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Examining & reestablishing the public role of the city hall

by

Spencer Rand

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AUTHOR’S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.
Abstract

City halls have long been regarded as the social, organizational, perceptual and physical centers of cities. A successful city can be recognized by the success of its city hall. As a city develops, so must its city hall. Over several decades of construction, urban sprawl in Michigan has resulted in an increasingly contiguous network of cities. Devoid of distinction, the boundaries of these cities meld with each other, disintegrating developed city centers. City halls have furthered this disintegration by relocating municipal service buildings along the periphery of downtowns reducing accessibility to the services and involvement with the vitality of the downtown. The city hall is then left to contend with mid-rise commercial buildings for prominence and distinction or to simply become isolated amidst residential neighbors.

In downtown Ann Arbor the 1964 city hall stands, exemplary of an era concerned with accommodating the conveniences of driving, economy of construction and the modernist style. Building upkeep, working conditions, accessibility of services and expansion cause problems today. This thesis recognizes the city hall as an intrinsic part of the development of downtowns for midsized cities. It looks at how a city such as Ann Arbor could further that development by relocating and transforming the city hall into a new, central, responsive, informative and integrated hub for administrative and social functions, worthy of pride.

Devised in response to numerous observations made across the State, related studies and discussion with city officials, the project identifies eight major criteria to consider when designing a new city hall. An integration of community and social programs with those of the administrative departments of the city, draw the citizens to use the building regularly and...
become more actively involved with political issues. Success of this project might assert the city as a leader in inspiring others to evaluate the role of architecture in smart growth planning and urban densification.
Acknowledgements

I’d like to hereby express my appreciation to everyone who had assisted in shaping this thesis. The encouragement and support of many were highly instrumental in completing this compendium of thoughts.

A special thanks is here extended to my Supervisor for his guidance, support and insight. I also wish to express my gratitude to my panel for their betterment of this thesis.

Thesis Supervisor:
Rick Haldenby
Director & Associate Professor
University of Waterloo

Committee:
Robert Jan van Pelt
University Professor
University of Waterloo

Jeff Lederer,
General Manager, Adjunct Professor
University of Waterloo

Lola Sheppard
Associate Professor
University of Waterloo

External Reader:
Paul Sapounzi
Partner at Ventin Group

Editor:
Margaret Hitchcock
Andrea Ling
Dedication

I would like to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to my parents for extending their endless patience and affection over so many years, to my brother whose greatness and curiosity into the workings of all things inspires many. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my office mates Tracy and Jason for the many reviews and words of encouragement.
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**Why does the appearance of democracy matter?**

The architecture of the State house across the United States represents a scale of democratic architecture which describes a balance between two identities, nationalism and regionalism. The regional or vernacular architectural methods can be seen as representing the people where use of a universal or national language would indicate a domineering government, not by the people, not democratic.

**What happened to the public space?**

This chapter provides a concise history of the separation of public space and civic functions of the city hall, a look into different modern modes of providing public space and why public space is important.

**What is the current state of Michigan city halls?**

A survey of Michigan city halls conducted by systematically visiting and reviewing architectural drawings, resulted in several observations documented in this chapter.
What makes a successful downtown?

A recent history of urban planning strategies in the United States by decade reveals an explanation of their failure. Modern strategies encourage a shift away from suburban sprawl towards urban densification. A healthy downtown is a key to convincing resident and commercial investors to locate in more urban areas. Downtown vitality requires a continuous collaboration of several contributors. Local government is one such collaborator needed to maintain the balance between commercial, residential and public development within the downtown.

What defines the City of Ann Arbor?

This chapter describes the City of Ann Arbor and several key factors. This chapter illustrates a design proposal of a new city hall for Ann Arbor that aims to establish an open relationship with the public.

How can a city hall be made more public?

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Introduction

Under the guise of security, in the face of fear, democratic government has taken actions encroaching on the rights of citizens daring to assume voters will remain complacent.

When peaceable, but concerned voters seeking to voice their opposition to an ostensibly democratic government are denied access to public property, or removed for disagreeing, we have a problem.

When private citizens are denied access to public records, we have a problem.

When the majority of citizens are unable to readily access city services because they need a car, we have a problem.

Let us discuss the grounds on which architecture can be involved in shaping our communities, help us to know each other and build trust through interaction and awareness. Let us look to our cities for guidance, information and community. Let us build a common ground for citizens, visitors and city officials alike.

I feel a great excitement today for the future of our civic architecture because we are approaching a new age of critical thinking and involvement with our built environment. Administrators and city officials have too long endured an inadequate and poorly considered building strategy, characterized by dim artificial lighting, inaccessibility and facilities undervalued by citizens; a strategy whose dominant objectives are cost reduction and accessibility to automobiles.

I dream today for the advent of a public architecture, which values first and foremost the establishment of a common ground to citizens and city staff alike.

This thesis considers the smallest and most critical scale of the democratic process, that of the individual voter. In evaluating Michigan city halls constructed in the last 50 years, I look to identify and change shortcomings in the relationship between city government and their constituents through the proposition of new construction.
Commonality

We inhabit both a private and a public world. Just as our homes express our individual and personal values, so does our public, built environment express our communal, social values.

Richard Dattner, *Civil Architecture*

A simple visual comparison of State Capitols distributed across the United States, separated by hundreds of miles, demonstrates an homogeneity of civic public architecture shared by no other building type.

Fig. 1.0 Texas Capitol Rotunda Elevation
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Concern for the building image

The term ‘image’ is the subject of various definitions and attributes. Here it is understood as the visible composition of building components used to describe the tone and function of the building they enclose.

The image of public buildings is frequently debated by a wide range of public and professional persons. Preconceptions, preferences and even prejudices are voiced with conviction. Many people seek to perpetuate the golden age of a given place or an impression of a building type. These efforts to perpetuate a previous era, often work in opposition to historic preservation, which values theories and construction methods prevalent at the date of implementation. The American Statehouse and City Hall are two similar types subjected to this perennial scrutiny.

The many possibilities for the resultant building appearance of any one theory are innumerable. Contemporary theories on architecture range from the geometrist’s formalism and pattern maker’s graphic façade to the technical performance issues of sustainability. Each theory will yield a different exterior, to say nothing of the individuality of the architect.

The greater the commitment to any one theory of design, the closer the final resulting building is to achieving that theory’s objective. This process of designing and selecting priorities, not only determines the building’s visual image but influences the effectiveness of its function. For a building to be successful a careful selection of these priorities, specific to its use, must be considered and incorporated. Legibility of these choices are decipherable in the final construction communicating what has been valued.

Adopted image

The form of democratic buildings in America has a history of assimilating images of power. From the founding years of the nation and reconstruction of the U.S. capitol building to the present day, symbols of other governments have been gathered and exaggerated to formulate an image of a powerful and developed nation. Pieces of this collage span from democracy’s formative years in Athens to the mansard roofs and picturesque gardens of the French monarchies in the Renaissance, to the corporate headquarters of the present time.

President Thomas Jefferson, an open proponent of Roman Neoclassicism, is largely responsible for the initial style of public architecture in the United States. His influence as an architect, politician and writer can be seen in the renovation of the White House, Virginia University and subsequent State Capitols.
With such a wide variety of architectural languages today, the comparably subtle differences between Greek and Roman Neoclassicism are of little concern to the average citizen. These styles are however, strong signifiers of civic buildings recognized nationally.

The signified meaning and relationship of the architecture to the people however is significantly different from that of the expressed intent of the political system. Architectural classicism is commonly used rhetorically in reference to the foundations of democratic architecture in the Greek agora and Roman res publica.

Architecture of the Roman Imperial Temples, on which much of western understanding of Classicism is based, supported the semi-deification of the ruler within. A notion carried from the preceding Greek temples thought to contain actual gods. Elevation of these temples on podia, positioned them between the people and the sky further encouraging thought of their intermediacy between the divine and human realms. Grand stairs and equally grand porticos minimize the significance of any one person, discouraging dissension and inflating the building scale to one of divine beings.

We find in the state house and the public square the official recognition of the res publica, the space where democracy in its most basic form is made permanent. Clearly the quandary for architects in a consumer democracy is to find an authentic expression for this realm and imagine realistic social activities that can encourage its emergence.

Charles Jencks, *The Architecture of Democracy*

Architecture is the expression of the very being of societies, … through which the Church or the State addresses and imposes silence on the multitude. In fact, monuments clearly inspire sobriety and often even veritable fear.

Andrew Ballantyne, *Architecture Theory*

It is the desire for monumentality over democratic operability that we see exhibited nationally in the form of the Statehouse. The following images illustrate a relatively strict adherence to Neoclassicism creating a continuous fabric of political monuments across the country. The remarkable similarity is a testament to the insignificance of local persuasion and influence on such collective decisions. They are artifacts, which represent an antithesis to democracy, the irrelevance of individuality and the expression of differing opinions.

Fig. 1.1 Sacred to the Memory of Washington
Fig. 1.2 Arkansas State Capitol Building. Designed by George R. Mann and Cass Gilbert. Constructed 1900-1917.

Fig. 1.3 Missouri State Capitol Building. Designed by Tracy and Swarthout. Constructed 1913-1918.

Fig. 1.4 Mississippi State Capitol Building. Designed by Theodore C. Link. Constructed 1901-1903.
Fig. 1.5 Indiana State Capitol Building. Designed by Edwin May and Adolf Scherrer. Constructed 1878-1888.

Fig. 1.6 California State Capitol. Designed by Frederic Butler. Constructed 1960-1878.

Fig. 1.7 Michigan State Capitol. Designed by Elijah E. Myers. Constructed 1871.
City Beautiful

The White City of Chicago’s 1893 World Fair was a great triumph for the revitalization strategy coined ‘City Beautiful’. In response to the industrial city, plagued by smog, depression and social refuge, general economic decline and public concern surrounding a shift away from an agrarian based economy, the City Beautiful aspired to induce civic pride. The movement was an urban strategy to realize a degree of social cohesion by rallying various classes and ethnic groups around common civic and cultural institutions. Limited to public buildings and characterized by its Beaux-Arts style and white finishes, the movement was an effort to elevate American cities to be on par with those of Europe. It was believed that the beauty of these urban centers would inspire civic loyalty and moral rectitude in the impoverished and entice the upper classes to return to work and spend money. The movement was adopted by several major cities including Washington D.C., Denver, Philadelphia and Detroit.

