

and groups for the security and cleaning programmes, including graffiti removal, that it felt was necessary to improve the quality of the precinct under its jurisdiction. The success of the effort gave the board and its members confidence in its activities. In the fifth year of its existence, the Board felt comfortable enough to start on a street upgrading programme. A 20-year \$US21 million bond was raised to finance capital improvements of the streetscape. The city contributed about \$5 million. The goal was to establish a 'new look' in order to raise the prestige level of the city. The look was created through new 'pedestrian-scaled' lighting standards, new street trees, new pedestrian maps and signage, the repaving of streets, making the environment easy to use by people in wheelchairs, and by adding new kerbs. The CCD board also took over the maintenance of the existing street trees, many of which were languishing, from the city administration (see Figures 9.8 and 9.9).

In all these efforts, the concern with the third dimension of the city has been restricted to creating advisory guidelines for how property owners might: (1) improve the façades of their buildings and (2) how they might convert disused or underused buildings to other, predominantly residential, uses. In this way the district would be improved piece-by-piece over time. Each improvement would act as a catalyst for further improvements by the property owners themselves. The objective is for property owners to benefit from increased income, the city to have an increased tax-base, and for citizens to have a district of which they are proud and to which they like going – a place to have fun in safety.

Has the programme been successful? Retail occupancy increased from 80% to



Figure 9.9 A uniformed street maintenance worker, Market Street, Philadelphia in 1993.

almost 90% over an 8-year period but there are still many underused buildings in the city. According to a survey most people were aware of the CCD programme. The presence of customer service representatives with radios and of street cleaners providing a sense of security was particularly noted and appreciated. The city is still full of panhandlers and the homeless but the central precinct certainly looks better. Has there been a catalytic effect on building? Not much! Perhaps that is still to come. Tax incentives may have their impact. Certainly the conversion of old industrial and commercial buildings or their unused parts to