 1950s; since it looks a lot like the sign in Figure 14.

Besides clearly seeing the "White Satin Sugar," we learn that it says "It's White Satin Sugar." In addition, there are words above the state that again proclaimed "Oregon's Own and Only."

It should be noted that much of this information



Figure 15 - Before White Stag's deer leaped onto Oregon, White Satin Sugar covered the state

Box 1 HEALY HEIGHTS IN LIGHTS

"It is my privilege and pleasure tonight to welcome to Portland the largest electrical sign in the world," proclaimed Mayor Baker. At 10:15 pm, on September 29, 1928, he pressed the "on" button (The Oregonian, 1928, p. 10).

What happen next was reported by *The Oregonian* this way:

Radio parties of listeners in throughout Portland and environs flocked to windows, porches and yards and gazed toward the southwesterly heights to see the unprecedented

mass of color, formed by 3000 feet of the orange-colored lights formed by the Neon gas-charged glass tubing, the whole spelling the word "Richfield" in letters 60 feet high and 725 feet wide (1928, p. 10; Image: Oregon Journal, 9-30-28, p. 3).



Image 1

Sponsored by Richfield Oil, the sign was built by Electrical Products. Besides being an advertisement, the billboard was also intended as a beacon to guide aircraft, and recognized

by the United States government as such.

Image 2 shows eleven men standing on the giant "H," and one positioned at its base. At 60 feet high, the letters were larger than those of the sign that had been claiming "world's largest" status:



Image 2

Southern California's Hollywood Sign, whose letters were only 45 feet high (Oregon Journal, 1928, "Nation's...", p. 27).

The Richfield Sign stood at least until February of 1936, when the road-construction photo below was taken (City of Portland, A2000-025). On the other hand, the Hollywood Sign is apparently still around.



Image 3

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

was not a part of the official description of the sign that staff and the Landmarks Commission was been using prior to March 9, 2009.

As interesting as the White Satin Sugar years of the sign are, the histories and presence on the sign of the next two entities are much more important to our case.

SPORTSWEAR AND STORES

Of course, as already mentioned, White Satin just rented the sign from a distance. However, in 1959, important change occurred. When the "Home of White Stag" lettering was hoisted into place, the name on the sign for the first time identified a tenant of the building below (Ramsay Signs, 1976; Paulsen, 2008, p. B5). White Stag had been at that location since 1924, so it was a long 35 year wait (Siemers, 2008, p. 1). Other changes to the sign at that time included a large white deer replacing the placard on top and "Sportswear" being added to bottom (Figure 16) (Paulsen, 2008).

One more significant modification would come at the end of that same year. Elizabeth Hirsch, wife of White Stag's President Harold Hirsch, got an inspiration that the stag logo could become "Rudolph - the Red Nosed Reindeer" during the holidays (Siemers, 2008). Thus, to the delight of children and adults, an annual Portland tradition began.

White Stag would only run its operations from under the sign for four years, when in 1963 it moved to a new headquarters building in Southeast Portland (Manley, 1962, p. 6). Three years after that, Warnaco Inc. would purchase White Stag, and the Portland institution was no longer under local control (Rollins, 1986, p. B8). By 1973, all formal White Stag presence in the structure that supported its famous sign had ended. Then in 1987, three years after celebrating



Figure 16 - The sign read "Home of White Stag" for a period

100 years in Portland, White Stag would relocate to California (Tripp, 1986, p. A; Bella, 1989, p. B3).

Immediately, concern grew about the big sign. For a period, Warnaco would keep making \$325 monthly payments to Ramsay Signs to light and maintain the sign and \$600 monthly payments to developer for the rooftop site (Rollins, 1986, p. B8). In 1973, Naito and his Norcrest China Company had purchased the White Stag building, which would then become known as the Norcrest China building. He and his older brother Sam would run their



Figure 17 - The White Stag Sign during the day

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Box 2

THE POWERS THAT BE...EVERYWHERE

For this paper, the author looked at many historic images of Portland. At one point, in a photo of the Burnside Bridge, a large goose was discovered on sign in the background (Image 4) (City of Portland Archives, 1926). Of course, the question immediately arose:



Image 4



Image 5



Image 6

‘What is the bird ad-billboard advertising?’ Since only part is visible, the mystery was to be unraveled at a later date.

The goose would make a reappearance in a water-front photograph, but, again, only the end of the sign was visible (Image 5) (City of Portland Archives, 1929).

As it turns out, they were representing the mother of all geese, a 36-foot-tall bird that was installed in 1939 atop the Powers store at S.W. 3rd Avenue and Yamhill Street (The Oregonian, January 24, 1963, p. 27). A Powers’ trademark since 1886, the bird was tied in with their slogan “A Little Down on a Big Bill” (The Oregonian, Jan. 1963).

In 1957, Director’s Furniture moved into Powers’ old location. It kept the gigantic goose up in large part because of public outcry, and even sponsored a contest in 1960 to decide the sign’s fate. However, the Arts Commission viewed it as obsolete and knew what fate it wanted - the goose had to go

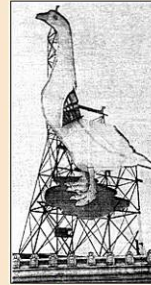


Image 7

(The Oregonian, Jan. 1963). Three years later, the sign was sold at auction for \$4.50, but the bidder never claimed it (The Oregonian, February 24, 1964, p. 13).

A wind storm in January of 1964 would batter the big bird (Image 7) (The Oregonian, January 18, 1964, Sec. 3, p. 11).

Now clearly a hazard, the sign was taken down by the building’s owner about a month later (Image 8) (The Oregonian, Feb. 1964). With a planned new blinking red eye and all, the sign was scheduled to sit on a new one-story night club next to the Hoyt Hotel (The Oregonian, Feb. 1964). It is unclear if that even actually occurred, so a little bit of mystery still surrounds that goose.

(The Oregonian, Jan. 1963). Three years later, the sign was sold at auction for \$4.50, but the bidder never claimed it (The Oregonian, February 24, 1964, p. 13).

A wind storm in January of 1964 would batter the big bird (Image 7) (The Oregonian, January 18, 1964, Sec. 3, p. 11).



Image 8

family’s various businesses out of this location starting back then (Bella, 1989, p. B3; Oliver, 1996, p. A1).

Warnaco would formally withdraw all financial backing for the billboard in December of 1988 (Imperiale, 1988). In an attempt to replace this lost revenue, Ramsay Signs would present a proposal to

the Naitos suggesting that the “White Stag” “Sportswear” lettering be changed to “Made in Oregon” and “Shops,” respectfully. The lease and service agreement would be for \$2,150 per month over five years. Power costs would not be included (Kathman, 1989). This idea did not move forward, and in May of 1989, the sign would go dark (Bella).

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 18 - Headlines show the crisis surrounding the sign when White Stag left Portland

"I can't stand it anymore," exclaimed Bill Naito four months later, so, he decides to pay to light the sign. A big part of his motivation was to not, as he put it, "disappoint a zillion kids." He also promised to keep it functioning even after Christmas (Bella). Other costs, those for repairing and maintaining the sign, would be absorbed by Ramsay Signs (Paulsen, August 1995).

A relationship, at times somewhat strained, would continue between Norcrest China and Ramsay Signs. The untimely death of Bill Naito in May of 1996 would complicate the situation (Hill, 1998, p. E1). In the fall of '96, things broke down (Christ, 1997, p. D1). Fortunately, with the help of Portland's Historic Landmarks Commission, an agreement was reached the following spring in which Naito would lease the sign for ten years (Christ, 1997, p. D1). The "White Stag" words would be replaced with "Made in Oregon," the name of a retail chain owned by the Naito family and started by Sam Naito and Don Pendergrass in 1975 (Christ, Colby, 1988, p. D1). Additional changes would include: a. "Sportswear" displaced to make room for "Old Town," a label started by Bill Naito for that section of Portland, and

b. beneath that, a small tag saying "Ramsay Sign - Establishing in 1911" was added (Christ).

From 1988, Made in Oregon Shops had its headquarters and a retail outlet in the Norcrest China/White Stag building (Cole's, 1992, p. 339; Colby, 1988, p. D1). At this same time, they had three additional outlets in Portland proper, including one at the Portland International Airport, where the original, small store had been. There were also two additional Portland-Area locations, plus one in both Salem and Medford (Colby).

Employee levels varied, as they do in retail. In February of '88, the company had 70 workers. This included four office workers in the Old Town headquarters and five warehouse employees. However, from July to December, the warehouse would employ 20, while from October to December the retail force would balloon to 131 (Colby).

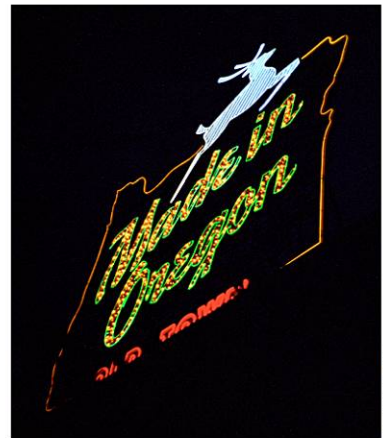


Figure 19 - Looking up at the Made in Oregon Sign

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

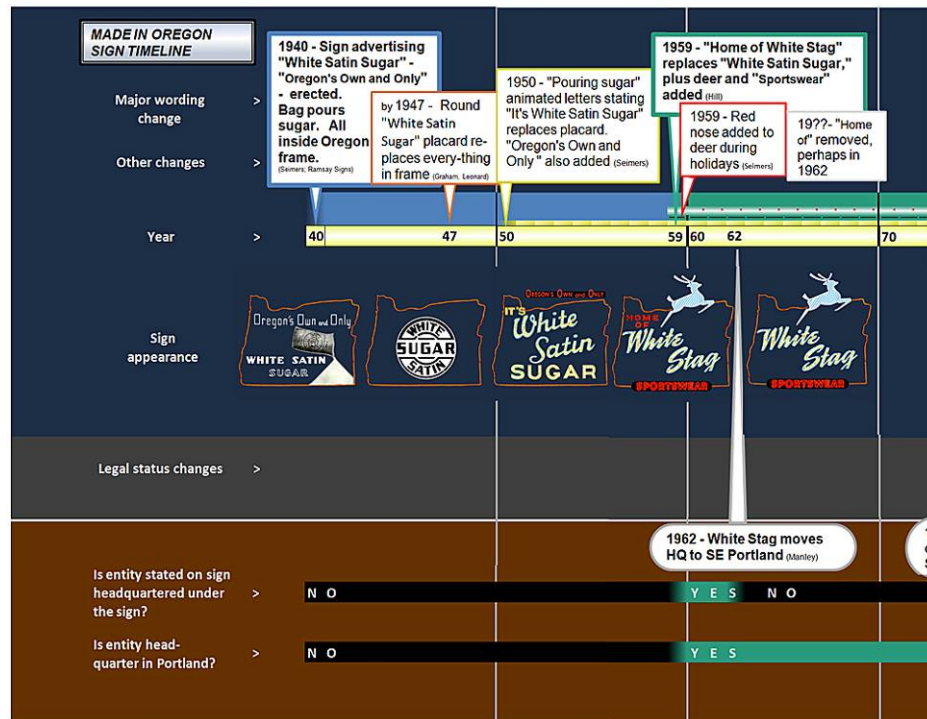


Figure 20

Eventually, the Naito's would move all of their family businesses from the White Stage building. Norcrest China would close in 2004, while Made of Oregon Shops would be gone from the structure by the end of 2005 (Rose, Fischetti, 2008, p.2). As stated at the start, the Venerable Group would purchase the building, plus the two adjacent ones from the Bill Naito Company in 2006 (Hill, "The Dawn...", 2008, p. 2).

