MIDTOWN GREENWAY:
ENHANCING A COMMUNITY THROUGH
INNOVATIVE TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS

A Study Conducted for Hennepin Community Works
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Introduction

Since the passage of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) in 1991, communities have used transportation funds to build more than highways and roads. The enhancement program, a part of Surface Transportation Program (STP) funds, has encouraged communities to develop multimodal transportation projects that simultaneously encourage alternative transportation modes and develop the economic, environmental, and social goals of a community; the Midtown Greenway proves an excellent model of this integrated framework at work in an urban area.

This paper reports on a study by the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs that examined the varied impacts the Midtown Greenway would have on the community. The Midtown Greenway projects stands as a viable model for other cities that would like to integrate various policy goals into an urban transportation project.

Enhancing Transportation Policy

ISTEA marks a paradigmatic shift in transportation policy from primarily emphasizing mobility to one that emphasizes a more comprehensive or holistic approach. For over thirty years, transportation policy in the United States focused on one policy objective—mobility through highway construction. Passed in 1956, the Interstate and Highway Defense System concentrated on building an interstate system that could effectively move people and goods throughout the country. Indeed, this paradigm shift is evident in ISTEAs Declaration of Policy, which states “It is the policy of the United States to develop a National Intermodal Transportation System that is economically efficient and environmentally sound, provides the foundation for the Nation to compete in the global economy, and will move people and goods in an energy efficient manner.” Under ISTEAs holistic approach to transportation policy, new opportunities for policy integration have emerged. By incorporating previously separate policy strands, transportation policy has the potential to impact communities in a positive manner.

Implicit in the paradigm is a “holistic” approach that touches on every aspect of urban life in America. This holistic approach recognizes that urban dwellers live in a rich and robust environment in which transportation is not the only concern but an integral part of a fulfilling daily life.

As the Midtown Greenway in Minneapolis and similar projects around the country reveal, ISTEA has also created a new set of challenges for those charged with implementing transportation policy.

ISTEA recognizes that transportation is only one part of urban life. This integration is especially important in pursuing the goal of accessibility—a concept which recognizes that an individual’s successful navigation of urban life depends not merely on the ability to be transported from place to place but also on understanding the significance of various community destinations and the relationships among them—not just geographical
relationships but economic and social relationships as well.

Achieving ISTEA's vision of a holistic transportation approach requires a much broader understanding of the context within which urban transportation projects function. In order to create a truly integrated approach, transportation policy must include not simply a "laundry list" of items such as intermodalism and environmental concerns, but rather must be infused with a deep and rich understanding of the many strands of policy that affect urban neighborhoods and the concerns of urban dwellers. In particular, transportation policy must be integrated with economic, environmental and social policy in order to create a cohesive vision for urban communities that can accommodate a holistic approach to transportation policy.

The most successful program in the ISTEA provision is the transportation enhancement program which represents less than 2 percent of the $155 billion appropriated for transportation between 1992 and 1997 but is one of the most visible programs. Under ISTEA, the Surface Transportation Program was created with $24 billion in funds, and states were required to set aside 10 percent of this funding for enhancements programs. These programs set aside monies "to strengthen the cultural, aesthetic, or environmental aspects of transportation or to encourage greater use of nonmotorized transportation." Approximately $2.4 billion has been spent on 10 enhancement programs including developing bike and pedestrian facilities, acquiring easements, supporting scenic highway programs, landscaping, preserving abandon rail corridors, historic renovation, archeological planning, removing billboards, and landscaping to mitigate runoff. The enhancement program's initial policy target—to encourage people to use alternative modes of transportation—can easily meld with other community goals.

Bike and pedestrian facilities received over one-third of the enhancement funding. This funding, combined with the fifteen percent that rails to trail conversions received, indicates that funding for greenway type development is strong. For the 18 years prior to ISTEA, the federal government spent only $41 million on bike and pedestrian facilities, but between 1992 and February 1996, over $581 million had been spent by states on bike and pedestrian facilities. Funding percentages for other programs include 15 percent for landscaping, 17 percent for historical renovations and 17 percent for "other."

