MINNEAPOLIS
SAINT PAUL

MAY 14-17 1981  QUALITY URBAN ENVIRONMENT STUDY TEAM
URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN COMMITTEE / AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS
Introduction

Why do Minneapolis and St. Paul enjoy one of the nation's highest quality urban environments? To learn why, the American Institute of Architects sent its first Quality Urban Environment Study Team (QUEST) to the Twin Cities.

QUEST is a new national program of the AIA's Urban Planning and Design Committee (UFDC). Its mission is to increase understanding of the factors, forces and characteristics that have produced high quality environments in our urban areas.

The UFDC assembled a multidiscipline team of professionals to explore, analyze and document the various elements that have engendered high levels of success and outstanding urban qualities in both Twin Cities.

During its intensive three-day study, the team was immersed for a full day in each city to learn works and why. After tours of neighborhoods and downtowns in both cities, QUEST met with each mayor—George Latimer in St. Paul and Donald Fraser in Minneapolis—for an in-depth orientation.

Then local planners, business and community leaders, public officials and private citizens described the processes and amenities that make their two cities work—the tools of the public sector, the attitudes of private investors, the strong work ethic of the people. On the third day, the team organized, synthesized and distilled a broad range of information and impressions into this report.

This initial QUEST is a major prelude to the AIA's 1981 national convention in Minneapolis, May 17-21. Lessons learned from this study will be used by the AIA to assist architects and communities in achieving quality urban environments across the nation.

The team

PRINCIPAL TEAM

--Noon Landrieu, former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, is serving as moderator of this QUEST presentation. Twice elected mayor of New Orleans, Landrieu currently practices law and is partner of a New Orleans urban development firm. Joseph C. Canizaro Interests. He previously served in the Louisiana Legislature and as a city councilman-at-large until his election as mayor in 1970. One of the nation's leading proponents of urban design quality, Landrieu was president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and chairman of its legislative action committee. In 1976-77, he was named by U.S. News & World Report as the "second most influential mayor in America."

--William G. Conway is a consultant, teacher and writer on urban affairs. His New York City firm, W. G. Conway & Co., specializes in analysis of public policy and community development issues for city governmental and real estate developers. His writings have appeared in Saturday Review and Progressive Architecture magazines. Conway has taught at Yale, Ohio State and the City University of New York.

--Judith Martin is an urban historian at the University of Minnesota where she coordinates its urban studies program. She also is the research associate for UM's Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. A native of Chicago, Martin received three graduate degrees from UM including a doctorate in American studies focusing on urban affairs. She has written a book on Minneapolis' Cedar-Riverside complex, Recycling the Central City, and is working on another dealing with neighborhoods in the Twin Cities. Martin is currently involved in a study of Minneapolis historic preservation efforts.

--Jaquelin Taylor Robertson, FAIA, AICP, is dean of the University of Virginia School of Architecture and partner in the New York City firms of Design Development Resources and its affiliate Eisenman/Robertson, Architects. A founder of New York City's Urban Design Group, the first director of the Office of Midtown Planning & Development, a former city planning commissioner, Robertson is responsible for some of the nation's most innovative urban design; he has also won a number of national design awards for architectural design work. He currently chairs the Policy Panel for the National Endowment for the Arts Design Arts Program. A former Rhodes Scholar to Oxford and graduate of Yale, Robertson has taught at Yale, Columbia Rhode Island School of Design, and lectured extensively at other universities.

--Gerald Sheff, as executive vice president of the Cadillac Fairview Corporation Limited, Toronto, manages the land and housing operations of North America's largest publicly held real estate development firm. Trained in both architecture and business, Sheff is a past member of the Canadian Housing Design Council and the Urban Land Institute's New Communities Council. He practiced architecture in London and Montreal before joining a predecessor company to Cadillac Fairview in 1971.

SUPPORT TEAM

The above principal team was assisted by a five-member support team, and six architecture students:

--Charles H. Brewer, AIA, architect/urban designer/educator, is chairman of the Department of Architecture at Ohio State University and principal in The Architects Office, New Haven, Conn. and Columbus, Ohio. He has chaired the AIA's Education Subcommittee and serves on the AIA Urban Planning and Design Committee.

--Peter Hasselman, AIA, design partner with the San Francisco architecture firm of Whisler-Patri, is cochairman of the AIA's Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) program. He has taught at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., and has written articles for the AIA Journal and several newspapers.

