

Incomplete and Incremental Plan Implementation in Downtown Providence, Rhode Island, 1960-2000

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Between 1960 and 2000, Providence, Rhode Island, transformed its downtown through physical redevelopment. This article examines the proposals and implementation of seven major downtown plans issued for Providence during this period. Each plan proposed significant physical changes like the redevelopment of city blocks, the relocation of railroads, or the construction of open space. Despite Providence's successful redevelopment reputation, the study found that Providence's downtown plan implementation was both incomplete and incremental. Only four of the seven plans issued experienced any implementation during the study period, and of those four plans, only one had more than half of its recommendations implemented. Incremental implementation occurred when unimplemented plan ideas were proposed by later plans and subsequently realized.

Keywords: downtown plans and planning; comprehensive plans and planning; plan implementation; Providence, Rhode Island

Providence, Rhode Island, is an industrial city that is also the capital of the smallest state. In many ways it is a typical New England city, having been founded in the seventeenth century, grown rapidly in the nineteenth century, and declined just as swiftly in the twentieth as its industrial economy departed. But Providence is also atypical of older industrial cities in that it has dramatically and successfully redeveloped its downtown during the past forty years, reshaping its urban landscape into what local and national press have called a "model city," a "city on the move," a "model of urban revitalization," and "one of America's most livable and successful urban centers."¹ What was in 1960 a dreary wasteland of parking lots and railroad yards became by the late 1990s a pleasant panorama of parkland, riverways, and new development found in few other American cities of similar size.

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Equally as significant for urban planners, Providence's downtown redevelopment was accompanied and guided by a series of dramatic physical plans. Providence not only consistently issued downtown plans during the 1960 to 2000 period, but it consistently implemented many of the propositions of those plans as well, a notable achievement for a small American city during a period of more plan implementation failures than successes in many of Providence's peer cities.

This study is motivated by Providence's apparent dramatic success in achieving downtown plan implementation. Its major goal is to understand precisely what Providence's downtown plans proposed, and which plan ideas were implemented. Did Providence's much-vaunted redevelopment success reflect a correspondingly widespread plan implementation? To answer this question, the study compares the downtown plans issued between 1960 and 2000 with the built environment of downtown Providence.

An additional motivation for the study is the relative paucity of literature examining downtown plan implementation. The challenge of implementation is a major component of downtown planning and of public policy in general, but few studies have examined plan implementation over the long term. Seminal studies such as Altschuler, Rabinovitz, Pressman and Wildavsky, Derthick, and Gittell all examined the short term (less than ten-year) implementation context of particular plans, and these studies focused on the political, rather than physical, aspects of implementation.²

Implementation studies of downtown plans are also rare. Those studies that examine downtown plans either alone or in series describe the plans, not the implementation, if any, that resulted from those plans.³ Finally, historical surveys of the American downtown such as Fogelson and Isenberg review the important role of urban planning in shaping downtowns in the mid-twentieth century but do not examine particular plans or their implementation histories in downtown.⁴

Providence itself has also generated a growing planning and policy literature that examines the city's redevelopment activity during the period of its "renaissance." Two recent studies provide detailed summaries of the institutional context of Providence's downtown redevelopment and of the downtown plans that accompanied this redevelopment.⁵ An additional study, Stanton's profile of former Providence Mayor Vincent A. "Buddy" Cianci, sheds light on the important role that this dynamic and controversial figure played in the Providence renaissance. These studies offer valuable contextual information on Providence's plans but do not comprehensively assess Providence's downtown plan implementation. This study addresses this gap in the literature. It examines a series of plans issued for downtown Providence over a forty-year period: what they proposed, and which of these propositions were implemented.⁶

The scope of this inquiry is limited, however. It does not examine the political and institutional context of the plans in detail because this aspect

of Providence's planning already has been examined in substantial detail. Limited resources also preclude the addressing the issue of implementation causality. Assessing the normative value, or quality, of plans and their implementation is a subjective exercise that without substantial additional contextual information is not possible. Instead, this study simply assesses precisely what plans have proposed, and what plan recommendations have or have not been implemented.

Even within such a narrow framework of inquiry, this study generated some surprising and useful results. Although Providence's downtown redevelopment typically was regarded as highly successful, in fact only a fraction of the ideas proposed from 1960 to 2000 were implemented. Not only were most individual plan ideas not implemented, but even those recommendations that were acted upon were only partially realized. By 2000, less than 25 percent of the individual ideas that had been proposed in Providence's downtown plans since 1960 had been implemented even in part.

A second study finding adds depth to this point. Although Providence's downtown plans were incompletely implemented, they were also incrementally implemented. Providence's plans were not isolated artifacts. Instead, plans often suggested related ideas, so that an idea unrealized by one plan might be realized in somewhat different form in another plan. Incremental implementation meant that incomplete implementation was moderated somewhat: a particular plan's failure to be implemented did not necessarily mean that the ideas suggested by that plan would never be realized.

Providence's downtown planning process brings new clarity to planning historians' understanding of plan implementation. Even in Providence's successful planning context, where downtown plans were issued often and where implementation was usually the case, individual plan implementation failure was common, and complete plan implementation was never achieved. Individual implementation failure, however, was moderated by the fact that plans shared many of their ideas. Because many plans proposed ideas that had already been proposed in the past, albeit in a somewhat different form, ideas could be realized in a modified form through an effectively incremental process.

Study Methodology

The study methodology consisted of the following steps. All plans issued for downtown Providence from 1960 to 2000 were reviewed, and plans that were appropriate for the study were selected from this group. Selected plans were then reviewed in detail to examine precisely what each plan had proposed. Plan propositions were then compared to the historic and existing built form of downtown Providence to examine the degree of implementation of plan ideas.

Between 1959 and 2000, at least twenty plan documents were issued that related to downtown Providence in some way. These documents were issued by a variety of public and nonprofit agencies (see the appendix). These documents included physical plans, economic development plans, and plans for single landowners like a university. Seven of these plans had a spatial, urban design focus, and these seven plans were selected for the study. The study excluded citywide comprehensive plans, social or economic development plans, and physical plans focusing solely on preservation.

Downtown physical plans were selected for two reasons. The realization of downtown physical plans played a major, if not the most important, role in creating the perception of the Providence “renaissance” and were therefore important plans to examine in detail. Downtown physical plans also permitted an assessment of implementation because both their recommendations, and their degree of implementation, were physical and specific, and therefore could be relatively easily compared.

The term “downtown plan” reflects a well-established nomenclature. Downtown plans are generally considered to be a specialized subtype of citywide master plans which focus specifically on central business districts (CBDs) or downtowns.⁷ Because CBDs have a small land area and are spatially complex, downtown plans are often design oriented. Downtown plans may propose new open spaces and street layouts, as well as the locations, programs, and even schematic designs for new infrastructure and buildings.⁸ Providence’s downtown plans all conformed to this definition.

A second step in the study methodology was ascertaining what Providence’s downtown plans had recommended. Plan ideas could be explained in plans through maps, plans, and perspective drawings as well as text. Plan ideas were often presented together in a single “master plan” drawing. These illustrations serve as the source for this article’s figures (see Figures 1 through 10). Additional information on the existing built environment of downtown Providence during the 1960 to 2000 period was gathered from historic aerial photographs and field study.

The study subsequently determined which plan recommendations had been implemented. Downtown Providence clearly changed in many ways from 1960 to 2000, but which of these changes can be attributed to downtown plan implementation? Since each plan’s ideas were quite specific, a plan’s implementation up to a given date could be assessed by examining the existing physical environment at that time. Two assumptions were made: first that plan ideas had not been implemented and then removed without trace; and second that physical changes that were identical to plan proposals were indeed linked to plans. To provide a rough measure of the degree of implementation of Providence’s plans, this study compared the total geographical area of change proposed by a plan with the area that had actually experienced change.

This methodology had some limitations, however. Because of resource constraints, the study examined only final plan documents. Draft documents and associated materials such as newspaper accounts were generally not examined. Nor did the study individually demonstrate the causal relationship between plan recommendations and observed physical changes.

An Introduction to Providence's Downtown Plans

The plans selected for the study were the following: the *College Hill* plan (1959); *Downtown Providence 1970* (1961); *Interface: Providence* (1974); the *Capital Center Project Development Plan* (1979); *Providence Waterfront Study* (1985); the *Old Harbor Plan* (1992); and the *Jewelry District Concept Plan* (1999). The institutional history of these plans is described briefly below; additional information is found in both Leazes and Motte and Bunnell.⁹

College Hill: A Demonstration Study of Historic Area Renewal was issued in 1959 by the Providence City Plan Commission in partnership with two agencies, the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), later to become the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and the Providence Preservation Society (PPS). The plan was motivated by the PPS, which had originated in 1957 as a response to plans for the proposed clearance of parts of the historic neighborhood on the east bank of the Providence River known as College Hill by the Rhode Island School of Design and Brown University.¹⁰ College Hill was the site of Providence's original settlement and was home to hundreds of historic buildings dating as far back as the early eighteenth century.

Downtown Providence 1970 was issued in 1961 by the Providence City Plan Commission in partnership with two agencies, the HHFA and a private "businessman's organization," the Downtown Business Coordinating Council (DBCC). The DBCC provided the majority of funding for the plan, and the plan was presumably designed to receive implementation funding from the HHFA's stream of Federal urban renewal money. *Providence 1970* was ambitious in scope, examining the entire downtown from the east bank of the Providence River westward to Interstate 95, which was under construction at the time of the plan's writing.

Interface: Providence was issued thirteen years later, in 1974, by a very different set of actors. The plan emerged from a 1972 architecture studio at the Rhode Island School of Design that examined the implication of potential improvements to the Northeast Corridor railroad that ran through Providence. The plan was a conceptual document that was not specifically geared toward implementation, and neither the city nor the federal government participated in the authorship or the funding of the plan. Like *Providence 1970*, *Interface* examined the entirety of the Providence CBD.

The 1979 *Capital Center Project Development Plan* was different in several respects from previous downtown plans. First, the plan reflected the interests of an additional actor, the state government, in the planning of downtown Providence. The State Capitol building was located on Smith Hill directly to the north of the Providence CBD but was separated from it by a wide swath of railroad tracks. Second, the plan was primarily motivated by transportation policy. A private organization, the Providence Foundation, initiated the plan to take advantage of federal railway funding to improve the Northeast Corridor between Providence and Boston. The plan was also authored by an outside private consultant (Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill) instead of a Providence-based agency or organization. The *Capital Center* plan was more limited in its geographical scope than the previous two plans, examining only the northern CBD and the State Capitol area.