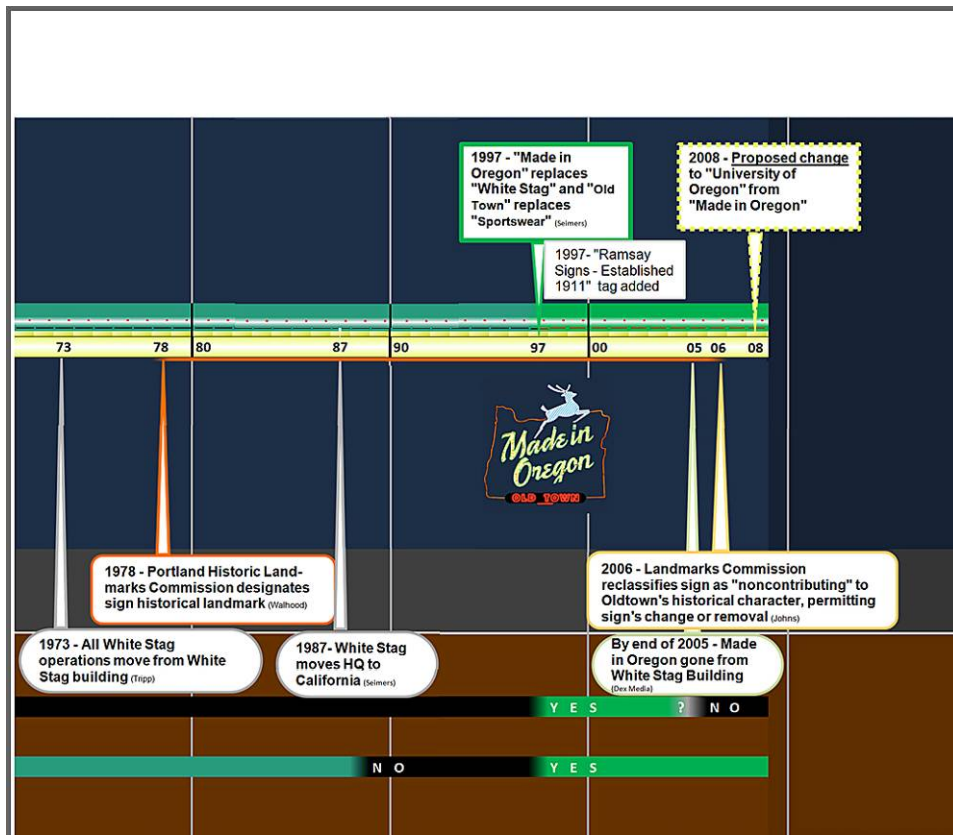
With Made in Oregon's lease on the Made in Oregon Sign expiring in January of 2008, and them not choosing to new it, the University of Oregon has offered to take the sign off of Ramsay Signs' hands, but as long as their name goes on the sign. So, how

does UO stack up with White Stag and Made in Oregon? That is what we consider next.

COMPARING TO THE PAST

The applicants claim that the U of O is like the three previous entities that have been on the present-day Made in Oregon Sign, since they occupy the building below the sign. Of course, as already noted, White Satin Sugar was never under the sign. So, although they will be considered in the following analysis, White Stag and Made in Oregon will be the two to use as benchmarks.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



To measure the Portland-themeness of these four entities at the time that their names first appear on the sign, we will first look at the importance and proximity of the entity operations as they relate to the sign. In order of importance, the categories are:

- 1.) Headquartered under the sign
- 2.) Based under the sign
- 3.) Headquartered in Portland
- 4.) Based in Portland
- 5.) Some operation under the sign
- 6.) Some operation in Portland

"Headquartered" will refer to the offices of the organization's top executives. "Based" will refer to place where the most significant collection of the organization's facilities and personnel are concentrated.

Table 1 (next page) summarizes the results. First of all, White Stag, of course, does not have a "Yes" for any of the categories. However, both White Stag and Made in Oregon had their headquarters in the building at the time that their names first appeared on the sign. They also had part of their overall operations based in the structure. At the time that the University of Oregon would like to have their name on the sign, they will not have their

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Table 1

PORTLAND-THEMENESS BY OPERATION IMPORTANCE AND PROXIMITY WHEN FIRST ON SIGN					
Level of Connection	Categories	Existed			Proposed
		White Satin	White Stag	Made in Oregon	Univ. of Oregon
HIGH	Headquartered under sign	NO	YES	YES	NO
	Based under sign	NO	PARTLY	PARTLY	NO
	Headquartered in Portland	NO	YES	YES	NO
	Based in Portland	NO	YES	YES	NO
	Some operation under sign	NO	YES	YES	YES
LOW	Some operation in Portland	NO	YES	YES	YES

headquarters and a substantial part of their base under the sign.

When it comes to being headquartered in Portland, White Stag and Made in Oregon get “Yes,” of course. They also get “Yes” for their being based in Portland. Once again, UO gets “No” for both of these categories.

For the last two categories, Some Operation Under Sign and Some Operation in Portland, the answers have been already established for White Stag and Made in Oregon by earlier categories: “Yes” for both on both counts. And, at last, UO will have both some type of operation under the sign and, following, in Portland, if they are placed on the sign.

Clearly, when compared to the Portland-themeness as it relates to the Made in Oregon Sign for both White Stag and Made in Oregon Shops, the University of Oregon falls far short for the standard they themselves claim to meet. Things get worse for UO when we factor in longevity. Remember, White Stag was in building below the sign 35 years before their name went on to it. For Made in Oregon, the wait was **nine years** (at least). Yet, the University of Oregon wants its wording up there *less than a year* after it moved in.

So, why does this turn out so badly for the University of Oregon? There is one key factor at play here: they have ignored their own school’s true history.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON’S TIES

On the opening page of its official website, the UO describes itself in this manner:

The University of Oregon is a world-class teaching and research university located in the beautiful Willamette Valley of Oregon. The UO offers a broad spectrum of opportunities for learning in the liberal arts and professional programs in architecture, arts, business, education, journalism, law, and music and dance (2009).

It goes on to list its student enrollment at 20, 376 and its faculty size as 1,714. With regard to “Location and Size,” the University of Oregon states:

- Located in [Eugene, Oregon](#), two hours from [Portland](#) and one hour each from the Pacific Coast and the Cascade Mountains.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 21 - The main gateway to Eugene's University of Oregon at Franklin Boulevard (bottom, diagonal) and Agate Street (left). The "University of Oregon" sign and, behind it, Oregon Hall can be seen in the middle, top

- Sixty major buildings on 295 acres (2009)

Above is a photo looking down and to the south at UO's main entrance at Agate Street (left). Franklin Boulevard runs along the lower edge and



Figure 22 - Deady Hall opened in 1877 as the University of Oregon's first building on its campus in Eugene

Oregon Hall, with the "University of Oregon" sign, appears at the top-center of the image.

Founded in 1876, the college's first graduating class of five students left in 1878. The first building constructed on the Eugene campus was completed in 1877, and later named Deady Hall (Figure 22). One of the oldest arena's in the nation, McArthur Court (Figure 23) opened in 1926, and will soon be replaced by the \$200 million Matthew Knight Arena (UO, 2009; Bachman, 2008, p. C1).



Figure 23 - Built in 1926, venerable "Mac" Court's days are numbered as a primary venue, as a new \$200 million arena is being constructed on UO's Eugene campus

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 25 - University of Oregon President Dr. Albert Bennett Hall traveled to Portland in 1927 to rally alumni support

A year after “Mac” Court opened, the president of UO, Dr. Albert Bennett Hall made the long trip to Portland to have dinner with Portland-area alumni. The only speaker of the evening, Hall discussed school policies and plans for the future (The Oregonian, “Dr. Hall...” 1927, sec. 1, p. 15).

Note the second article in Figure 25. Children at Errol Heights School, outside class time, were quizzed on their knowledge of goods made in Oregon (The Oregonian, “Oregon-Made...” 1927, sec. 1, p. 15).

As mentioned on their webpage, the University of Oregon is about 2 hours south of Portland. When considering the direct-line distance from Downtown Portland to Downtown Eugene, this gap turns out to be about 104 miles (Figure 26).

When people think of the University of Oregon and a location, they think of Eugene, not Portland. The University of Oregon and Eugene are synonymous.

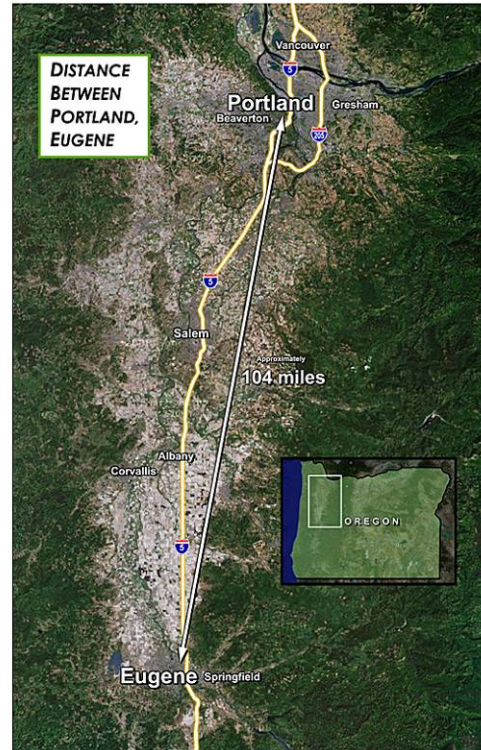


Figure 26 - A map showing that the Downtowns of Portland and Eugene are separated by around 104 miles

We can further see proof of this by looking at maps comparing the Portland's and Eugene's Downtowns. In Figure 27 (next page), maps are comprised of satellite photos of the two places at the same scale. Cut out and overlaid are the major colleges located in these areas. Both the photos and the maps are from Google. In Downtown Portland, Portland State University's (PSU's) 49 acre campus, in the lower left corner, is fairly pronounced (Portland State University, 2009). Meanwhile UO's Portland satellite campus in the White Stag Block Complex is so small, it didn't even warrant the 'educational

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

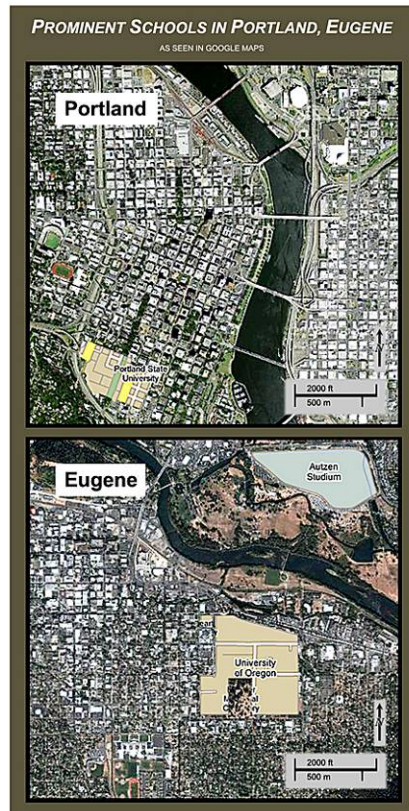


Figure 27 - Portland State University is clearly visible in Downtown Portland, while the University of Oregon, with Autzen Stadium, dominate central Eugene

institution tan' color by Google. As for Downtown Eugene, University of Oregon's 295 acre main campus, including Autzen Stadium and adjoining sports facilities, are very apparent.