Hailed as a continuation of the Renaissance or the coming of an American or International Renaissance, the City Beautiful held great promise for the future of arts and the city. Major urban works were completed many including strong Haussman-like boulevards connecting civic monuments. Claims of more lawful communities were supported by false reports of crimelessness made during the World Fair. Criticized as superficial, elitist, expensive and impractical the movement soon waned following the end of World War I. Encroachment of commercial enterprises on properties immediately surrounding ‘city beautiful’ projects readily dominated their monumentality through the mere scale of high-rise construction. While ultimately ineffective as a tool for social reform, the movement left a lasting impression on the American people in defining a stylistic language for public and civic institutions.
Modernism

The focus of modernism was to achieve a clarity of form and expression of material use. Inspired by the availability of new materials and processes, champions of this style including LeCorbusier and Mies Van der Rohe pioneered a machine aesthetic. Throughout the 1960s many public buildings were built in the modernist style, which remains in active use today.

Postmodernism

Postmodernism is driven by its opposition to modernism and intent to re-establish symbolism and ornament for its own sake in architecture. Self proclaimed as opposing formalism of the international style, Postmodernism unapologetically combines several styles, colors and forms. Seeking exuberance and new ways of experiencing otherwise familiar styles and spaces, architects of this movement intentionally contradict geometric and material conventions. It is believed these contradictions and juxtapositions of styles and forms are a witty commentary on our social belief in absolutes. By inverting accepted truths and setting competing truths in conflict a need arises for tolerance of ambiguity or the invention of a new truth. This break with rational design methods of modernism has resulted in a unrestrained, imaginative and often whimsical architecture.

The work of Michael Graves, Charles Moore, Charles Jencks, Robert Venturi and Robert Stern all typify the Postmodernist movement. Many of these buildings are scaled to be seen at a great distance or speed, offering very little to pedestrians. This vehicular accommodation can be seen throughout North America in the form of big box stores and office towers competing for greater legibility from the highway. The simplified references to more ornate architectural styles have been adopted, in recent years, as a national language for public and civic buildings, most apparent in the courthouse and public library typologies.

Similar to City Beautiful Movement Postmodernism is criticized as being preoccupied with developing the exterior to the detriment of other more significant building issues.
Problem with the adopted image

In *Learning from Las Vegas* Robert Venturi categorizes the exterior of a building as either a geometric symbol onto itself or a graphic applique on a box. The focus of Venturi’s study is a fundamental problem in civic architectural design. Emphasis on the exterior of public buildings at the expense of interior quality and function, results in an impenetrable threshold between the public and the city administration. Furthermore the resultant symbolic building operates in opposition to its own intentions of establishing solidarity, centrality and civic identity. Alternatively the symbolism is found most interesting to visitors and a fleeting novelty to residents. Building symbolism for residents is not a function of its ornamental semiology but accumulated over time through use. Building scars are more effective in recording community identity than any initial imagery the architect can provide. Provision of a well used building, will create an image in the minds of citizens greatly outweighing and lingering longer than an overtly symbolic facade.

Instead of using the classical architectural language of monarchies and republics, what new methods and signifiers can be used to more effectively communicate with a contemporary democratic society?

The work of contemporary architects like Rem Koolhaas and Richard Rogers support the refinement of the building as a diagram. Several of their built works demonstrate the merit of their efforts in the form of an intuitive and expressive building. The Centre Pompidou for one is a clear illustration of how a willful intent becomes highly visible. Determined to provide exhibition space uninhibited by mechanical systems floor configurations or circulation, Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano devised a new approach to museum construction. All systems were provided along the building exterior to allow maximum flexibility through the interior. Even now, 30 years after its opening, it remains a highly evocative and influential building concept.

Rem Koolhaas and the work of OMA are perhaps better known still for their use of program as an act of guiding function and human activities. The Seattle Public Library involved extensive consideration of program elements and arrangement. Most profoundly suggested in the proposal were hospital units for the homeless. These units were not included in the final construction, however the mere attempt to include them demonstrates a commitment from the office to their belief in ‘cross-programming’; an effort to introduce unexpected functions in any building type.

These and other examples provide an alternative method of designing architecture to produce a unique appearance without divorcing it of its relationship to the interior program or molding the program to a predefined exterior.
Thrones may be out of fashion, and pageantry too; but political authority still requires a cultural frame in which to define itself and advance its claims, and so does opposition to it.

Geertz, Clifford, *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*
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Public through Hannah Arendt can be understood as having two relevant definitions. The first she describes as that which exists as visible and audible to everyone. By this definition “appearance” becomes “reality”. This is the only true reality, because physical appearance is the one commonality between members of society. Arendt refers to this condition as the “space of appearance”. Reality is all that is seen or heard within this concept of public.

Arendt offers a second definition whereby public is “the world itself,” and all that is common to everyone. As an example she offers the idea of a table, with people sitting around its perimeter. The table acts simultaneously to bring everyone together and as a mediator to maintain a comfortable distance between the gathered persons.

Shared by both definitions is a view of “public” as a world common to all that one chooses to enter after birth and leave with death.

For Arendt modernity is characterized by the loss of the world, by which she means the restriction or elimination of the public sphere of action and speech in favor of the private world of introspection and the private pursuit of economic interests. Modernity is the age of bureaucratic administration and anonymous labor, rather than politics and action, of elite domination and manipulation of public opinion. It is the age where history as a “natural process” has replaced history as a fabric of actions and events, where homogeneity and conformity have replaced plurality and freedom, and where isolation and loneliness have eroded human solidarity and all spontaneous forms of living together. Modernity is the age where the past no longer carries any certainty of evaluation, where individuals, having lost their traditional standards and values, must search for new grounds of human community as such.

Her claim is that, with the tremendous expansion of the economy from the end of the eighteenth century, all such activities have taken over the public real and transformed it into a sphere for the satisfaction of our material needs. Society has thus invaded and conquered the public realm, turning it into a function of what previously were private needs and concerns, and has thereby destroyed the boundary separating the public and the private.
Disappearance of the Res Publica

On the eve of the fateful vote to authorize the invasion of Iraq, Senator Robert Byrd famously remarked on the emptiness of the Senate Chamber.¹

The chambers of city halls are no different, frequently seen as rarely occupied auditoria, echoing the dull proceedings of our monarchist British heritage. Such civic spaces and civic buildings, were once defined by little more than the right to assemble. Today, many have become distant from this origin even discouraging public attendance.

The town hall building type emerges in 12th century Europe; a result of shifting power, from royalty and the church to the inhabitants². To exercise this power a new building type was formed as a place to assemble, discuss and formulate rules, a place to define and refine local constitutional government.

Citizens were eagerly involved, as the influence of decisions were apparent. The current American city hall differs greatly from this European antecedent. The central purpose of collective decision-making and citizen involvement has been lost. Architecturally this can be seen through five historic stages of development ³. These stages define a regressive separation of the governing from the governed.

Assembly Origin (fig. 2.1) The earliest appearance of structures associated with civic government appear during the Medieval period in the free cities of Italy, the Low Countries and parts of France⁴. These first structures consisted of a belfry of carillons and an outdoor square. The need for these structures arose out of an assertion of regional separation from monarchist impositions. This stage is the purest example of public involvement uninhibited by architectural devices. In the events of an attack, internal conflict or discussion of issues pertaining to the commonwealth, the bell would sound and the people assembled to negotiate a course of action. Anyone could ring the bell and all were welcome to attend.

Sheltered City (fig. 2.2) As towns grew, concessions were made to construct sheltered meeting rooms and offices for appointed leaders whose primary duty was to regulate the trade of the market place. The town hall was the first purpose-built enclosed structure for indoor civic assembly. In much the same way as the first building meant to represent the Greek Agora marked a decline of the city⁵ the erection of a town hall was the first stage of separation between governing body and the citizenry. Commonly located directly above the vaulted niches of the market, adjacent to the public square the town hall posed a physical boundary and regulated barrier between the citizenry and the space of civic assembly. The designated meeting room was elevated above the ground plane of the city and regulated by the locking and unlocking of doors. The established tradition of bell ringing continued to signal a call to congregate.

¹ “... On this February day, as this nation stands at the brink of battle, every American on some level must be contemplating the horrors of war.
Yet, this Chamber is, for the most part, silent -- ominously, dreadfully silent. There is no debate, no discussion, no attempt to lay out for the nation the pros and cons of this particular war. There is nothing.” Byrd, We Stand Passively By, delivered on the Senate Floor, Feb. 12, 2003.
² Lebovich, America’s City Halls p. 14.
³ Ibid., p. 14-37.
⁴ Mills, The Town Halls of Canada, p. 14
⁵ “When the agora became a mere building, however grand, this meant a certain disintegration of the city.” Wycherley, How the Greeks Built Cities
Service Amalgamation (fig. 2.3) In the United States, cities grew and civic governments acquired more and more responsibility. Space requirements for these acquired services resulted in increasingly complex buildings. In the early 20th C. privatized fire services became a public service, replacing the market on ground level. This was due in part to the violent outbursts of rival fire fighters disputing over territory, in lieu of putting out fires. The established architectural language of the city hall fit fire services well, with the large vaulted space at ground level accommodating fire trucks and the bell tower, useful for drying hoses. The public square remained paired with the city hall, however, its function was reduced to special events assembly space once the market was removed. The regular schedule of meetings resulted in replacing a bell ringer with a town clock. The responsibility of the citizen grew, to include keeping informed of meeting schedules as the chime of the bell was no longer limited to assembly times.

Monumental (fig. 2.4) Rivalry between towns had long driven competition for monumentality in city hall architecture. This drive of one-upmanship came to a close mid way through the 20th C. when budgets spiraled out of control. Along with many other city halls Philadelphia City Hall borrowed the architectural style of its Parisian counterpart. Classical ornament and the geometric formality of renaissance picturesque gardens adorned many early U.S city halls in an effort to imply comparable power to the preceding european monarchies seen throughout the 16th & 17thC.

Corporate Conformity (fig. 2.5) Following WWII, Americans, spurred on by the federal government, abandoned established cities seeking the newly affordable luxury of the suburbs. This exodus resulted in a great proliferation of local governments. Eager to demonstrate fiscal responsibility, many such governments began building city halls cheaply, grouping civic services into civic centers reminiscent of the City Beautiful. Gardens were simplified into lawns, and the buildings were designed to be recognizable from automobiles moving at great speed. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the sleek modernist aesthetic of the office building found popularity as the new civic building language. The efforts to imitate corporate construction left new city services stranded and undecipherable amidst corporate commercial parks.

6 “The Philadelphia example boasted 4.5 acres of space and contained over 600 rooms, along with a 547-foot tower. The building’s $24 million cost brought the city to the brink of bankruptcy.” Mills, The Town Halls of Canada, p. 20

7 Ibid. p. 32

8 “Present-day Boston, like any large city, has banking, medical, government and financial buildings that eclipse the city hall in power and importance as architectural statements of the city.” Lebovich, America’s City Halls p. 37
Different modern provisions of public space.