Nationally, transportation enhancement funding has contributed to a wide range of transportation projects. One program enhanced roadside corridors through prairies in Minnesota. This project, a partnership between state transportation and natural resources agencies as well as Pheasants Forever and the Nature Conservancy, purchased some 340 acres of land to create a continuous habitat corridor along existing roadsides to reverse prairie fragmentation and improve wildlife habitats in the state. A downtown shuttle bus service in Boulder, Colorado, called "The Hop" was created with ISTEA enhancement funds. Using small buses, The Hop connects Boulder's downtown business and retail district with the University of Colorado campus and a nearby shopping mall. By providing frequent shuttle service using propane-powered buses, The Hop has provided a convenient alternative to private vehicle transportation, especially during the lunch hour. Another successful program, a citizen-based planning initiative in inner-city Los Angeles, was designed to
create a sense of identity along major transportation corridors in eight transit-dependent neighborhoods. Among other things, the initiative has led to development of street improvements, an art park adjacent to a bus stop, and a community garden run by at-risk youth.

These examples are important not because of their potential relevance to the Midtown Greenway project, but because they show how current transportation policy encourages the use of transportation projects and funding as the connective tissue among a series of community-related issues.

**The Midtown Greenway**

The Midtown Greenway project is an example of various policy goals working in an integrated manner. The Greenway runs parallel to a once-vital area known as Lake Street. Community officials have been interested in the economic revitalization of the area for years. By providing a safe place for area residents to substitute short auto trips, the Greenway will help the area to meet environmental goals of pollution reduction. Lastly the Greenway, which crosses many socially and economically diverse communities, can serve to connect the area. The Midtown Greenway project is unique in that it provides an example of an enhancement project within an urban area that integrates various policy strands.

The Midtown Greenway project would involve the construction of a five-mile bicycle path along a rail corridor running from the affluent areas surrounding the lakes on the west to the Mississippi River on the east. The bicycle path would provide an important east-west connection currently lacking in the Twin Cities' extensive regional bikeway system. As currently envisioned, it would be built in three segments including one segment that would be constructed along a stretch of the rail line that is still in operation. Future possible uses of the rail corridor include light rail development. Among other things, the rail corridor is overcrossed by 40 bridges or approximately one every 800 feet.

![Midtown Corridor western end.](image)

Broadly defined, the corridor takes in some 15 different neighborhoods stretching from the Mississippi River to Calhoun-Isles and from approximately Highway 94 on the north to 36th Street on the south. Although these neighborhoods are in close proximity to one another, they have strikingly different physical and socioeconomic characteristics. The neighborhoods in the eastern portion of the corridor, close to the Mississippi River, are stable working-class districts made up largely of single-family homes with relatively little commercial activity. The neighborhoods in the western portion of the corridor, close to Lake Harriet, Lake Calhoun, and Lake of the Isles, are more affluent areas that include a combination of single-family homes and apartments, located in close proximity to recreational amenities and successful retailing strips. The neighborhoods in the central portion of the corridor are, generally speaking, distressed or transitional, though they have many pockets of vitality. The poverty rate in these central neighborhoods sometimes exceeds 50 percent of the total population.
These central neighborhoods are bisected by Interstate 35, running north-south, and are connected by the Lake Street commercial district which is now in decline. The Lake Street district contains the enormous, now-vacant Sears store which straddles the below-grade rail corridor. In spite of the predominance of distressed areas, the central neighborhoods retain many large employers including Honeywell and several hospitals and also contain some community amenities, such as several attractive parks.

The economic, environmental and social policy impact of this enhancement will be illustrated through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) based on mental mapping exercises, surveys and travel diaries. The data derived from the exercises, surveys and diaries were geocoded and then placed onto maps obtained from First Street.

Corridor residents participated in citizen survey panels and kept travel diaries yielding useful information regarding citizen perceptions of the area. They were also asked to draw a map of their community. Composite maps were created as well as maps that divided participants by location. Maps were generated that the divided the corridor into east-west sections in order to provide greater detail about travel patterns. The mental mapping exercise yielded information about corridor residents’ perceptions of community assets and liabilities. Survey participants also provided information about the places they frequent. The travel diaries provided information about trip and destination choice in the corridor. Overall the maps illustrate more than statistical data—they provide rich spatial information about interrelationship in the corridor.

Economic Development

Previous research has tended to analyze the role of transportation policy in economic development as infrastructure related. The literature on infrastructure investment, although mixed, overall shows a small but significant impact of public sector investment in the local economy. Other economic development literature examines the way in which communities can be self-reliant. Neighborhood-level economic development has been the subject of continuing debate in American urban policy for decades. As articulated by economic development expert Edward Blakely and others, urban economic development in America generally focuses either on the neighborhood level or the regional level. Blakely calls the regional model, corporatist economic development and the local model, community economic development. Activists such as David Morris of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance have called for an aggressive use of local economic interaction as a means of increasing prosperity within a neighborhood or a local community. While such communities cannot be completely self-reliant, they can increase their own bargaining position in an increasingly global economy through such action.