Looking at school student enrollment levels for these three different campuses reveals a similar pattern. As shown in Figure 29, Portland State had 26,587 students in the fall of 2008 (OUS, 2009, p. 13).



Figure 28 - Portland State University is Portland's largest higher-educational institution

UO - Portland had about 300 students, while the rest of University of Oregon students totaled 21,207 (Graves, 2008, p. B1; OUS). Again, PSU and UO have huge student bodies at their respective main campuses in Portland and Eugene. And, as should be expected, UO's - Portland enrollment is rather tiny.

When it comes to stacking up with White Stag

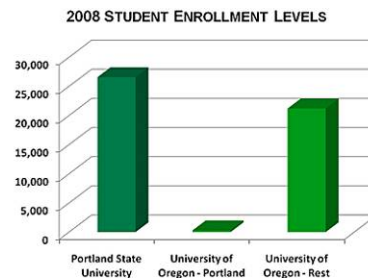


Figure 29 - PSU's, UO - Portland's, and the rest of UO's enrollment numbers for this last fall

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

and Made in Oregon in terms of Portland-themeness, the University of Oregon falls far short. Unlike those two, their history is not in Portland, but rather in Eugene, where their headquarters and base of operations have been and still are.

As for their Premise #2 - "The University has done extensive improvements to the building and surrounding blocks" - this is pretty much a support point for their overall contention that they are as Portland-themed as White Stag and Made in Oregon. As nice as this effort has been, it still does not put them in the same league as those two entities.

When it comes to evaluating the applicant's "development" in the strict sense of Portland-themeness - just the replacement of the "Made in Oregon" words with the "University of Oregon" words - this proposal simply fails.

For the University of Oregon to attain the same stature in Portland as White Stag and Made in Oregon, they would have to do the following things.

1. Move their headquarters to the White Stag building
2. Move their base of operations - the majority of facilities and student body - to Portland
3. After doing both, waiting at least nine years before requesting that their name go up on the Made in Oregon Sign

OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED, TOO

Now, the evaluation just completed dealt with the "development" in the strict sense. What must be done next is an analysis of the "development" in the contextual sense. In other words, how does the Portland-themeness of the whole sign get affected if the lettering change occurs? We will be now addressing the applicant's Premise 3:

The outlines of the State of Oregon and the reindeer and its red nose have been a long standing Portland tradition.



Figure 30 - The "Made in Oregon" text gives the Made in Oregon Sign a large part of its meaning

For this analysis, Portland-themeness will run on a scale of 100 ("Very Portland") to -100 ("Very Un-Portland"). At the middle is, naturally, 0 ("Neutral"). To calculate the overall Portland-themeness of the sign, we will consider first the Portland-themeness of each element of the sign. There are four major elements to the Made in Oregon Sign. Those elements and the percentage of significance that they have to the sign's meaning are:

1. "Made in Oregon" letters: 60%
2. White Stag deer (w/ red nose): 25%
3. Oregon state outline: 15%
4. "Old Town" letters: 5%











In terms of each element's individual Portland-themeness, they are all positive numbers and are as follows:

1. "Made in Oregon" letters: 90
2. White Stag deer (w/ red nose): 90
3. Oregon state outline: 50
4. "Old Town" letters: 60

If the lettering change were to take place, just like for the "Made in Oregon" text, the "University of Oregon" wording would give the sign 60% of its meaning. With regard to the Portland-themeness,

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Table 2

PORTLAND-THEMENESS OF SIGN ELEMENTS AND TOTAL							
Present				Proposed			
Element	Meaning (E)	Individual Points (P; 100 to -100)	For Total (E x P)	Element	Meaning (E)	Individual Points (P; 100 to -100)	For Total (E x P)
	60%	90	54		60%	-90	-54
	25%	90	22.5		25%	90	22.5
	10%	50	7.5		10%	50	7.5
	5%	60	3		5%	60	3
			Total (PT)				Total (PT)
			87				-21

we have already established that UO has weak ties to Portland and tremendously strong ties to Eugene. So, their Portland-themeness score is -90.

Table 2 summarizes this information. In addition, it also shows how the Portland-themeness of the entire sign (PT) is calculated. Basically, each elements meaning percentage (E) is multiplied by its Portland-themeness score (P). Then, they are all added together. The equation is:

$$(E1 \times P1) + (E2 \times P2) + (E3 \times P3) + (E4 \times P4) = PT$$

The overall Portland-themeness score for the current Made in Oregon sign is 87. Conversely, the negative Portland-themeness of the "University of Oregon" wording actually brings the sign's total Portland-themeness score into the negatives, at -21.

Now, people may be thinking that this is all subjective, dependent on the person doing the analysis. Yes, to some extent that is true. However, we need to start somewhere, and if most people feel that it is an accurate description of the situation, then

this analysis is beneficial. If a person has serious problems with the analysis, he or she can go ahead point those problems and suggest how they can be fixed.

Based on this contextual sense analysis, it is safe to conclude that even with the high levels of Portland-themeness brought to the sign by the elements that would remain; the Un-Portlandness of the words "University of Oregon" would significantly degrade the sign's overall Portland-themeness.

The applicants could modify the words that they wish to place onto the sign in a manner that would increase this score. Instead of "University of Oregon," the words could be instead "U O - Portland." Since they have stated that the Made in Oregon Sign has traditionally promoted the building's occupant, then this alternate proposal would more accurately do just that.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Table 3





PORTLAND-THEMENESS - ALTERNATE			
Alternate Proposal			
Element	Meaning (E)	Individual Points (P; 100 to -100)	For Total (E x P)
	60%	5	3
	25%	90	22.5
	10%	50	7.5
	5%	60	3
Total (PT)			36

Table 3 details how this alternate design does on the Portland-themeness. The “UO - Portland” element is almost neutral. Basically, “UO,” very “Eugene” also most totally cancels out the “Portland” part. The overall total score is 36, a considerable improvement over the -21 the “University of Oregon” sign version tallied at. It is still, however, far short of the current “Made in Oregon” version, which scored 87.

Now, just because a sign has a high total score when it comes to Portland-themeness does not mean that it is an effective sign. Although this is slight diversion from the A2 - **Emphasize Portland Themes** criterion, its importance will be more evident as we continue our analysis.

WORKING TOGETHER

One way to consider that how the various elements of the Made in Oregon Sign work together is to

think of it as a sports team. Often, the team with the overall best talent wins the most games. Yet, even a great collection of players does not assure success. Along with talent, a team needs good *chemistry* between all of its players.

The same can be said for a sign. Sometimes you can take elements that by themselves are easily understood, but when they are combined together, confusion results.

As you may recall, back when the sign switched from White Satin Sugar to White Stag, the only element that was kept was the Oregon state outline. So, the new elements did not have much difficulty meshing together with what was already there.

In 1997, when White Stag changed to Made in Oregon, again the Oregon outline remained. However, a second element - namely “Rudolph” - was kept on the sign, as well. Naturally, the outline frame and the words “Made in Oregon” went perfectly together. “Made in Oregon” works well with stag also because the words can be interpreted as alluding to all of the products the White Stag Clothing Company produced over all those years. “Once Made in Oregon.” It is a sentimental thing.

The “Made in Oregon” text also works with the “Old Town” element because this part of Portland represents where our society historically rose up from. Plus, there is the whole connection between Bill Naito’s efforts in Old Town and his brother Sam starting and running the Made in Oregon Shops.



Figure 31 - The pieces of the Made in Oregon Sign work effectively together

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 32 - Besides those with ties to the University of Oregon, affiliates of Oregon State University, Portland State University, and the University of Portland can all dream about what their names would look like up in lights



Figure 33 - The alternate to the present proposal (left) and a 'clearly UO' version (right)

In this newest proposal, the applicants are proposing the combining of some very Portland-themed elements with a very Un-Portland-themed element. This will create a very confusing, unharmonious message that the sign will send out.

To illustrate how the altering of the elements on the Made in Oregon Sign can make for a less appealing sign, let us consider several other fictitious sign reworking proposals. Four versions of the sign appear in Figure 32: 1) the applicant's University of Oregon idea, 2) Oregon State University, 3) Portland State University, and 4) University of Portland. For the last three, besides the altering of the text, the color of the neon Oregon frame has also been changed to match each school's colors.

All four of these versions, plus the current version, will be compared in a matrix in which the X-axis will be represented by the Portland-themeness of the sign. On the Y-axis, there will be the Sign-Element Meaning Harmony.

To further help explain how elements may or may not work together, we will also include the alternate "UO - Portland" version, plus a 'clearly UO' version in which:

- The "Made in Oregon" text in replaced by "University of Oregon"
- The stag is replaced by a UO duck
- The "Old Town" text is replaced by an arrow pointing left and "104 MI."

These two versions are shown in Figure 33.

As we have already discussed, the Made in Oregon Sign places very high in both the Portland-themeness variable and in the Sign-Element Meaning Harmony.

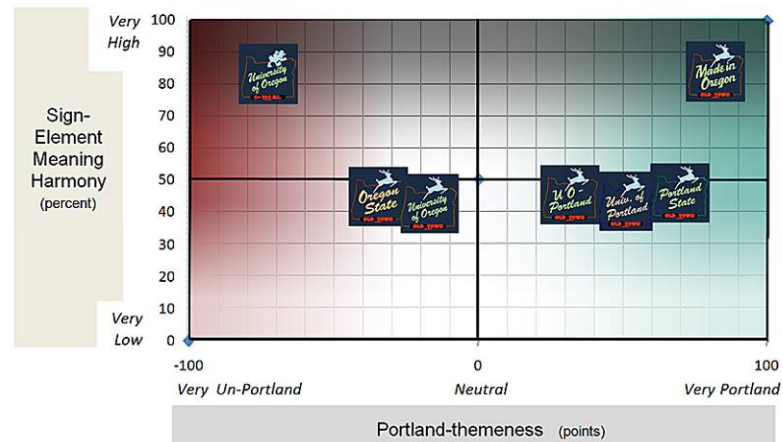
Placing second highest on the Portland-themeness scale would be Portland State's version: big Portland school that's Downtown, and has urban planning. Close to that would be University of Portland: smaller, and up in North Portland.

