

# Creating SynergiCity: Consolidation, Revitalization, and Sustainability in the Post-Industrial City

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## INTRODUCTION

For the past fifteen years, manufacturing cities throughout the United States have experienced a significant decline.<sup>1</sup> The current recession, which accelerated with the financial collapse on September 15, 2008, has exacerbated this decline forcing mass closings of manufacturing facilities and layoffs. Leading economists agree that the effects of this recession will be long lasting and it will challenge the country to restructure the economy. Moreover, the recession is emphasizing the fact that the majority of the manufacturing base of the American economy is leaving America in order to capitalize cheap labor in developing countries.

The consequences of globalization are far reaching and deep. The global economy will now compel all facets of the American economy to focus on what it has in the past done very well—innovate. In order for America to transform from an industrial-based economy to an innovation-based economy, whole-scale changes will need to be made in every aspect of society. Changes will also include the design of our cities as well. Larger American cities such as Detroit, New Orleans, St. Louis and Buffalo, New York have all experienced extreme economic calamities, steep population declines, and drastic reduction in income and corporate tax receipts. As these cities continue to reassess their standing in a post-industrial age, their urban form will need to be assessed as well. Can these cities

retain their current geographical size? Is the current urban form of these cities appropriate for the new economy? These are the fundamental questions facing American cities today. Former American manufacturing cities—particularly those located in the U.S. Rustbelt—are grappling with a large unemployed workforce, declining populations, a large inventory of unoccupied buildings, and a decaying infrastructure. From this crisis, can we transform our industrial cities into centers of creativity and innovation? Finally, can we use this current economic crisis to correct the environmental mistakes of the past in our cities?

SynergiCity (Fig. 1) is a proposal to this challenge in the post-industrial city. It promotes density in urban areas which have an established record of being viable both economically and environmentally, and it proposes to restore floodplain areas of cities that have been developed for other functions back into sustainable uses.

These issues are found not only in larger industrial cities; mid-size cities such as Peoria, Illinois have encountered the same challenges. Peoria is the quintessential Midwestern post-industrial city. Because of its proximity to river transportation and access to corn for grain-alcohol, Peoria was one of the largest manufacturers of distilled spirits and beer in the United States.<sup>2</sup> It is also the headquarters of Caterpillar Inc. the world's largest manufacturer of earthmoving machinery.<sup>3</sup> Caterpillar's own



Figure 1: SynergiCity Warehouse District Masterplan, Peoria, IL.

manufacturing history offers a synopsis of the rise, decline, and redirection of manufacturing in the U.S. since World War II.<sup>4</sup>

Peoria was selected for its central location, its relative size, and its significance as an historic “river town.” Named after the Peoria Native American tribe, it is the largest city on the Illinois River and the county seat of Peoria County, Illinois. As of the 2000 census, the city had a total population of 112,936. The Greater Peoria Metro area, including suburbs and surrounding, has a population of 370,000.<sup>5</sup> While Peoria has many strengths it “has suffered from the absence of a strong common vision, registered in the mixed messages offered by its streets and buildings, and by the evident difficulty in establishing a clear and distinctive character for the new development along the riverfront.” Cities must reinvent themselves periodically if they are to survive. Relying on manufacturing alone to provide employment, foster economic sustainability and growth, and create the essential foundation for living, education, culture, entertainment, and leisure places cities at risk.

Between 1970 and 2000, Peoria has witnessed an 11.3% decline in population. While this figure is certainly not alarming, it is indicative of a downward trend similar to other industrial cities in the Midwest. As of the census in 2000, the racial makeup of the city was 69.29% White and 24.79% African American with a median income per household of \$36,397.<sup>7</sup>

According to Karina Pallagst, Program Director of the Center for Global Metropolitan Studies, urban shrinkage is a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing regions, cities, and parts of cities or metropolitan areas that are experiencing a dramatic decline in their economic and social bases. The causes of this urban decline are many and complex, though one common denominator is that each “shrinking city” has been significantly impacted by the forces of globalization.<sup>8</sup>

*The Heart of Peoria* study, which was conducted in 2003 by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of DPZ Planners and Architects, recognized “that