The Midtown Greenway illustrates the vital role a transportation enhancement can play in the economic development goals of a community. The role of a transportation enhancement can vary from stabilizing community housing stock to revitalizing the local
economy on both a small and large scale.

One measure of the attractiveness of a neighborhood is the selling price of homes. Data indicate that neighborhoods can benefit from nearness to a greenway when measured by increased land price. Without controlling for differences between Hopkins, Maple Grove, and Plymouth housing (communities in the Minneapolis area), Luce found that greenway development did have a significant impact on housing prices; being within 250 feet of the Greenway was worth twice the value of a fireplace or equal to 200 square feet indoors. When controlling for differences between neighborhoods, the data continue to be robust, indicating that nearness to a greenway positively correlates to the increased value of a house. Although the extent of the price increase is not clear, the data replicate other national findings. These findings indicate that there is potential for the Midtown Greenway to stabilize or add to local neighborhood value. Coupled with other area economic development, this can help to build the community.

On a larger scale, an urban infill project is underway. Minneapolis City Councilwoman Lisa McDonald is working on a proposed New Urban-style development project on a piece of land adjacent to the Greenway which would provide 200 mixed-density housing options and a direct connection to the bike path.

In some ways the revitalization of the area represents a two prong approach. Development of small business opportunities is necessary for the success of the Greenway. Development of larger revitalization goals (such as Lake Street) must also incorporate the Greenway opportunities. The redevelopment of the Sears tower that straddles the Greenway and contains over 2 million square feet of space is one example of a major redevelopment project that can link to the Greenway. It is estimated that 5,000 jobs will be generated by the redevelopment project. The proposed multi-use redevelopment will provide parking for about 60 percent of the forecasted need. The hope is to encourage the other 40 percent to use alternative transportation means such as the Greenway, the bus, or a combination of options. These major redevelopment efforts, when paired with smaller neighborhood initiatives, can help to revitalize the Midtown corridor area.

There are signs that the economic redevelopment of the area will proceed successfully especially if area businesses and leaders encourage activities and development tied to the Greenway. Business development along the Midtown corridor includes the development of a green business incubator, a Latino market, and several new restaurants. Attracting light industry such as Bags and Baggage, a luggage manufacturer, will help to build jobs within the area.

Data from the citizen panel survey indicate that 82 percent of area residents would use restaurants and cafes overlooking the Greenway. This is the type of development that is being proposed for the area and would fit in with the existing land use patterns. The data also indicate that 51 percent of the residents will use the Greenway to walk to non-work destinations further helping to build urban traffic for nearby shops.

The Greenway will not dramatically alter access of residents in the corridor to jobs in emerging suburban employment centers, though some corridor residents might commute
to suburban jobs using the regional bicycle network. However, the greenway will likely provide a significant boost for the area's residents in gaining access to jobs along the corridor and in downtown Minneapolis, especially if those residents are willing to commute by bicycle.

Much has been written about business locational decisions based on quality of life factors. The development of the Greenway can contribute to the attractiveness of an area and influence business development. Business attraction and retention efforts, especially along the corridor itself, should be coordinated with the expanded commuting and improved quality of life opportunities created by the Greenway's construction.

Environmental Development

The Midtown Greenway also will help a community meet its environmental goals by encouraging trip substitution through use of the Greenway both for journey to work and non-journey to work trips. Transportation policy has begun to address the impact it has had on the environment. By encouraging clean air modes of transportation, policy is seeking to do more to move people in a manner that is efficient and sustainable. The impact of transportation on the environment is multifaceted, ranging from use of fossil fuels to contributing to storm water pollution.

The impact of the automobile on the environment is well-known. In urban areas, transportation is responsible for more than 50 percent of the air pollution. Two-thirds of oil consumption occurs through transportation use. Fossil fuel use has been linked to enhanced global warming. Water pollution, created by runoff from roads, is a problem in many urban areas. Many benefits can be derived from encouraging people to use alternative modes of transportation since the majority of auto trips are for short trips such as shopping. Some studies have found that transit-oriented neighborhoods have experienced an 18 percent reduction in auto trips.