The alternate "UO - Portland" version is a little lower than University of Portland in the Portland-themeness direction, and, as already noted, it has a much higher score than the applicants "University of Oregon" version. However, the applicant's version does a little better than the Oregon State University rendition. This is in part because UO does have some type of operation in the White Stag building.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Figure 34

PORTLAND-THEMENESS VERSUS SIGN-ELEMENT MEANING HARMONY



All of the just-main-text-replaced school versions, including the applicant's, and the alternate "UO - Portland" place in the middle with regard to Sign-Element Meaning Harmony.

Finally, the 'clearly UO' version places very low on the Portland-themeness, of course. Yet, it is very high on the Sign-Element Meaning Harmony scale.

Figure 34 shows graphically where the all seven versions would place on the matrix.

This comparison helps point out that the Made in Oregon Sign is not just some billboard on which anyone can place their wording on and hope that the message that comes across still makes as much sense. The deer was placed on the sign back in 1959 because it was White Stag's logo and mascot. In 1997, when Made in Oregon took over, the stag remained. Even if it had a mascot (it appears in does not) that it wanted to place on the sign back then, the store chain probably could not. Two mascot's on that sign would be one too many.

Today, we have the University of Oregon wanting their name on the sign. As we know, they do have a mascot: Donald the Duck. Unless they plan on changing their mascot to the Bucks, or Stags, or Reindeer after they get the sign change, we are going to end up with a confusing sign.

Symbols are put on sign to send a certain message. Symbols cannot just be substituted haphazardly. Consider the two signs in Figure 35.



Figure 35 - Different symbols convey different messages and cannot be substituted carelessly

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

Clearly, the potential threat to motorists is much greater by the animal on the left than the one on the right.

PORTLAND-THEMENESS VERDICT

When it comes to the **Emphasize Portland Themes** criterion from the Central City Fundamental Design Guidelines, the applicant's claim that the "development" meets is standard because they, like previous entities that have on the sign, they occupy the building below the sign. They also note that they have done considerable renovation in the structure they now occupy, and that the remaining sign elements help maintain the signs Portland-themeness.

Unfortunately, in both the strict and contextual sense of interpreting the criterion, the University of Oregon simply does not measure up to the standards set by both White Stag and Made in Oregon.

In addition, the "University of Oregon" words will not mesh very well with the other sign elements, especially the stag.

When it comes to the criterion A2 - Emphasizing Portland Themes, this proposal simply fails.

However, as we detailed earlier, this criterion may not be legally enforceable, even for such a prominent, historic sign like the Made in Oregon one. This is so because of the 'freedom of speech' provision in the Oregon Constitution.

Yet, we did note already that there are times that a government can curb speech, with the reasoning being that the right of the speaker to present a certain message can be restricted if the possibility of harm coming to others is deemed to be too great.

Could the City of Portland justify preventing the "University of Oregon" wording from going onto an important, historic sign because the UO is not very Portland-themed? Although harm would be done, that harm does not seem at high enough of a level to legally justify keeping those words from a sign.

Now, the **Emphasizing Portland Themes** criterion focuses on the type of message that will be put in place if the proposal is approved. We must also think about the message that would be replaced and consider any criteria that may apply to protecting that. Thus, we now go on to address the second major theme that came from the March 9 Landmarks Commission meeting: the only guidelines that are relevant to this case deal with the size and shape of the new text that will be installed upon the sign.

III-BECOMING HISTORIC

CRITERIA AND THE 1997 CASE

One criterion that seems very applicable to our case that has been basically overlooked is found under G. Approval criteria based on the Standards of the Secretary of the Interior. From Walhood's Staff Report and Recommendation to the Landmarks Commission document, G4 is:

Historic changes. Most properties change over time. Those changes that have acquired historic significance will be preserved (p. 15).

The last time that this criterion was applied to the sign was twelve years ago. Dated April 21, 1997, the Bureau of Planning's document is entitled *Staff Report and Recommendation to the Portland Historical Landmarks Commission*, and the case number is LUR 95-00426 DZ (White Stag Sign). The planner on the case was Jeff Joslin.

In attempting to make their case, Ramsay Signs and the University of Oregon heavily cite the '97 Landmarks Commission decision that permitted the "Made in Oregon" and the "Old Town" words to replace "White Stag" and "Sportswear," respectfully. Since this is the most recent instance of changes occurring to the sign, it would be good to go back and see what we can learn from it.

With regard to the "historical role and significance of the site," '97 staff separates things into four categories:

D. *The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon* (continued)

- **Commerce and Industry:** for its association with Max S. Hirsch, a major early twentieth century businessman/industrialist. White Stag was one of several significant outgrowths of his business enterprises.
- **Visual Arts:** for its innovative and evolving “state-of-the-art” sign technology.
- **Style/Rarity:** the sign is one of few remaining examples of a type and scale not utilized for outdoor advertising.
- **Neighborhood Significance:** for the tradition of lighting the “Rudolph” nose of the deer each Christmas season (bold added) (p. 5).

1997 staff goes onto state: “The consistent, and most treasurable, qualities of the sign have been its style, its technology, *and its Rudolph*” (emphasis in original) (pp. 5-6).

To help with our case, we need to first assess how valid these conclusions are with regard to the situation back then. After that we need to consider these matters as they apply to today’s case.

When it comes to both the **Visual Arts** and the **Style/Rarity**, these seem to be valid assessments not only back then, but also today. Because of this, we will consider them no further.

The **Commerce and Industry** conclusion for 1997 appears fairly valid, as well. As it applies to the present, we will consider that a in a moment.

For the **Neighborhood Significance**, the assessment feels a little odd. Although “the tradition of lighting the “Rudolph” nose of the deer each Christmas season” is important to the Old Town Neighborhood. However, in reality, the importance of this tradition goes well beyond Old Town and includes all the Portland area. So, the question is whether there is another category that deals with the tradition’s larger appeal.

Prior to listing the four “historical role and significance of the site” categories that he felt were relevant, Joslin detailed the appropriate guidelines:

33.845 Historical Landmarks

The designation of historical landmarks provides a means for the City to formally recognize and protect its historic and architectural resources. Designated landmarks identify buildings, portions, sites, trees, statues, signs, or other objects of historic importance or architectural significance.

It enhances the beautification of the City, promotes the City’s economic health, and preserves the values of these properties. The regulation of designated landmarks provides a means to review changes to a landmark to ensure that historic or architectural values are preserved.

In evaluating whether the site should be designated, or maintained, a historical landmark, the criteria of 33.845.060, Subsection B. and C. are considered.

B. HISTORIC IMPORTANCE

1. **Past events.** The site is associated with significant past events, person, trends or values and is a part of national or local history.
2. **Neighborhood significance.** The site contributes and provides a continuity in the historic and cultural development of the area.
3. **Symbolic significance.** The site has come to symbolize an idea, institution, political entity, or period.
4. **Chronology.** The site was part of Portland’s early history (p. 4).

There is a lot here, but 3. **Symbolic significance** jumps out. 1997 staff concluded that the annual adding of a red nose to the stag had only **Neighborhood significance**. It does, but it also has **Symbolic significance**, since the deer-with-red-nose symbolizes “Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer” to many Portlanders.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

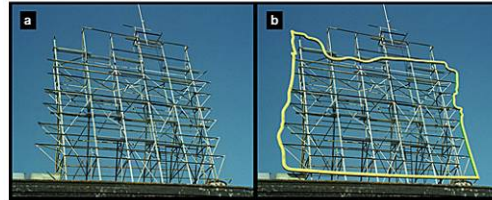


Figure 36 - a) the metal support structure is not a sign, but, b) with the Oregon state outline added, we have the foundation of the sign

So, when it comes to **G4 - Historic changes** guideline, the stag and its holiday incarnation are historic under *two* criteria: **Neighborhood** and **Symbolic significance**.

It should be noted that '97 staff does not talk about the symbolism of the Oregon outline frame. The reason for this may be simple. Think about this question: At its most fundamental, what exactly is "the sign?" Well, it is not just the metal support structure. No one would look over at that and say 'Hey, there's a sign.'

However, when we add the yellow State of Oregon outline frame, then we have the minimal requirement for sign status (Figure 36). And, as we have already learned, it is the only element that has been a part of the White Satin Sugar/White Stag/Made in Oregon Sign since the very start. Thus, staff in 1997 may have not mentioned the Oregon state aspect because it has had symbolic importance from the beginning, and thus, was historic since 1940.

As for the "White Stag" and "Sportswear" wording, staff twelve years ago felt that they were not historic, and, thus, their removability would provide locations on the sign for a new sponsor. With the new sponsor, money would then be provided to maintain the historic elements: the Oregon frame and the stag, with its holiday tradition.

The conclusion by Joslin that this wording was unimportant was likely in part based on what the applicants back then wrote in an Economic, Social, Environmental and Energy (ESEE) Analysis. Under

the "Social Consequences" section, they wrote that the sign is "important visual landmark of the river," "a recognized critical asset for the city," and, "an important part in the oral tradition of Portland during the holiday season" (p. 3).

They follow this up by saying:

The rehabilitation of this landmark will maintain these values. These values do not relate to the specific

phases of "White Stag" and "SPORTSWEAR" and the proposed modifications will not have a deleterious effect on the social consequences (p. 3).

In summary, back in 1997, all agreed on what was historic on the sign and what has not:

- **Stag logo, with red nose** - Historic (Neighborhood and Symbolic significance)
- **Oregon outline** - Historic (Symbolic significance)
- "White Stag" words - Not historic
- "Sportswear" word - Not historic

It should be noted the **Commerce and Industry** category the '97 staff established would still be relevant even with the removal of the "White Stag" text because Max S. Hirsch and his company would still be recognized on the sign with the stag logo.

So, returning to our present day case, how do we determine if those elements that have been on the sign since 1997 - the "Made in Oregon" and "Old Town" words - have attained historical status?

Well, of the two historical elements on the sign, only the stag attained historic status without being an original component; it was added in 1959. So, if we can determine how it became "historic," then we would have criteria with which we could apply to the two new elements.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

THE STAG'S PATH TO PROTECTION

In order to know what went on with White Stag deer logo element of the Made in Oregon Sign that caused in to become recognized as historic, we need a source that is very familiar with the sign during this period. Perhaps there is no better source than Harold Hirsch. Son of Max Hirsch, Harold Hirsch was the president of White Stag from 1956 to 1963, then board chairman from 1963 to 1970. During the '70s, the period we are interested in, he chairman of the executive committee (Tims, 1983, p. F8).

Before we move onto his assessment of what occurred with the sign, there are a few of important points to make about Hirsch and his ties to the University of Oregon.