Illustrated are several public buildings constructed in the last 50 years each using public space in varying degrees of integration with other building programs. The relationship between the building massing and the public space is a strong and perceptable gesture experienced by all users. If the success of a local democratic government can be measured by its ability to welcome, receive and respond to citizen concerns and architecture by its ability to address the concerns of its program, than it follows that a successful democratic architecture would facilitate these ideals if not enforce them.

DETROIT CITY HALL 1957
Harley, Ellington and Day, Inc.

Facing Jefferson Avenue, the busiest vehicular street in downtown, the Detroit City Hall provides as a public space an elevated lawn with trees enclosed by a concrete retaining wall. While some people use the wall as a place to sit the lawn goes unprogrammed and unused. The main entrance on the short side involves a security check and removal of all electronic equipment. Visitors are asked about the purpose of their visit and what floors they anticipate using. It quickly becomes clear that this is not a place for lingering or casual banter. Happenstance of passersby becoming politically engaged is unlikely here.

ANN ARBOR CITY HALL 1964
Aldenby Dow Inc. Architect

Geometrically composed of a plinth, office block and building services monolith the Ann Arbor City Hall visually articulates the division of building functions. Atop the single storey plinth of the police and tax services an accessible roof appears a well intentioned gesture. The provision of two small egress stairs, an exposed tar roof and an absence of shading devices result in a space too hot during the summer and unprotected from the wind during the winter. As a result the roof is used by neither the city staff nor the public. Immediately surrounding the building on all sides is parking signifying pedestrians are not expected.

KITCHENER CITY HALL 1992
Kuwabara Payne McKenna Blumberg Architects

Nearly all of the ground plane and central rotunda are public and heavily programmed. Adjacent to an active pedestrian street this city hall regularly draws the attention of citizens without administrative business to conduct. The rotunda is often booked for small business and other local groups. A fountain in the frontcourt is a popular gathering place during the summer and active skating rink during the winter.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF WALES IN CARDIFF 2005
Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners

The ground plane as accessed from the waterfront side is completely dedicated to public space. Gesturally the building is open and inviting. The transparent threshold into the building encourages entry and engagement with the space inside.
The underlying question of infusing public space in a city hall is how to create overlapping common ground to both the city legislation and the public body of the citizenry. How can a space, be simultaneously of the introspective world of the individuals described by Arendt and of the private world of the City Administration? Furthermore, what makes that space evocative and politically charged?

Michel Foucault offers the conceptual framework of the Heterotopia. A place that interrupts the apparent continuity and normality of everyday space. Because it injects alterity into the sameness, the commonplace, the topicality of everyday society, Foucault called these places 'heterotopias' literally 'other places'. It is through these spaces that new forms of charged temporary activities can occur. They are transformed by the imagination into elevated spaces of meaning. He describes the delight of a child to occupy the space of an attic or the parents bed temporarily under the exciting shroud of forbidden use. A successful public space fits a similar conceptual construction whereby the political cause much like the child's imagination requires a space which is enticingly loaded with faux-pas to contribute significance to the cause.

The same physical space according to Foucault can be several different heterotopian spaces because of the temporal quality of heterotopias. Therefore the same space can also act as a heterotopia of unification and identification, building bonds and deconstructing fear of strangers.

Heterotopias of unification promote the development of culture. Culture according to Johan Huizinga is a function of play. Through his definition of Homo Luden or 'Man the Player' we understand play as a necessary condition for the generation of culture. Therefore a centering institution like a city hall should feel a mandate to include elements of play. While the city hall is not the primary source of cultural development it should endorse this type of development as an intrinsic part of the identity of place.

One of the more recent and effective heterotopias bridging...
the gap between the private realm of the individual and the collective realm of public space is the rise of network society. A place while simultaneously a non-place, digital networks have given rise to new forms of spontaneous group political and cultural activity. Flash mobs are one of the most common examples. While this form of assembly is potentially very exciting and productive it is also very dangerous as the mob term implies. Passionate group activity can quickly escalate into destructive behaviour and needs to monitored by the police to ensure people remain safe. For this reason promotion of digital networking through the city hall is preferred over private since it provides the ability to monitor and anticipate mob behaviour.

Through the development of effective public space the city enters a maturing cycle of liminal stages. Van Gennep terms a ‘liminal’ stage or ‘anomic state’ as a transitional period of change during which you are between two clear states, such stages for individuals include the various moments of identity change and the associated rites of passage. The adolescent is no longer a boy and not yet a man, the menstruating woman is no longer a child and not yet able to bear children; the pregnant woman is no longer fertile and not yet a mother. These are necessary spaces of progress. (Heterotopias and the City, p76)

Bernard Tschumi attempts to capture Foucault’s Heterotopian space with the proposition of ‘Event Spaces’. Illustrated in fig. 2.10 Lerner Hall Student Center for the University of Columbia contains a central atrium which acts as a number of heterotopias depending on the activities that define it at any one time. He describes the design strategy as “a student “city” in the “city” of Columbia in the city of New York... It’s multiple activities... are to be perceived from the series of oblique lounges that link the multiplicity of disparate functions.”

“It is made of public and semi-public activities that must help to define a public space... the new center should act as a forum, a dynamic place of exchange.” The main circulatory system acts as “a continuous link connecting what would normally be discontinuous, even contradictory, activities.” To achieve this continuity floors have been staggered to avoid the stratified separation found in the conventional atrium configuration. As a result the helical circulation draws students past a great variety of activities they might otherwise be oblivious to.

A self-supporting glass wall along the north side of the atrium gives the circulation a stage-like quality. At night lighting from below glows through the glass surface of the

9 Tschumi, Event Cities 2, p.297
10 ibid., p.297
11 ibid., p297
Some people have dealt with the challenges of urban life by retreating as far as possible into the private realm - living in gated developments, shopping in malls, and relaxing and keeping fit in private clubs. The principal criterion for entrance into these private spaces is usually the ability to pay. If the wealthier members of society continue to retreat into private space, the public realm will suffer from a lack of investment and could increasingly be seen as a place for the ‘have -nots’. To prevent this from happening, and to maximise choice for all sections of the community, the design and management of the public realm needs to compete with the quality of the private realm.

Nick Corbett, *Transforming Cities: revival in the Square*

**Why is public space important?**

ramps generating a mysterious play of shadows as students wander from floor to floor, acting as a kind signage for the level of activity within.

The Diamond and Schmitt Cambridge Civic Administration Building completed in 2008 uses a more conventional atrium with circulatory rings for each floor overlooking a central void. This arrangement is good for bringing light deep into the building and creating balcony-like conditions for looking down and across the interior. As Tschumi points out the space is less continuous, inviting visitors to sidestep the shared space of the atrium in favour of the more direct and expedient elevator ride. The great merit of this scheme is a careful arrangement of the program to creating an effective threshold between interior and exterior space. The two meeting rooms on the ground floor can be joined together to create one large interior space that opens to the atrium to house large events or opens to the outside on the Civic Square through operable glass doors when weather permits. The two meeting rooms and their adjacency to the outdoor civic square and indoor atrium can be seen in Fig. 2.11.

The importance of public space according to Arendt is power. Power springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse. The legitimacy of democracy is defined by power, therefore the public space is the most important element of democratic architecture.

Steven Carr in his book ‘Public Space’ analyzes urban public spaces across the United States seeking to identify common traits of well used and rejected spaces. He goes on to describe public space as primarily adding value in three ways, through visual enhancement, increased public welfare and economic development.

Visual enhancement is normally an unstated goal of most producers of public space. It is natural that government sponsors wish costly public spaces to reflect well upon themselves. Most governments undertaking new buildings or developments in cities want to, and to be seen as, good public citizens. Adjacent successful public spaces will also increase and protect the value of building investments. Local government can benefit from projects that help improve the image of the city and create points of pride, especially when private development or some other branch of government can be induced to pay for them. For these reasons, this quiet motive can be among the most important in determining the design of spaces.

Public welfare and social cohesion are products of a healthy city. The roll of public space to provide a safe haven for discussion and the development of familiarity with each other is critical. In the United States, the comfort and welfare of the individual is sought above all else. A growing fear of terrorism has already resulted in many people retreating into their homes, rather than seeking social gatherings and community engagement. Within the home, television and internet videos offer increasingly sensationalist material, celebrating human tragedy and humiliation. Counter measures are required to impede this trend of social erosion. Public space is one such measure, which beckons people to find their place in a greater collective community. It is in these places that people find comradery, understanding, acceptance, trust and faith in each other to act in favor of mutual benefit.

Economic development is another common motivation for creating public space. Spaces designed for enjoyment and relaxation, with supports for informal performances and other interesting activities, can attract people who may then become good customers for retail business. Small plazas and atria are built to provide for relaxation at lunch and social relief from isolating office work. These spaces can also be used to encourage new commercial development. There are often tensions between the motive of serving the public and the desire to enhance the corporate or government image, but there are useful guides for reconciling these goals.

Good management of public space retains the value of the space and in some cases establishes new value. A balance of three parameters12 are critical to maintaining, a well used space. Responsiveness, democracy and meaningfulness each contribute to the perception and use of the space. Policing is required to keep any one group from discouraging use by other groups. This task becomes confusing when addressing issues of the stigma surrounding homelessness or the protection of special interests groups to demonstrate when their message is found objectionable to the greater public.

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12 "Public places should be responsive, democratic and meaningful." Carr, *Public Space*, p. 19

"Responsive spaces are those that are designed and managed to serve the needs to their users. The primary needs that people seek to satisfy in public space are those for comfort, relaxation, active and passive engagement, and discovery." Ibid., p. 19

"Democratic spaces protect the rights of user groups. They are accessible to all groups and provide for freedom of action but also for temporary claim and ownership." Ibid., p.19

"Meaningful spaces are those that allow people to make strong connections between the place, their personal lives, and the larger world. They relate to their physical and social context." Ibid., p. 20
Study

In a Michigan made Lincoln Continental I drove across the State of Michigan to observe collect and navigate the city halls for cities of populations greater than 40,000 persons. The following chapter describes some of the findings.
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“A constitition is not the act of a government but of a people constituting a government.”