--Peter McCall is editor of the AIA's bimonthly newsletter, MEMO, and a former newspaper reporter in Chattanooga, Tenn.

--Linda Mack is an active free-lance writer for the Minneapolis Tribune and other publications.

--Fred Travisano, AIA, is partner in the Trenton firm of Clark & Travisano and professor of architecture at the New Jersey School of Architecture in Newark. He is a member of the AIA's Urban Planning and Design Committee. Travisano is a fellow in the American Academy of Rome.
STUDENT TEAM

--Jim Sammel of Buffalo, N.Y., third-year student at Miami University of Ohio.

--Chris Doktor of Marlboro, N.J., fourth-year student at University of Virginia.

--Paul Glista of Toronto, Ont., third-year student at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn.

--Jim Miller of Kellerton, Iowa, graduate student at University of Minnesota.

--Margie Miller of Seal Beach, Calif., 1980 graduate of Arizona State University and national vice president, Association of Student Chapters/AIA.

--Ellen Pratt of Granville, Ohio, 1981 graduate of Clemson University.

QUEST PROGRAM TEAM

Ben H. Cunningham, AIA
National Program Director
THE Hodne/Stageberg PARTNERS, Inc.

Craig Amundsen, AIA, AICP
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Al French III, AIA, AICP
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Kathy Nelson
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Carol Smiley
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THE Hodne/Stageberg PARTNERS, Inc.
Overview of American cities

A city in the narrow sense is a self-governing political subdivision of a state or territory with defined physical boundaries. In a broader and more meaningful sense it is a loosely defined place where a significant number of people live in close proximity to one another and interact physically, socially and economically.

American cities for the most part were not created but simply happened and developed over a period of 360 years or less. Whether or not American cities are successful is a question which may be argued, but the question is irrelevant. The fact is that they exist and they are necessary and will remain so until the evolutionary process dictates otherwise.

The best one can hope to do in a quick evaluation process is to make a snapshot judgment at a given moment and draw very general conclusions as to whether the people who comprise a city are being served with a quality of life that is acceptable to them. Despite the apparent lack of success of some cities, we know from public opinion polls that most people freely choose to live where they are, though few are perfectly satisfied.

Although cities are self-governing, they certainly are not politically, socially or economically independent and like any living organism are constantly in a state of change, from within as well as from without.

American cities have undergone a more rapid and radical change than any in the world. Virtually unlimited land, vast natural resources, rapid population growth, diverse cultures and advanced technology combined with a profit oriented economic system and unrestrained personal freedom were the catalytic ingredients for such change. American cities, when viewed broadly, are better physically than they ever have been. The quality of life today is far better for a larger percentage of people than ever before.

The fundamental question is how well are cities guiding, managing and coping with change. Most inner cities are losing population while outer areas are gaining. Inner cities are growing older and poorer and yet bear the responsibility for area or regional welfare environment, transportation, recreation, culture and charity without the tax base to support these functions.

Furthermore, inner cities are no longer the dominant retail centers which they once were and people no longer "live above the store." Hence, they tend to be active during the day but dead at night and on the weekends.

Recognizing the difficulty of cities to cope with these changes which were initiated or at least aggravated by federal transportation, tax, financial and social policy, federal and state governments substantially increased support for inner cities over the past twenty years. This era of expanded federal aid is ending, however, and cities will have the creation of an attractive environment to take advantage of the process of change that is forever with us. Increased costs and limited energy, curtailed highway construction, environmental limitations, excessive sprawl and rising construction costs provide inner cities with the opportunity to capture a reasonable share of the healthy growth that lies ahead.

Cities such as Minneapolis and St. Paul have postured themselves through creative inner city planning and development and regional cooperation to preserve and improve the quality of life for their people into the 21st century.

MOON LANDRIEU
Metropolitan context

LOCATION

Minneapolis and St. Paul are the commercial and cultural capital of the Upper Midwest region, serving an area that stretches from western Wisconsin to eastern Montana. It is the only urban center of real consequence between Chicago and Seattle. No other urban center of its size in the country has such a large and dominant sphere of influence. Symbolically, St. Paul considers itself the last of the Eastern cities, and Minneapolis is considered a city of the West. This symbolism was given physical expression with the construction of the IDS center which is the tallest building between Chicago and Seattle. Located in an isolated region, the physical setting of the two cities is very attractive. While the area is dominated by the Mississippi and its broad river valley, away from the river the land is basically flat and dotted with lakes and trees.