Figure 2: Mixed-use development along Adams and Oak Streets.

the emerging warehouse district, insofar as it is bringing new life to the downtown and taking advantage of Peoria's legacy of historic architecture, represents both an opportunity and a potential model for the future redevelopment—particularly as an example of the possibility for fruitful collaboration between public and private interests.<sup>9</sup>

### CONSOLIDATION AND REVITALIZATION

"Shrinking cities" has only recently cropped up in the U.S. as a new term in urban planning and development, and is often used in a similar way to "urban decline."<sup>10</sup> The Shrinking Cities International Research Network (SCiRN) defines a shrinking city more precisely as a densely populated urban area with a minimum population of 10,000 residents that has faced population losses in large parts for more than two years and is undergoing economic transformations with some symptoms of a structural crisis.<sup>11</sup>

Pallagst believes that in the U.S., shrinkage can be part of standard post-industrial transformations, which are due to the decline of manufacturing industries, or it can be triggered by "post-industrial transformations of a second generation," which are connected to the high-tech industry (e.g. the dot-com bust).<sup>12</sup> While many planners in the U.S. have been focusing on revitalizing the distressed inner

cities, such as St. Louis and Pittsburgh, less attention has been paid to the fact that there are large-scale areas that are shrinking, particularly in the Northeast/Midwest "Rustbelt."

Shrinkage, consolidation, and revitalization present the opportunity to maximize urban metabolism in post-industrial cities. According to noted theorist, Richard Florida, *urban metabolism* is a phenomenon that occurs in cities when they are able to grow in GDP, innovation and patent activity. As they do this, their physical growth happens faster. This typically leads to rising congestion, housing, and business costs. When cities began to sprawl, urban metabolism can eventually strangle the vitality of the city; but if geographical boundaries are respected, urban metabolism can enhance the vitality of the city both culturally and economically.

SynergiCity is not merely a "revitalization" or adaptive reuse of the existing historic Warehouse District. Shrinking cities geographically can be good environmental stewardship and promote sustainable development. While a few of the warehouses were salvageable, the majority were too dilapidated to rehabilitate. Consequently, developing a comprehensive masterplan that included sustainable redevelopment of the entire district was necessary (Fig. 2). As part of their research and analysis, the

students turned to the *Heart of Peoria* study, which was commissioned by the Heart of Peoria Development Corporation and the City of Peoria. DPZ uses urban planning, design, and architecture principles and methods that they pioneered during the planning of Seaside, Florida and have applied through subsequent projects. The Urban and Design Codes that DPZ developed have been adopted by the Congress of New Urbanism (CNU) as guidelines for the revitalization of existing cities and the development of new and existing suburban communities.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas globalization is part of the cause of shrinking cities, according to Pallagst, its impact is unclear since economic change does not affect all cities and countries in the same way. On the contrary, shrinkage can show very different characteristics depending on national, regional and local contexts.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, there is no clear definition of shrinking cities, but rather a range of various interpretations of the phenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

One dilemma of dealing with urban shrinkage from a planning perspective is that urban development is strongly interlinked with growth, leading to the perception of shrinkage as a threat or a taboo.<sup>16</sup> Maintaining a strategy of economic growth with the aim of regaining population growth used to be the most common reaction of cities towards urban shrinkage, not very often leading to success. In challenging the predominance of growth as the normative doctrine in planning, some researchers wonder whether shrinkage is a problem to be solved or an opportunity not to be missed.<sup>17</sup> Others advocate a new sensitivity in planning that relies on honesty when it comes to coping with future challenges of shrinking cities.<sup>18</sup>

The foremost challenge, therefore, is to acknowledge that some cities should become smaller geographically, not larger. This notion is anathema to many planners and municipalities, especially in the U.S., where growth is assumed and population decline is a stigma. While this approach initially will result in loss of revenue through a smaller tax base, many urban theorists believe in the long term it will produce a net income gain by creating greater efficiencies of resources and people concentrated within a smaller, more compact geographic area. Many U.S. cities are faced with the problem of revitalizing their urban infrastructures including aging transportation networks, waste and water treat-

ment systems, and energy delivery systems. A more compact city would allow for strategic investment directed to a more concentric, densely populated city center, as opposed to less efficient distribution over a vast decentralized underserved area.