Thomas Paine

CONSTITUTION

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH
Senate
House

EXECUTIVE BRANCH
President
Vice President

JUDICIAL BRANCH
Supreme Court

INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENTS AND GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS (partial list)
Central Intelligence Agency
Environmental Protection Agency
Federal Election Commission
General Services Administration
Peace Corps
Securities & Exchange Commission
Small Business Administration
Social Security Administration

Fig. 3.1 Federal Government Structure
U.S. federal politics have long been predominantly a bipartisan struggle between the Democratic and Republican parties, the greatest demonstration of which is the election of a President. Following the popular vote the electoral college is assembled for the official vote. Each state has a number of electors equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives. Each elector casts one electoral college vote typically in accordance with the popular vote in their state. In all states except Maine and Nebraska, the presidential candidate that wins the most popular votes receives all the state’s electoral votes. States that commonly vote for the Republican Party are referred to as ‘Red States’, those that vote for the Democratic Party ‘Blue States’ and states that are divided ‘Swing or Purple States’.

The true nature of this divide is between urban areas/inner suburbs and suburbs/rural areas. Standard cartographic representation showing county sway in the 2004 election leads one to believe that the United States are predominantly Republican. The actual distribution of votes using size proportional to population leads as illustrated in fig. 3.3 to a more balanced and representative graphic of the actual vote.

Division between red and blue states has lead to introspection and feelings of cultural and political polarization. Mutual feelings of alienation and enmity have led to the jocular suggestion of secession. Fig. 3.4 is a satirical depiction of such a secession, whereby a negotiation of the Canadian-American border leads to two contiguous nation of the red and blue states with Alaska as an exception. This illustration highlights a common categorization of democrats as socially liberal sharing cultural similarity with much of Canada and republicans as voting according to their moral values. NY Times Columnist Ron Suskind describes this difference of perspective as “Essentially, the same as the one raging across much of the world: a battle between modernists and fundamentalists, pragmatists and true believers, reason and religion.”
**LEGISLATIVE BRANCH**
Senate 38 members
House 110 members

**Senate Standing Committees**
- Civil Rights
- Civil Service
- Courts of Appeals
- Court of Claims
- Joint Committees
- House Standing Committees

**House Standing Committees**
- Civil Rights
- Civil Service
- Courts of Appeals
- Court of Claims
- Joint Committees

**LEGISLATIVE BRANCH**
- Senate 38 members
- House 110 members

**EXECUTIVE BRANCH**
- Governor
- Lieutenant Governor

**JUDICIAL BRANCH**
- Supreme Court
- Court of Appeals
- Court of Claims
- Municipal Court
- Circuit Court
- Probate Court
- District Court
- Probate Court

**EXECUTIVE BRANCH**
- Agriculture
- Attorney General
- Civil Rights
- Civil Service
- Community Health
- Corrections
- Education
- Environmental Quality
- History, Arts and Libraries
- Human Services
- Information Technology
- Labor and Economic Growth
- Management and Budget
- Military and Veterans Affairs
- Natural Resources
- State
- State Police
- Transportation
- Treasury

Fig. 3.5 Michigan State Government Structure
Fig. 3.6 Local Government Structure
Using the 2004 U.S. Census Data, I created a list of cities with populations greater than or equal to 40,000 persons. Then I called each city to request a copy of architectural floor plans and elevations of their respective city halls. This effort was met with great resistance. Few city officials knew where drawings could be found and patience on the phone was limited. All cities insisted on seeing the requestor in person and many required a Freedom of Information Act Request Form be processed. A small number of cities were able to process the request the same day and considered couriers outside the scope of their service and therefore required a second trip be made to retrieve drawings at a later date. Photography was generally limited to the building exterior and occasionally extended to public rooms. Pictures of the work environment were prohibited.

Some context on the state as a whole may provide some insight into the current state of city government architecture. After the Erie Canal opened in 1825 an influx of settlers allowed Michigan to apply for Statehood. It was admitted to the Union as the 26th state in 1837.

In support of a growing national trend to deter suburban sprawl, Jennifer Granholm has been a strong advocate of “smart growth”. Studies indicate that counties of greater density have lower municipal costs then those of similar size with lower density. This economic consideration has proven useful in allying corporate and agrarian leaders to support localism.

Historically corporations have received large subsidies from the State to coerce them to establish or relocate headquarters in Michigan. This strategy has been effective in locating numerous businesses and generating employment. Unfortunately, it has resulted in increased taxes draining the local economy. Governor Granholm has taken action to ease small business registration and discourage subsidies for corporations and industries.

Locality is defined firstly by county. Each county’s official center is known as the county seat. The size of the county is based on a day’s travel by horse or foot from any point within its boundary. This led to the Land Ordinance of 1785. The Northwest Ordinance, adopted by Congress, authorized the survey and sale of all government owned lands ceded to the national government by various states and Indian tribes, using the Land Ordinance of 1785. Execution of this legislation required removal of Indians from the Ohio country where the surveys were to commence and resulted in the division of this territory into six-mile squares. These squares define the county boundaries of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin.

“The organization of our county administrations may be thought more difficult. But follow principle, and the knot unties itself. Divide the counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to themselves exclusively. A justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their own wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican constitution... We should thus marshal our government into 1, the general feral republic, for all concerns foreign and federal; 2, that of the State, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; 3, the county republics for the duties and concerns of the County; 4, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in
01. detroit city
02. grand rapids city
03. warren city
04. flint city
05. sterling heights city
06. lansing city
07. ann arbor city
08. livonia city
09. dearborn city
10. westland city
11. farmington hills city
12. troy city
13. southfield city
14. kalamazoo city
15. wyoming city
16. rochester hills city
17. pontiac city
18. taylor city
19. st. clair shores city
20. saginaw city
21. royal oak city
22. dearborn heights city
23. battle creek city
24. roseville city
25. novi city
26. east lansing city
27. kentwood city
28. portage city
29. midland city
30. muskegon city
31. lincoln park city

Fig. 3.7 Study Scope
government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by division and subdivision of duties alone, that all matters great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs..."\(^1\)

Counties

"There are three possible configurations of county government in Michigan.

All counties have boards of commissioners elected from districts that are apportioned to make the population as equal as possible after each United States Census. County boards must have at least five members and can have as many as twenty-five members. Counties over 600,000 in population are mandated by law to have twenty-five member boards. Each county also has five or six countywide elected officials: Clerk, Treasurer, Drain Commissioner, Sheriff, Prosecutor, and Register of Deeds. Michigan law allows the combination of Clerk and Register of Deeds into a Clerk-Register position and twenty-eight counties have done so.

County Commission Form

Counties utilizing the County Commission form of organization either have elected officials perform both legislative and administrative duties or hire a professional administrator to perform administrative duties per a contract approved by the Board of Commissioners. This administrative professional is most commonly referred to as a County Coordinator.

The County Clerk is responsible for Accounts Payable functions in this scenario and the Treasurer is responsible for Accounts Receivable.

The County Board oversees all administrative functions including administration, finance, human resources, facilities, and information technology and the health department. Perhaps most importantly, the county board is responsible for adoption and oversight of the county budget for all county agencies, including those with a countywide elected department head.

County Controller Form

Michigan statute gives counties the option of adopting the County Controller form of organization and thereby appointing a professional administrator to manage the administrative affairs to the County. The relationship of the County Controller and Board of Commissioners is also typically encapsulated in a contract approved by the Board of Commissioners. The main difference between the County Commission form and the County Controller form is that State statute specifies some of the duties of the County Controller. Accounts Payable and Accounts Receivable are removed from the County Clerk and County Treasurer and assigned to the Controller. Per this form of organization the Board of Commissioners needs a majority vote to appoint and a super-majority vote (two-thirds) to remove the Controller.

Several counties that have adopted the County Controller form refer to this position as County Administrator/Controller or as County Administrator.

County Executive

The third option for county organization is a countywide elected County Executive. The question of whether to adopt this form of government can either be placed on the ballot by the County Board of Commissioners or per initiative of the electorate. Responsibility for management of administrative functions of government is centralized in the County Executive position.

Currently, only Wayne, Oakland, and Bay Counties use the County Executive form in Michigan.\(^2\)

A general correlation between the county's age and population can be seen in fig. 3.8. The form of governance is not tied to population so much as the concentration of urban centers. A comparison of the 'Forms of County Government' in fig. 3.8 to fig. 3.7 reveals that all clusters of major cities are subject to the commission form with the exception of the Greater Detroit and Saginaw areas using the executive form. The executive form, originally called ‘Optional United Form’ was first adopted by Oakland and Bay counties in 1973. Wayne county reorganized in 1983 adopting an executive form referred to as ‘County Home Rule.’\(^3\)

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1 Jefferson, Letter to Samuel Kercheval July 12, 1816
3 Michigan Constitution, Act VII, Sec. 2
Fig. 3.8 Michigan County Governments
Zoning

City planning is often first legible in the zoning strategy. An observation of where the city hall is located in relationship to these zoned areas communicates an order of priority. Separation of city services from commercial zones indicates a break with the ‘sheltered city’ phase of monitoring commercial activity and furthermore, a disbelief in the positive influence it contributes to the vitality of the downtown.

Infrastructure

Within the study scope most city halls are located along collector roads and major throughways. These routes are multi-laned, making them loud and difficult to cross. Accessed readily by automobile these city halls can be used by visitors without engaging with the rest of the city.

Clinton Township (population: 95,648)

The location of the City Hall in Clinton Township represents the suburban city type. It is a city or town not defined by an economy of its own, rather by its proximity to other cities. Clearly outside the boundaries of any downtown the City is located amongst residential neighbors.

City of Sterling Heights (population: 124,471)

This city type is an industrial city organized around the railway seen running north south through the center of the map. This industrial corridor, in this case shared by Daimler Crysler and Ford Motor Company, creates a strong divide between one side of the city and the other. Immediately adjacent to the industrial lands are a series of large commercial blocks of box stores and a shopping mall. The City Hall is found nestled in a residential area nearly 2 miles away from any commercial or other shared pedestrian activity.
City of Dearborn (population: 92,382)

The City of Dearborn represents the urban-center city type. A much greater diversity of mixed-use planning can be seen in the infrastructure, where residential roads are found near the main commercial roads and the railway passes through the downtown. Mixed-use shops with apartments line the main street. The city hall is also located along the main street where pedestrian use is evident. The open area in the center of the map is a river and park network the lower portion of which is the Ford-Proving Grounds and Greenfield Village.