PEOPLE

The people of the metropolitan region share many important characteristics which account for the area’s vitality and strength. Partly settled largely by migrants of Northern European stock, the area exhibits a homogeneous quality, and the people exude a sense of independence and confidence. The original settlers, and those who followed, have values which embrace education, family life, and religion. People are generally economic conservatives while being quite liberal on social issues, and there is a deep commitment to a shared sense of community. Strong entrepreneurial drive is prevalent as well as the belief that hard work generates success. One telling statistic is that in the United States four out of five new businesses fail, while in this region four out of five new businesses succeed. These qualities provide a setting which enables people to be open, friendly and innovative, while allowing them also to participate in every aspect of their common life and culture. Consequently, culture flourishes here alongside an avid interest in nature and sports.

BUSINESS

The economy of the Twin Cities region has been adaptive. The initial industries that created this region were based on resource extraction and processing, and on transportation (cars, lumber, flour, and railroads). As these industries declined, others took their place in fueling the growth of the region: technology, education, service and government are now the prime employment generators. From the initial development of the Twin Cities to the present these varied activities have grown constantly and consistently.

One common and dominant characteristic many businesses share is a foundation in the local community. Though this area is a major headquarters location, many of these big corporations began here as small businesses. Such giants as 3M, Honeywell, Cargill, and Control Data fit this pattern. As a consequence, these businesses are committed to and involved in the local community. A "Medici: factor of sorts prevails: descendants of the "first" families - the Pillsbury's, Hills, Crosbys and others, are not only still involved with the industries their forebears established, but they still live in the area and contribute both money and time to many local activities.

GOVERNMENT

Government in this region is universally acknowledged to be honest, open to all, and receptive to most. The governing organizations are complex and comprehensive but still retain an ability to adapt to change.

The region contains the state capital, a seven county metropolitan level of administration, two separate city governments, and many smaller divisions such as school boards. Agencies and services proliferate at every level. Despite the complexity of the system, government here is able to respond to pressing needs innovatively. For example, suburban sewer and water problems were paralyzing existing systems in the early 1960's. Officials at every level got together and created a Metropolitan Council to solve such problems.

Government is deeply involved with the business community as well. A quasi-partnership between the public and private sectors has worked to produce some of the very best elements in the region. Perhaps the Minnesota Zoo and Orchestra Hall best exemplify this synergy.
Minneapolis

Minneapolis is currently one of America's favorite cities: a darling of the press, the Paris of the Plains; new, confident and building; the home of the Mary Tyler Moore show. It is an architectural showcase, the cultural leader of the great Midwestern prairie, cradle of Democratic liberal politics, university town; the city of lakes and parks and until recently, the prettier, more sophisticated, more daring and more fun twin to retiring St. Paul. Now a new sense of competition is in the air - competition among peers.

Aspects of this current stardom and its heady glow come out in interviews and discussion in different ways and with different emphasis. Yet there is no escaping the underlying message of pride in achievement and determination to carry on in the effort to make this an even better, more attractive place...to make it even more the "Ideal American City".

1. People

Like their counterparts in St. Paul, the people in Minneapolis - their values, spirits and common sense - are the key to the city's strength. Their ethnic/cultural roots are Swedish, Norwegian and German Lutheran. They live clean and work hard. They are settlers and know the need to depend on one another.

The people are open, tolerant, positive, practical, without pomp and very direct. (An opinion voiced many times; "This is a place where people find out how to do things, not how things can't be done".)

At nearly all levels there appears to be real and continuous involvement in all aspects of community life. This is particularly evident among the top business/social leadership. Minneapolis has a deep commitment to culture and to education. Art institutions see themselves as educators as well as entertainers and are directed by some of the country's top professionals. Most importantly, there is a growing intellectual commitment to the idea of city by a population which should be rural in its loyalties.

2. Business

Minneapolis has great economic diversity with a balance between the agri-business and industry but no one industry on which all depended (no boom or bust). It is a headquarters town where executives are expected to participate so that the private/public partnership is a major key to Minneapolis' success. Businessmen, both large and small, are deeply involved in all aspects of city life and development from concert halls and stadiums to neighborhood housing. They bring a practical, get-it-done attitude to city problems and are willing to put their own money on the line.