The *Providence Waterfront Study*, issued in 1985, was sponsored by a similar mix of public and private actors: the state of Rhode Island, the city of Providence, and the Providence Foundation. The plan was principally authored by Rhode Island architect William Warner, who had also been a contributor to the College Hill plan twenty-five years earlier. True to its name, the *Waterfront Study* was limited in scope to Providence's downtown waterfront, namely, the "reaches," or frontage, of its three rivers (the Woonasquatucket, the Moshassuck, and the Providence), and the city's inner harbor. The plan's area included much of the area treated in the Capital Center plan.

The *I-195 Old Harbor Plan 1992* was the product of a similar consortium of actors as the Waterfront Study. Again, William Warner's firm authored the plan, which was sponsored by the Providence Foundation. Unlike the previous documents, the *Old Harbor* plan was formally integrated into a larger planning effort: officially, it was "Area Plan #2" of *Providence 2000: the Comprehensive Plan*, a document that was issued approximately one year later. The design recommendations of the *Old Harbor* plan made it clear that it was consciously seen as a successor to the 1986 *Waterfront Study*. The plan's scope was extended to focus not only on the Providence waterfront but on an additional area of land south of the CBD, the city's "old harbor."

The most recent plan examined was the 1999 *Jewelry District Concept Plan*. This plan was issued by a private, nonprofit organization, the Jewelry District Association. This plan examined the same area of the city as the *Old Harbor* plan but was authored by a different consultant, Boston's Thompson Associates. Although it was issued subsequent to the 1993 *Comprehensive Plan*, the *Jewelry District* plan stated that upon approval it would be "incorporated into the Comprehensive Plan."

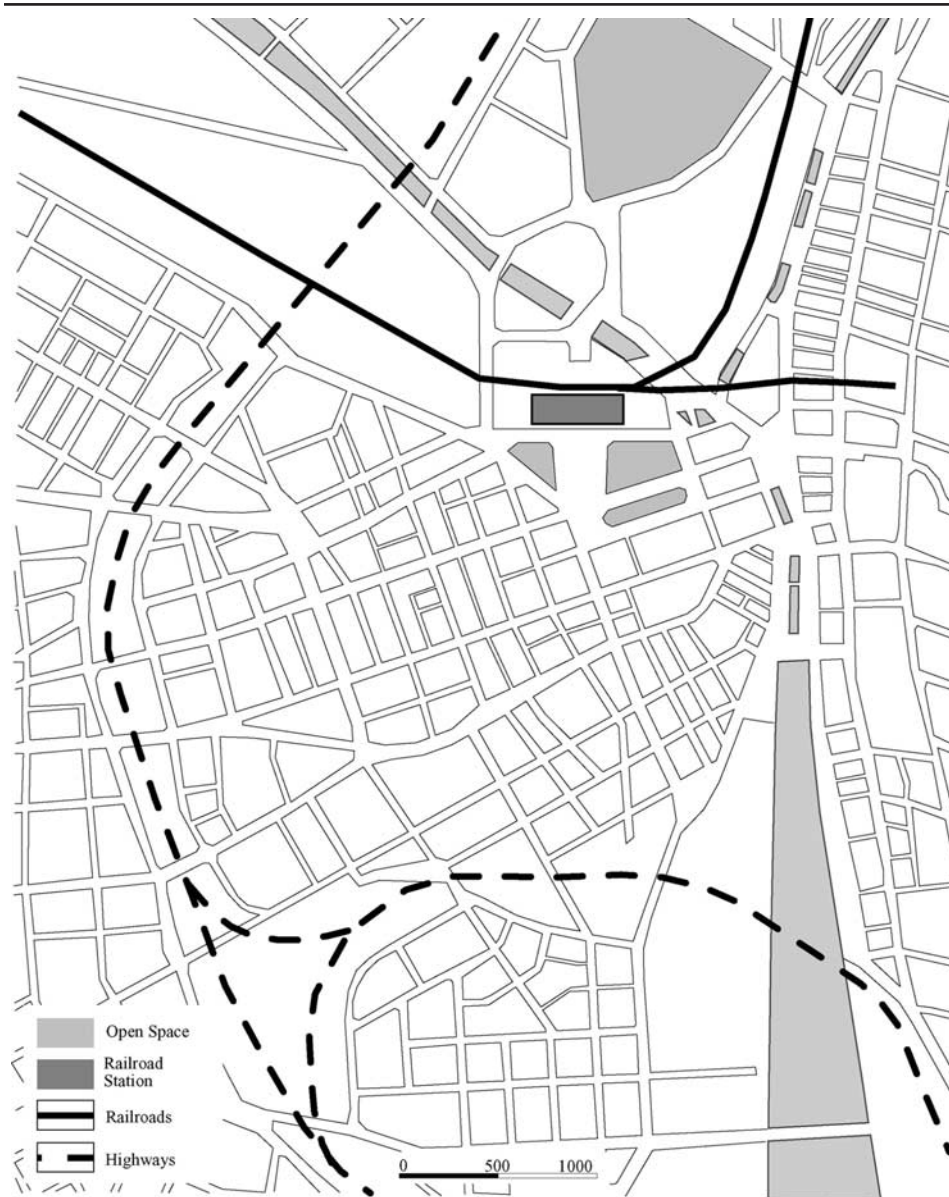


Figure 1: Downtown Providence in 1958

Note: The two interstate highways under construction (95 and 195) were the first substantial physical changes in downtown Providence since the late nineteenth century. Note downtown's small blocks and narrow streets and the two rivers intermittently buried under roadways and parking.

Providence's Downtown Plan Implementation

In 1958, before the issuance of the *College Hill* and *Providence 1970* plans, Providence's downtown was mostly composed of small city blocks

with narrow streets and older buildings dating from the prewar period (Figure 1). Construction of the city's interstate highways had just begun, and clearance was under way for Interstate 195 south of downtown. Interstate 95 would soon follow, swinging in a north-south arc to the west of downtown and requiring the demolition of dozens of city blocks. The area north of downtown was an unattractive and inaccessible tangle of roadways, parking lots, and railroad viaducts. Underneath it all ran the city's two small rivers, the Woonasquatucket and the Moshassuck, which met in downtown to form the tidal Providence River. The railroad was a barrier between the State Capitol on Smith Hill and the downtown. The problematic form of this area was the outcome of an incremental history of railroad construction superimposed over a nineteenth-century body of water called Providence Cove.¹¹ This confusing area, centered around the buried junction of the two rivers, would be the locus for many of the recommendations of Providence's downtown plans over the next three decades.

On the east side of downtown, College Hill was in 1959 a mix of colonial-era houses, nineteenth-century warehouses, and vacant lots. The *College Hill* plan (Figure 2) proposed the preservation of the oldest structures in this area and the substantial demolition and rebuilding of other parts of the neighborhood, including the removal of almost all of the nineteenth-century commercial structures on the lower blocks of the hill. Several blocks in the northernmost part of this area were proposed to be cleared and were designated as a historic park commemorating the foundation of Providence on this site in 1636. Further to the south, the plan proposed clearing additional blocks to create additional open space, wider access roads to downtown, and new high- and low-rise housing and office buildings along Providence River. A heliport was to be placed over part of the river, and much of the remainder of the river system was to be decked over and designated as new plazas and streets.

Despite the many significant changes that it proposed for the oldest part of the city, *College Hill* treated many of the colonial and nineteenth-century houses in the area as resources, proposing that they be restored. As one of the plan's creators acknowledged almost forty years later, "We were the first to use preservation to renew a city—but there's also some bad stuff in that plan."¹² At a time when only a few designated historic districts existed in the United States and when the clearance of older city neighborhoods was conventional planning wisdom, *College Hill's* proposals displayed significant sensitivity toward an older urban neighborhood. Even so, the plan's rather cavalier recommendations for the redevelopment of College Hill's commercial blocks with high-rises, and its recommendation to clear several blocks of older structures for the proposed historic park, displayed a destructive spirit similar to that of Providence's next downtown plan, *Providence 1970*.

Written soon after *College Hill*, *Providence 1970* (Figure 3) proposed major changes to downtown Providence. Much of the west and north sides

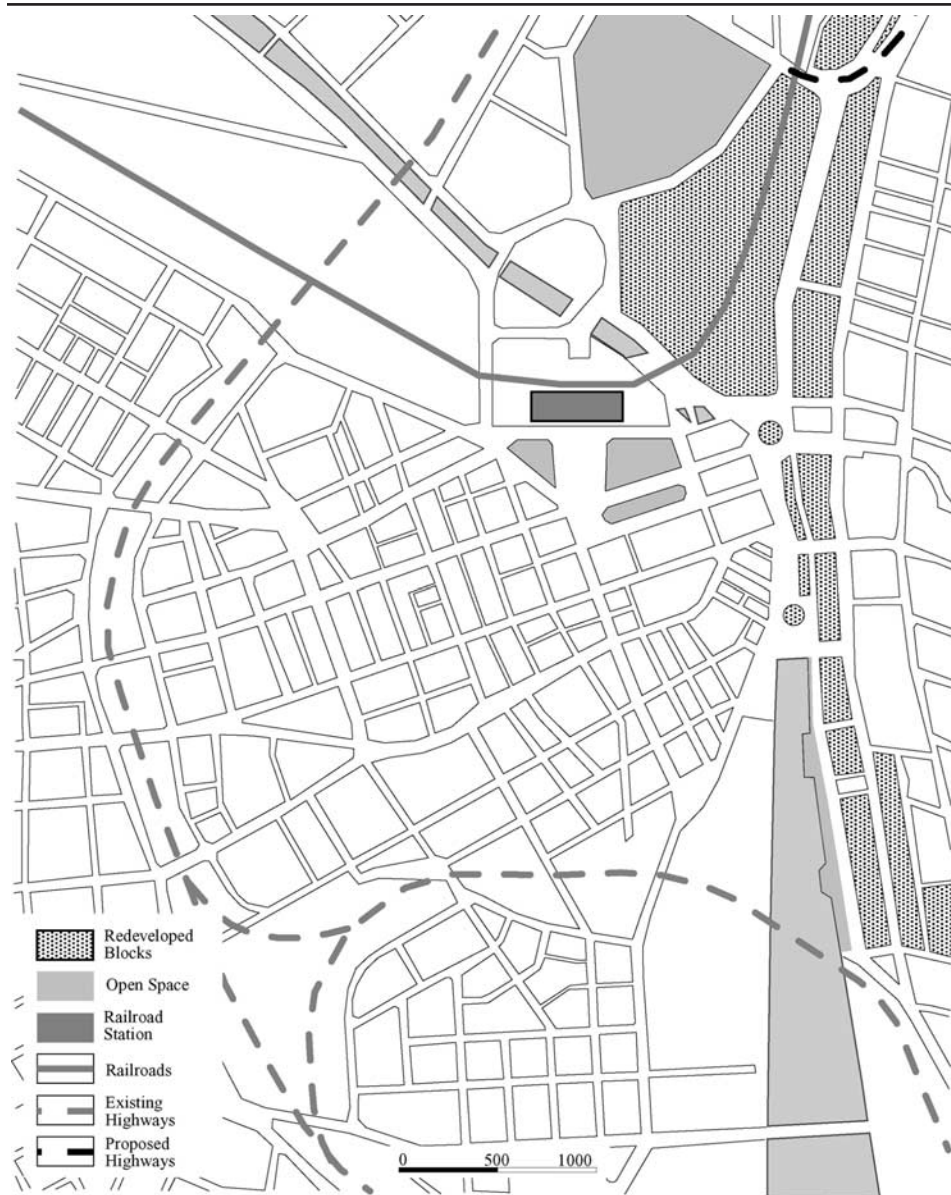


Figure 2: College Hill's 1959 Proposal for Downtown

Note: The plan suggested a mix of preservation of eighteenth-century homes on College Hill and redevelopment of nineteenth-century commercial blocks at the base of the hill.