Increasingly Americans are willing to bike or walk, yet only about one percent of vehicle trips are replaced by biking or walking. Recreationally, biking and walking are quite popular. Walking is usually cited as the preferred recreational exercise of most Americans; biking is usually third. The U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT) report “Moving America—New Directions, New Opportunities” argues for increasing biking and walking numbers as well as promoting safety of these transportation modes. DOT policy supports projects, that would help double the current total of biking and walking trips from 7.9 to 15.8 percent of all trips. As the STPP report “Mean Streets” pointed out, in order for biking and walking to replace some autos trips, development of safe areas such as the Midtown Greenway is needed.

In keeping with ISTEA's stated objectives, the Greenway must first and foremost expand multimodal transportation opportunities in South Minneapolis. The potential for use of the Midtown Greenway as an alternative transportation mode is great, as residents in the area commute to work either by walking or biking in higher numbers than in other
Minneapolis areas. Over 56,000 jobs are located in the corridor with the majority north of the Greenway. As with most travel to work data, the Luce data show that the majority of journey-to-work trips are by automobile, yet what stands out is that within the corridor a sizable percentage of workers come by alternative modes. Within the corridor 35 percent of the trips are by bus (11.6%), bike (2.5%), and walk (21.2%). The pattern is much higher than the 10-county metro area where the alternative modal split is 8.7 percent.

Using census data, interesting information about modal choice between and within zones emerges. It is highly likely that the Greenway would facilitate east–west commuting travel in the northern half of the corridor. The citizen panel survey indicates that people in the corridor area would like to see bike or walk to work options encouraged. Already within the northern area of the corridor, there are indications of a large number of workers using alternative transportation means within these zones. By providing a high-quality local commuting route free of auto and truck traffic, the Greenway has the potential of becoming an alternative transportation route.

Citizen panel surveys show that area residents are also likely to substitute non-work trips with greenway use if proper incentives and security issues are addressed. Research conducted by Kathlene with citizens in the area suggests that pedestrian and bicycle usage for non-work trips is also strong, and the potential exists for this usage to increase if the Greenway is built. Eighty percent of local residents indicated that they would use the Greenway for recreational walking activities and 75 percent indicated that would use the Greenway for biking recreation. For destination use the Greenway could serve as an alternative pathway for walkers who were most likely to go within 4 to 6 block of Lake Street and bikers who would use the Greenway to access the area around Lake Street as well. This suggests that if paired with the proposed economic development of restaurants along Lake or 29th Street, local residents would use the Greenway to travel to and from these destinations. Among other things, anecdotal evidence from residents suggests that many are hesitant to bike or walk because of concerns about safety amid auto and truck traffic; the Greenway would provide a non-motorized safe alternative for area residents.

Proposed linkage of bus stops and the Greenway also will encourage use and expand mobility options for community residents. Other ideas include consolidated parking areas for visitors who could then access the area through walking and the bus. The proposed bus transit station melds with the holistic transportation goals proposed by ISTE. By combining greenway use and various transit options it is easy for community resident to access multimodal options.

Building Social Connections

Transportation policy can also serve a role in helping to build social ties within a community. Much has been written on the isolating role of the automobile in society today and the impact that the auto combined with suburban growth has had on communities. Transportation enhancements, by providing an alternative mode of transportation, also
build community relations by helping to foster a sense of place and create an area in which social connections can be made.

Community design can best influence a community by creating a sense of place that fosters a sense of community identity and belonging among those who use that place. William Whyte, whose sociological analyses of the everyday habits of New Yorkers provided pathbreaking research in this area, showed how small considerations such as where a food cart is placed or how a park bench is shaped affect the surrounding environment and how people react to it. Author Tony Hiss emphasizes the importance of simultaneous perception “that allows any of us a direct sense of continuing membership in our communities, and our regions, and the fellowship of all living creatures.” These authors and others claim that what makes a community special is its intrinsic value as a “place” that meets the needs of all members of a community.

Kevin Lynch in his work Imagine of the City argued that the design of the city was very important to how people perceived the city and their orientation within it. Lynch studied the maps that people drew of Boston and argued that patterns, known as landmarks, paths, districts, edges, and nodes, emerged from a person’s interaction with city form. Subsequent research has confirmed Lynch’s work and findings and has built upon the importance of how a community is designed affects one’s perception of the area. By shaping urban form through positive transportation projects, communities can build not only transportation corridors but help to create and foster a sense of community.

The benefits of developing greenspace go beyond the visual and the environmental. A wide body of literature has confirmed that greenspace is preferred to built areas. Research also suggests that greenspace can have a positive impact on the psyche. Hospital patients who faced trees recovered much faster than those that faced a brick wall, and walking through a natural area tended to reduce stress levels.