Some items:

- The Five Percent Club wherein many major businesses donate 5% of their pre-tax profits to be ploughed back into the community.
- The downtown Council where the voice of downtown retail is represented and is heard. The Council was set up specifically in face of the threat posed by the exodus of General Mills to the suburbs and the creation of Southdale. It initiated, substantially funded, maintains, and is now expanding Nicollet Mall, the downtown's best known public amenity. It spearheaded the skyway system which was also privately built and privately maintained.
- Industry Square Development Corporation a quasi public group that raised money for the new Humphrey Sports Stadium and will play a major role in the development of the west bank of the river and around the railyards.
- Loring Park housing was a vote of confidence initially by a private developer in the viability of hi-income housing downtown.
- IDS is surely the city's current landmark, the real town center, and an example of architectural excellence - which sets a high standard for all other public and private sector building.
- Business leaders are active in national business organizations (National League of Cities).

When Feds step back; local business steps in. But the city is fortunate in not having an economy and a government shackled with some of the social traumas of race and extreme poverty and decay. They can adopt offensive rather than defensive strategies and can concentrate on improving environmental quality.
3. Government

City government in Minneapolis has been in the mayor's words, "a crazy structure" i.e. it is a "weak mayor/strong council" system with a bewildering array of responsibilities and departments. Yet despite this it has managed to remain open, and on top of the city's phenomenal recent redevelopment efforts. One gathers this is partly due to:

- Very good, hard working, responsible civil servants;
- A long and respected tradition of planning and democratic openness;
- A willingness and ability to work well with a strong private sector and with labor;
- Political balance and evenness;
- Lack of major ethnic problems;
- The resource of the University of Minnesota.

In retrospect, two major programs that moved the city out of the postwar doldrums and protected her from decay were: an extensive Rehabilitation Program (under the 1954 Housing Act) which helped stabilize middle income neighborhoods, and the Gateway Urban Renewal Program which cleared away the old "skid-row" area (as well as the city's best urban space, Gateway Park, and some of her finest older buildings). It also drove out a large itinerant population of "drifters". While not very glamorous, these two actions paved the way for the far sexier and more visible projects of the '60s and '70s - the Mall, skyways, IDS, Orchestra Hall.

A further governmental strength has been extraordinarily innovative state financial legislation. Tax increment financing, and housing and industrial revenue bonds have been used as skillfully as federal programs.

The city's real efforts to rehouse older people in better single family neighborhoods has helped free up underutilized housing stock.

In general, government is not thought of as a bad thing, or a retreat from incompetence, but as a caring and effective partner who is there to try to get things done. In Minneapolis, attitudes triumph over organisational structure.

4. Institutions

Minneapolis has a great variety of institutions in addition to the more traditional government and business groups. It is this pervasive network of large and small "consortiums" which gives such breadth, variety and flexibility to the public/private system. Power, money, brains are widely distributed and there seems to be a major role for almost everybody - with many people serving on a variety of boards, sometimes leading, sometimes following. A sampling of some of those institutions thought to be most important and active:

- The University of Minnesota. This great university touches all aspects of the city's professional and cultural life; it gives an intellectual center and sets the standards of excellence.
- The Citizen's League. You have to participate.
- The Community Design Center where "small" and "neighborhood" are the operational words.
- The Library and Park Boards run, plan, maintain, and operate the city's parks and library systems - among the nation's finest.
- A great variety of arts/cultural groups, give the city a cultural life unrivaled by any American city of comparable size - indeed on a par in most cases with any American city.

The city is thus "run" or managed in the most enlightened way, by a strange and wonderfully meshed consortium of interests and groups, a kind of multi-oiled "partnership" of business, government, culture, education, labor, and neighborhood associations. It is an open, positive, tolerant, entrepreneurial network of citizen involvement.

If you have something to say and take the effort, you will be heard - and probably have some leverage. You'll also know what's going on. This will benefit both you and your community.
Saint Paul

They called it the Super Hole and for over a decade the vacant downtown block symbolized St. Paul's helpless struggle to shape a vibrant downtown. It was a thumb in the eye of civic pride. The hole had been there so long that when Mayor George Latimer took office in 1976, he could joke that Super Hole was eligible for historic designation.

Now, just five years later, the recently opened Town Square fills the hole with life and trade, provides a focus for the city's expansive skyway system, and gives the smaller twin something to boast about. Town Square is but one in a series of 20 projects that are redefining the city's image with over $250,000,000 invested since 1976.