of downtown were to be almost entirely cleared and rebuilt with modern buildings and much larger blocks with wider streets. The plan also proposed major infrastructural investments, including a new highway and relocated railroad line. This new infrastructure would provide automobile and transit access to the rebuilt downtown. Significant amounts of parking were also

provided in the rebuilt areas, acknowledging and emphasizing the primacy of the automobile as a transportation mode. As in the *College Hill* plan, the riverfront was to be almost completely redeveloped. *1970* showed Providence's rivers completely submerged beneath a tide of parking lots, highways, and railroads. These polluted bodies of water were so far beneath the notice of the plan's authors that they were not mentioned in the document. The plan was wide-ranging—many areas not proposed for clearance, such as the downtown retail district along Westminster Street, were also to be changed. *1970* designated this street as a pedestrian mall, with all automobiles banned. In a 1960 promotional brochure for the plan, change was the principal theme:

Downtown . . . has been transformed. [A male visitor] will leave the new train station, and walk past the beautiful new hotel to the Civic Center. Around him are new office structures . . . he will cross a bridge into the new Mall Park . . . the shopping area is not as he remembered. The central axis . . . is now a pedestrian way. He follows the mall . . . [and] there . . . is another surprise. He remembers that on his left he was accustomed to see some old factory buildings, and some other outdated structures. Straight ahead is the new Interstate Bus Terminal, and a huge rounded structure. This is the new Convention and Sports Center . . . along Westminster Mall . . . what had formerly been an area of unattractive buildings is now a park, with large new office structures on his left. There is much more for him to see and do . . . [he is] surrounded by high-rise housing . . .¹³

Providence 1970 was in many respects typical of urban renewal plans of the 1950s and 1960s, which treated the older parts of cities as “obsolete” areas that needed to be cleared for the city to succeed. The plan advocated significant reconstruction in a manner that was quite different from the existing city fabric. Where Providence's original cityscape had small blocks, narrow streets, and dense low buildings with mixed uses, the plan proposed larger blocks; wide, automobile-oriented roadways; and segregated-use buildings surrounded by open space. Pedestrians were also to be segregated from automobiles, with each occupying its own area of the downtown. The desire for a new and different cityscape was dominant, with new structures reflecting the modern or international style not only in their site planning but in their architectural design as well.

Perhaps the most dramatic proposal of *Providence 1970* was the plan's relocation of the railroad and redesign of the site around the buried river junction and former railroad station. This would be the first of many proposals for this location in succeeding decades, during which time Providence's rivers would become resources to be celebrated rather than liabilities to be suppressed.

By the mid-1970s, the urban fabric of downtown Providence reflected the implemented portions of the *College Hill* and *Providence 1970* plans (Figure 4). Many of *College Hill*'s more dramatic recommendations were not constructed, particularly its high-rise housing. However, the area that *College Hill* recommended as a historic park was designated the Roger Wil-

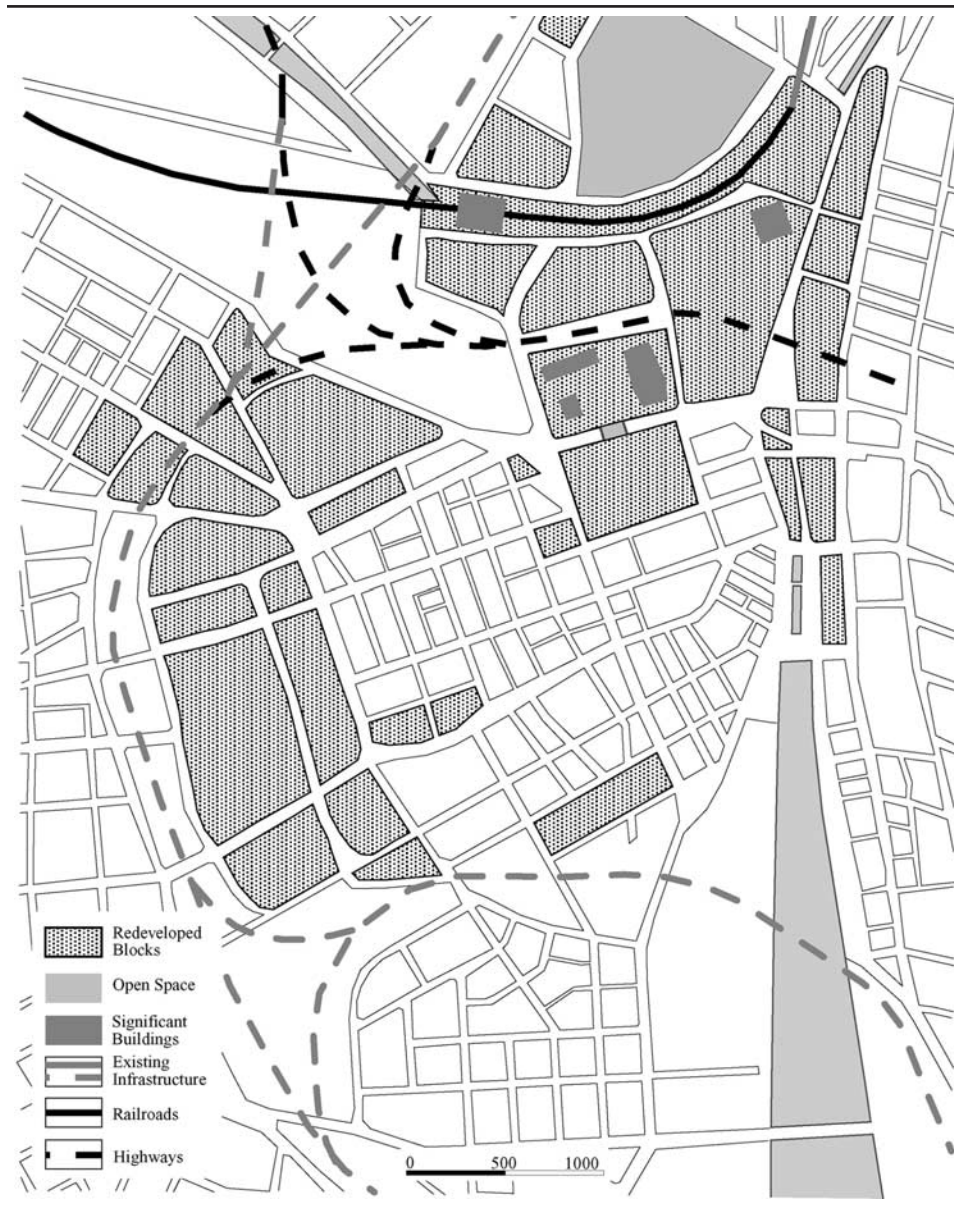


Figure 3: Providence 1970 (1961)

Note: This plan proposed the clearance and redevelopment of much of downtown. The plan also suggested substantial infrastructure changes, including a new highway and a shifted railroad line.

liams National Memorial in 1965. The older buildings occupying the site were cleared and the site's multiple blocks were aggregated, though the park would not be fully developed until the 1980s. A equally significant change was the renovation of Benefit Street's historic housing, much of which occurred during the 1960s and 1970s after *College Hill* recom-

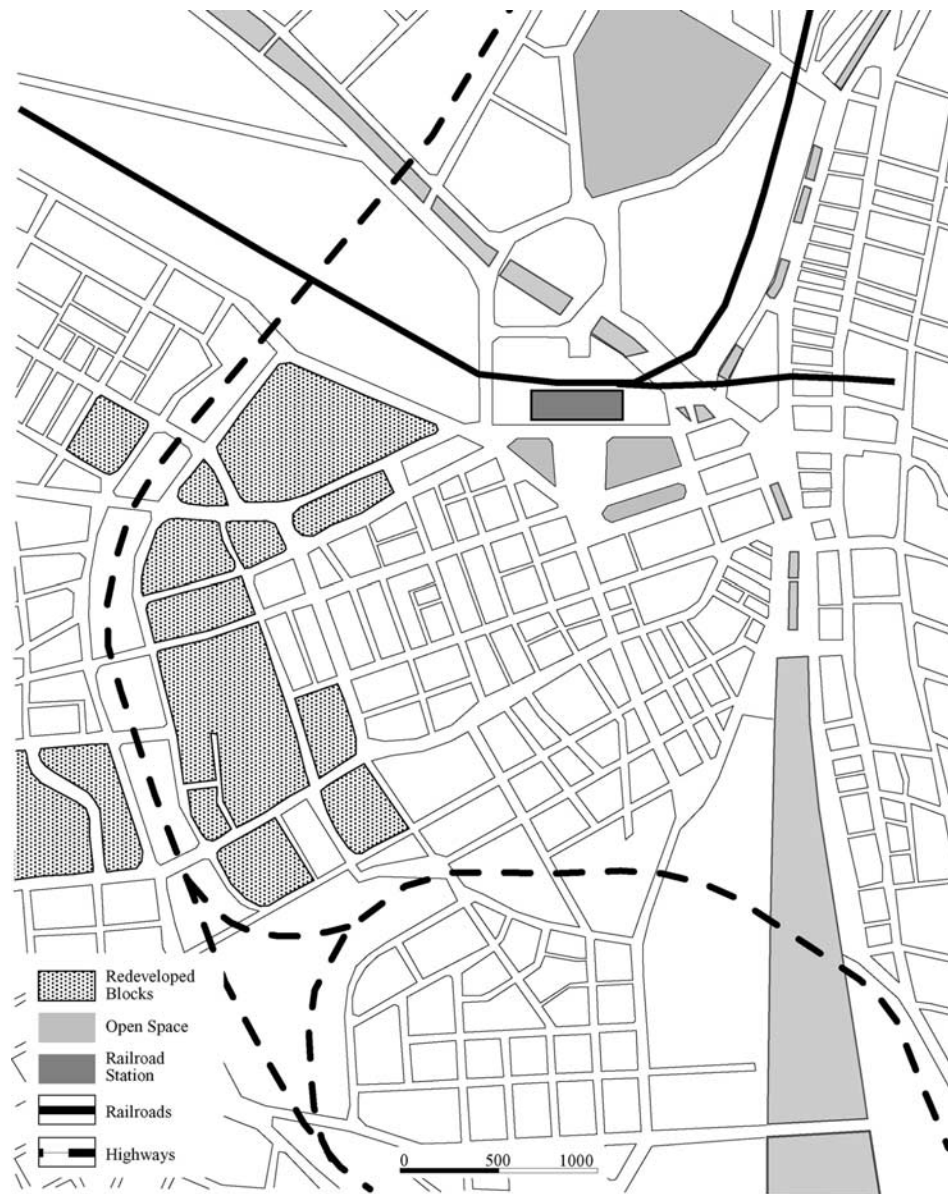


Figure 4: Providence in 1974

Note: In 1974, Providence reflected the implemented portions of the *Providence 1970* plan. Much of the west side of downtown adjacent to Interstate 95 was cleared and rebuilt during the 1960s with larger blocks, wider streets, and new residential and commercial buildings. Little was preserved in the rebuilt areas.

