the story of the past, present, and future of Salt Lake City’s Rio Grande Depot District
the hub

the story of the past, present, and future of salt lake city’s rio grande depot district
To Salt Lake City—
past, present, and future
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives. I like to see a man live so that his place will be proud of him.
everybody has a story

the people of the rio grande depot district

the story of home

housing in the rio grande depot district

telling the story

the public process of our research
A year ago, the “engaged learning” and the possibilities of the Honors Think Tank were largely abstractions, as yet ungrounded in practical experience. But the Honors Think Tank proved to be even better than we had imagined. It provided a team of fourteen honors students and three faculty mentors with a chance for a transformative educational experience. In the end it reflected exponentially what they gave to it. So where did it begin?

The Honors Think Tank began with the notion that an honors program at a research university ought to provide students with significant experience not only in research, but also—and equally as important—in collaboration. This emphasis on the experience of collaboration reflected our belief that it might stimulate students who are accustomed to success at school because of their own effective efforts, or by what they do themselves, to consider what more they might do if they worked effectively with others. We knew that it might teach them about their own strengths or even weaknesses and most certainly about working with others who were different from themselves. It did both. Indeed, the Think Tank as a pedagogy was greedy and required of all its participants enormous energy and generosity. It asked for their best thinking and effort: to coordinate their own efforts with those of a team, to compromise, to fully engage with others and with material that was new to them.

The topic for the first Think Tank was the city, yet only two of the fourteen students on the first Honors Think Tank came out of urban planning as a discipline. The others came to this subject raw and fresh, much like we do in the real world when we come together as members of communities to take on public problems that we share. This multidisciplinary team was composed of diverse members who came from as far away as North Carolina or as nearby as Lehi, Utah. Important to
what these students would learn, these differences strengthened their research, their analysis, and their experience in general. Conflict that arose naturally from the intersection of diverging viewpoints or worldviews challenged conclusions reached too easily and encouraged them to refine their arguments and their presentations.

When we proposed the Honors Think Tank, it sounded like a pretty far-out idea, but worth trying. It proved, instead, that it was a sound and productive method for stimulating intellectual, social, and emotional growth in students. Addressing their needs as whole persons, the Think Tank asked them to do their finest academic work—research, thinking, writing, and presenting—as individuals and as members of teams. It asked them to cooperate, to share their success and their mistakes, and to learn from both.

In the end, when the members of the Honors Think Tank presented their work, first at the Intermodal Hub and then at the Vibrant Downtown conference, they were stars. Representing the best the University of Utah has to offer this community—their work, of which they had every right to be extremely proud—showed them what they were capable of, what they might contribute, and how good it would feel when they did. As director of the Honors Program, I could not be more proud. These young persons are the hope of the future. I believe the Honors Think Tank helped them see what they might do with their lives to evoke social change.

Dr. Martha Sonntag Bradley
Director
Honors Program
University of Utah
The 2004_05 Honors Think Tank began on a hot August day at the top of Ensign Peak, a promontory at the northern end of the Salt Lake Valley notable both for its geo-physical attributes and for its role in the valley’s history of European settlement. The peak rises more than 1000 feet above the valley floor, it juts out prominently from an arm of the Wasatch Range, and its summit is devoid of vegetation. For these reasons, it was the perfect location from which the first Mormon settlers could, on only their third day in the valley, oversee their new home and begin the process of laying out the basic dimensions of their community (Hilton & Hilton, 2004).
Ensign Peak seemed an appropriate place to begin a year-long experimental collaborative research class focused on downtown Salt Lake City. Downtown’s layout is clearly visible from the top of the peak, and while the degree of risk confronting the Think Tank was not comparable to that faced by nineteenth century pioneers, we were nevertheless embarking on something uncertain with an undetermined outcome. A bit of the “pioneer spirit” seemed apt.

The objectives of the first semester of the Think Tank were to create a common lexicon and geography about downtown and to begin understanding some of the ways in which the downtown built environment influences its social and economic dimensions. The first objective focused on an element of the Think Tank concept that is—like many such features—both a strength and a challenge. Think Tanks are, by definition, interdisciplinary gatherings. The 17 members of our group—14 students and 3 instructors—represented a broad range of disciplines: anthropology, communications, economics, English, history, international studies, Japanese, law, political science, psychology, and urban planning. With such a divergent series of perspectives, communication within the group depended upon developing a common understanding of language and meaning. Instrumental to that development were the discussions facilitated by the many guests who visited the class (see sidebar, pages 5-6).