In the fall of 1971, Hirsch travelled down to Eugene and spent a week at the University of Oregon as the first "businessman in residence." The Dartmouth graduate attended numerous classes and spoke to many students (Kerans, 1971, p. 11). Generally, discussions were amicable, except one time things got a little heated. As Hirsch explains it:

I was telling the class that the government, through tax revenues, had the power to correct the deficiencies young people are so concerned about, and this young man said something like, 'the government - we don't have any control over the government,' and he reached for his coat and hat.

Well, I got mad and pointed my finger at him and said, 'You wait a minute. You have control over the government with the vote. How do you think labor unions got to be so strong in this country? You can do the same thing (Kerans, 1971, p. 11).

Hirsch would later serve on the UO School of Law's Board of Visitors for six years. Then, in 1983, he would be honored by the school with a Distinguished Service Award, given to those that "by their knowledge and skill, have made a significant contribution to the cultural development of Oregon or society as a whole" (Tims, 1983, p. F8).

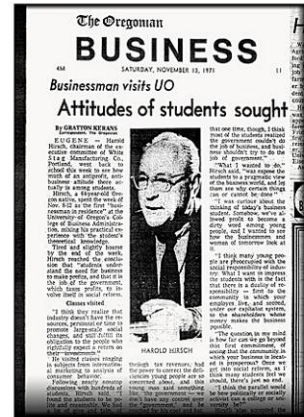


Figure 37 - An Oregonian article about Hirsch's stay at the University of Oregon

What he knew about the White Stag Sign attaining historic status Hirsch detailed in a letter to Ms. Marsha Gardner on October 30, 1980. Referring to the sign, he wrote:

It was threatened for extinction once when Portland's beautification program decided to remove all advertising signs from our cluttered waterfront. However, such a hue and cry went up about the White Stag sign, from school children, from letters to the editors of our newspapers, from speeches on the radio, and from columnists and writers who wanted to preserve the sign as a traditional Holiday symbol, that the authorities irrevocably declared it a historical monument and permitted it to remain where and as it was. So, each Christmas Season the nose on the leaping stag on Portland's waterfront rekindles its red glow as a signal to all that the Yuletide Season is officially upon us (Hirsch).

When we look at this recount, we can break it down into general events that occurred. Those events are:

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 38 - When the sign first came under threat in 1975, the Landmarks Commission moved quickly to protect it

- 1) A threat appears
- 2) There is a public outcry
- 3) Officials declare it historic

Now that we have acquired this knowledge of what it takes for an element on the Made in Oregon Sign to become historic, we can now go and apply it to the two newer elements on the sign. However, before we do this, it would be good to review all of the times that the sign has been threatened.

The first time the then White Stag Sign came under threat was in 1975 - the incident that Hirsch so effectively described. Here is an overview summary of what transpired:

Problem: Threat-by-regulation (sign removal law)

Public Reaction: Demands that "Rudolph" be saved

Resolution: Historic Landmarks Commission acts to make sign historic (Figure 38)

When White Stag Manufacturing announced that it was moving from Portland in 1986, a threat materialized a second time. Basically, Warnaco, White Stag's parent company, would continue to pay for the sign for a while, but withdrew that sponsorship in December of 1988 (Imperiale, 1988).

After a few years, and the sign going dark for a period in 1989, Bill Naito would step forward to pay the electric bill. The rest of the costs would continue to be absorbed by Ramsay Signs. The overview summary of these events is as follows:



Figure 39 - People reacted with great concern when the sign was threatened for the second time in 1986

Problem: Threat-by-apathy (no one would pay bills)

Public Reaction: Demands that "Rudolph" be saved (Figure 39)

Resolution: Eventually, Bill Naito agrees to pay electrical bill, while Ramsay Signs continues to cover other expenses.

Of course, as was detailed earlier, this solution would fall apart. By 1996, a threat to the sign appears for the third time. In a way, this last solution was kind of a band-aid, and the fundamental problem of not having a committed, self-advertised-on-the-sign sponsor. As mentioned already, the solution was to allow the Made in Oregon Shops to replace the non-historic parts of the sign in 1997.



Figure 40 - The third crisis resulted in the switch from "White Stag" to "Made in Oregon" text

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

“White Stag” became “Made in Oregon” and “Sportswear” became “Old Town.”

The summary of third crisis is:

Problem: Threat-by-apaty (no one would pay bills)

Public Reaction: Demands that “Rudolph” be saved

Resolution: Made In Oregon Shops sponsor sign in exchange for their name replacing “White Stag” on sign

As stated earlier, the contract with Made in Oregon expired at the start of last year. However, in an effort to avoid another crisis, Ramsay Signs had gotten a successor already lined up two years prior. When the University of Oregon selected the White Stag and two neighboring buildings for their new Portland satellite campus, it was assumed that they would be allowed to change the sign to promote the entire university. They must have read the 1997 staff report that Landmark Commission had supported in their decision, and conclude when they applied, they same result would occur.

To see if the same result *should* occur, it would be correct to see if the two situations are similar enough.

1997 COMPARED TO 2009

As already mentioned, in 1997, it was concluded that only the stag logo and the outline of Oregon were historic; the word “White Stag” and “Sportswear” were not. Of course, today, the stag and Oregon outline are still viewed as historic - no one debates that. However, the question is whether or not the words “Made in Oregon” and “Old Town” have become historic in the twelve years that they have been on the sign.

Recall that the stag (with Rudolph nose) was determined to be historic under the 33.845 **Historical Landmarks** guideline, with the specific criteria being 2. **Neighborhood significance** and 3.

Symbolic significance. So, let’s apply both criteria to the newer elements of the sign.

For **Neighborhood significance**, the “Made in Oregon” words primarily relate to the Old Town neighborhood through their association with the Made in Oregon Shops that use to have its headquarters in the White Stag building, plus a retail outlet. They have move from the area, so there does not seem to be enough importance to the neighborhood when it comes to the “Made in Oregon” text to deem the words historic under this criteria.

As from the “Old Town” element, it seems fairly obvious that these words would have great importance to the *Old Town* neighborhood, especially since it is the neighborhood that the words were suppose to represent in the first place. So, a strong case can be made that the “Old Town” wording is historic under the Neighborhood significance criteria.

One additional reason that the “Old Town” part could be considered historic is the **Commerce and Industry** category that 1997 staff established. Then, only Max Hirsch and White Stag were in need of recognition on the sign. Now, the Naitos should have some aspect representing their contribution.

Now, “Made in Oregon” represents the retail chain the family owned and was cofounded by Sam Naito. However, “Old Town” represents where the family’s business were based and the area they contributed a great deal to. Plus, Bill Naito coined the “Old Town” phrase and was important in keeping it lit for many years.

Of the two, the “Old Town” words might represent the Naitos a little better, but it is a close call.

Having applied the **Neighborhood significance** guideline, it is time to apply the **Symbol significance** criterion. Unlike the one just used, the guideline has to consider importance to people well beyond just the neighborhood that houses the sign.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

So, what are the opinions of Portlanders? In a 2006 interview about the sign, Portland Oregon Visitors Association spokeswoman Deborah Wakefield expressed that the sign has many meanings. Beside the Made in Oregon stores, it represents all of Oregon. "If it says U of O, it's obviously a sign advertising the fact that the university is there," she elaborates. "It loses some of the layers" (Yim, March 19, p. A1).

In a KATU news story about the possibility of the Made in Oregon Sign changing, one unidentified man (Figure 41) stated the following:

I am very proud of my state. I think "Made in Oregon" makes a better statement. I remember being very passionate when they changed it to "Made in Oregon." I mean, I'm born and raised in Oregon. Love the rain. Love the cold. Love this town (Norman, 2008).



Figure 41

A woman in the story expressed this:

If it is "the University of Oregon," then it is more specific, and it loses that appeal. With it saying

"Made in Oregon," it talks about everyone. I want to see it stay the way it is right now (Norman).

On an Old Town / China Town neighborhood blog, a person wrote:

I love the 'Made in Oregon' sign. It's a welcoming message for all visitors who pass by here and a welcoming sign for all Portlanders who frequent downtown. It's become a monument of our city that we love so much (Hoffman, 2008).

Commenting online about a story covering the possible sign change, Lori expressed:

I am a native Portlander and that sign means more to me than a building advertisement, it represents the pride and character of Oregonians at large. In the 23 years that I've lived, worked, and studied in Portland, that sign never made me think of a Made in Oregon store, it has made me think of my roots here how much I love being an Oregonian (Hoffman, 2008).

Columnist Anna Griffin of *The Oregonian*, wrote that "'Made in Oregon' is a brand, but it's also a way of life," and that "...symbols matter, particularly ones that pierce the gloom on even the darkest Oregon night" (2008, p. B1).



Figure 42 - The distinctive Made in Oregon Sign is easily found in this night shot of Downtown Portland

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 43 - An Oregonian piece discusses civic matters

In an article discussing the future of the sign (Figure 43), Su-Jin Yim, also of *The Oregonian*, led off stating:

You could argue it's only a sign. A 46-foot-tall, Oregon-shaped sign with flashing bulbs and an airborne deer, but an advertisement nonetheless.

But then you'd miss the point of living in Portland: The Made in Oregon sign that punctuates downtown's skyline is a quirky

landmark in a city-town that crowns a Rose Festival Queen, quenches pedestrian's thirst with its Benson Bubblers and preserves street side hitching rings for horses (2006, p. A1).

In a KOIN Local 6 News story, Joe Ierulli agreed that the University of Oregon should have a satellite campus in Portland. "But," he explained, "there is something to be said, of course, for the historic sign, and I think people would miss it" (Boddie, 2008).

KGW News allowed people to participate in an online, unscientific survey asking the following question: "Do you think the 'Made in Oregon' sign should change?" Overwhelmingly, 81% selected "No, It's Historic" (KGW, 2009).

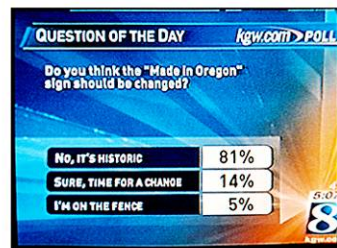


Figure 44 - The results of an unscientific poll done by KGW News



Figure 45 - A Facebook "Cause page" dedicated to preserving the Made in Oregon Sign has over 22,000 members

In response to the threat to the sign, two Facebook "Cause page" websites have been set up. The first one, established on February 20, had 22,106 members as of April 1, 2009 at 3:22 pm (Anderson, 2009). The time is important, because a new person joins every few minutes. The site appears in Figure 45.

The other page was just recently started, and has acquired 2,200 members in a week's time (Anderson, 2009).

More opinions were heard a Portland City Council on Wednesday during a meeting to discuss The City possibly using eminent domain to take control of the sign. Multnomah County Commissioner Deborah Kafoury, speaking as a private citizen explained:

The sign and its contents are important. It is a historic sign, and it has a prominent placement in our city's skyline (Larabee, 2009, P. B2).

David Wedge, who would give \$ 5,000 to buy the sign, had this to say (Larabee):

I am supporting the continuance of the Made in Oregon sign in its present form.