mended it for preservation rather than clearance. By the 1980s, Benefit Street had become one of the most desirable and expensive neighborhoods in Providence. Several institutional changes were also instituted as part of the implementation of the plan.¹⁴

Contrary to both Bunnell and Leazes and Motte, who argued that “only a very small part of *Providence 1970* [was] implemented,”¹⁵ the study found that *Providence 1970* experienced significant and rapid implementation, particularly on the west side of downtown (compare Figures 3 and 4). As the plan had suggested, the western and northern edges of downtown adjoining Interstate 95 were cleared and rebuilt in the 1960s with new high-rise housing, office buildings, parking lots, and a downtown arena and convention center. The final design of many of these elements differed in their details from those proposed in the plan. As *1970* intended, these redevelopments transformed the appearance of the western portion of downtown, but they did so at the expense of the small-scale buildings and street-level retail that had characterized it previously. Elsewhere, Westminster Street at the core of downtown was closed and redesigned as a pedestrian mall in 1964 to stimulate retail activity on the street.¹⁶ It was not successful: all of Providence’s department stores closed within a decade of the mall’s inception.

Some of *1970*’s most dramatic recommendations were not implemented. The new civic center was not realized, sparing historic City Hall and the railroad station from demolition. Nor were the plan’s infrastructure recommendations realized. The Northeast Corridor railroad was not relocated, and the plan’s proposed new highway spur was not constructed. The underutilized land north of the railroad station remained a swath of parking lots, tracks, and roadways well into the 1980s. Consequently, the city’s rivers remained almost invisible throughout the 1970s, although new ideas for them would emerge with the subsequent *Interface: Providence* plan.

Like *Providence 1970*, *Interface: Providence* boldly proposed extensive changes to the entire area of downtown Providence. The plan’s fundamental approach, however, was quite different (Figure 5). *Interface* suggested exposing downtown’s riverway system and transforming it into a series of picturesque lagoons around the base of Smith Hill. These new waterways would be surrounded by extensive parkland, linking the City Hall and State Capitol grounds and replacing the extensive parking lots north of the railroad station. Although *Interface* transformed the rivers’ configuration, it did not propose changes to the railroad location, so that the plan’s extensive waterways and parks would have to duck under multiple roadways and railroad bridges to reach the harbor. *Interface* made additional, equally radical suggestions for the rest of downtown: all downtown streets would be entirely closed to automobile traffic and converted to pedestrian malls, and to intercept automobiles, huge parking garages on redeveloped superblocks would be constructed at the north, south, and west edges of the downtown along Interstates 95 and 195. These garages would have required the demolition of several blocks of older buildings.

Although Leazes and Motte claim that “a few of the ring roads” recommended by *Interface* were constructed,¹⁷ the study did not find any evidence that any of the plan was implemented. In reality, *Interface*, proposed by an academic institution rather than a city agency, was intended for dis-

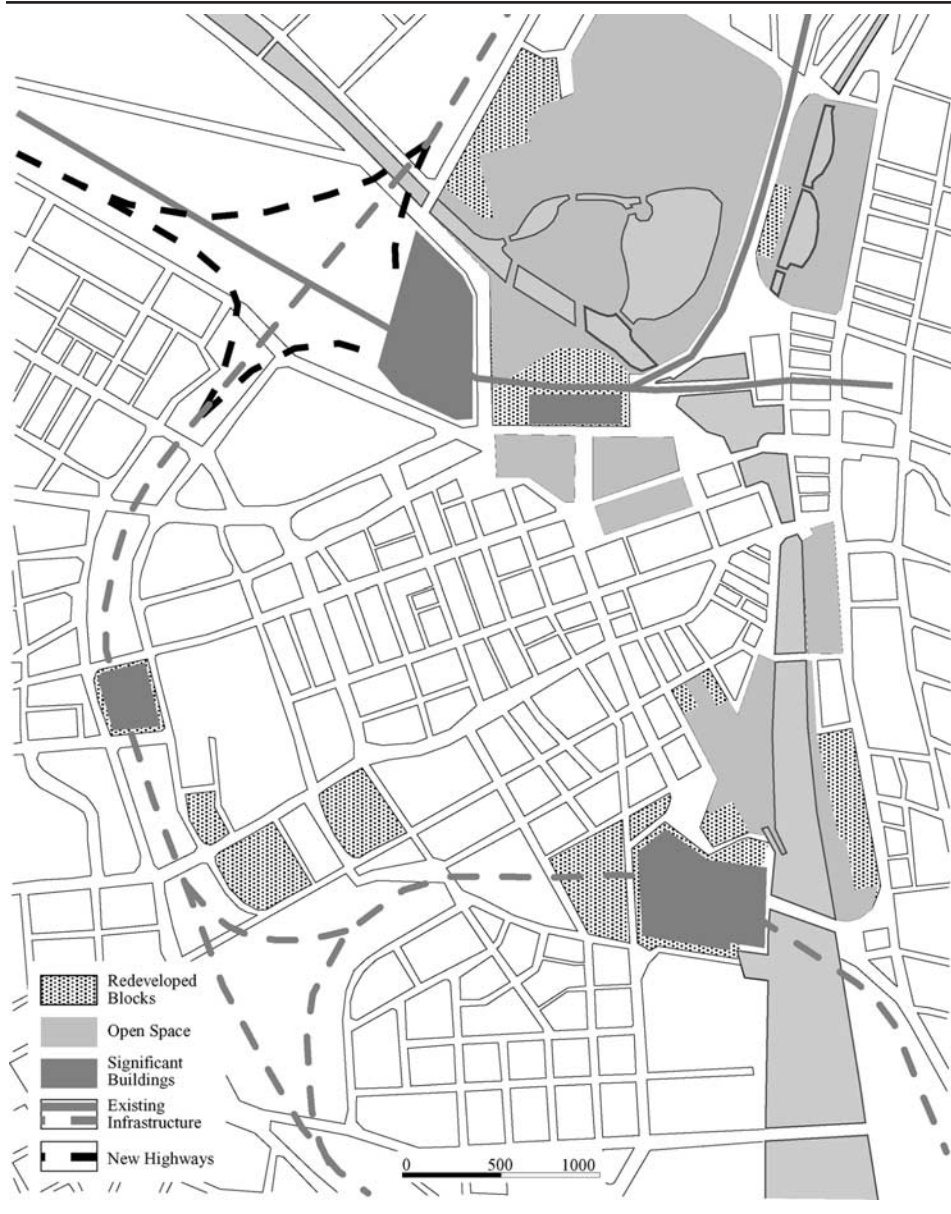


Figure 5: *Interface: Providence (1974)*

Note: This plan focused on radically reshaping the city's waterfront and on segregating automobiles and pedestrians.

cussion rather than implementation. Yet many of its seemingly polemical ideas were well in line with planning ideals of the time. Plans for the “gating” of downtown with parking garages, and the radical pedestrianization of downtown streets, had been proposed by architects like Victor Gruen and Louis Kahn in the early 1960s. Far more original was

the plan's startling emphasis of Providence's waterway system as a central, orienting downtown spatial element. This proposal stood in sharp contrast to the near-buried state of the rivers at the time, and it was a complete reversal of previous plans that had proposed to further bury the rivers. *Interface's* ornate system of lagoons and parks proclaimed that Providence's natural environment could be an organizing spatial element for a confusing and unattractive area of downtown. Though *Interface* would not be implemented, this argument would prove prophetic.

The issuance of *Interface* also coincided with the election of Mayor Vincent A. "Buddy" Cianci in 1974. Mayor Cianci would be in office for twenty of the next twenty-seven years and would play a major role as a booster of both the city of Providence and of the city's downtown redevelopment efforts. Twenty-five years later, Mayor Cianci would credit the *Interface* plan with having inspired his advocacy for historic preservation in downtown.¹⁸

Although *Interface* was motivated by the availability of funds to rebuild the Northeast Corridor railroad, the plan did not propose any changes to the railroad's location or configuration. Five years later, however, the *Capital Center* plan proposed another redesign for this area of downtown. As had *Providence 1970*, *Capital Center* proposed shifting the railroad line to the north and constructing a new train station to the northeast of the existing one. However, *Capital Center* also suggested preserving the existing station and developing the land between the old and new railroad line for office buildings and parks rather than parking lots. Shifting the railroad provided the opportunity for two additional infrastructure recommendations. In the space vacated by the railroad, the plan proposed a highway interchange linking Interstate 95 to a new access road along the Woonasquatucket River. The shift also provided the opportunity to reopen, or "daylight," the river, and to widen it into a small cove lined with parkland north of the old railroad station. Finally, *Capital Center* proposed reorganizing the street system on the north side of downtown to rationalize automobile access to the new office district (Figure 6).

Although *Capital Center* was focused on reconfiguring downtown's rail and highway infrastructure, it also proposed significant spatial changes to the northern portion of downtown. Most significant was the plan's designation of the former rail yards as an annex to the CBD. Selling the rail yard land off for development was clearly intended to provide a fiscal incentive for implementation, but these sites would prove to be poorly marketable for new office space. *Capital Center* did not provide the city's downtown riverways with the same degree of attention that the plan had dedicated to the railroad relocation and new business district. The plan depicted six bridges over the Woonasquatucket and Moshassuck rivers within a short stretch. Many of these roads were quite wide and crossed at acute angles, creating oddly shaped city blocks and unnecessary connections to nowhere.