Once a place known for conservative go-slow ways, St. Paul is aggressively entering the 80's. The private sector has been invigorated by a government that points the way with a powerful mixture of vision, financing tools, and sound planning. Yet the public sector and its foundations are also on the front lines of urban innovation. The resources of business, foundations and government have been tied together in a working partnership to create the downtow RedevloPMENT Corporation. Its purpose is to reinvigorate 180 acres on the frayed eastern edge of the city.

The QUEST Team spoke to a dozen of St. Paul's civic leaders. We wanted to find out what they did to change the "weak sister's" fortunes. This is what we found out.

PEOPLE

The people of St. Paul are attached to their neighborhoods. They tend to move around less than folks in other cities. In part that's due to the rich ethnic mixture of Swedes, Germans, Irish and others that lend the city its colorful diversity. But it's also due to the solid midwestern values that they've passed on from generation to generation, and from old time's to new residents from the south, the east, and the west. St. Paul people place a premium on common sense, strong family, good government, basic morality and hard work. They are a stable lot that, because of the hard climate and cultural diversity, are determined to survive and willing to innovate. They also think Minneapolis is funny.

GOVERNMENT

Dick Eichorn of Canada's Oxford Development Company said, "Town Square would not have been built without St. Paul's development process." And Steve Wellington, Administrator of the City's Planning and Economic Development Department, said, "We realize that it takes public money to turn the city around." Many cities create incentives for developers and put together "streamlined development processes." But St. Paul's is so effective that, over the last three years, investment in downtown has more than doubled and the city is becoming a national model in revitalizing neighborhoods.

Basically, in 1976 the city placed all planning and development functions in one department that reports to the Mayor, a man who likes to make deals, and knows how to make them. The Port Authority expanded the scope of its "off-site" activities and became the city's redevelopment banker. And the city's well-regarded staff of bright young professionals put every available federal and state tool and program to work. Over $33,000,000 in Urban Action Grants has generated over $300,000,000 private investment.

Perhaps the downtown skyway system best illustrates the city's commitment to working cooperatively with private business. The first bridge was built in 1967, today there are 22 comprising the largest such system in the world. Half the bridges have been built in the last three years, with the city sharing the costs and cleverly handling the complex legal arrangements that such a system
rewards. By facilitating the swift completion of the last eleven bridges, the city solidified Town Square, spawned major office building renovations and has boosted retail sales to such an extent that stores from the department stores to boutiques have upgraded space and merchandise.

INSTITUTIONS

Over the years, the first families of St. Paul have been tremendously loyal and generous to their community. In the past few years, they've provided the support for the Landmark Center, a new home for civic and cultural organizations and activities on Mears Park, and the spectacular Science Center, also downtown. But both Mayor Latimer and Professor Einsweiler emphasized the importance of the "third sector", foundations and non-profit organizations, to the future health of St. Paul.

The McKnight Foundation, responding to the city's request in 1978 made a $10,000,000 commitment (for planning and seed capital) to the Lowertown Redevelopment Corporation. The corporation is using creative urban design and sophisticated investment financing to do for the east end of downtown what the city and the private sector did for the center of the city. Since 1978, there's been over $125,000,000 in development (completed or under construction). That compares with under $25,000,000 between 1968 and 1977.

So, by adding the third sector to the St. Paul development process, the city is able to accelerate its objective of creating a new urban village near downtown.

BUSINESS

For years, St. Paul investors were so conservative that a project would not be considered unless it was 120 percent pre-leased. Not many came along. But during the years that local investors were playing it safe, a healthy tenant market was gathering strength in the jammed downtown office stock. Law firms, accountants, brokers, forwarding agents, research companies, and financial institutions needed to expand. Few wanted to move out of downtown.

Civic leaders formed the Metropolitan Improvement Commission in 1962 with a view toward stimulating office and hotel construction and to assist the city with downtown planning. The city's renewal authority began a clearance program that created the Super Hole, but it took the vision and confidence of an outside investor, Don Love of Canada's Oxford Development Company, to make believers of the Metropolitan Improvement Council (and its later incarnation, Operation '85). Oxford, with the cooperation of City Hall, convinced St. Paul property owners that they were in a place where profits were possible. Several new locally backed projects—new construction and rehabilitations—are now in planning.

Perspective of team members

WILLIAM G. CONWAY

The QUEST came to the Twin Cities to understand their urban success. We found it. But I wonder if the people are going to get tired of hearing how good they are, when they know there's so much to do to get better.

People make cities. And the people of the Twin Cities are great city makers. What impressed me the most about the Twin Cities was the across-the-board, top-to-bottom, can-do attitude.