Area residents were asked to draw cognitive maps of their community. It was hoped that by obtaining information about the community, the spatial impact of the Greenway could be understood. In interviews local residents were asked to identify the locations they considered community “assets” and “liabilities.” (See Map 1, 4) Local residents were nearly unanimous in identifying “green” recreational areas, especially the lakes (on the west side) and Powerhorn Park (in the central part of the corridor), as a community asset. (See Map 1) Indeed, the most striking aspect of these results is that residents respond far more positively to green spaces than built space. The Greenway could reinforce community identity for all residents along the corridor, no matter which neighborhood they live in, by providing an attractive recreational link to the lakes.

Respondents identified the locations they considered community “assets” and “liabilities.” The “mental mapping” exercise revealed an interesting pattern that could affect residents’ attitudes about the Greenway. People who live in the affluent areas on the west end of the corridor, near the lakes, view only their immediate vicinity as part of their community and do not claim neighborhoods to the east as “theirs.” (See Map 2) These resident are also less likely to frequent destinations in the east section of the corridor.
By contrast, people who live in the more distressed or transitional neighborhoods in the central part of the corridor have a much more expensive geographical definition of the community that includes the lakes to the west. (See Map 3, 9, 12) These results suggest that while residents of the central neighborhoods would welcome a strong connection to the lakes district, residents around the lakes may not be receptive to a project that connects them more closely to the central neighborhoods.

Opinion about the value of commercial areas in the corridor was mixed. Most residents currently view the vacant Sears Tower and much of Lake Street as a liability. (See Map 4) Many residents also saw the auto-oriented area around Target (at Lake and Hiawatha) as a liability, yet it is also one of the most frequent destinations among residents—even residents who live west of I-35W. (See Map 4, 8) The Calhoun Square area, located farther west near the lakes, was viewed as an asset by most residents but a liability by some. All of these retail areas lie in close proximity to the Greenway and non-auto access to these areas would be greatly enhanced by the Greenway’s construction.

The Greenway might also strengthen an existing but tenuous affinity among residents from different neighborhoods along the corridor. Analysis of the “mental maps” of residents suggests a complicated sense of community identity. In mapping perceptions of their communities, it seems that some who live in the affluent areas on the west end of the corridor near the lakes view only their immediate vicinity as part of their community and do not claim neighborhoods to the east as “theirs.” By contrast, people who live in the more distressed or transitional neighborhoods in the central part of the corridor have a much more expansive geographical definition of the community that includes the lakes to the west.

At the same time, however, an analysis of the places which residents of these two areas frequent suggest that they have more in common than they might think. When the “frequents maps” are divided between residents who live east of Interstate 35 and residents who live west of the Interstate, analysis reveals that they frequent many of the same destinations on both sides of the freeway, including Calhoun Square, Target, and the lakes. It is important to note that, consistent with the “mental maps,” these “frequents” differ somewhat, even if the common destinations are the same. Those who live east of I-35 have a much more dispersed pattern of areas they frequent, which includes many destinations west of I-35. (See Map 3) Those who live west of I-35 have a much more concentrated pattern of areas frequented, which include very few areas east of the interstate except the Target area at Lake and Hiawatha, a popular shopping destination. (See Map 2)

On the one hand, these results suggest that while residents of the central neighborhoods would welcome a strong connection to the lakes district, residents around the lakes may not be receptive to a project that connects them more closely to the central neighborhoods. Yet at the same time, because they tend to frequent the same destinations, the greenway could become an important and vital link joining these two groups of communities in a way that they do not currently enjoy.
Recommendations

Based on the findings of this report, the following recommendations are made:

**Continue Active Community Participation:** The Greenway project should continue to build on the strong community activism of the area. The survey indicates strong interest in developing a sense of place in the corridor and local community groups have been instrumental in developing the Greenway plans. The policy outcomes must appeal to and be accepted by a wide range of interests, including recreationalists, business interests, and residents from many different types of neighborhoods. If the Greenway is viewed as a project that will benefit just a few of these interests at the expense of others, or some neighborhoods and not others, it will not likely be viewed as a success.

Most neighborhood interaction occurred in public spaces, such as on the street or in the neighborhood. Most local residents have overwhelming positive perceptions of their neighborhoods such as convenient, diverse, and friendly.

The project has demonstrated that much can be done beyond the most passive of approaches. By creatively involving all stakeholders, the project has been able to and will continue to encourage community revitalization and neighborhood redevelopment.