The challenge of urban designers and architects is to understand that shrinkage and consolidation is as much of a design problem as it is social-economic problem. As cities consolidate, is it possible to redevelop what is left behind into green space? Can we return underutilized parts of these cities into something that can best serve the general public?

Second, municipal governments must develop a realistic inventory of their physical, economic, intellectual, and cultural resources at both the urban and regional scales. They must critically evaluate what they have and what they are lacking in each area and develop a strategic plan to address shortfalls. Revitalization of the urban core may be a part of the plan, but it alone cannot be the solution. A balanced, multi-focused approach will yield greater dividends in the future than a haphazard or one-dimensional approach.

Finally, a comprehensive, strategic plan must address economic, social, and environmental sustainability. This may mean promoting new forms of manufacturing, "green" technologies, and economic initiatives. Enterprise Zones and TIF (Tax Increment Financing) Districts are just two traditional methods of promoting economic growth in decaying inner cities. Public/private partnerships among cities, businesses, and academic institutions also should be created to identify and develop new areas of economic growth and to educate and retrain skilled workers for new enterprise markets, especially in areas of green and bio-medical technology.

## DESIGNING FOR THE CREATIVE CLASS

Students recognized early in the planning process that the demographic group they would be designing for would be unique. The "Creative Class," as defined by Richard Florida, includes a broad socio-economic demographic population of young professionals, artists, retirees, and others who seek out urban areas and bring with them new skill sets, particularly in the arts, engineering, and information sciences.<sup>19</sup> Generally, they are interdisciplinary, technologically savvy, and are unhampered





Figure 3: Adaptive reuse of existing warehouses at Washington and Oak Streets.

by conventions which tend to compartmentalize knowledge and resources.

Florida observes that the Creative Class has already transformed many cities by creating new businesses and enterprises that revitalize cities from within. He describes the “Creative Class” as 40 million workers—30 percent of the U.S. workforce—and breaks the class into two broad sections, derived from standard SOC (Standard Occupational Classification) codes data sets:<sup>20</sup>

- **Super-Creative Core:** This comprises about twelve percent of all U.S. jobs. This group is deemed to contain a wide range of occupations (e.g. science, engineering, education, computer programming, research) with arts, design, and media workers making a small subset. Those belonging to this group are considered to “fully engage in the creative process.”<sup>21</sup> The Super-Creative Core is considered innovative, creating commercial products and consumer goods. Their primary job function is to be creative and innovative. “Along with problem solving, their work may entail problem finding.”<sup>22</sup>
- **Creative Professionals:** These professionals are the classic knowledge-based workers and include those working in healthcare, business and finance, the legal sector, and education.

They “draw on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems” using higher degrees of education to do so.<sup>23</sup>

While Florida’s arguments are not universally accepted, we believe that they provide a basis for developing a demographic profile of the type of educated class of people most likely to bring a unique vision and set of skills to bear on the problems faced by post-industrial cities today. Furthermore, we see no reason that high-tech companies cannot flourish in the Midwest as they have elsewhere. Midwestern cities generally have enjoyed fewer radical fluctuations in the costs of housing, education, and job creation than U.S. cities located on West and East coasts. They have a skilled workforce that can be retrained and a substantial infrastructure of buildings, services, and cultural amenities. While there has been a trend for industries to relocate outside the Midwest in recent years, we believe that this trend can be reversed with the development of new technologies fostered by public/private sector partnerships combined with economic incentives.

#### **CREATING A CITY-WITHIN-A-CITY**

The students identified five major concepts that would guide the design process:

- Amble—Creative cities promote pedestrian walking which contributes to a healthy lifestyle and social interaction that is necessary for innovation.
- Density—Creative cities need the critical mass to not only work but to play.
- Sustainability—Creative cities demand that they are sensitive to the environment and use resources wisely.
- Nodes and Centers—Areas in which activity occurs routinely.
- Synergy—Creative cities thrive on the cooperative action of creative enterprise.