City of Troy (population: 81,118)

The Commerical Park City type is best represented by the City of Troy. The City Hall is immediately adjacent to the highway and has distant mid-rise neighbors. The sidewalk connecting these buildings for the most part goes unused as an automobile is required to get to these buildings and the distance between them is inhibitive. Large areas of property are given over to grass and surface parking.
Fig. 3.13 Canton Municipal Campus
Fig. 3.14 Sterling Heights Municipal Campus
Fig. 3.15 Dearborn Municipal Campus
Site Strategy

Carrying forward the siteplans of the city halls from the previous city plans study, a striking resemblance appears. Independent of context the site plan remains consistent. The role of the automobile combined with tendency for cities to develop all services on one property, creates a campus plan approach to the site planning process. Parkinglots encompass the buildings on all sides creating an undesirable approach for pedestrians. A shared landscaped area between the buildings is a common introverted public space. This approach shelters the park like space from the unsightly parkinglots, however lacks any significant public address.

Fig. 3.16 Troy Municipal Campus
Classic Layout
Symmetrical about two axes this configuration is the root of the North American Beaux Arts understanding of public buildings. Compositionally it expresses a fortitude and timelessness that citizens appreciate and regard as a community landmark. Mostly constructed of lighter colored stone with ornate carvings these buildings are protected by local heritage groups. With the rapid growth of populations, administrations require additional space. Additions to city halls of this type are difficult, since the site is limited in scale the quality of construction cannot be maintained at a price considered reasonable by voters. Furthermore attached additions require some degree of demolition, which will inevitably be met with great resistance by those who cherish the existing building. If additions are not made the city is forced to divide its administration, or sell the building and construct or lease elsewhere.

Additions Amalgamation
City halls constructed outside of the downtown district typically have more property and space to expand. Numerous additions are common, and each addition is decipherably different from the previous. The continuity of the building organization, massing and even materiality can become confusing and disjunctive.
Hybrid

New city hall forms, based on the geometries and lessons of those preceding it, are being produced with recognizable appreciation from both administrative staff and citizen users. The illustrated plan of Sterling Heights shows a central corridor provides legible access to many city services side by side. The open plan office space behind the service desks makes the floor flexible for changing department needs and satisfying to the citizen user, able to watch requested actions take place.

Mid-rise

Spending is the most commonly expressed concern of voters. Local government has turned to private business in search of the cheapest office building. Standard mid-rise commercial office buildings are a tempting option. Affordable, flexible and capable of being leased in sections this model is regarded highly by decision-makers responsible for managing the money of many. This option is easy for all parties involved to choose. Unfortunately this type will be unremarkable and will detract from the vitality of the city. The decision to choose a cheap building is followed by decisions to choose cheap building materials and cheap details. The end product is a building, which is cheap, even in comparison to developed mid-rise office blocks. The city hall disappears in the city fabric only to be replaced by commercial leaders, with buildings designed to communicate an invested value in their employees and surrounding city.
Council Chamber Types

The Centre of Debate

Most city-defining decisions are debated and decided upon with the confines of the council chamber. Members of the public are encouraged to attend and participate in these discussions. For this reason the council chamber is symbolically the most significant room in the City Hall as it represents the forum of exchange between the public and appointed city representatives.\(^4\)

\[\text{"We can describe such space as ceremonial. That is, ritual is performed in it. The rites of governance, while usually less dramatic than religious or magical rites, nonetheless invoke their own sanctity."}\hspace{1em} \text{Goodsell, The Social Meaning of Civic Space, p. 12}\]

\[\text{"While the work of legislative bodies is profane in the sense that it addresses the most immediate and pressing problems of the day, it possesses also the sacred aura of a great public activity being conducted in behalf of the entire society."}\hspace{1em} \text{Ibid., p. 12}\]

\[\text{"The Traditional Chamber is a large, boxlike square space, dominated by a massive elevated node of central focus, or rostrum, whose persona is that of unquestioned unilateral authority. Surrounding the rostrum are individual aldermanic desks, emphasizing that democratic governance centers on the representation of separate constituencies. The fact that the desks face the rostrum and not the audience suggests that the authority relationships that count are those between the representatives and presiding officer. Meanwhile, members of the public, separated from these officials by a high balustrade, are seated on benches around the periphery of the floor or in upstairs galleries, making them outside spectators to the governing process. The importance and the dignity of this process are architecturally stated by a grand staircase leading to the chamber; outsized and enhanced public portals; a high and ornate ceiling; formalistic decoration and wood paneling; and a rich trove of ceremonial and cultural objects."}\hspace{1em} \text{Goodsell, The Social Meaning of Civic Space, p. 197}\]
“The Midcentury Chamber, by contrast, is smaller has lower ceilings, and is laid out on a long rectangular floor plan. Even more consistently boxlike than its predecessor, its ceiling is flat. Officials and the public face each other along the major axis of the box in an oppositional relationship. At one end of the space is the dais, mounted on a low platform. Behind this concave skirted table are seated the members of the council and presiding officer, presenting themselves as corporate body, rather than as individual representatives. At the other end of the room, separated by a thin rail and a public lectern, are blocks of audience chairs, squarely facing the dais in straight rows. In short, officials and citizens face each other in direct confrontation. Factors surrounding this confrontation — that is, the chamber’s location, its doors, its decoration and its objects — suggest a relatively pedestrian, utilitarian secular space.”

“The Contemporary Chamber, like the Midcentury one, is fitted with a dais, a platform, audience chairs, conventional doorways, a lectern, and a limited number of ceremonial and cultural objects. Yet the room differs in significant way. Instead of being boxlike, it constitutes a freely sculpted space. The room’s nonperpendicular angles, flowing curves, and roundness on occasion bring together, in encircling fashion, a concave dais, on the one hand, and an amphitheater-style bank of public seating on the other. The concave hollows of the dais and the seating face each other across an open, unimpeded space. The open, trusting, and joined relationship that is suggested by this configuration is not a confrontation of the governors and the governed; it is a circular conferring of those who are dealing with the affairs of the common community. The décor of Contemporary civic space is simple, unadorned, and subtle; the environment is fully controlled, is often windowless, and transmits a combination of high-tech stimuli, on the one hand, and warm mood cues on the other.”

6 Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space*, p. 197

7 Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space*, p. 197
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Downtowns

Urban planning strategies in the United States change from one decade to the next. A recent history of these strategies reveals an explanation of our current approach and some of the shortcomings of previous strategies.
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Downtown Development

Downtowns are continuously in a state of flux. Even successful downtowns need to reevaluate themselves and actively promote revitalization. Implementation of several plans both private and public, can have a catalytic effect initiating such refinement. Christopher P. Leinberger has noted 12 steps to revitalization, as ongoing concerns for downtowns in search of “walkable urbanity”. Amongst other things he recommends the presence of an institution in or near the downtown. Albuquerque demonstrates a history of revitalization attempts, which support that no single “magic bullet” strategy will rescue a downtown from decay. Simultaneous development of affordable housing, business development and public amenities including entertainment, is necessary to be effective as they are interdependent.

Public space analyst and urban planner William Whyte asserts, “what attracts people most, in sum, is other people”2. Ann Arbor, widely recognized as a successful city for maintaining a healthy downtown, offers a balance between housing, commercial districts and the presence of a university institution. A recent boom in housing development and the arrival of new employers indicate that public services within the downtown should also consider developing, to maintain this trilateral balance.

“The agora at its height would be a good guide to what is right. Its characteristics were centrality, concentration and mixture and these are the characteristics of the centers that work best today.”3 William Whyte (City)

---

1 Leinberger, “A downtown needs...” Turning around downtown : twelve steps to revitalization, p.
12
2 Whyte, “What attracts people most, in sum, is other people” Social life of small urban spaces, p.
12
3 Whyte, “The agora at its height would be a good guide to what is right. Its characteristics were centrality, concentration and mixture and these are the characteristics of the centers that work best today.” Social life of small urban spaces, p. 12
1950s Urban Renewal.

The Second World War and Depression had left many cities with limited affordable housing. State and federal governments focused on suburbanization and urban renewal projects. Master Plans were a popular exercise, along with revisions to zoning and subdivision regulations. Still regarded as economic centers, downtowns were partly demolished to accommodate large commercial, health, entertainment and sports complexes. Inkeeping with a prevailing “mainstreet” mindset, cities followed strategies to maintain, reinvest and market downtowns.

1960s Suburbs & highways.

Extensive construction of highways and rising use of the automobile rendered dependence on the centrality of commerce and services less critical. Increased individual mobility allowed residents and workers to live further out. Soon after hotels and government services, lead by the shopping malls, relocated along arterial expressways. Downtowns struggled as planners sought modernist approaches of rational planning to cope with city decline. Political and social upheaval made clear that scientific approaches did not adequately address societal problems or capture public interest. Local government feel subject to rising criticism as populism and a demand for participatory democracy grew.

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4 Perks and Jamieson, Planning and development in Canadian cities
5 Birch, Having a longer view on downtown living, Journal of the American Planning Association
Further downtown decay accelerated urban sprawl. Historic sites were demolished to make way for new development and indications of environmental impact came to the forefront. Regulations on conservation, environmentalism, historic preservation and resource management were introduced to city planning mandates. Larger scale office, retail and entertainment projects were built to curb downtown decline. Convention Centres, Arenas, Stadia and Waterfront development projects were built to capture new investment and draw more people to downtown. However, downtown retail sales continued to plummet. In 1954, downtown retail sales accounted for 20 percent of the American nationwide metropolitan total; by 1977, only 4 percent of metropolitan sales occurred downtown.

This period gave rise to a new urban strategy of supporting local small business as a result of failed attempts to generate stable employment with large businesses. Downtown retail value however continued to decline as businesses increasingly sought office space in suburban malls.

Downtown congestion due to increased automobile use and number of suburban commuters led to widening roads, by reducing sidewalks, and converting many two-way roads to one-way. These measures reduced pedestrian traffic and other street activity by moving people (out of downtown) more efficiently.

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7 Ibid.,
8 Perks and Jamieson, Planning and development in Canadian cities. T. bunting and P. Filion (eds.)
Canadian Cities in Transition.
Multinational businesses merged with one another, dissolving smaller businesses traditionally located in small and mid-sized cities. Downtowns competed with one another for the interest of these corporations offering subsidies, services and entertainment alluring a talented employment base. No longer supported by federal downtown development funding, cities were forced to reconsider fiscal constraints of independent municipal funding. City governments entered partnerships with the private sector changing their role from economic management to entrepreneurial.  

Marco Vermeulen in *City Branding* describes a need for the city to clarify its individuality and distinction from others. A city's self-awareness is key to its success. Found through instinctive feelings of collective memory, emotion, desires and established prejudices a city’s image is perceptual. The perceived city is more important than the factual or physical reality. Built works should be in accord with this perceived image to effectively enhance it.