The Think Tank’s introduction to social, economic, and architectural interactions came via James Howard Kunstler’s Geography of Nowhere (1993) and Jane Jacobs’ The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961). From these texts, the group derived two fundamental concepts—diversity and integration—that were to drive the content and group dynamic for the rest of the year. Initially, the group looked at the two
ideas, not in their customary modes of social justice, but in understanding how downtown environments work or, many times, don’t work. In this context, diversity refers to the range of variety in the built environment; specifically, what kinds of buildings and uses inhabit a given space. Jacobs’ thesis is that the greater the diversity in buildings and use types, the greater the diversity of people accessing those buildings and uses. The other concept, integration, refers to how those buildings and uses interact in the public realm of city sidewalks, parks, and plazas. When a wide range of diverse buildings and uses are well integrated, so the theory goes, the use and vitality of the public realm is enhanced.

To test some of these ideas, Think Tank students identified key locations in downtown Salt Lake City to compare several related land use measures with the level of observed sidewalk activity. The land use measures they used were the four key factors Jacobs cites as the generators of diversity: more than one primary function, small blocks, mixed-aged buildings, and high density development. To gauge whether an area had more than one primary function, the students mapped out land use types for their respective study areas, relying primarily on visual observation to establish use classifications. Although Salt Lake City is infamous for its large blocks, students measured block sizes using formal and informal mid-block cut-throughs, in addition to traditional city streets, thereby observing a wide variety of block sizes. The students determined building ages through county assessor information and density using census data.

To measure sidewalk activity, the students posted themselves at predetermined intersections and mid-block locations during a series of time periods that were selected to ensure broad coverage throughout the
day and over the course of a week. Armed with clip boards, the task was simply to count the number of pedestrians passing the specified point in the sidewalk during the observation period.

Although generalizing across all of the observations made by Think Tank members is difficult, several key themes emerged. First, Salt Lake City comes nowhere near the levels of use diversity or density of Manhattan, the environment where Jacobs made her observations. This prompted many in the group to cite Jacobs’ own admonition to be cautious about attempting to apply her theories to non-New York locations. Second, regardless of the location of observation, the highest levels of sidewalk use seemed tied to a specific special event in the downtown (the lighting of the Christmas lights on Temple Square) more than to any of the specific factors measured. Third, none of the places observed had consistent levels of sidewalk use across all, or even most, time periods. Last, there was some evidence that in places where there were significant building differences between two sides of a street, pedestrians tended to prefer the side with more doorways and smaller street frontages.

Inconclusive though the exercise proved to be, it did illustrate interactions of various kinds between built and social environments, and it provided source material for the final assignment of the first semester. For this exercise, each student was charged with developing a full research proposal that, if adopted, would provide the focus of the group’s activities for the remainder of the academic year. The resulting proposals ranged from a number of marketing related projects aimed at increasing downtown patronage to several land use development and planning schemes. In the end, the group settled on a compromise proposal, drafted using elements from several of the initial offerings. The resulting project
became known as the Hub.

The project’s name comes from the Intermodal Hub, a rail and bus station being built by Salt Lake City near 600 West and 200 South, in the southwest corner of the downtown area. When completed, the Intermodal Hub will serve as the major transfer point between the region’s light rail system, intercity and local bus service, and a new commuter rail line. The facility may also provide access to a future Bus Rapid Transit system that would serve communities in southern Davis County, an area on Salt Lake’s immediate northern border.

Recognizing the key role this facility will have on the future of the surrounding area, the Think Tank chose to engage in an intense analysis of the two block area immediately east of the Hub. The study area’s borders are 200 South, 400 South, 500 West, and 600 West (see map on page 8)—essentially the area between the transit facility and the current extant of recent downtown development. The district just east of these blocks, closer to the center of downtown, has seen significant small-scale redevelopment in recent years, changing it from being rather run-down and ignored to the beginnings of a “bohemian” trendy neighborhood. The area immediately to the north has had substantial large-scale redevelopment with the construction of The Gateway, an upscale two-million square foot residential, retail, and office project. Other projects either nearing completion or just over the horizon include a new luxury hotel two blocks east of the Intermodal Hub and a new campus for Brigham Young University, just east of The Gateway.

**Ensign Peak**
A marker at the summit explains the mountain’s importance in the history of Salt Lake City.
As outlined in the subsequent chapters of this report, the study area for the Think Tank project, though once vibrant, has for some decades been rather forsaken. The impacts of freight rail transportation, Interstate 15, industrial-based soil contamination, the decline in rail passenger transport, and the outward development pressures of suburban sprawl have resulted in the relative abandonment of this two-block area. With redevelopment already occurring on three sides, plus an anticipated 12,600 daily commuters flowing through it by 2030 (Utah Transit Authority, 2005), it is just a matter of time before reinvestment occurs on these two blocks as well. What is less clear is the type of investment that will occur, who will be served by the resulting development, and how the area’s streets, sidewalks, and other public areas will be designed. These were among the questions the Think Tank sought to address.