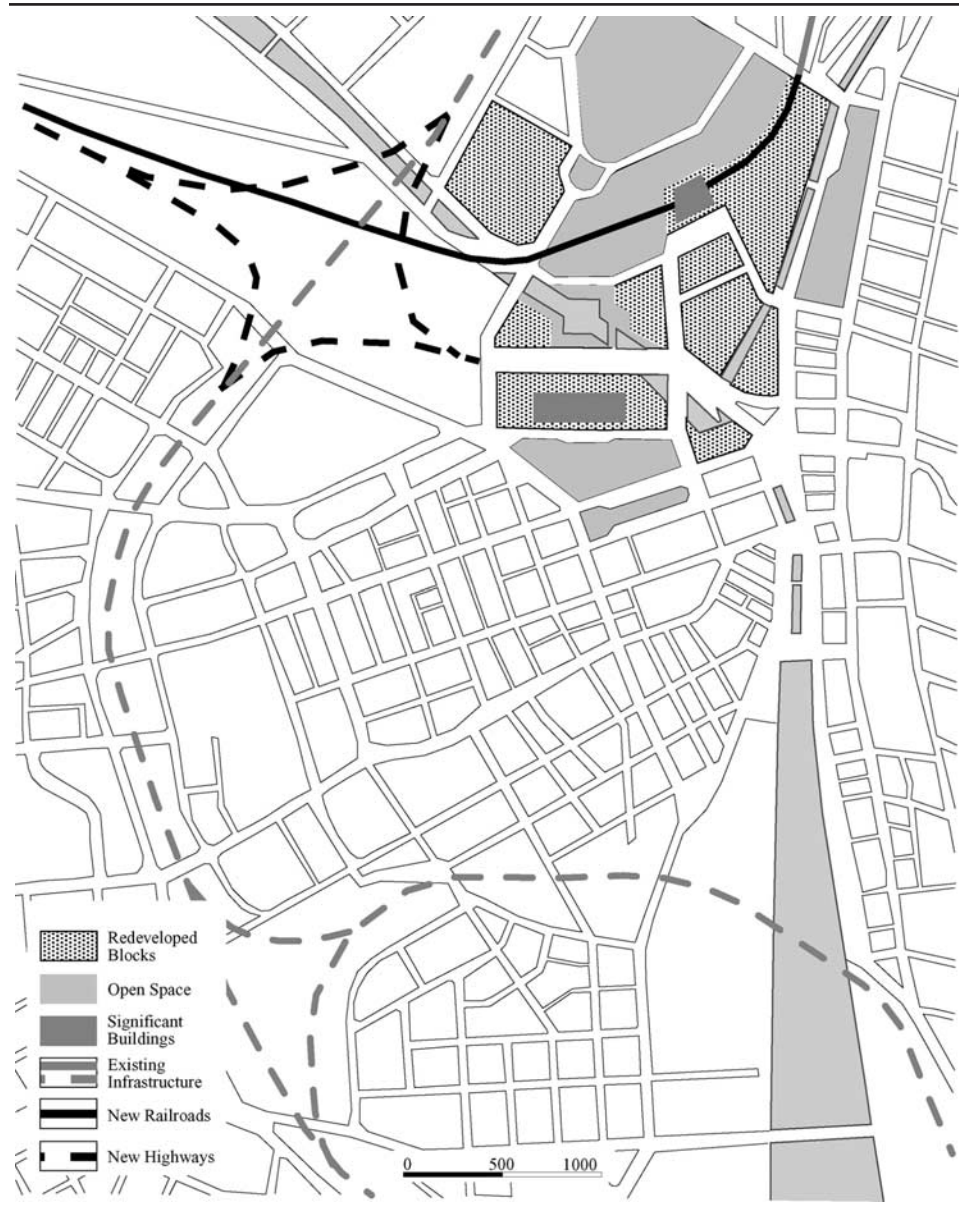


Figure 6: *Capital Center* (1979)

Note: This plan again proposed shifting downtown's railroad and envisioned the released land as a new office district.

Though its spatial scope was less ambitious than that of *Interface*, the *Capital Center* plan was linked to a well-funded implementation strategy based on federal transportation funding. Leazes and Motte credit the plan's subsequent rapid implementation to a fortuitous political environment, with "the right people with the right ideas . . . in place at the right time."¹⁹ These circumstances no doubt contributed to the implementation of *Capi-*

tal Center being the most extensive of all the plans reviewed. Many of the most significant portions of the *Capital Center* plan were implemented within five years of the plan's publication in 1979. The relocation of the Northeast Corridor and construction of the new rail station occurred as the plan had designated. The old railroad line was closed and demolished, and the former railroad station was preserved and converted into office space. Although *Capital Center's* suggested design for the riverfront was not implemented, two office and residential buildings had been constructed in the newly created district north of the former railroad station near the rivers by 2000.

What happened next is a story that varies somewhat according to the telling.²⁰ By 1984, a coalition of stakeholders advocated a riverfront design that differed significantly from that proposed in *Capital Center*. This coalition included the local nonprofit Providence Foundation, Mayor Vincent "Buddy" Cianci, the state governor, and Providence-area architect William Warner. Whatever its origin, this new design was codified by the *Providence Waterfront Study*, issued in late 1984 and authored by Warner.

Waterfront's central proposal was to reconfigure the road and waterway system around the junction of the Woonasquatucket, Moshassuck, and Providence rivers. Major streets would be realigned to run alongside rather than over the rivers, enabling the waterways to be both daylighted and relocated north and west of their current locations. The plan also proposed reshaping the Woonasquatucket River into a circular cove echoing the shape of the vanished nineteenth-century Providence Cove. Open space was also increased in the plan: parkland extended from the new cove east and south along the banks of the Providence River beyond the Interstate 195 bridge. The *Waterfront* plan also proposed commemorating Providence's historic docks by excavating fingers of water, creating new piers (Figure 7).

Waterfront's daylighting proposal was far less radical than that proposed by *Interface*, but unlike *Interface*, *Waterfront* was directly designed to augment an existing plan (*Capital Center*) whose implementation was already well under way. With strong support for the plan at the federal, state, and mayoral level, reviewed in detail by Leazes and Motte, the reconstruction of the riverways and roads in the Capital Center area began in 1986 and was complete by 1992.²¹

The daylighting and relocating of Providence's rivers was one of the most significant urban design actions ever undertaken in the city, and the positive consequences for the city's image were enormous. The new riverfront parkland, at the heart of downtown, provided the city with a visual focal point that it had previously lacked. The riverfront and cove soon became the locus for a variety of public activities, including the popular WaterFire festival. Crowds poured into downtown to witness the spectacle of Providence's new waterfront illuminated by flickering torches and enlivened by ethereal music.

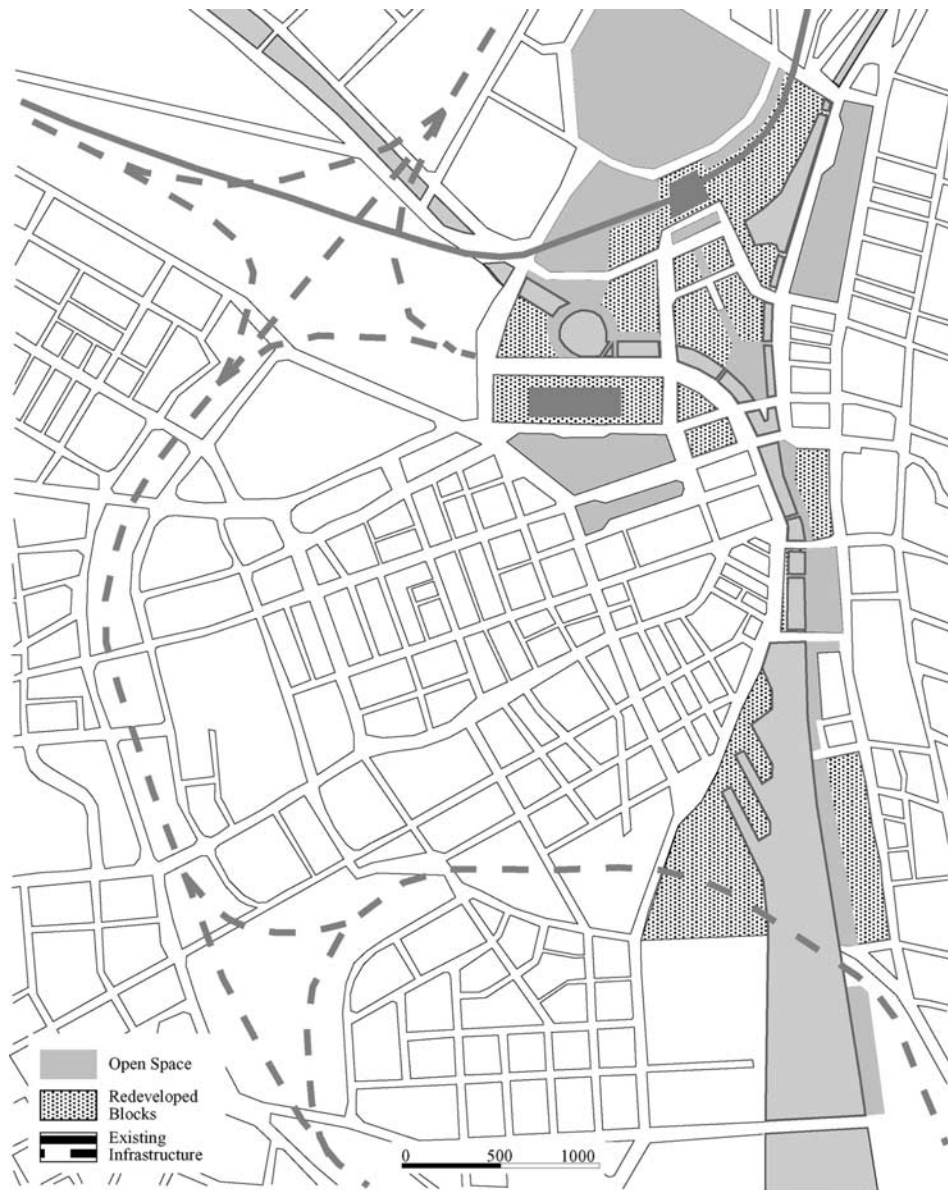


Figure 7: The Influential *Waterfront Study* (1984)

Note: This plan proposed redesigning the released riverfront land from the *Capital Center* plan to provide clearer circulation and more parkland.

