

office projects on infill sites in subsequent phases as real estate values increased in the neighborhood. In this case, urban design includes the specific social engineering of the neighborhood through the careful scripting of the ground-floor uses and the mix of residential and commercial uses above.

Rather than preexisting urban design paradigms, the methodology for the Fort Point plan was informed by an analysis of the initial impetus for and subsequent manifestations of gentrification in New York neighborhoods, specifically Smith Street and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, the Lower East Side, and most recently Bushwick in Brooklyn.¹¹ The question is whether naturally occurring neighborhood change, albeit shaped by real estate speculators, can be translated to a planned process under the control of a single master developer such as Berkeley Investments.

The development of B3 (the blocks below Broad Street) in Philadelphia followed a similar strategy. Goldman Properties, led by Tony Goldman, a pioneer developer of SoHo, had acquired several contiguous parcels and prewar office buildings in the late 1990s with the idea of creating a mixed-use urban neighborhood. Rather than architects, the Goldman team hired 160over90,¹² a Philadelphia-based branding firm, to help create the blueprint for a carefully phased development of the neighborhood. In this case, a marketing and programming strategy, rather than physical design, served as the template for change. Central to the strategy was providing space “at cost” for the kinds of restaurants, galleries, and shops that would appeal to the target demographic for similar urban neighborhoods. By carefully selecting pioneer tenants, the Goldman team was functioning more like a casting director than a physical planner. To attract these tenants, 160over90’s creative director, Darryl Cilli, chose to veer from the traditional real estate brochure. Realizing Goldman Properties was not simply selling space but an emergent neighborhood, 160over90 created a culture magazine that could be used during the sales process. Tied to this publication was a public relations campaign that placed stories about the district in national magazines and newspapers. Subsequently, Goldman Properties has made careful and incremental additions to the neighborhood—three boutiques here, an ad agency there—while not displacing the preexisting retail that helped give the neighborhood “character” in the first place. The examples of Fort Point and B3 are rare but significant, since they suggest that the microprogramming of both ground-floor uses and the