Creating pedestrian-friendly cities in which goods and services are located in proximity to mixed-use residential neighborhoods also has been a goal of New Urbanism. The term “New Urbanism” may actually be a misnomer since it relies heavily on long-standing traditional urban planning and design principles. The street, the square, and the quarter are its major urban components that are serviced by strategically placed public transit nodes located within five- and ten-minute walking radii of major services. New Urbanist planners and architects, such as DPZ, favor a dense, more compact city over urban sprawl with intact neighborhoods that contain a diverse mix of residential, retail, commercial, and civic functions. Public squares and green spaces are vital for recreation and social interaction, as well as for maintaining sustainable ecological biomes.

In Peoria, DPZ took a comprehensive approach to masterplanning districts within the entire city. These included the Downtown, the Riverfront, The Sears Block Redevelopment, and the Warehouse District, as well as several neighborhoods. The students realized that the Warehouse District (Fig. 4) was by far the most challenging and compelling area for development, especially with the planned redevelopment of the Sears Block into a Fine Arts Center.<sup>24</sup>

In order to address urban design in a sustainable manner, students applied DPZ’s concept of Transect Planning, where sites are considered as an ecological biome in section each containing a mix of functions, populations, and services from urban to suburban in character to promote ecological diversity. Therefore, two-block sections of the Warehouse District each became a transect in the masterplan. Students collaborated to develop an overall masterplan and then formed smaller teams

to develop architectural strategies for each transect. Their decisions were predicated on three major goals: 1) to develop a sustainable community, 2) to promote economic and social diversity by fostering new technology developed by an emerging creative class, and 3) to create a balanced mix of residential, commercial, civic, and cultural activities at appropriate scales. The result was a “city-within-a-city” which they named SynergiCity.

The students also applied concepts related to SmartCode planning, a unified land development ordinance template for planning and urban design. It folds zoning, subdivision regulations, urban design, and basic architectural standards into one compact document. Because the SmartCode enables community vision by coding specific outcomes that are desired in particular places, it is meant to be locally calibrated by professional planners, architects, and attorneys.

One of the basic principles in the SmartCode is that towns and cities should be structured as a series of walkable neighborhoods. Pedestrian-friendly design requires a mix of land uses (residential, office, and retail), public spaces with a sense of enclosure to create “outdoor rooms,” and pedestrian-oriented transportation design. The SmartCode meshes with the diverse and individualistic lifestyles that the Creative Class enjoys, which involves active participation and experiential activities that are multidimensional. This *Street Level Culture*, according to Florida, comprises a “teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between participant and observer, or between creativity and its creators.”

The zones within the SmartCode are designed to create complete human habitats (i.e.: transects) ranging from the very rural to the very urban. Whereas conventional zoning categories are based on different land uses, SmartCode zoning categories are based on their rural-urban character. All categories within the SmartCode allow some mix of uses. SmartCode zoning categories ensure that a community offers a full diversity of building types, thoroughfare types, and civic space types, and that each has appropriate characteristics for its location.

**Warehouse District.** The Warehouse District extends about 1.5 miles from Liberty Street and the Central Business District (CBD) at the north end to



Figure 4: Commercial development at the intersection of Washington and Liberty Streets.

Persimmon Street and the Archer Daniels Midland plant at its south end. It is bounded on the north by Liberty Street and the Central Business District and on the south by Persimmon Street and the Archer Daniels Midland plant. In April of 2009, the Peoria City Council voted on a resolution to continue planning for the proposed Lakeview Art Museum which will be located in the CBD adjacent to the Warehouse District. This dynamic complex will further enhance the cultural and economic bond between the CBD and the Warehouse District. It also promises to become a major attraction not only for the citizens of Peoria but for the region and the entire state of Illinois.

The students proposed four new transects: 1) Arts and Culture Infill, 2) Civic Center, 3) Commercial/Retail, and 4) Residential MOR. The Civic Center will contain mixed-use buildings, a public plaza, and retail and commercial spaces. At its head will be SynergiCenter, a high-tech glass pavilion, which provides exhibition space and acts as a circulation hub, and a high-rise tower. SynergiCenter is linked to a lower-level retail mall that is tucked beneath the plaza.