**Work with Transportation Partners to Devise Innovative Transportation/Transit Elements:** The Greenway project lies within one of the most heavily used transit corridors in the city. Achieving linkages between the corridor and alternative modes of transportation are vital. Furthermore, the survey results suggest even more could be done to market transit in the corridor, perhaps based on shuttle hop concepts. Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS) can also be paired with Greenway development to address issues of safety and to encourage linkages to transportation objectives.

Major employers in the area can help support alternative transportation use by providing incentives to employees who use alternative transportation modes. Within the corridor people use a variety of alternative transportation modes for journey to work trips in high numbers. A majority of the destination trips that were not work related occurred in the corridor. By building on established modal patterns and linking transportation alternatives so that citizens can safely and easily journey from place to place in the corridor, Greenway use and alternative transportation goals can be met.

The promise of ISTEA is that by “putting it all together,” transportation improvements can do more than simply further transportation objectives. The improvements also assist in achieving a whole series of community and environmental goals in an integrated fashion to provide a better and more manageable pattern of daily living for urban dwellers. The Midtown Greenway is a project that has potential to be a national example of how ISTEA’s promise can be fulfilled “on the ground”—if the community’s residents and policy makers bear in mind the lessons that ISTEA’s successes and failures provide.

**Comprehensively Integrate Greenway with Economic Development of Corridor:** The economic redevelopment of the area shows signs of awakening. The Midtown Corridor can serve as a catalyst for area redevelopment especially when integrated with other projects.
A key finding of the study is that the success of the Greenway is closely linked to the economic development of the Lake Street corridor. The Sears redevelopment promises to invigorate the neighborhood. Encouraging a diversity of local business development also is important. Survey results indicate that Greenway users and local employees from major employers in the area would support the service and restaurant businesses that could be established in the Greenway area. Attending to related social issues can improve the business investment climate and addressing area liabilities such as crime can also lead to successful area redevelopment.

**Move Swiftly to Adopt Governance Model:** The Midtown Greenway is a strong example of local level decision making and involvement. The application for ISTEA enhancement monies represents letters of recommendation from a variety of coalitions in the corridor area from council members to biking advocates. Because implementation of projects under ISTEA calls for increased local participation in decision making, leadership, and coalition building, a governance structure that can address the needs of all constituencies will be important. As more groups become involved in the policy process, local leadership is needed to build win-win situations and consensus among a diverse group of needs.

A governance structure that involves all local community groups is important. Local community activists have been instrumental in planning and developing the Greenway and should continue to take a leadership role in community development and governance. Because the Greenway development is strongly tied with redevelopment goals, support from local businesses and major employers also will be important for successful policy implementation.

**Conclusion**

The Midtown Greenway has provided an example of transportation policy interacting and incorporating other policy strands. Communities can benefit from the integrated policy framework in which a transportation policy incorporates community concerns such as economic development, environmental policy, and social development. The Midtown Greenway has the potential to stimulate small business growth along Lake Street and large business redevelopment in the Sears Tower project. As well, the Greenway has the potential to stabilize and increase land values. Environmentally, the Greenway can serve as a catalyst to encourage alternative transportation modes on both work trips and pleasure trips. Increased use of the Greenway and decreased use of cars will help the city meet future EPA clean air guidelines. The Greenway will also enhance a community's social ties and build upon community preference for vegetative green areas rather than an unused ditch.
Endnotes


3 Tom Luce, "Economic Outcomes of the 29th Street Greenway," (Minneapolis: Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, 1997).


7 For a synthesis of the most recent information available see STPP, "The 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act and the Greening of Transportation Policy in the United States." This report is available on the World Wide Web at http://www.transact.org/ct/index.htm.


9 STPP, "Mean Streets: Pedestrian Report" also available on the WWW at http://www.transact.org. This report found that the majority of fatalities occur on local or neighborhood roads.

10 Zones A, B, C related roughly to the development phases of the greenway. Zone A is I-394, I-35, 36th Street, France Avenue; Zone B is I-394, I-94, 36th Street, I-35; Zone C is I-394, Crelin Avenue, Hiawatha, I-94. The data package employed was the Analysis of Census Transportation Planning Package Data.


Map 2: Assets of Respondents West of I-35W

Claremont
GRADUATE UNIVERSITY

4 Miles

Lake Street

28th Street Corner
North-South RR

Home of Respondents:

Lake of the Isles
Clayton Beach Club

4 Scale

2 0

2
Map 5: Liabilities of Respondents West of I-35W
Map 12: Home and Destinations of Respondents East of I-35W