Finally, of course, the case before the Landmarks Commission has received a great deal of input. In

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

his *Staff Report and Recommendation to the Landmarks Commission*, Mark Walhood wrote that prior to February 24, 2009, he had received 93 correspondences. Of those: "Ninety-one of the responses were in opposition to the proposed change, while only two offered support" (p. 5).

In addition, at the March 9 Landmark Commission meeting, numerous people let their view be known. T. J. Newby commented:

Everyone I've talked to expresses great pride about this historic sign and they see the words "Made in Oregon" as meaning something far more and different than this one particular business that originally the words represented (Landmarks Commission, 2009).

Director of and professor in Portland State University's Urban Studies department, Ethan Seltzer, spoke in his own behalf, saying:

...I will say that there's more to the sign today than simply "Rudolph" and the state of Oregon (Landmarks Commission, 2009).

After the meeting, Glenn Beckly spoke to KGW News about the sign:

It represents the state and it says "Made in Oregon" and establishes pride for our community. And, we don't want that taken away from us (KGW, March 9, 2009).



Figure 46 - Glenn Beckly

All of these comments and other expressions of opinion by Portlanders and Oregonians indicates that clearly they do not see the "Made in Oregon" text on the Made in Oregon Sign as relating to just the Made in Oregon Shops retail chain. Instead, those words have meaning way beyond that.

This support for the present-day main text of the sign is far different than was the case back in 1997. Had there been this level caring about the "White



Figure 47 - The Portland Business Journal describes democracy in action

Stag" lettering, Joslin and news reports would have pick that up. Although some were concerned about the loss of the text, most people simply did not care that much for the "White Stag" words. Those words had not become historic.

Again, here is what the 33.845 Historical Landmarks guideline states:

The designation of historical landmarks provides a means for the City to formally recognize and protect its historic and architectural resources. Designated landmarks identify buildings, portions, sites, trees, statues, signs, or other objects of historic importance or architectural significance.

It enhances the beautification of the City, promotes the City's economic health, and preserves the values of these properties. The regulation of designated landmarks provides a means to review changes to a landmark to ensure that historic or architectural values are preserved (emphasis added).

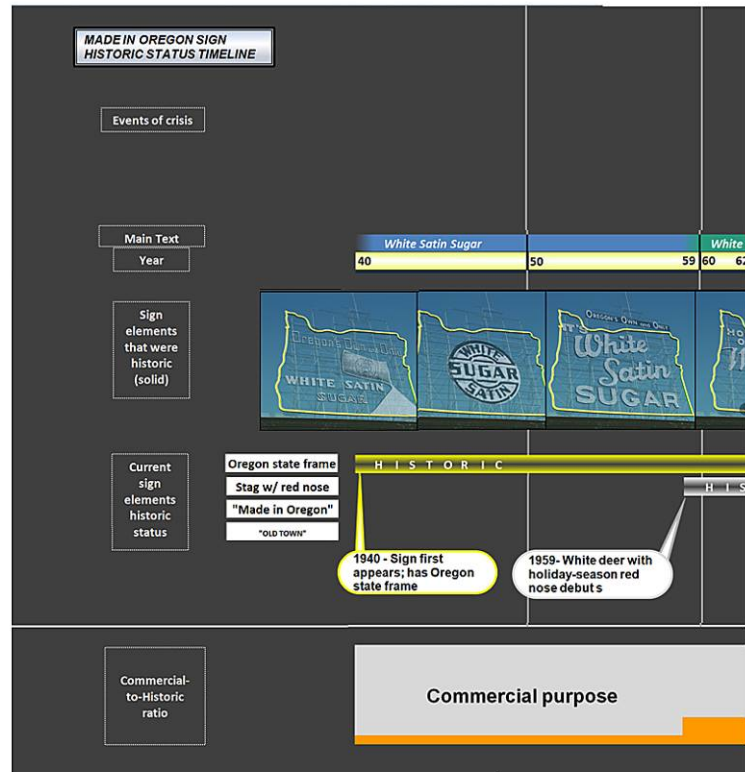
In evaluating whether the site should be designated, or maintained, a historical landmark, the criteria of 33.845.060, Subsection B. and C. are considered.

B. HISTORIC IMPORTANCE

1. **Past events.** The site is associated with significant past events, person, trends or

D. *The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)*

Figure 48



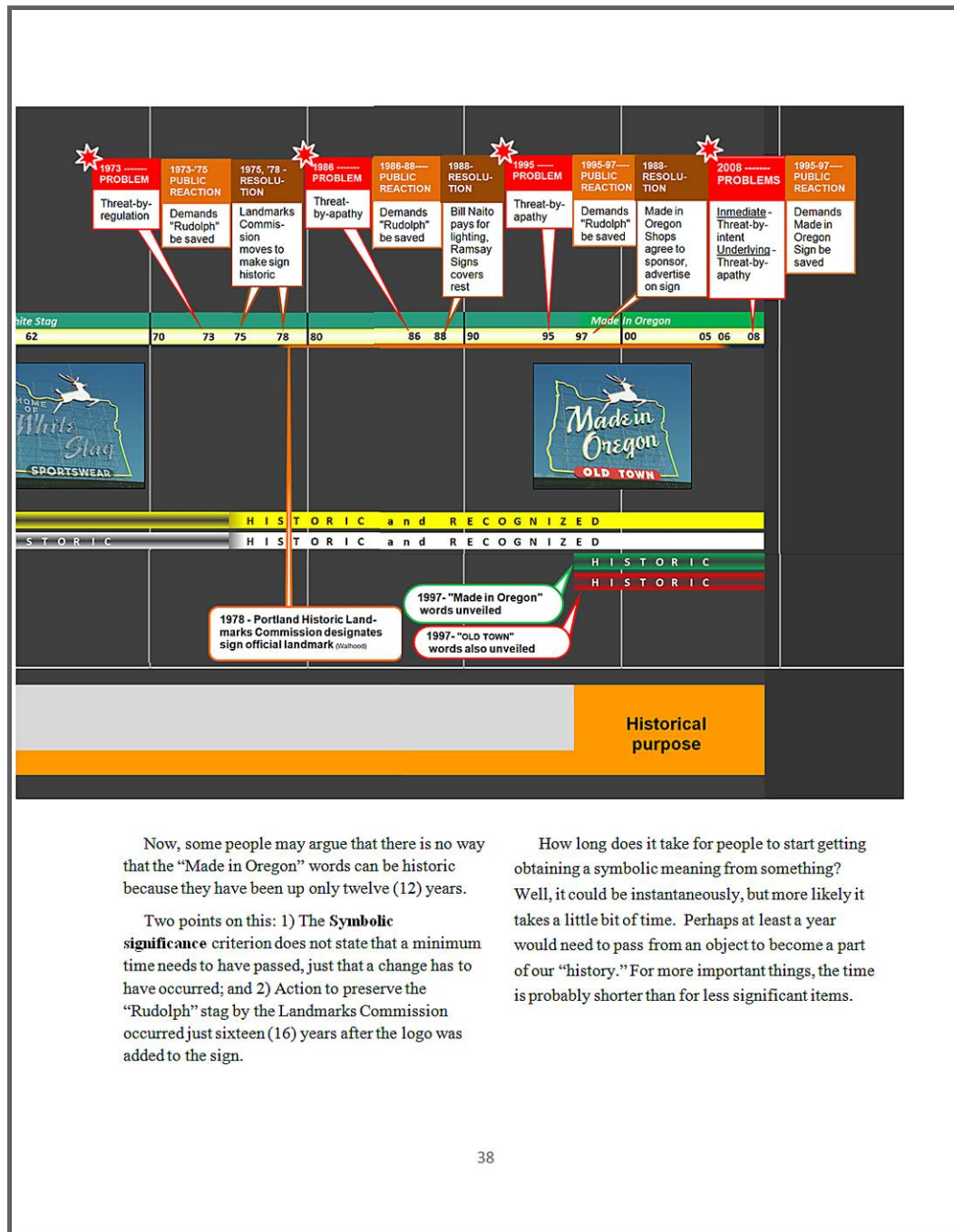
values and is a part of national or local history.

2. **Neighborhood significance.** The site contributes and provides a continuity in the historic and cultural development of the area.
3. **Symbolic significance.** The site has come to symbolize an idea, institution, political entity, or period (emphasis added).
4. **Chronology.** The site was part of Portland's early history (p. 4).

Because so many Portlanders and Oregonians have expressed the feeling that the "Made in Oregon" words on the Made in Oregon Sign have tremendous meaning beyond the retail shops that originally sponsored the text, it is safe to conclude the those words have obtained **Symbolic significance**. And, as such, the "Made in Oregon" words are now historic.

As for the "Old Town" text, it may be historic under **Symbolic significance**, simply because they came onto the sign at the same time and people have been demanding the whole sign be preserved.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Now, some people may argue that there is no way that the "Made in Oregon" words can be historic because they have been up only twelve (12) years.

Two points on this: 1) The **Symbolic significance** criterion does not state that a minimum time needs to have passed, just that a change has to have occurred; and 2) Action to preserve the "Rudolph" stag by the Landmarks Commission occurred just sixteen (16) years after the logo was added to the sign.

How long does it take for people to start getting obtaining a symbolic meaning from something? Well, it could be instantaneously, but more likely it takes a little bit of time. Perhaps at least a year would need to pass from an object to become a part of our "history." For more important things, the time is probably shorter than for less significant items.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

HISTORIC-CHANGES VERDICT

So now that we have concluded that both the “Made in Oregon” and “Old Town” text are historic because of the important symbolism, applying the **Historic Changes** guideline is kind of a given.

Again, from the Approval criteria based on the Standards of the Secretary of the Interior, G4 is:

Historic changes. Most properties change over time. Those changes that have acquired historic significance will be preserved (Walhood, p. 15).

It must be concluded that, because the “Made in Oregon” and “Old Town” words have attained historic status, they must be now afforded all of the protections given to historic resources.

Now, people may wonder how did the “Made in Oregon” words get historic when the “White Stag” words were on the sign so much longer. Let us look at that more closely.

A “PORTLAND” MESSAGE

The first factor in symbolic importance of “Made in Oregon” deals with what values Portlanders and Oregonians hold.

In proposing to change the Made in Oregon Sign, the applicants are basically dismissing the present “Made in Oregon” lettering as obsolete and unnecessary. What have failed to realize is that

these words do not just represent a company no longer located under the sign and disinterested in paying the sign’s expenses.

Let us consider next the words that have made up the main text on the sign over the years, a hypothetical ‘Oregon Goods’ retail chain, plus the suggested new UO text. In Table 4, we see that the words “White Satin Sugar,” “White Stag,” and “University of Oregon” are nominal in nature only. In other words, they just name the entity.

Conversely, besides nominal meanings of the words “Made in Oregon” and “Oregon Goods,” they both have the addition shared meaning of: “All or your material items produced in Oregon.” This is a descriptive statement about other things.