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9 Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*

10 Vermeulen, “Instead of importing empty icons, cities should make an effort to develop existing qualities into a sustainable image.” *City Branding: Image Building & Building Images*, p. 12

11 Vermeulen, “... the image originates only in part from a physical reality and is based primarily on well-worn prejudices, desires and memories. These emotions take shape in the collective memory, where barely any space is left free for factual data. It is precisely this instinctive feeling that is the actual image and it thereby forms the key to the self-awareness of the city.” p. 12
Driven by the impulse to use my education to improve upon my hometown, combined with an affection for the place, I set out to investigate the potential for a new city hall in Ann Arbor.

The City of Ann Arbor has considered constructing a new city hall for decades. Words and intentions are finally formulating into actions; indicated by the appointment of a task force and local architect to produce schematic drawings.

This chapter describes the character of the place by highlighting several of the major defining influences of the city. As a long time resident of the city I feel much of the character has been paraphrased and distilled for the purpose of succinctness, where a formal design pursuit would be more descriptive.
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Settlement. January 1824 John Allen and Elisha Rumsey founded the city of Ann Arbor. Dispute over the origin of the city’s founding name continues today. One account would have you believe, the name was derived from the sight of their spouses, both named Ann, sitting together at the base of an oak tree naming it “Annsarbour”. Ann Rumsey however had not been to Ann Arbor before the name was registered, discounting the story. The city however, is remarkably replete with trees, boasting a greater population of them than persons.

In 1827, Ann Arbor was adopted as the Washtenaw County Seat incorporating as a city in 1833. Land was set aside for a state capitol bid won by Lansing in 1836. The following year the land was donated to the University of Michigan, binding their future development together.\(^1\) Chartered as a city in 1851, Ann Arbor grew quickly as a hub for the Michigan Central Railroad and place of residence for military personnel working for Ford in nearby Willow Run.\(^2\)

Politics. Through the 1960s Ann Arbor surfaced as a center for liberal politics. Support for left-wing activism, the civil-rights movement, the anti-Vietnam movement, the student movement and the human rights party, was strongly rooted in Ann Arbor.\(^3\) Decriminalized marijuana possession, measures to protect access to abortion, rent-control and a national precedent of an openly gay or lesbian candidate in public office, established a city reputation as the most liberal area in the State.

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1 Wineberg, Lost Ann Arbor
2 Marwill, A History of Ann Arbor
3 Marwill, A History of Ann Arbor
Economy. From manufacturing to service and technology based industries, Ann Arbor’s economy has shifted under the influence of the University. Today the city draws the interest of several technological giants including Pfizer and Google, eager to employ the astute graduates of the University. Many students have become financially successful and regularly donate millions of dollars for research and construction of new university facilities.
Public Transit
Ann Arbor has two systems of public transit. The university bus system is paid by the university and offers free service to all persons. The city service is much more extensive and actively promoting and seek ways to be more environmentally conscientious.

Public Space
Ann Arbor has a large network parks and public spaces enjoyed and celebrated by citizens widely. The Huron River runs swiftly from the north to eastern side of the city. One of the cities largest park systems runs along its banks meandering through several residential neighborhoods. A nature conservation group is very active in promoting current issues and recently took action to save a group of salamanders on the site of a new class A high school.
Accessibility
The diagram above is a graphic representation of non-motorized accessibility produced by the City of Ann Arbor Planning and Development Services and the Alternative Transportation Program. The purpose of this diagram is to highlight areas in need of improved accessibility for pedestrians and cyclists. Accessibility of city services to all modes of transit is important in realizing equal participation of voters.

Voter Turnout
This diagram illustrates voter turnout in the last local election. The downtown is notably in the area of least voter turnout. No single gesture can be assumed to change voter turnout but efforts to populate the downtown with permanent residents is underway. If a city hall were designed as an amenity to the downtown residents would be further encouraged to locate downtown.

4 City of Ann Arbor Planning and Development Services and the Alternative Transportation Program, City of Ann Arbor Non-motorized Transportation Plan.
Districts

Ann Arbor possesses a great diversity of architectural styles and ages of development, ranging from Greek Revival to Neo-modernist. The city is divided into districts, identified by their use, visual and stylistic consistency. The downtown core is perceptibly divided into four main districts.  

The Kerrytown Shops District is the cobble-stoned home of the farmer’s market and several other fresh food sources including the renowned Zingerman’s delicatessen and an organic produce co-op. Much of the district’s defining architecture includes Hoban’s Block (1871), Desideride Grocery Store (1902) and Pardon’s Blocks (1894/1899). Two to three storey brick storefronts, compositionally divided in three, topped with corbelled brick unites supporting a shared cornice, are common.

The Main Street Business District is lively with restaurants and specialty shops, used actively throughout the year by residents across the city. Wide sidewalks with outdoor seating and regular pedestrian traffic make this district popular for diners, people watchers and shoppers alike. Ornamental bracketed cornices, contrasting colors, tall window casings, quoined building corners, segmented arches, keystones, pilasters and corbelling all contribute to this district’s identifiable Commercial Italianate style. Several examples of this popular style include the Ludewig Walz Grocery (1880), Walker Brother’s Building (1886/1893), John Wagner Jr. Blacksmith Shop (1869) and Frederick Sorg Block (1871). Numerous banks were founded in this district celebrating lavish lobbies and soaring building heights, most notably the Bank Block (1867), Glazier Building (1906) and First National Bank (1929).

The State Street Business District, a commercial area used extensively by the students of the University of Michigan, is regularly congested with festivities on football Saturdays and day-to-day student gathering in the immediate vicinity. A popular destination, Border’s bookstore was founded near the current Flagship Store. Several architectural landmarks characterize this district including the Classic Beaux Arts Nickles Arcade (1916), the Art Deco State Theatre (1940) and the Lombard Romanesque Michigan Theatre (1927). Further south, university facilities and fraternities flank State Street. The university buildings and fraternities once private estates stand as monuments on the edge of downtown.

The University Student Residential District is host of the current city hall and numerous student-housing complexes ranging in size from the single detached home to multi-story apartment buildings, fraternities and sororities. Few permanent residents reside here due in part to the frequent late night rowdiness of the students. Several Italianate houses have been restored as student rental properties.

Divisions between these districts follow Huron street and Fifth Ave. Huron is a collector route extending from one end of the city limits to the other and acts as a mental barrier dividing the downtown. Fifth Avenue is less daunting, perceived as more of a boundary.

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5 Reade and Wineberg, Historic Buildings: Ann Arbor, Michigan
The University of Michigan

The University of Michigan employs one in three Ann Arbor adults and more than 36,000 people in total. The student body is not much larger with over 41,000 enrolled. Of the city's total 17,728 acres, 3,177 acres belong to the university. Not all of the property is used to locate its 538 major buildings and 7 museums; much of it is used for lavish promenades, athletic fields, a botanical garden and 123 acre arboretum. The football stadium seats over 100,000 spectators and regularly sells to capacity. This is especially remarkable when compared to the city population of just 119,000 residents. The positive economic influence of the university to attract major businesses, tourism and research funding are second to none. Today the University of Michigan remains one of the most distinguished universities in the world.

Briarwood Mall

Alfred A. Taubman, a Detroit developer, constructed the Briarwood mall in 1973. Located at the intersection of Highway I-94 and State Street, this location clearly separated itself from the downtown core. With nearly one million square feet of floor area this new development posed a huge threat to the downtown economy of pre-existing individual shop owners. Owners were approached to relocate from the downtown shopping districts to the mall. The offered contract however, clearly stated that a retailer was not permitted to have a second shop within the downtown. Remarkably however, the mall is popular today and the downtown remains vital. Taubman was celebrated by the University in 1999 for his 30 million dollar donation to the school of architecture.
Fig. 5.22 Briarwood Central Court
Fig. 5.23 Briarwood Main Entry
Fig. 5.24 Briarwood Child at Play
Fig. 5.25 Briarwood Hall
Fig. 5.26 Briarwood Parkinglot

Fig. 5.27 University of Michigan Football Stadium
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Fig. 5.35 U of M Marching Band
Day Life

The life of any city changes over the course of the day. Certain establishments are frequented more during daylight hours and movement across the city is seen to occur with some consistency and perceived sense of boundary. Downtown Ann Arbor expands to the north during the day opening into Kerrytown and further onto the network of parks and the Gandy Dancer Restaurant (a converted train station). Art galleries abound amidst specialty shops for purchasing unique gifts, handmade chocolate, specialty foods, tie-dyed clothing, books and music. Dogs are welcome in many stores including the Borders flagship on Liberty st. Even the occasional Hobo is affectionately embraced by this idyllic community.

Night Life

By night the city expands to the south east as students fraternities and sororities host activities well into the morning. City residents, proud of their affluence and affiliation with the university demand world class entertainers of all varieties and regularly seek to purchase tickets. Ann Arbor is described as offering the benefits of a large city because of the many entertainment choices continuously available.
Courthouse. From the city’s founding to 1895 city meetings were held in John Allen’s courthouse office.

City Building. Space requirements of expanding city services led to renting space in the ‘City Building’ on North Fourth Avenue, preceding the construction of the first city hall.
First City Hall. Located at the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Huron St., the first city hall was completed in 1907. Housing city administrative offices on the ground floor and a council chamber on the second. A police department of 8 was accessible from a separate door on Fifth Avenue.

Guy C. Larcom. Completed in 1963 by Aldenby Dow Architect, the second purpose-built city hall remains in use today. It was dedicated in 1998 in the honor of the first and longest standing City Administrator, Guy C. Larcom Jr.6

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6 Ann Arbor News October 15, 1995, *Larcom’s Hall*
Preceding the completion of a new city hall building in 1963, talk of a comprehensive city masterplan began with the Planning Commission in 1962. According to the U.S. Census Bureau during the 1960s, the City of Ann Arbor and Washtenaw County were among the fastest growing metropolitan areas in Michigan. Concern of uncontrolled city growth, referencing Los Angeles and the State of Florida as failed examples, attracted citizen support to investigate alternate city planning methods. Solutions involving a population cap between 250,000 to 500,000 along with reinforcing the central business district and relationship with the university were generally favored.

An appeal to the general public in the form of a series of ten excerpts from T.J. Kent's *The Urban General Plan* on how to create a comprehensive city plan was published early in the summer of 1965. T.J. Kent claimed "virtually every published general plan deals with three basic physical elements of the urban environment: land use, circulation, and community facilities." He further asserted that the general plan should include a section on civic design which would focus on major physical features and a policy decisions based on aesthetic judgements.