**The Masterplan.** While the final masterplan bears some affinity to the DZB proposal, it also deviates from it in several significant ways. The most critical

(and prescient) decision was to re-route and concentrate all modes of transportation, including the railroad, autos, bicycles, and pedestrians, along the Illinois River. Periodic flooding requires the maintenance of a large tract of undeveloped land between the river and the Warehouse District. *The Heart of Peoria* proposed locating buildings within this floodplain in "a second phase of development extending down to the riverfront," which "includes an extension of the central square down to an open riverfront green, maintained as public realm." New loft buildings would be added on the east side of the street running along this green, and "would have the benefit of both proximity to the amenities of the district and a spectacular view of the river."<sup>26</sup>

Students discovered that a 100-year flood could cause the river to rise and inundate large portions of the district, which can be devastating to businesses and cause physical damage to property. They also studied the district in section and found that the river is located in a valley between two bluffs with East Peoria on one side of the river and the City of Peoria on the other. The Warehouse District actually slopes from west to east toward the river, which creates a difference in elevation of about 40 feet from Adams Street at the highest contour level to Water Street at the lowest.

Early during the masterplan process, the students decided to redevelop Washington Street as a landscaped east-west boulevard through the entire district (Fig. 4). They also proposed a trolley system to link key nodes in the district to a central transportation hub located in the CBD. Visitors to the district arriving by cars will park in strategically located parking structures and be able to go anywhere in the district by trolley. Pedestrian "ambling" and bicycling will also be encouraged throughout the district by providing pedestrian-friendly streets, well-defined cross-walks, and bicycle paths.

Throughout the semester there was a great deal of discussion of a proposed Business/Research Collaborative, an effort that has engaged the interest of Bradley University, the medical school and hospitals, the nearby agricultural research center, and local industry. It has also been recognized as potentially an important component of Peoria's economic development in the 21st century. *The Heart of Peoria* had proposed a biomedical research campus located along West Main Street. DPZ had concluded that the West Main Street corridor offered "both a central location and ample opportunities for the nearby development of services and amenities that would be necessary to support this kind of campus." The students determined that the State Street corridor should be developed as a Civic Center for the district and, as such, could be developed as a mixed-use center which includes education, research, and business incubator facilities.

DPZ cautioned that "the most common approach to developing a research campus is the suburban model: a relatively isolated cluster of buildings located on some wide-open stretch of university campus or on a greenfield site in the suburban fringe," which "would neither offer the attractions of an urban setting to the researchers and staff, nor would the resulting development bring the same benefits to the community and the immediately surrounding neighborhoods."<sup>27</sup> The students reasoned that a research/business incubator "urban campus" along the State Street corridor could be a model for redevelopment, as well as bringing both activity and investment interest to the area. The campus would provide facilities for retraining workers in emerging fields such as green technologies and bio-medicine as well as incubator buildings for start-up enterprises. As companies become successful a portion

of the profits would be used to maintain and support new initiatives in the district.

The essential concept of synergy is to create "town-and-gown" super-regional partnerships with Bradley University, the University of Illinois, Illinois Central Community College, as well as local and regional businesses and medical centers. The campus portion of the scheme is organized around a mixed-use pedestrian square. The main entrances to key the buildings will face the square, with secondary courts which serve as public space within each block, offering a place for researchers and visitors to meet that is relatively insulated from the noise and activity of the busy street. Each courtyard will have a drop-off area on one side, entered from mid-block, and a green on the other side that continues the network of pedestrian walkways toward the next block.

The mixed-use buildings generally will be three to five stories in height, with pedestrian-oriented retail at street level. Oak Street is designated as a commercial/retail corridor featuring the adaptive re-use of the existing warehouses. The blocks bounded by Maple and Harrison Streets are designated as an MOR (Mixed Office-Residential) district. It defines the southern boundary of the district and creates a transition for development beyond. The redevelopment of Oak Street and the research campus itself will remove conditions and uses that have created concern in the past. Also the presence of people and businesses on the street will increase safety and decrease the presence of crime in the area. The street enclosure created by the Civic Center buildings, along with the mid-block drop-off points, will provide a natural traffic calming that would also help insulate the neighborhood from the activity and traffic of Adams Street to the north