Where it was realized, *Waterfront* was followed with only minor modifications. But the visibility and popularity of the plan's implemented elements obscured the fact that its vision was actually far more ambitious. Much of the plan, including the Moshassuck River reach north of the river junction and the Providence River reach approximately one thousand feet

south of it, was not implemented (compare Figures 7 and 10). Because *Waterfront* was closely tied to the *Capital Center* redevelopment and because these other areas were not included in *Capital Center*'s scope, implementation of these areas' development could not be funded.²² More than one-half of the riverfront redevelopment area proposed in *Waterfront* was unimplemented.

In the early 1990s, with the river relocation essentially complete, the city, together with the Rhode Island Department of Transportation, proposed another major infrastructure project at the edge of downtown. Constructed in the late 1950s, Interstate 195 had been configured, like the Northeast Corridor railroad a century earlier, to maximize its accessibility to downtown. Unfortunately, what I-195 thereby gained in accessibility it lost in efficiency and safety. The highway configuration also occupied valuable land adjacent to the CBD and isolated the Jewelry District, a former manufacturing area being converted to office and residential space, from downtown.

The *Old Harbor Plan*, issued in 1992, proposed shifting Interstate 195 away from downtown to the south, releasing developable land between the downtown and the Jewelry District. *Old Harbor* also repropoed the Providence River waterfront as a park, with a somewhat more modest design than that of the *Waterfront Study* (Figure 8). The land released by the removal of the interstate was designed as a series of streets and squares that rationalized conflicting city grids and eradicated the path of the former highway. These new city blocks were designated as development sites for new office and residential space at densities similar to that existing in the Jewelry District.

Although the *Old Harbor* plan was not implemented, the relocation of Interstate 195 remained a planning priority throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium. Seven years after it was issued, *Old Harbor* was followed by the *Jewelry District Concept Plan* (1999). This plan was less ambitious than *Old Harbor*, proposing essentially the same ideas but on a more modest scale. Like the two plans before it, the plan proposed new parkland along the Providence River waterfront, but reduced *Old Harbor*'s proposed excavations of the harbor docks to a single inlet. *Jewelry District*'s street redesigns were also more modest than the *Old Harbor* plan, retaining a major boulevard that ran southwest-northeast through the site. The plan's development concept, knitting downtown and the Jewelry District with a contextually scaled mixed-use neighborhood, was similar to that of *Old Harbor* (Figure 9).

Issued by a consortium of Jewelry District businesses "in partnership with Mayor Vincent Cianci and the City of Providence," the *Jewelry District* plan, like the *Old Harbor* plan, was not linked to an explicit implementation strategy. The initiative to relocate Interstate 195, however, gained momentum at the end of the decade with the approval of federal transportation funding for the relocation.²³ In 2000 a third design, also by William

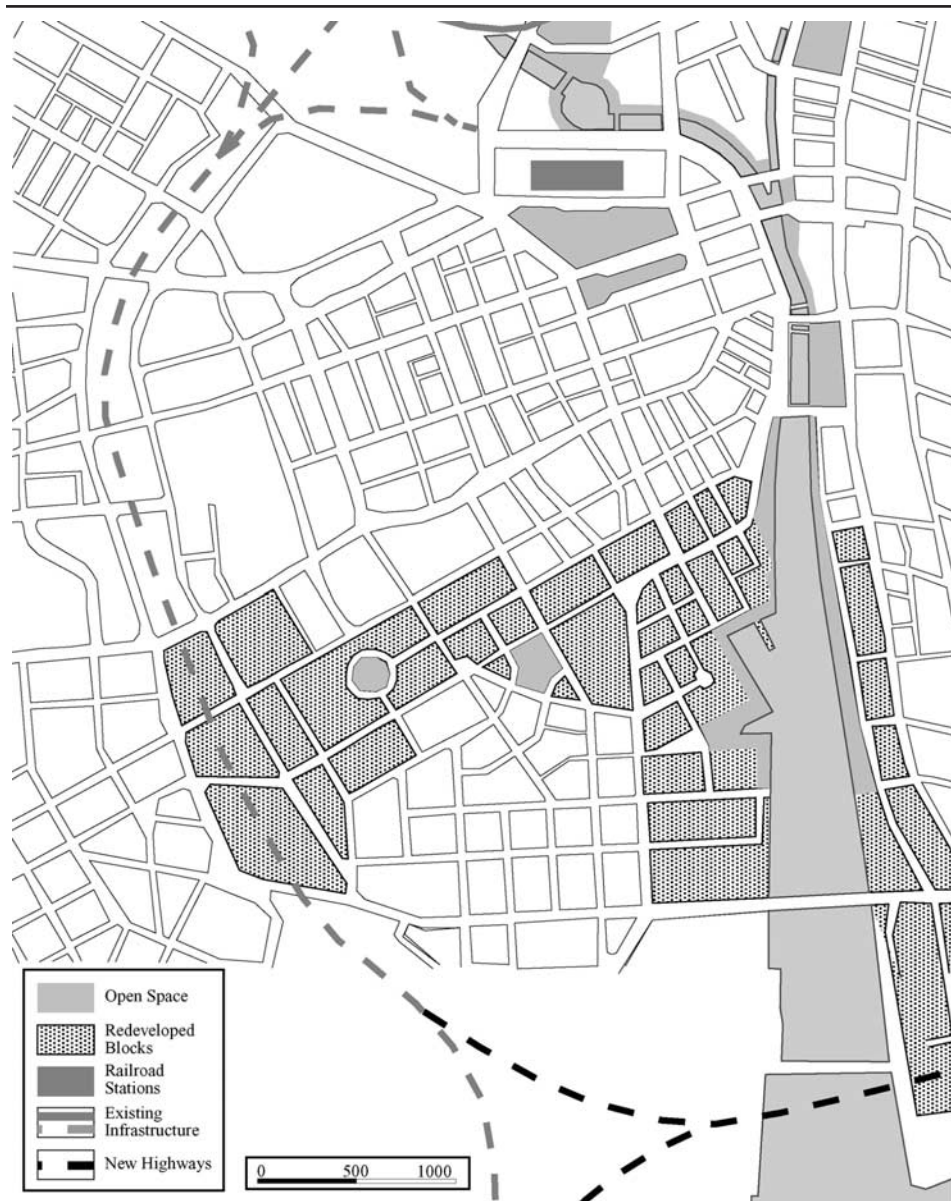


Figure 8: *Old Harbor Plan (1992)*

Note: This plan proposed relocating Interstate 195 and designating the released land as a mixed-use district and as new waterfront parkland.

Warner's firm, was created for the highway relocation as part of the Rhode Island Department of Transportation's plan to implement the highway relocation.²⁴ Even more conservative in design than the previous two plans, the

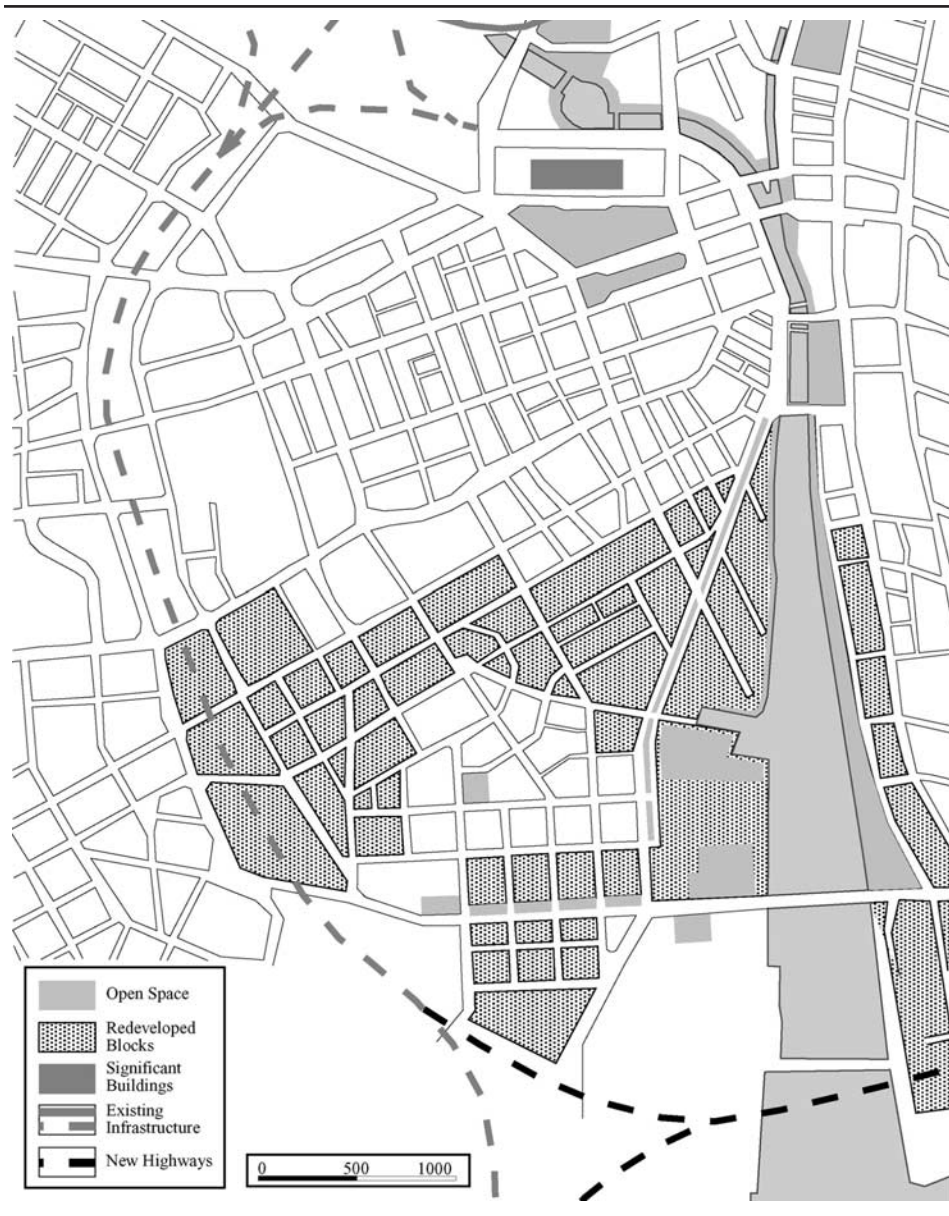


Figure 9: *Jewelry District Plan (1999)*

Note: This plan made similar proposals to *Old Harbor* but on a more modest scale.

third redesign maintained some key concepts from previous plans, such as providing open space along the waterfront. Other features, however, such as a reconfigured shoreline, were eliminated entirely. This design, which seemed likely to be implemented in some form, promised to extend downtown Providence's physical redevelopment well into the twenty-first century (Figure 10).