In the summer of 1966 a team of University of Michigan architecture students modelled a projection of a 1985 downtown Ann Arbor. Illustrating the pervasive popularity of the shopping mall in the 1960s, the scheme featured a shopping mall spanning much of downtown. A new civic center fronting the recently completed city hall was proposed to connect the civic services together.7

The general city development plan titled *Guide for Change* was released in 1971. Several amendments were made before its final release in 1973.8

In the middle and late 1980s Ann Arbor voters rejected plans for substantial additions to the Larcom Municipal Building priced at $20 million. Intended to alleviate overcrowding and a temporary space allocation for the police department these schemes received inadequate support.

In response to increased space shortage, a leaky roof system, a faulty elevator and structural disintegration at the Larcom City Hall Building, the City of Ann Arbor hired a local architect in 2000 to complete a space needs assessment. Hobbs and Black Associates Architects for $50,000 assessed the Larcom Building, City Center Building and Central Fire Station. The report described the degree of overcrowding and extent of space shortage in each area. A graphic appendix of space standards illustrated common dimensions for office spaces and supporting functions. Initially three options were proposed as additions to the Larcom Building, ranging in estimated budget from 17.1 million to 29.2 million. The Development Plan for the City of Ann Arbor, 1973
most expensive scheme was regarded as having the most potential, however nearly twice the $15 million allocated budget. Fearful of an associated millage increase the two cheaper schemes were consider longest. Additional schemes were created and displayed at the city hall. In August 2000 the city council approved the schematic design of a four-story $19.1 million addition to the west side of the city hall building connected by a glass atrium.\(^9\)

Roger Fraser was appointed as the new City Administrator and swiftly reorganized and reduced city staff in 2002.

In 2004, a second space needs study was conducted by Plante & Moran C.R.E.S.A. in greater detail.

The Community Service and Public Space Task Force was commissioned in Feb. 2006 to evaluate and make a recommendation regarding the relocation of city services to the property located next to the Downtown Library, commonly referred to as the “Library” lot. A feasibility study followed finding in September of 2006 new construction on the library lot to be greatly preferred over expansions to the existing Guy C. Larcom City Hall. Public out cry followed arguing the convenience of surface parking to families to be of significant value.

Quinn Evans Architects of Ann Arbor were commissioned to continue their study and produce a schematic design for an addition to the Larcom Building.
Design Process

Cogently described by Deyan Sudjic in The Edifice Complex, architecture as a political instrument has been used extensively and effectively by dictatorships as self-affirming propaganda. It is in contrast to this history that I wish to position the definition of a new democratic architecture. As a point of departure I wish to consider

“Architecture of these regimes is neither subtle nor capable of expressing many nuances. And so the qualities of subtlety and nuance have, perhaps by default, been adopted as the signs of democratic architecture. They imply a plurality of expression rather than a society dominated by a single voice.”
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To effectively integrate the city hall in the life of the city a central location, accessible to several modes of transit, positioned to support several existing public activities and suggest some new ones, is necessary.

In Ann Arbor a dialogue exists between the two commercial streets of Main St. and State St. Pedestrian flow between these two hubs is common and desired by the city. The extension of both hubs along Liberty St. to form a more continuous downtown would benefit greatly from a public space in between. Surrounding properties will become more valuable to merchants.
New Residential development throughout downtown Ann Arbor indicates a market interest in relocating to downtowns. To encourage investment of condo buyers and apartment renters, city amenities need to improve simultaneously. Flexible public space in the downtown core helps potential residents to envision a desirable quality of life and sense of community. With additional pedestrian traffic in the core area, local commerce flourishes and specialty shops are made viable. These shops contribute greatly to the downtown character and charm further attracting the interest of potential residents.
Several buildings in the downtown have received historic designation. An awareness and sensitivity to these buildings is the responsibility of any new public building. Much of the character of a downtown can be attributed to such designated buildings and inform the material and compositional decisions of new buildings.
Public events in the downtown occur more commonly along pedestrian friendly routes. Certain streets are more conducive to hosting public events and host citywide activities with greater frequency. The city hall should offer a supportive role to these events and has a great deal to gain through its involvement. Using the schedule of annual events distributed by the Visitors Bureau and City Commerce Department, this diagram indicates which routes host the greatest number of annual events.
“More than any other art form, architecture is entwined in the political processes of society and linked to the exercise of power. Willy-nilly, and whether they think about it or not, architects act politically. Even the purely formal decisions they have to make are usually paraphrased in metaphors from the social sphere: superior and subordinate; support and load; isolation and grouping; freedom and attachment. Architectural styles, like political systems, are based on a consensus that one can affirm, question, defend or destroy. In this way, treatises also reflect upon politics and society, even if these are not specifically mentioned.”

(Christof Thoenes, Architectural Theory from the Renaissance to the Present)
Design Civic Hetertopias

In keeping with Arendts ‘space of appearance’ the design proposal uses visibility of accessible shared spaces throughout the building as a means of promoting these spaces as public entities. Exposure of these public spaces along the exterior also contribute to the legibility of the entire building has a public facility and receptive institution.

Several foreign and social activities have been programmed into the schematic layout of this public spine. These activities are expected to initiate the community process of ownership through the temporary creation of hetertopias and celebration of the Homo Luden. The creation of third space or other space in the form of heterotopias interlaced with the traditional city program draws people to the building in a way the current building does not.

Beyond defining the visual image of the building, the provision and active use of public space within the city hall defines the perceptual image. An image of a vibrant community to visitors and a place layered with memories and fondness for citizens holds much great value to the actual creation of vibrant communities than any specific compositional or stylistic treatment of the exterior.

On the north east corner of the site the Council Chamber protrudes out of the ground symbolically taking a lower ground than that of the city or public will. Enclosed by glass along three sides the council chamber is prominently displayed as a lantern of intiative and change, inviting passersby to peer in and engage in the active debates of the council and political process.

The council chamber doors open on to the piazza activa, an outdoor room for the many inclusive group uses that require public exposure. Possible uses vary greatly from book fairs to rallies. This space is an extension of the sidewalk that creates an identifiable center to many of the current annual events and creates opportunities for others to surface.

Entering the city hall from the piazza activa is done primarily through the gallery. Ann Arbor has a rich art community frequented by many other professional and academic communities in the city. Rotating exhibitions permit artists to comment on current affairs and make site specific pieces that challenge visitors on entry to consider alternate modes of thought and process.

Beyond the tiered gallery an atrium flooded with natural light contains information services. Computer terminals and city delegates are available to address the everyday needs of individual requests, permits and appeals. A newstand and coffee bar are also located in this space adding context to the discussions that happen here.
Along the east side of the atrium an outdoor park and second major entrance draw people from the library and bus terminal inside. A stair leads up from the south east corner to a community room acting at a smaller scale to bring people together for presentations, social occasions and youth group functions.

Ramping up from the community room past several service windows and alcoves lovers can affirm their commitment to each other in the civil ceremony chamber overlooking the city beyond.
THIRD FLOOR PLAN
scale 1:200

FOURTH FLOOR PLAN
scale 1:200
Fig. 6.17 Bus Station
Fig. 6.18 Atrium
Conclusions

Though it is a democracy, the approach taken to civic architecture in the United States is markedly unrepresentative of the diversity of individuals, cultures and ethnicities and alienated from the tradition of public identity and engagement. This study has progressively shifted focus from the larger, more visual and formal precedents associated with government buildings, to design consideration promoting democratic involvement and exchange at all scales of assembly.

In past the image of government buildings in the United States has been dominated by architectural icons such as domes, porticos and towers. This thesis contends that a city hall has the potential to be distinct and representative without relying on historic symbolic forms. It does not need to build from the outside in. Articulating the public function and organization of the building program makes the building both more contemporary and communicative at two scales. The first is the city scale. The city hall should be recognizable at some distance, using the massing and orientation of the building to describe its relationship to the city. The secondary, smaller scale involves the spatial organization and material quality which help pedestrians to read the scale and relationship of individuals to the building as a whole.

This thesis considers the represented body of citizens to be the public. The building is designed for this public. It is also this group that is considered primary in the creation of the many forms of public space in a democratic city hall. Public space is not only the way for the citizens to gain access to government it is also the most effective avenue through which a city administration can understand the citizenry they represent. A pro-active approach to engaging and communicating with the citizenry is the responsibility of representative government. It is the responsibility of architecture to make this principle visibly manifest and explicit in the experience of citizens.

A well considered city hall is a significant contributor to the vitality of a downtown business district and perceived sense of identity associated with that place. The vitality of a downtown is a major attractor for developing communities as residents reconsider the pitfalls of suburban home ownership. A balance between public institutions, residential development and a locally driven commercial core has been widely recognized as a common element of vital cities. The city hall can contribute to the contiguity of the city and improve upon the daily experience of the place by bridging the gap between existing active areas of city life. No two cities are alike and a representative city hall contributes distinctiveness. Recognizing and supporting local passions, strengths and interests of the community positions the city hall to nurture an identity. This identity is used to communicate to visitors and surrounding cities a unique character of place. In the case of Ann Arbor a thriving academic and artistic communities find common ground discussing representation of ideas and challenging established truths. The proposed city hall is physically located within close proximity to both the University and main thoroughfare, which is the venue of an annual art festival. Within the proposed city hall spaces are provided that encourage critical debate and artistic exhibition. By incorporating these uses residents are encouraged to be more engaged and experience a greater feeling of ownership.

The progression from large to small is also found as a conceptual framework for the design itself. The most public areas of the proposed city hall continue the space of the existing city. The further one ventures into the building, the more intimate and direct the communication between citizens becomes. The circulation corridor doubles back on itself to create a visual link between the space that accommodates the civil marriages, the council chamber below and the city beyond. The creation of families is the building block of a community. As one couple after another consider the future of their family and the future of their city as codependent, the city will grow in strength and vitality.

This thesis has taken a step in considering the environment of political exchange and its potential to change by promoting open conversation at the level of municipal legislation. Ann Arbor is but one of a great many cities that have outgrown their city hall and recognized the constraints of short sighted planning and design. As other cities recognize the merits of a vibrant downtown and the role of a well-connected network of public space within it, citizens will take interest, pride and ownership of their city. Through these gatherings and exchanges an informed and empowered citizenry may come to influence the future of a nation.
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Randy McClure
Charter Township of Redford: Department of Bldg. & Safety Eng.
Rick Pringle
City of Troy: Planning Department
Ronald Figlan
City of Troy: Planning Department
Paula Preston
City of Taylor: Planning Department
Jesse
City of Taylor: Planning Department
Patrick Depa
Charter Township of Redford: Township Supervisor
Roland Miles
Skanska: Project Manager/General Contractor for Warren City Hall
Jim Steiner
City of Royal Oak: Civil Engineering
Matthew Callahan
City of Lincoln Park: Building Superintendent
Joseph Kaiser
City of Ann Arbor: Assistant to the City Administrator
Pamela Weaver Antil
City of Kitchener: Senior Planner
Terry Boutilier
City of Kitchener: Project Manager and Director
Laurier Proulx
City of Kitchener: Manager
Mario Petricevic
City of Ann Arbor: Downtown Development Authority Director
Susan Pollay
 Lucifer Ziegleman: Partner
Carl Luckenbach
City of Cambridge: Chief Administrative Officer
Don N. Smith
City of Guelph: Councilman
Cathy Downer
Moriyama Teshima: Project Architect for Guelph City Hall
Christie
Ventin Group Architects
Paul Sapounzi
City of Flint: Mayor
Donald J. Williamson
Walter Fedy Partnership: Marketing Researcher
LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

Townships
There are two methods of organizing townships per Michigan law: 1) Townships may be organized under the general law or 2) townships which meet a population benchmark may be organized under the Charter Township Act of 1947.