Two key buildings are proposed: 1) SynergiCenter, an all-glass pavilion located on Adams, which will be a node for SynergiCity and the iconic gateway to the public plaza. It will be used for exhibitions and provide a location for events in the district. It also provides access to development below the plaza; 2) SynergiTower, a high-rise building that creates a vertical landmark for the district and develops continuity on the skyline with the existing high-rise towers in the CBD to the north.<sup>28</sup>

Parking will be contained in courtyards and could





Figure 5: SynergiCenter Civic Center.

take advantage of the grade change by being partly underground. This will maintain the continuity of the street wall as well as providing additional opportunities for retail activity. In-fill projects in the Arts and Culture Transect will be crucial to complete the urban fabric and provide an appropriate connection between the CBD and the proposed Arts Center to the north and the City Center Transect to the south.

**Sustainable Planning.** To mitigate flooding problems, the students proposed developing a landscaped levee along the river and placing a transportation corridor along the river. This will divert traffic away from the district, and the berm and landscaping together will shield the traffic—both visually and audibly—from residents of the district. The majority of the site will then be developed as a sustainable public park and wetlands. Surface water from the district will be redirected from streets and landscaped alleys to a swale leading to a large retention/filtration basin at the south end of the park. Native plants, grasses, and rain gardens located throughout the district will be used to filter pollutants and transform a significant portion of the park into an ecologically diverse prairie/wetland.

**Civic Center.** A third critical decision was to take out State Street and create a two-block wide by four-block long Civic Center extending all the way

to the park. The Civic Center will feature urban public space defined by an infrastructure of new, mixed-use buildings that provide retail space at the ground level with commercial space at the upper levels (Fig. 5). The most interesting concept will be to develop a public/private partnership with the City of Peoria, industry, and higher education to promote retraining of workers and foster the development of new, emergent technologies. This concept of “synergy” will synthesize diverse interdisciplinary groups (i.e.: the Creative Class) which will collaborate to develop new paradigms for sustainable technologies and enterprises. Initially, start-up funding could come from a combination of public and private sources. As businesses become established, a portion of their profits will be reinvested back into SynergiCity to provide seed money for the development of new enterprises. This money could be used, for instance, to provide low interest loans, promote research, and to provide incentives to develop new sustainable technologies, among other things.

The students concurred with many recommendations for the district included in *The Heart of Peoria*:<sup>29</sup>

- Officially establish this area as a TIF (Tax Increment Financing) district, and use these resources to encourage renovation and re-use of existing buildings as well as compatible in-fill projects.

- Designate this sector as a "District" in the zoning code, enabling it to be redeveloped according to a specific plan.
- Use the incentives of a streamlined permitting process to attract investment in the plan.

## CONCLUSION

While SynergiCity is applied to Peoria, it is a concept that can be translated to other mid-sized post-industrial cities in the U.S. It is our contention that cities must continually redefine themselves if they expect to attract a new creative class of residents and compete globally. We also believe that in order for some cities to survive, they will have to become smaller. SynergiCity can address urban sprawl and sustainable development of the urban core by concentrating people, goods, and services into a more compact geographic area. If it is successful, it will attract people from outlying towns and suburban communities who are seeking the amenities that a mid- to large city provides. As their circumstances change, retirees and empty-nesters may wish to live in urban communities in proximity to people of all ages. They bring experiences, skills, and expertise that will be vital to the economic and social development of SynergiCity. Young professionals and creative people will also be attracted to a redeveloped urban center. They already seek the opportunities and energy afforded by urban environments. They are also the most likely group to be willing and able to take greater risks where the potential for long-term rewards is greatest.