However, “Made in Oregon” has even more additional meanings. One is about “Anyone or oneself being born in Oregon,” while the other deals with “Anyone or oneself becoming something more in Oregon.” These both are declarative meanings, and, when taken personally, can be very reaffirming and pride inducing.

As we heard many people already say, presently, to some extent, all Portlanders and Oregonians can relate to the “Made in Oregon” words. This includes people with various university associations. However, if the words are changed to read “University of Oregon,” most Oregonians will lose that connection to the sign. Figure 49 (next page) is a graphic representation of the differences.

Table 4

NUMBER AND ORDER OF MEANINGS ASSOCIATED TO SIGN'S MAIN WORDS									

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

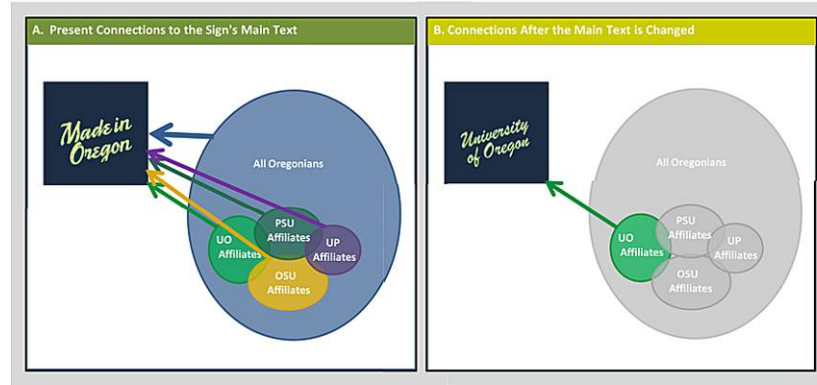


Figure 49 - A. Every Oregonian can connect to the "Made in Oregon" words, while B. "University of Oregon" connects to only a small subgroup

This unifying aspect to the present sign should not be dismissed too quickly. Last year, during the Presidential election, Americans expressed their desire to get past the partisan fighting that for too long has caused our government to be dysfunctional. Today, there is a sense among many that we are poised to overcome extreme partisanship.

Locally, we Oregonians know full well how politics can become contentious. Back in 2004, there was a ground swell of frustration with the state's land use regulations. There was enough of this sentiment to get Measure 37 passed. It basically gave land owners much more freedom to do with their property as they wished.

Box 3

BOB THE DUCK

Perhaps not as well known outside of Salem as the Oregon State Capitol Building's Golden Pioneer, Bob the Duck (Image 9) is none the less a local landmark. In 1963, he debuted as the mascot of the Duck Inn restaurant at 1980 State Street. "Everybody knows the duck," said 13-year-old Razlyn Cavazos back in 1999 (Reiter, 1999, p. 1C).

Sitting on of the establishment's roof-top box sign, Bob is equipped with a motor that rotates him forward and down, then back up, in a *bobbing* motion (Reiter).



Image 9 Author

Over the past decade, Bob has had his ...um...ups and downs. In the fall of '99, vandals spray-painted and ripped him lose. Using insurance money, then owners Lisa and Ron Moore refurbished Bob, to the delight of customers. Improvements included a new old-look to the duck based on an original menu, and new mechanics, returning his movement (Reiter).

Since at least 2001, the restaurant has been the Mexican-themed Muchas Gracias (Maxwell, 2001, p. 150). Although he does not appear to be animated any more, Bob is still there. Locals are probably saying thanks for that, in all sorts of languages.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 50 - On the left, a sign in a Southeast Portland residential neighborhood expresses support for Measure 49, while on the right, an anti-Measure 49 placard stands on a rural property just outside of the urban fringe

Some people were ecstatic with the vote, while others thought it was a death knell for the state's nationally recognized long range planning. Soon, however, some of the negative ramifications of Measure 37 began to become apparent. Concerns grew about housing subdivisions popping up in the middle of farmland and large chunks of forest being cut down to make a quick dollar.

By 2007, public opinion had shifted enough to get Measure 49 approved. It basically reversed many of the dictates of Measure 37, while still, for example, permitting people to build one or two new houses on their rural lands.

These were bitter battles for many involved. In many ways, it was illustrative of how urban and rural Oregonians view the world differently. Those in cities generally are more supportive of tighter land use regulation, while rural would prefer to have much more control of their own land. Some refer to this as the "Urban-Rural Divide."

Interesting, during the 2007 election, many showed their position on Measure 49 by placing signs in their yards. The Pro-49 signs contained a green Oregon graphic, while of Anti-49 signs portrayed a red Oregon. The symbol of the state was being used by parties that were bitterly divided (Figure 50).

Contrary to these examples, the Made in Oregon Sign is instead a giant unifying element. And,

according to a recent public opinion outreach program, that's just fine. Led by Portland Mayor Tom Potter, VisionPDX basically wanted to know what was important to people and what their hopes and dreams are for us as a community. Over 15,000 citizens participated, and the results were published in September of 2007. "Community Connectedness and Distinctiveness" was at the top of the list. The key points in the summary statement that are relevant here are:

We value a strong sense of connection in our communities. Building trust and relationships leads to a better quality of life. We value our local and small-scale political, social, economic and cultural environments. Our varied neighborhoods make Portland a special place.

We value that Portland is different from the rest of the country and we seek to preserve and protect the qualities that make us unique.

We value civic awareness and involvement, volunteerism, and local decision-making. We support a community-based decision-making structure (VisionPDX, 2007, p. 9).

After VisionPDX was completed, some questioned the benefit of it. 'So, people stated a bunch of values. Now what?' Well, acting to "preserve and protect" a symbol - the Made in Oregon Sign - that gives us "a strong sense of

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

connection in our communities" would be a way to put those values into action.

As already noted, the words "University of Oregon" will exclude people from feeling connected. But it is not just the narrowing of the message that we should be concerned about.

PROMOTING PARTISANSHIP

Athletics are huge at the University of Oregon. There can be many benefits to sports, including: the fitness and friendship gained from active participation; the excitement from following a team; and the monetary gain from being involved in the business part of it. However, not all impacts upon society by athletics are positive.

Every year in Oregon, the biggest single day sporting event is almost always the "Civil War" football game between the University of Oregon and Oregon State University. Yes, it brings alumni back to their schools to reminisce, and we get the obligatory stories of two family members, each backing a different team, still getting along harmoniously. However, there is a darker side to all this.

People often live vicariously through their sports teams and sports heroes. This is fine as long as it is kept in perspective and outcomes are not taken too seriously. Unfortunately, there are numerous people who have a hard time doing this. Losing to a "bitter rival" can

Box 4

SIGN FIGHT

30 4M THE OREGONIAN, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1987

Billboard Move Considered

Eugene-Salem Tension May Ease

There may yet be a lesson for the child in the cold war between Salem and Eugene over two highway signs dedicated to the tourist dollar. Immediately north of Salem a tasteful sign on Interstate 5 lets the southbound traveler know he's nearing Oregon's capital, site of such delights as the state office building and the state fair.

A little farther down the road a more blatant billboard lays it right on the line: "Everything for somebody? Eugene, 1 Hour Ahead."

There was peaceful coexistence for a while but Salem has been nervous ever since it learned it will have to remove its sign because the billboard is within the 2,000-foot space requirement of the Eugene sign—and Eugene's permit for the big ad predates Salem's permit.

Sign Up 10 Years

"We've had that sign there for 10 years," Fred Brenne, manager of the Eugene Chamber of Commerce, said Thursday. "It's very effective, too. A lot of somebodies have found something in Eugene."

Don McNeil, manager of the Salem chamber, admits the Eugene sign is effective.

"But so is ours," he says. "We'd like to keep it."

But as things stand now, Salem can't keep its 7-year-old sign unless Eugene dismantles its billboard and nobody from Eugene has appeared with an axe.

"We've asked the Eugene Chamber of Commerce to help us out," McNeil said. "We'd like them to move their sign the necessary 320 feet so we can keep ours."

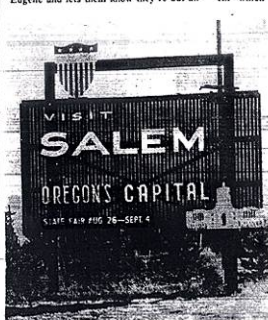
"We'll think about it," Brenne said.

Court Revokes Man's Parole

George Charles Dalrymple, 47, of 200 NW Everett St., has his parole revoked in circuit court and was sentenced to three years in the Oregon State Penitentiary. Dalrymple had been on parole after com-



THIS HAPPY sign beckons tourists to Eugene and lets them know they're but an hour's drive down the highway from Salem—which also wants their trade.



SALEM SIGN faces ax unless capital city and Eugene can get together to get signs farther apart. Eugene's sign has squatter's rights: it's been there longer.

Art Festival Scheduled

An art festival sponsored by the Eugene Chamber of Commerce will be held in the Eugene Convention Center, 1000 Broadway, from Friday through Sunday, Oct. 13-15. The festival is open to the public from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday and Saturday and from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Sunday. The festival will feature a variety of art exhibits, demonstrations, and performances.

Exhibitors will include Joe and Mike Lovett, Mrs. Alma Campbell, Gordon Jones, Carl Olson, Leslie Cox, Howard Howard, Earl Harell, David A. Harris, Original Art, and members of the Eugene Valley of Arts.

Maryhurst College will have student work.

Image 10

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 51 - Involvement in sports, like the “Civil War” football game between UO and OSU, often means one has to choose a side

make people very depressed or very angry. Conversely, winning can cause individuals to

become too self-assured and arrogant.

Now, all these negative emotional responses are not just the solely the result of people getting carried away. There are others in society whose jobs are to get people emotionally over-involved in sports. A key way to make this happen is to constantly push the concept of “Us versus them.” People want to feel like “winners” and not like “losers.” This desire can help create loyal partisans who will consistently keep giving monetarily through tickets purchases and donations, or through

other types of support, like taking care more

mundane and difficult tasks.

Box 5

THE HUNGRY DUCKLING

Waddle’s restaurant opened in 1945 at the south end of the Interstate Bridge. Greeting southbound travelers coming over from Vancouver was a large sign with the words “Eat Now” and a giant, bib-wearing duckling (Pulaski, 2004, p. E1).

Not everyone was always welcome to dine, however. During the 1950s, as a small sign posted outside stated: “White trade only - please” (Oregon Historical Society, 1952).

The restaurant closed its doors in 2004, had been scheduled to become a Krispy Kreme doughnut shop. That fell through. Now what greets people arriving into Oregon is another feathered mascot: the Hooter’s owl.



Image 11



Image 12

Author (both)

As mentioned earlier, placing the words “University of Oregon” onto the Made in Oregon Sign will not only be promoting all of the school’s scholarly endeavors, but it also be promoting all of its athletic teams. Thus, partisanship will become a prominent and permanent message in the city’s skyline.

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

CHOICES HELP CREATE MEANING

There are reasons why the present “Made in Oregon” words on the Made in Oregon Sign have attained so much more meaning than just as the name of a retail chain. The first is the choice by the founders of the Made in Oregon Shops to choose a name that permits alternate interpretations. As pointed out already, other choices, like “Oregon Goods,” would not have achieved the same affect.