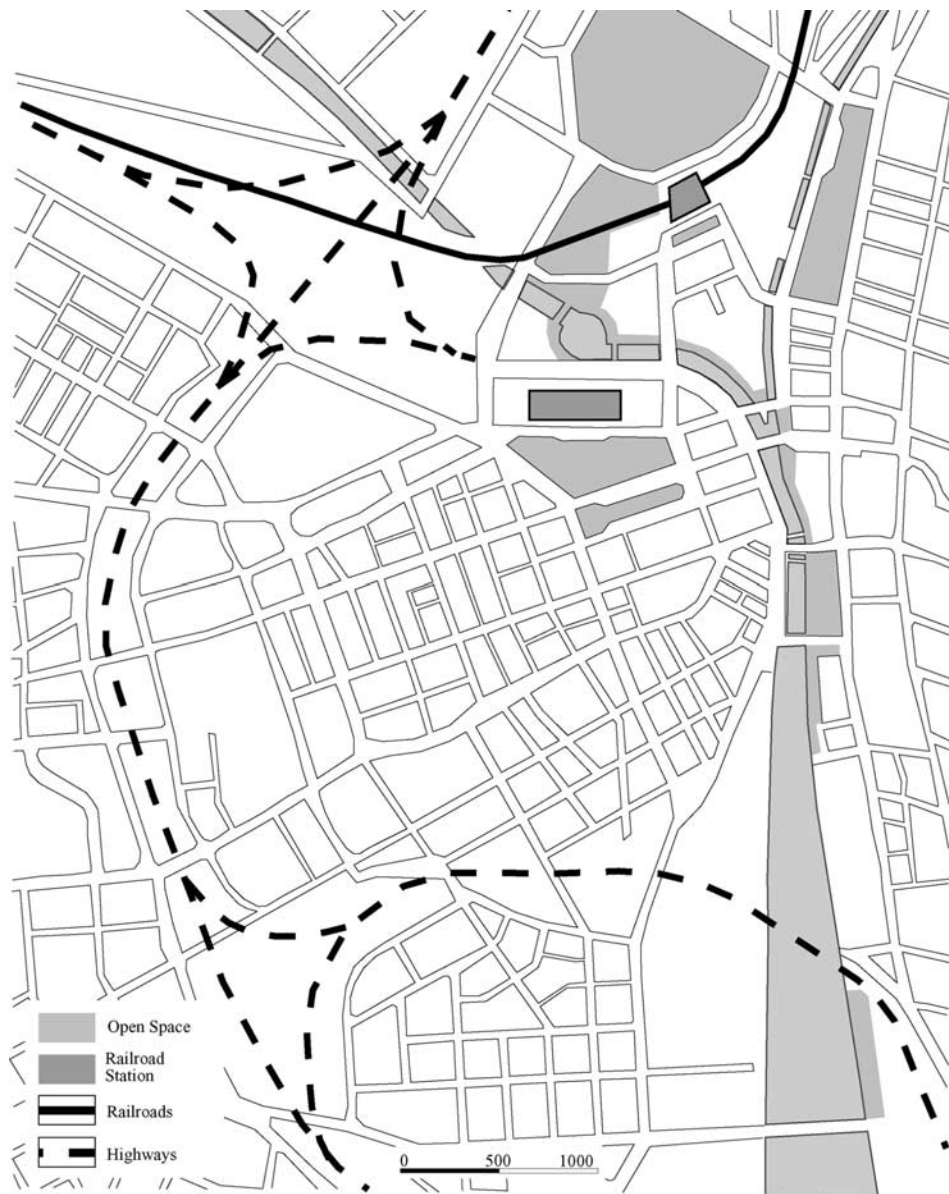


Figure 10: Downtown Providence in 2000

Note: In 2000, downtown Providence was a palimpsest of more than forty years of downtown plan implementation. Compare this figure to Figure 1 (Providence in 1958).

Findings

Incomplete Implementation

Compared to its peer cities, Providence was both unusually prolific in the issuance of plans and successful in their implementation. In a twenty-one-

year period between 1979 and 2000, four downtown plans were issued for Providence (*Capital Center*, *Waterfront*, *Old Harbor*, *Jewelry District*), two of which (*Capital Center* and *Waterfront*) experienced substantial implementation. During this same period, Hartford (Connecticut), New Haven (Connecticut), and Boston either failed to issue any downtown plans or experienced no plan implementation.²⁵

Despite this comparative success, Providence's downtown plan implementation was far from complete. Of the seven plans examined, four (*College Hill*, *Providence 1970*, *Capital Center*, and *Waterfront*) experienced partial implementation, and the other three (*Interface*, *Old Harbor*, and *Jewelry District*) experienced none, though elements of the latter two plans seemed likely to be implemented in the future. Even in Providence's favorable planning climate, incomplete implementation appeared to be the best that could be achieved.

Of the four plans that were partially implemented, *Capital Center* was the most completely realized. Most of that plan's proposals were constructed, though the plan's riverfront configuration was supplanted by that of a subsequent plan (*Waterfront*). Each of the other three partially implemented plans had significant portions left unrealized. Unimplemented plan ideas included the redeveloped blocks, new high-rises, and riverfront facilities of *College Hill*; the new civic center, railroad relocation, and highway spur of *Providence 1970*; and the redeveloped Moshassuck and Providence River reaches of *Waterfront*.

Although it is doubtful that incomplete implementation was the desired goal of either the creators or implementers of Providence's plans, incomplete implementation did not necessarily make a plan ineffectual. For example, the waterfront park proposed by the *Waterfront Plan* received substantial public acclaim despite approximately half of that plan's recommendations remaining unimplemented. Providence's unrestored and inaccessible riverfronts did not overshadow the appeal of the highly visible, publicly accessible riverfronts that were realized.

Incomplete implementation could also prevent poorly conceived ideas reaching their full fruition. While some implemented plan ideas like the riverfront park were very popular, other implemented ideas, like the downtown blocks cleared in the 1960s, were later seen as mistakes. In 1994, the architect Andres Duany visited Providence and observed that the city had actually benefited from not fully implementing its plans of the 1960s. Referring to cities like Hartford and New Haven that had extensively implemented urban renewal plans, Duany commented that "there are cities that have been devastated because they did exactly as their planners advised in the 1960's and 1970's."²⁶ Because *Providence 1970* was incompletely implemented, much of Providence's historic commercial center survived intact. Had the city fully implemented this plan, Providence might have lost much of its historic downtown that would be seen later as a treasured resource.

The incomplete implementation of Providence's downtown plans raises interesting questions for planning historians. Why were certain portions of the plans realized but not others? Were some plan ideas easier to implement than others, or was implementation the result of serendipity? Another equally compelling question is raised by the contrast between the completeness of Providence's plan ideas and the incompleteness of their implementation. If incomplete implementation was a persistent reality, why were Providence's downtown plans always proposed as complete urban designs?

One is led to wonder if plan creators could somehow acknowledge and accommodate the likelihood of the incomplete implementation of plan ideas. How might a plan's proposals acknowledge that incomplete implementation is likely a best-case scenario? One can imagine that planning for incompleteness might necessitate a substantial shift in the way plans are formulated and proposed. Or is the ideal of complete implementation so deeply entrenched that plan creators will never be able to accommodate the possibility of incompleteness?

Incremental Implementation

The time frame for implementation could be long. Shifting the railroad was proposed first in 1961 by *Providence 1970*, but implementation did not occur until after the publication of the *Capital Center* plan in 1979. The subsequent river relocation was not complete until the early 1990s, making the total time period from the proposition of the idea to its complete implementation longer than thirty years. The relocation of Interstate 195, which first appeared in the *Old Harbor* plan in 1992, seemed to be headed for at least a twenty-year implementation time frame, with construction at the time of writing (2004) projected to last until 2012.²⁷

Providence's fertile downtown planning context encouraged both the issuance and implementation of plans during the study period. The persistent issuance and implementation of subsequent plans revealed a process of *incremental* downtown plan implementation. Incremental implementation occurred in Providence when incomplete plan implementation was followed by the implementation of later plans that proposed similar ideas. Incomplete downtown plan implementation permitted incremental implementation in two ways. First, incomplete implementation permitted elements of a plan vision to be realized. However, because it was incomplete, it also provided both a rationale and physical space for the proposition and implementation of later plans.

The study found that incremental implementation was common during the study period. *Providence 1970*'s recommendation to relocate the railroad was repeated by the later *Capital Center* plan. Similarly, in a shorter time frame, the *Capital Center* plan's recommendation to reconfigure the riverfront was repeated by the *Waterfront* plan. Incremental implementa-

tion seemed likely to continue: the unimplemented recommendations of the *Old Harbor* and *Jewelry District* plans for the waterfront were projected for implementation in the early twenty-first century.

While the concept of plans incrementally working toward a common goal is an appealing one, it is difficult to conclude, as Bunnell did, that the sum total of Providence's incrementally implemented downtown plans was a unified, synthetic whole.²⁸ Incremental implementation was not a teleological or goal-oriented process. Providence's plans were not always formally related to each other, and no plan could predict or accommodate the recommendations of plans that were issued subsequently. Plan visions were also not necessarily consonant with those of the plans that preceded, or succeeded, them: For example, the *Waterfront* plan categorically rejected the propositions of *Providence 1970* for a riverfront governed by superblocks and limited-access highways. Similarly, unless one assumes that the propositions of Providence's recent plans represent an "end state" of recommendations so logical that they will be forever respected, it is conceivable future plans may reject some of these plans' propositions as well.

The volatility of planning ideas proposed during the study period makes it apparent that there is no guarantee of future plans conforming neatly to the visions of past plans. Rather than creating an "integrated" whole,²⁹ the consequence of incremental implementation in Providence was a palimpsest, a geographical "document" that was written and overwritten with plan visions. Incremental implementation provided the opportunity, but not the obligation, for plan creators to append their visions to those visions that had been proposed and then implemented from previous plans.

Some areas of Providence's downtown received more planning attention than others. The Capital Center and riverfront were treated by several plans, but the West Side of downtown was ignored after it was reshaped by *Providence 1970*. On the other hand, areas like the Jewelry District, ignored in early plans, received substantial plan attention late in the study period. Over time, one might expect that all of downtown would receive planning attention. If implementation were to occur, this would add to the palimpsest effect of incremental implementation seen during the study period.

Providence's incremental planning raised complex questions for additional research. Although the issuance of subsequent plans could not be foreseen, it is worth investigating whether certain plans provided a more successful framework for subsequent implementation than others. On one hand, one could imagine that clear and specific plan recommendations would enhance their probability of being implemented. On the other hand, clear and specific recommendations, if unimplemented, might be a hindrance to later plan creators, who could not easily alter or refine them. Does incremental planning argue for or against highly specific plan recommendations?