General Law Township
General law townships are governed by an elected township board consisting of the township supervisor, clerk, treasurer, and two or four additional trustees, depending on the population of the township and community preference. Many general law townships also continue to hold an annual meeting of the electorate, which has the authority to establish salaries for the township officials and may act on a few other matters as well.

The township board collectively oversees township operations and appropriates money to pay for a variety of local government services. General law townships are authorized to provide many of the same services that cities and villages may provide, except for road construction and maintenance, which is the responsibility of county road commissions.

While townships are similar to cities and villages in regards to services provided, townships and counties do not have home rule powers. Instead, townships are structured as statutory units of local government, which means that they only have those powers and authority that have been expressly provided or inferred by state law. In spite of this limitation, most general law townships provide additional funding to road commissions for road projects, provide fire protection either by operating their own department or by contract with other entities, and many also provide to their residents emergency medical services.

Township boards may also adopt ordinances to protect the community health, safety and general welfare, provide police protection either through a township operated department or through contracting for additional law enforcement from the county sheriff department, and regulate land uses through enforcement of a zoning ordinance that is guided by an adopted master plan.

Townships may also provide a variety of other local government services such as parks, recreation programs, sidewalks, water and sewer systems, lake improvements, street lights, etc.

Compared to cities and villages, general law townships are limited in the amount of property taxes they can levy without voter approval to approximately one mill on taxable value. Unlike cities, townships have not authority to levy an income tax. The remainder or township revenues are derived from the state of Michigan sharing its revenues, as well as imposing administrative fees for permits and licenses and interest earnings on investments.

Charter Township
The Charter Township Act of 1947 (as amended) permits general law townships with a population of at least 2,000 (excluding incorporated villages) to become charter townships. As of April 2001, 127 townships had elected to become charter townships. The township board may make the decision to become a charter township without a vote of the electorate however, the electorate can require a vote per its referendum right under state law. Townships chartered by a referendum may levy up to 5 mills of property tax, but townships chartered by a vote of the board must have a vote of the people in order to levy the same amount. All charter townships are permitted to levy up to 10 mills if so authorized by the electorate.

The charter township board has seven members. Three individuals are elected by voters to the offices of Supervisor, Clerk and Treasurer and the other four positions are Trustees. All seven positions are elected for four-year terms that are not staggered.

Appendix
Cities
Cities were formed predominantly when the residents of a densely developed area of a township desired municipal services (water, sewer, police, fire, etc.). Prior to the Constitution of 1909 and the ensuing adoption of the Home Rule Cities Act, petitioners would submit a geographic district to the State and seek approval to become a city. Per the provisions of the Home Rule Cities Act, a geographic district is submitted to eligible voters within that district, and if a majority approves, the new city comes into being after official certification of the State Boundary Commission.

Three different forms of city government have existed in Michigan, and there are five common forms in the United States. In Michigan, mayor-council and council-manager predominate and the commission plan is dormant at this time. Though similar in some ways, these plans are designed to make city government operate according to different principles and objectives.

Mayor-Council Form
This is also referred to as the “strong mayor” plan. The government consists of a mayor and a city council, both of which are independently elected through predominantly partisan elections. Both share in making policy, though the mayor has near complete authority over the executive branch of city government. Officers of the executive branch – the city attorney, assessor, treasurer-comptroller, and heads of departments – are appointed by the mayor and serve at his/her pleasure, though these appointees generally must be confirmed by the council. The city council is the legislative branch of city government, and its approval is required before appointments and ordinances can go into effect.

The objective of the plan is to strengthen the control of the mayor over the executive agencies of city government. In this sense, it appears to have been patterned after the national government, since the president’s control over the cabinet is similar to the mayor’s control over the executive officers in the mayor-council plan. The initiative in this system is clearly in the hands of the mayor, and the council generally plays a secondary role in developing policy. This form is used widely in the large cities of the nation. In Michigan, both Detroit and Lansing have adopted versions of the mayor-council plan.

Council-manager Form
This form of government consists of a city council (the members of which are elected predominantly in non-partisan elections), a mayor (in most cases selected from the membership of the council but elected at-large in others), and a city manager (appointed by the city council). In this system, the council determines city policy and the mayor merely presides over city council meetings. The executive branch of government is administered by the city manager, who is a professionally trained administrator. The city manager appoints executive officers, supervises their performance, develops the city budget, and administers programs. Theoretically, the city manager cannot make policy, but as a practical matter, the recommendations of the manager are usually given great weight by the council.

The objective of the council-manager plan is to take “politics” out of city government by turning over its administration to a professional manager. This plan developed in the Progressive movement as a response to the influence of parties and party politicians over city government under the mayor-council plan. Critics said that there is nothing political about cleaning streets, picking up garbage, building parks, and so forth, and believed that the system could be effectively run by a professional taking general directions from and elected city council. If the members of the council are elected in non-partisan elections, the influence of party politics is even further reduced. Most cities in Michigan have this form and range all over the state, from Monroe and St. Joseph, to Traverse City, East Lansing, Escanaba and Sault Ste. Marie.
The Commission Form
The commission system of municipal government fuses executive and legislative functions almost completely in the hands of a city commission. Members of the city commission (which is like a city council) are elected in non-partisan elections, and one member is designated mayor to preside over meetings. Again, as in the council-manager plan, the mayor has little power. The commission makes policy for the city and appoints some of the executive officers, such as the city attorney, assessor, treasurer, and chief of police. However, in this case, the commissioners themselves also act as head of the various city executive commissions, such as the park commission and the public works commission. Each commissioner is ordinarily assigned as head of one commission and is charged with its administration. The commission as a whole coordinates policy and approves the city budget. Thus, the members of the commission act both as legislators and administrators. The commission plan is not in use today, largely because it is difficult to find the required number of elected commissioners who are qualified to serve as full time administrators. This is particularly a problem in large cities where executive departments are comprised of large numbers of employees. In larger cities, then, some division of labor is necessary between elected policy-makers and administrators. As a consequence, this form of government was generally found among small and medium-sized cities.

Weak Mayor – Council Form
In this form, the mayor and council members both make policy and laws, and also directly oversee the administration. The mayor and each council member would each have an equal supervisory role over every administrative department.

New England Town Meeting Plan
In this form of government everyone is selected by voters. The qualified voters in the annual town meeting choose the Town Clerk, Treasurer, Assessors, Road Commissioner, Overseer of the Poor, Constable, and School Committee. The qualified voters also select the Board of Selectmen, who oversee appointive offices and boards. Major policy decisions are made by voters present at town meetings. For example, one city had its streetlights turned off for many years after the decision was made in a town meeting that operating streetlights was too costly. However, advocates of the town meeting system contend that this “direct democracy” gives a community’s residents considerable control over the affairs of local government. While no cities or villages in Michigan use the town meeting plan, many general law townships in Michigan still hold an Annual Meeting to set the salaries for the board members.

Villages
The basic difference between a city and a village is that whenever and wherever an area is incorporated as a village, it stays within the township. The villagers participate in township affairs and pay township taxes in addition to having their own village government. Incorporation as a city, however, removes an area from township government. City residents participate in county elections and pay county taxes as do villagers but are removed from township units. Villages in Michigan are organized primarily to establish local regulatory ordinances and to provide local services such as fire and police protection, public works and utilities. Certain of the local duties required by the state are not demanded of the village but are performed by the township within which the village is located including property assessment; collecting taxes for counties and school districts; and administering county, state and national elections.
There are two possible methods of organizing village government under Michigan law.

**General Law Village**

Most of Michigan’s 261 villages are organized under the General Law Village Act of 1895 (as amended). As of 1994, 48 villages had home rule charters and were governed under the Home Rule Village Act, companion legislation to the Home Rule Cities Act, and also adopted in 1909.

In the general law village, the chief executive, known as a president, comes closest in formal powers to a weak mayor. The president serves as a member of the council and as its presiding officer. With the consent of the council he/she appoints a marshal (police chief), a street commissioner, a surveyor and other officers the village council may establish. In addition to the president, six trustees comprise the council. Michigan law allows two possible election formats: 1) three trustees are elected annually to serve for three terms, president is elected annually; 2) three trustees are elected biennially with a term of four years or the election of all six trustees every biennial election with terms of two years each.

The village council can appoint the following appointed and ex officio boards, boards of registration; election commissioners; election inspectors and cemetery trustees.

**Home Rule Village**

The Home Rule Village Act requires that every village so incorporated provide for the election of a president, clerk and legislative body, and for the election or appointment of such other officers and boards as may be essential. However, the president need not be directly elected by the people, but may be elected by the village council.

The home rule village form of government offers flexibility that is not found in the 1895 statewide General Law Village Act provisions. Home rule village charters are as diverse as the communities that adopt them. Village councils typically have memberships of 5 to 7 in size.

As of 1994, 13 of the 48 home rule villages had opted to contract for the services of a Village Manager, who is professionally trained in government administration and who serves as chief administrative officer for the village.

**Special Districts**

Special districts and special authorities are limited purpose units that exist as separate corporate entities and have substantial fiscal and administrative independence from general purpose units and other special-purpose units. These districts are created when the need exists to serve several units of government or portions of several units of government with services, basically when natural service areas exist outside of rigid governmental boundaries.

Special districts and authorities authorized by Michigan statute include the following examples:

- Metropolitan Councils
- Convention Arena Authorities
- District Library Boards
- Emergency Service Authorities: Fire, Dispatch and Police
- Joint Hospital Authorities
- Parks Authorities
- Water & Sewer Authorities
- Airport Authorities
- Joint Agencies for Electric Power
Transportation Authorities
Irrigation/Drainage Districts
Garbage Disposal Authorities
Community Swimming Pool Authorities