The second event was the decisions back in 1995 through 1997. The Landmarks Commission rejected numerous different reconfigurations that were put forth back then. The first rejected version would have used the Made in Oregon Shops crate-type lettering style. Figure 52 shows the retail chain’s logo and the initial effort.

This decision by the Historic Landmarks Commission, and their eventual approval of the letting we know today basically helped significantly disconnect the store’s sponsors from gaining promotion benefit. If the store chain’s only goal was to promote their brand, they ended up getting little bang for their buck.

However, it was the right decision by the Landmarks Commission; a decision that would contribute greatly to the “Made in Oregon” words becoming so symbolic and, thus, historic.

It should be noted that the first idea was not a formal application. Listening to a Planning staff suggestion, the idea was presented in a “non-binding” briefing to the Landmarks Commission. At

the meeting, opinions were expressed that the proposed modifications were too extreme, and that a different design should be pursued (Joslin, 1997, p. 2).

Something like that could have been useful in this instance. The University of Oregon could have send out a trial balloon with the Landmarks Commission even before they chose the site of their new Portland campus. Had they learned back then that the sign’s lettering was historic, and thus unchangeable, then

perhaps they may have thought more carefully about which site was really best for the new campus.

Figure 53 shows three additional designs that the commission rejected during the 1995 to ’97 process.



Figure 53 - Three other rejected ideas from '95-'97



Figure 52 - On the left is the Made in Oregon Shops logo and on the right is the first proposal for the store ad, which used the same lettering

IV - A PATH FORWARD

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

When it comes to the **Emphasize Portland Themes** criterion from the Central City Fundamental Design Guidelines, the applicants claim that the “development” meets this standard. This is because, like previous entities that have been on the sign, they occupy the building below the sign. They also note

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

that they have done considerable renovation in the structure they now occupy, and that the remaining sign elements help maintain the sign's Portland-themness.

Unfortunately, in both the strict and contextual sense of interpreting the criterion, the University of Oregon simply does not measure up to the standards set by both White Stag and Made in Oregon.

When it comes to the Emphasizing Portland Themes criterion, this proposal fails.

However, The City probably cannot legally enforce a failure on this guideline - and keep "University of Oregon" off the sign - because of the freedom of speech component of the Oregon Constitution.

Conversely, when we apply the Standards of the Secretary of the Interior's G4 Historic changes and the 33.845 Historical Landmark's B. Historic Importance guidelines, we find that both the "Made in Oregon" and "Old Town" wording are historic because of the symbolic meanings that they have acquired.

In 1959, the White Stag Manufacturing Company took the seemingly natural step of finally placing their leaping stag logo on the giant sign atop their building. However, with Elizabeth Hirsch's inspiration, that stag would be transformed into "Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer" during that holiday season.

It was a combination of a clothing manufacturer's logo (the stag) and a myth animal character (Rudolph), who had his origins in 1939, being featured in a Christmas coloring book distributed by Montgomery Ward (Figure 54)

(Professorshouse.com, 2009).

Yet, this hybrid turned into such a great symbol of the holidays, that the people of Portland think that it is now indispensable.

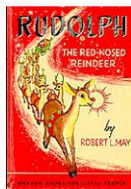


Figure 54

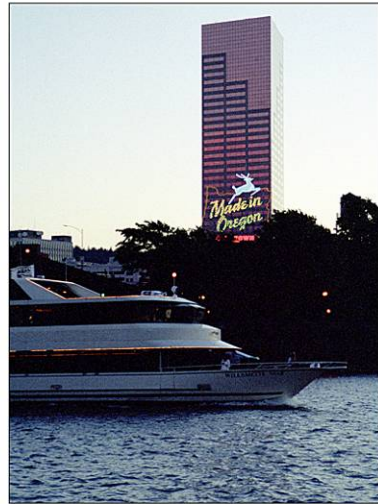


Figure 55 - A tour boat cruises by the Made in Oregon Sign on a summer evening

In 1975, Sam Naito and Don Pendergrass started gift shop at the Portland Airport that featured merchandise produced in the state. The name they selected for the company - Made in Oregon - was clearly intended to let people know succinctly what they were selling.

However, that choice for a name would combine with another decision. This decision was by the Landmarks Commission, which insisted that the "Made in Oregon" words could not be in company format. Instead, when the Made in Oregon Shops finally got to place their name on the giant sign on top of their building, it had to be in *White Stag's* lettering style. Yet, this hybrid turned into such a great symbol of community pride that the people of Portland believe that it is now indispensable.

What this all means is that the Made in Oregon Sign is now in need of recognition that is entirely historic. Such a status, of course would prevent any changes to the sign. That includes the present application to have the main text changed to

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 56 - A highly unlikely version of the sign with old "White Stag" lettering, new White Stag deer, and Wal-Mart sponsorship

"University of Oregon." In fact, it would even prevent Wal-Mart Inc., who now owns the White Stag label, from sponsoring the sign and having the "White Stag" wording put back on (Figure 56).

(By the way, someone should make sure whether or not Wal-Mart claims to have legal control of the old stag logo on the Made in Oregon Sign.)

CONCLUSION

Moving forward, the key issue is how to preserve the sign as it is. This paper has presented an excellent case for that. The applicants claim that the way to "preserve" the sign is for them to be allowed to alter it. This is a false choice.

The applicants cite the 1997 Landmarks Commission ruling, and the staff report, as a clear indication that they have the right to change the wording on the sign. There are two problems with that. **The first problem** is, as we have seen, that in 1997, the main "White Stag" text was not historic, while today's "Made in Oregon" text is.

The second problem is that in 1997, Joslin recognized the need for a sign sponsor, but also realized that no one really wanted to pay to run a sign reading "White Stag." So, a commercial use was necessary to continue maintaining the two then-historic parts of the sign - the Oregon state outline

and "Rudolph." Today, other options exist. For example, Randy Leonard, Portland City Commissioner, was offered to purchase the sign for The City. The cost would be \$ 500,000 (Anderson).

To see another example of what Portland could do, we can look to Southern California. Back in 1923, a large billboard was constructed on hills near Los Angeles. It was for a high-end housing development called "Hollywoodland." Of course, this sign would eventually lose its last four letters and become

an iconic symbol of the movie and entertainment industry (Hollywood Sign Trust, 2009).

In 1992, the Attorney General of California gave specific rights and responsibilities to three organizations: the City of Los Angeles (owns the land), the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce (has licensing rights) and the Hollywood Sign Trust (must preserve the sign) (Hollywood Sign Trust, 2009).

According to its website:

The Hollywood Sign Trust is a California 501 (c) 3 non-profit organization. The purpose of the Trust is to physically maintain, repair and secure the Hollywood Sign; to educate the world about its historical and cultural importance; and to raise the funds necessary to accomplish these projects.

Portland and Oregon could follow this example. The Made in Oregon Sign is *our* Hollywood Sign.



Figure 58 - The Hollywood Sign from the air

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)



Figure 59 - In 2003, the Governor's office began a new state branding campaign

health by applying unified branding practices to Oregon products, people and places." The document even uses the Made in Oregon Sign (Figure 60). In addition, the official website not long ago had a "My Story" page for Sam Naito and the Made in Oregon Shops. It featured a picture of Naito, Portland Mayor Tom Potter, and the Made in Oregon Sign.

What should occur next is that the Portland



Figure 60 - Two images from Oregon's Branding the State. Note the use of the Made in Oregon Sign

Besides the City of Portland having a major role in preserving the sign, the State of Oregon should be involved, as well. To a great extent the already are. In 2003, Governor Ted Kulongoski kicked off a new effort to brand the products and services of Oregon. The slogan was: "We Love Dreamers" (Mapes, 2003, p. A1).

In a document entitled *Branding the State*, the mission is: "To build Oregon's economic

Historical Landmarks Commission should formally recognized that *all* of the Made in Oregon Sign is now historic and protected as such. However, this should be conditional protection. Here is the hierarchy of what should be expected:

1. The sign is totally preserved, but only if funding can be secured. Ramsay Signs could possibly continue to own the sign, and then lease the sign to some public trust. Or, they could sell the sign to some non-profit organization and be paid to continue maintaining it, since they have done such a good job of it over the years.
2. If money cannot be secured to protect the entire sign, then the "Old Town" portion could be converted to provide a place for a sponsor.
3. As a last resort, the "Made in Oregon" text space can be freed up for a sponsor to be placed there.

As for the University of Oregon, they, a public educational institution, should not be in the business of purchasing and maintaining expensive billboards in other cities. That is not their mission.

The school has said that it needs to raise its profile and changing the Made in Oregon Sign to say "University of Oregon" would do that. They have confused a "want" with a "need." They already have two new signs on the building (Figure 61). In addition, they will likely have their "O" logo on the west face of the White Stag Building's water tower (Figure 62). Plus, the school can still advertise on regular



Figure 61 - There are already two new signs on the White Stag Block Complex that indicate that the UO has a operation there

D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

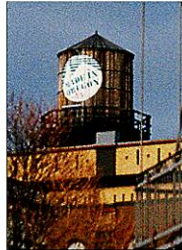


Figure 62 - An UO "O" logo will probably replace the dated logo



Figure 63 - Regular billboards are still available



Figure 64 - A new sign along Burnside would help promote the University of Oregon's presence in Portland's Old Town

billboards around the city (Figure 63).

However, the UO could use a more signage along W Burnside. Perhaps "University of Oregon - Portland" could be painted along the top edge of the White Stag building, like in the past (Figure 64).

Much has been made of The City of Portland's lack of power to control the message that can go onto the sign do to the freedom of speech clause in the Oregon Constitution. However, ultimately, this is not about that. It is about The City's right to protect existing speech.

Once again, the Central City Fundamental Guidelines state: "There are many themes unique to Portland's culture and geography that promote the city's identity and image" (p. 24).

The Made in Oregon Sign exemplifies some of those important themes. Is it a powerful Portland icon that not only helps unify Oregonians of all kinds, but it also helps establish and maintain pride in this place that we live. Every effort should be made to preserve and maintain it as it is.



D. The Made in Oregon Sign - A Powerful Portland Icon (continued)

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Cartoons TOP THREE DROPPED SIGN-CHANGE PROPOSALS



#3 - The Hysterical Landmarks Commission approved this engineering marvel, which would fold, revealing a secret message. However, it was stopped do to a lawsuit claiming visage infringement filed by Tom Peterson (but not Gloria).



#2 - State wildlife officials were thrilled with the possible increase in licensing fee revenues. Yet, proponents got scare off by a cryptic letter from a Paramount Pictures attorney saying: "Messrs Jones' and Del Toro's names are to appear *above* the title."



#1 - E.T. in Oregon? Anyway, whiney children were appeased when they were told that E.T.'s finger would be lit during the holidays. What ended this were the objections of local movie critics and UO alumni, who were still mad at Hollywood for the film *Howard the Duck*.