Another compelling area of inquiry pertains to plan quality. One would like to think that Providence's plans led to an ever-higher quality of plan

propositions and implemented elements. Was this in fact the case? To what extent did plan creators draw lessons from earlier plans to apply to subsequent plans? The notion of steadily increasing plan quality needs to be approached with skepticism. While the recommendations of recent plans like *Old Harbor* (1992) and *Jewelry District* (1999) may seem highly logical and attractive, much of their seeming quality could be an artifact of their relative newness. Unless one is to establish absolute measures of plan quality, one should begin any inquiry of plan quality with the assumption that each plan in its day was perceived as having an equally high level of quality.

A final point of interest stems from the variously shifting or constant nature of plan suggestions over time. Both Bunnell and Leazes and Motte noted that certain plan ideas, such as shifting the railroad, had some persistence in Providence.³⁰ Some ideas were suggested more than once, indicating that these propositions remained viable even if they were not implemented. Other ideas were not as persistent. The idea of clearing older buildings, popular through the *Interface* plan, was abandoned by subsequent plans. Other ideas, such as the river daylighting scheme (also proposed in *Interface*) seemed to be completely new when proposed. New ideas could also be persistent. The idea to provide parkland along the riverfront, for example, was suggested not only by *Interface* but by all the plans issued after it. What was the source of the ideological consistencies and changes expressed in Providence's different plans? A subsequent article will describe how Providence's downtown plans contained implicit, temporally durable planning concepts, or *downtown plan themes*.

Conclusions

Providence represents an example of a small city that realized considerable success in implementing downtown plans over a long period of time. By the end of the forty-year period examined, the sum total of the city's downtown plan implementations had produced a substantial positive public perception of downtown revitalization in the city. Providence's downtown planning therefore arguably represented a noteworthy example of redevelopment success in a context where other cities often failed. Other planning scholars have recently agreed with this assessment.³¹

However, their broad assessment of "planning success" is given additional depth and complexity by the findings of this inquiry. This study concluded that Providence's downtown plan implementation, successful as it may have been, was highly incomplete, representing at best the implementation of only a portion of the propositions made by the plans. Second, the study concluded that the city's downtown plan implementation was an incremental process where partially realized plan ideas could be appended by later plans and where each plan's proposals confronted an increasing number of realized elements from previous plans.

The role of downtown plans in bringing about physical change in downtown Providence was significant. Although development processes not proposed in plans also occurred during the study period, such as the construction of the Providence Place Mall (late 1990s) and the incremental demolition of buildings for parking lots (1960 to 2000), the implemented recommendations of downtown plans contributed substantially to the overall picture of change in downtown Providence between 1960 and 2000.

Although hundreds, if not thousands, of downtown plans have been issued for American cities during the past hundred years, planning historians' knowledge of the implementation of these plans is relatively limited. The evidence presented by this article demonstrates that downtown plan implementation is a complex process and one that deserves additional research. Many avenues of inquiry remain to be explored both in Providence and elsewhere. Investigation of additional records from the Providence plans examined would elucidate questions like the causality of plan implementation. Studies of implemented downtown plans in other cities in the United States and elsewhere could clarify whether plan implementation followed a similar course or obeyed similar principles to Providence. Another avenue of inquiry could examine the implementation of citywide comprehensive plans to clarify the process and nature of those plans' implementation.

Appendix Providence Downtown Plan Documents

2000	<i>A New Partnership for Downcity: A Report to the Rhode Island Foundation</i> Community Partners Consultants, Inc.
1999	<i>The Jewelry District Concept Plan</i> ^a Thompson Design Group and Community Design Partnership Jewelry District Association and City of Providence
1995	<i>Downtown Providence Office Sector Strategic Plan</i> Downtown Office Study Committee Downtown Office Economic Development Plan Committee
1994	<i>I-195/Old Harbor Plan (Plan #2 of the Area Plan Series of Providence 2000)</i> ^a William D. Warner, Architects and Planners Sponsored by the Providence Foundation
	<i>Downcity Project Implementation Plan</i> Coalition for Community Development Providence Foundation
	<i>Downcity Providence: Master Plan for a Special Time and Implementation Plan</i> (Plan #1 of the Area Plan Series of Providence 2000) City of Providence, Department of Planning and Development Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Town Planners

(continued)

Appendix (continued)

- 1993 *Providence 2000: The Comprehensive Plan*
City of Providence, Department of Planning and Development
- A Plan for Preservation: The Historic Preservation Element of the Providence 2000 Comprehensive Plan*
(Plan #2 of the Comprehensive Plan Series of Providence 2000)
Buckhurst Fish Hutton Katz Inc.
City of Providence, Department of Planning and Development
- 1989 *The Capital Center Project, Providence, Rhode Island: Design and Development Regulations*
Capital Center Commission, Providence, Rhode Island
- 1986 *Providence Development Strategy*
Carr Lynch Associates Inc.
- The Providence Waterfront, 1636-2000^a*
City of Providence Commission on the City Plan
Incorporating *Providence Waterfront Study*, William D. Warner Architects and Planners, 1984
- 1979 *Capital Center Project: Objectives and Conclusions^a*
Prepared by the Providence Foundation
- Capital Center Project: Development Plan^a*
Prepared for the Providence Foundation by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill
- 1974 *Interface: Providence^a*
Rhode Island School of Design
- 1966 *Master Plan for Circulation*
City of Providence City Plan Commission
- Master Plan for Public Recreation and Conservation*
City of Providence City Plan Commission
- Master Plan for Public Schools*
City of Providence City Plan Commission
- 1964 *A Social Plan For Community Renewal of the City of Providence*
City of Providence Office of the Urban Renewal Coordinator
Rhode Island Council of Community Services
- Community Renewal Program*
City of Providence Office of the Urban Renewal Coordinator
Rhode Island Council of Community Services
- Providence Master Plan*
City of Providence City Plan Commission
- 1961 *Downtown Providence 1970: A Demonstration of Citizen Participation in Comprehensive Planning^a*
Providence City Plan Commission
- 1960 "Downtown Providence 1970"^a
Brochure, City of Providence City Plan Commission
- 1959 *College Hill: A Demonstration of Historic Area Renewal^a*
City of Providence City Plan Commission
Providence Preservation Society
Housing and Home Finance Agency
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Note: This list includes all downtown plan documents found to be issued during the 1960 to 2000 period.
a. Documents included in the study.

Notes

1. Respectively, Larry Tye, "New Providence a Model City: Planners Nationwide Studying 1.5b Revival," *Boston Globe*, January 12, 1997; Tom Coakley, "In Rhode Island, a Center of Pride; in Hartford, a Center of Poverty," *Boston Sunday Globe*, March 19, 1995; Jane Holtz Kay, "Nurtured by a Canal, a Downtown Desert Blooms," *New York Times*, July 25, 1999; and Mike Swift, "The Art of a City: Can Providence, with Its Revitalized Downtown, Show Hartford the Way?" *The Hartford Courant*, May 4, 1997.
2. Alan A. Altschuler, *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965); Francine F. Rabinovitz, *Urban Politics and Planning* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1969); Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Martha Derthick, *New Towns In-Town: Why a Federal Program Failed* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1972); and Ross J. Gittell, *Renewing Cities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
3. Mark Abbott, "Déjà vu All Over Again? St. Louis Master Plans and the Dream of the Democratic Community," *Gateway Heritage*, spring 1999, 4-19; Dennis W. Keating and Norman Krumholz, "Downtown Plans of the 1980's: The Case for More Equity," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 57, no. 2 (1991): 136-52; and Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Ann Marie Wieland, "A Century of Planning in Cleveland," *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 1 (2002): 79-93.
4. Robert M. Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); and Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America: A History of the Place and of the People Who Made It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
5. Francis J. Leazes Jr. and Mark T. Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); and Gene Bunnell, *Making Places Special: Stories of Real Places Made Better by Planning* (Washington, DC: American Planning Association Planners Press, 2002).
6. Mike Stanton, *The Prince of Providence: The Life and Times of Buddy Cianci, America's Most Notorious Mayor, Some Wiseguys, and the Feds* (New York: Random House, 2003).
7. Keating and Krumholz, "Downtown Plans of the 1980's," 136.
8. The terms "plan idea," "plan proposal," and "plan recommendation" all signify a specific change to downtown communicated in a plan.
9. Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*; and Bunnell, *Making Places Special*.
10. Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*, 53.
11. Michael Holleran, "Filling in the Providence Cove: Image in the Evolution of Urban Form," *Rhode Island History* 48 (1990): 3.
12. William Warner, architect, William Warner Associates, interview with author, Exeter, Rhode Island, April 22, 1998.
13. "Downtown Providence 1970" (Brochure, City of Providence City Plan Commission, Providence, RI, 1960), 3.
14. Bunnell, *Making Places Special*, 166-74.
15. Ibid.; and Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*, 58.
16. Gregory Smith, "Chace Is Restoring the Fabric of Westminster Street," *Providence Journal*, February 27, 2005.
17. Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*, 64.
18. Vincent A. Cianci, mayor, interview with author, March 27, 1998.
19. Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*, 96.
20. Variant versions are given in David Dillon, "By Providence Renewed," *American Way*, May 15, 1990, pp. 46-50; Dan Stets, "A Vision for Providence's Waterfront," *Providence Sunday Journal*, August 26, 1984; Stanton, *The Prince of Providence*; and Warner interview.
21. Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*.
22. Warner interview.
23. Jonathan Saltzman, "State Roads to Get a Boost from Increase in Federal Aid," *Providence Journal-Bulletin*, February 20, 1999.
24. Rhode Island Department of Transportation, "Relocation of Interstate 195" (2005), [http://www.dot.state.ri.us/webproj/engineering/mainpages/dispsite.asp?url=../proj/74/1-195%20%20\(2001\).pdf](http://www.dot.state.ri.us/webproj/engineering/mainpages/dispsite.asp?url=../proj/74/1-195%20%20(2001).pdf) (accessed March 5, 2005).
25. Boston's Central Artery reconstruction, or "Big Dig," which began construction in the mid-1990s, was officially an engineering project. Unlike Providence, where transportation was an important

component of its downtown plans, Boston had not incorporated this multibillion-dollar transportation effort into a downtown planning process as of 2000.

26. *Downtown Providence: Master Plan for a Special Time and Implementation Plan* (Plan #1 of the Area Plan Series of Providence 2000); Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Town Planners (Department of Planning and Development, City of Providence, RI, 1994), 2.

27. Rhode Island Department of Transportation, "Relocation of Interstate 195."

28. Bunnell, *Making Places Special*, 204.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Bunnell, *Making Places Special*; and Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*.

31. Bunnell, *Making Places Special*; William P. Macht, "A River Renaissance in Providence," *Urban Land*, 62, no. 6 (June 2003): 43-4; and Leazes and Motte, *Providence, the Renaissance City*.

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