This sense of civic purpose has many sources—local traditions, a lingering pioneer spirit, the climate sure keeps you moving, a stable, diversified economy, responsible leaders. But most of all, I believe, is that the strength of the Twin Cities is that people—in very large numbers over a long period of time—keep working at preserving and enhancing their most livable place. They do that because the political and economic system seems to have room for every opinion, idea and skill that the citizenry offers. The system freely absorbs the energy of the people.

Perhaps citizen energy will now turn full force to the emerging shortage of affordable housing.

After the city makers here do their work, yet another team of outsiders can proclaim an additional urban success and the Twin Cities will be better still.
JUDITH MARTIN

A resident who has a chance to look at the Twin Cities through the eyes of outsiders comes away with new perspectives. Our understanding has been that the site and location of the area, along with the values and traditions of its people, has enabled this region to thrive and succeed. That understanding has been reinforced by everything that we've seen and heard.

Minneapolis and St. Paul are physically attractive cities that have an extraordinarily accessible number of amenities. This is what residents and value most about the area, and what impresses visitors. These things are not accidental and few realize the amount of effort, work and local resistance that went into creating something like the park system in Minneapolis. If not for the foresight and commitment of early residents like Charles Loring and Theodore Wirth, our quality of life would be much poorer indeed. Yet few people realize that in their day these improvements were as difficult to achieve as downtown renewal is today.

Perhaps the most telling element in the Twin Cities story is its tradition of commitment on the part of business and government leaders as well as residents. Today both downtowns and their neighborhoods reflect the positive results of these people's combined and sustained efforts.

GERALD SHEFF

The strength and vitality of the inhabitants of the area is the consistent theme that is sounded and reinforced in the people we met. There is a history and a tradition of hard work, strong fundamental values and high standards of performance here. This began with the values that were transplanted to and nurtured in these communities by the original settlers. The community has developed numerous educational institutions and a multiplicity of other institutions that provide a diversity of opportunity and experience, as well as a galaxy of organizations designed to support these institutions. There is a unique pride at work here that is very deeply rooted. The private sector with its entrepreneurial drive, working in concert with government, has facilitated the community's effort to improve its overall environment.

IAQUELIN TAYLOR ROBERTISON

Minneapolis and St. Paul are cities where process and attitude have come together to deal effectively with the problems of the city. By and large and in comparison with so many other cities they are remarkably attractive environments both physically and socially. They are not yet troubled socially and still largely free of crime and very clean. Their natural river location is superb and the fact that between the two of them they control in one compact metro area all the region's resources--business, government, education, culture--makes them potentially stronger as a twosome than perhaps any other American city--particularly given the extraordinary quality, energy, and vigor of their people.

Yet while they have both had a strong tradition of planning and architecture--Cass Gilbert's capitol is exceptional and some of Minneapolis' new buildings are very, very fine--there is still a lack of harmony in their urban design. That is, like nearly all American cities, they are still (particularly in their "modern areas") only an agglomeration of oddly shaped parts. Not yet cohesive three dimensional cities.

And this is not their fault but ours. They have taken the best we have to offer as architects and planners, and have not yet gotten great cities; physically, at least, because we're still designing buildings and hoping when we put them together they'll make cities. And they don't. Too much fat and fancy; too little architectural culture. And all the skyways and malls in the world won't change this. Only our understanding of what the architect's proper role is; to know enough about cities to know how to design them.
Summary

Twenty years ago, the Twin Cities were boldly clearing land and searching the horizon of civic ambition for a way to create two strong urban centers in one economic region. In the process of discovering their way into the future, the two cities responded quite differently. St. Paul now has an aggressive and entrepreneurial public sector that's studied for its urban strategies. And Minneapolis has tapped an awesome reservoir of private and corporate wealth and commitment. Yet each city shares similar results.

New images built on visible change have been created. That's a success and in the Twin Cities, success breeds success. It is easy to point to the visible successes--Nicollet Mall, the skyways in both cities, the splendid arts facilities, gleaming towers. What's more difficult to isolate are the cultural foundations that nourish the profound can-do attitude present in both cities.

To be sure, much of what has been built in the Twin Cities could be better designed, relate better to its context, or more fully address the region's relatively small social problems. But that misses the point. What is happening here--this is the basic success--is that the people of the Twin Cities even more strongly believe in themselves and their place. More people are staying in town now. They are here to enjoy what they have created and to make it even better. That's the Twin Cities success. They don't stop succeeding.