Finally, and most important, SynergiCity is sustainable in a holistic sense. If we define sustainability as a balance of social, economic, and environmental factors then, as we have seen, SynergiCity addresses each area. Economic development is paramount to providing a successful and sustainable infrastructure. Balancing the man-made world with the natural environment is both a requirement as well as desirable for livability. Social sustainability, we believe, will be achieved as architects, planners, politicians, and others address in a comprehensive and holistic manner the issues that impact communities. In the final analysis, SynergiCity constitutes the sustainable and interdependent reinvention of the post-industrial city into a vibrant epicenter of creativity, technical innovation, and entrepreneurship that will lead post-industrial cities into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

## ENDNOTES

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3. In addition to its tractors, trucks, graders, excavators, scrapers, and other heavy machinery used in the construction, mining, and forestry industries, Caterpillar also makes diesel and gas engines used in Caterpillar machinery, electric power generation equipment, locomotives, and other industrial equipment. ["Caterpillar Inc.: Company History," Funding Universe, [www.fundinguniverse.com](http://www.fundinguniverse.com).]
4. In the postwar period, Caterpillar experienced enormous growth rather than recession until 1983 when it announced the first annual loss in earnings in half a century. Sales slumped to a recent historic low of \$5.4 billion and it was forced to lay off workers domestically, and closed a plant in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England. Caterpillar's worst year came in 2002, when profits amounted to \$798 million, which translated into a profit margin of just 4 percent. Under new leadership in 2003, the company has been targeting emerging markets, particularly China, India, and Russia, for future growth with a goal of \$30 billion in revenues by 2006. However, with the recession of 2009, Caterpillar has been forced to lay off 20,000 employees and close plants once again. [Ibid.]
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16. Brandstetter et. al., (2005). "Umgang mit der schrumpfenden Stadt," pp. 55-68; Cunningham-Sabot and Fol, (2007). "Schrumpfende Städte in Westeuropa," pp. 22-35.
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18. Fuhrich, Manfred and Kaltenbrunner, Robert (2005). "Der Osten—jetzt auch im Westen? Stadtumbau-West und Stadtumbau Ost—zwei ungleiche Geschwister," Berliner Debatte Initial, 16/6, pp. 41-54.
19. Florida, Richard (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, Basic Books: New York. There are numerous studies that find fault with the logic or empirical claims of the Creative Class. See Hoyman, Michele and Christopher Faricy. 2009. ["It Takes a Village: A Test of the Creative Class, Social Capital and Human Capital Theories,"](#) *Urban Affairs Review*, 44, pp. 311-333. and Montgomery, John (2005). "Beware 'the Creative Class,'" *Creativity and Wealth Creation Revisited: Local Economy*, Vol. 20, No. 4, November, p. 339.
20. The Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) System is a United States government system of classifying 125 occupations. It was developed in response to a growing need for a universal occupational classification system. Such a classification system would allow government agencies and private industry to produce comparable data...It is designed to cover all occupations in which work is performed for pay or profit, reflecting the current occupational structure in the United States. The USA's SOC includes 822 occupational types. The national variants of the SOC are used by the governments of the UK, Canada, and many others. ["Standard Occupational Classification System," Wikipedia, www.wikipedia.org.]
21. Florida, Richard (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, Basic Books: New York, p. 69.
22. Ibid., p. 69.
23. Ibid., p. 69.
24. "Early in the charrette, the Lakeview Regional Museum emerged as the most probable candidate to become the central component of the redevelopment of the Sears block. The team found that it makes sense for the museum to be part of this central location to both the city and the museum, provided the museum's development collaborative accepts the responsibilities implied by the site. The Sears Block is a significant part of downtown Peoria, and any buildings that it holds must be configured as such." [Duany and Plater-Zyberk (2003). "Downtown Interventions: D-1 Sears Block Redevelopment," Heart of Peoria, p. IV.4.]
25. Ibid., p. 166. According to Florida, members of the Creative Class enjoy unique experiences like traveling and antique shopping, and they would rather be a participant rather than a spectator, participating in outdoor activities like bike riding and running.
26. Duany and Plater-Zyberk (2003). "Downtown Interventions: D-4 New Street, Warehouse District," Heart of Peoria, p. V.10.
27. Duany and Plater-Zyberk (2003). "Neighborhood Interventions: N-7 Bio-Research Campus, West Main Street," Heart of Peoria, p. V.10.
28. The Heart of Peoria discouraged adding high-rise buildings and instead recommended building horizontally. Even within the studio, there was disagreement about the role of high-rises. In the final masterplan, the students decided that high-rise buildings should be restricted to the Civic Center.
29. Ibid., p. IV.9.