To articulate these questions and begin the process of answering them, the group divided into committees, each focused on one of four areas: history, ethnography, housing, and public process. The history committee, whose work is documented in chapter one of this report, sought to understand how past settlements on these two blocks inform their potential futures. Chapter two covers the work of the ethnography group, which conducted interviews of people who live, work, shop, and recreate in the area, seeking to understand how the area is currently used and the perceptions and aspirations of the people who use it. In chapter three, the housing committee addresses the special role housing policy plays in a downtown setting. That role is particularly accentuated in this location by the close proximity of several regional agencies serving the needs of homeless populations and a number of housing developments targeted to lower-income households. The final chapter reflects the work of
the “charrette group”—the committee charged with developing and hosting an open house to elicit public comment about the future of the study area. The report closes with a conclusion by Vicky Newman, one of my Think Tank co-instructors and one of the all-time best persons with whom to team teach.

The Think Tank used diversity and integration as structural elements to understand downtown Salt Lake City. But the concepts were also useful in understanding the dynamics of how the individuals of the Think Tank functioned as a group. As mentioned, the 17 members of the Think Tank represented an incredibly broad range of majors and disciplines. But of course, diversity goes far beyond the labels on degrees and majors; the life experiences and cultural influences of each member played a role in how we understood each other and the world. Finding ways of effectively integrating this diverse set of perspectives was as challenging as attempting to chart a course for two blocks of downtown—and just as rewarding.

One of the instructors’ meta-level objectives for the 2004_05 Think Tank was to encourage the students to leave the relative safety and security of typical academe and wrestle with problems, formulate questions, and take leadership roles in answering some of those questions. I am pleased and proud to say that the students succeeded in that task well beyond our wildest dreams.
Every place has a story.

The history of the Rio Grande Depot District.

The hub.

2004_05

University of Utah Honors Think Tank.
People travel to wonder at the height of the mountains,
at the huge waves of the seas, at the long course of the rivers,
at the vast compass of the ocean, at the circular motion of the stars,
and yet they pass by themselves without wondering.

ST. AUGUSTINE
As in other parts of the country, immigrants have played and continue to play a defining role in the culture of Utah. Given their prominence in what is now the Intermodal Hub area, their stories are important to the story of the district, their lives sown into the fabric of this place. Unfortunately we do not know all their stories. Undoubtedly some never found what they were seeking. Some lived in the shanties and worked long arduous hours on the railroad or in the factories. Certainly some died in these conditions. Yet there were many others who suffered, persisted, and then thrived in this place. Their stories speak about hope for a better way of life and fulfillment of the American Dream.
prehistory_1847

Modern-day Salt Lake City

A Temple Square
B Salt Palace
C Pioneer Park
D Rio Grande Depot
E study blocks
F Intermodal Hub

1 South Temple excavation, ’98
2 Fremont remnants found
3 alluvial fan

THE HUB

14
fremont culture and pre-pioneer era

1 far left: excavation of an ancient Fremont village on South Temple Street during light rail construction in 1998

bottom: pottery shards and arrowheads found at South Temple site

3 an example of an alluvial fan
Humans inhabited the Great Salt Lake region long before it was settled by explorers, traders, trappers, and pioneers. In fact, the prehistory of humans in Utah dates as far back as 10,000 BC and stretches to as recent as 1300 AD. Beneath the soil is evidence of the prehistoric societies that existed in Salt Lake City and throughout Utah in the years before the arrival of the first Europeans. The area which now is to the east of the Intermodal Hub formed an important part of one of those communities, that of the Salt Lake City Fremont.

Long before railroads or industry, it was the geology of the area that drew the first humans to it. The area, along with much of the rest of downtown Salt Lake City, is part of an alluvial fan that provides exceptionally high-quality soil for agriculture. According to explorer John C. Fremont, “In this eastern part of the basin, containing Sevier, Utah, and the Great Salt Lakes, and the rivers and creeks falling into them, we know there is good soil and good grass, adapted to civilized settlements” (Fremont, 1988).

Thus it was a site well-suited to the agricultural civilization of the Fremont (the natives assigned Fremont’s name) who settled in this area from 900 to 1300 AD. Remnants of their society have recently been found at two sites in Salt Lake City: along South Temple and one block east of Pioneer Park (see page 14). Excavations at these sites have uncovered pieces of pottery, arrowheads, and other items. These artifacts allow us to reconstruct much about this early civilization, but the bulk of their history remains untold. What we do know is that the story of this area in the last 150 years forms only a small part of the lost but larger tale of over 10,000 years of human habitation.

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<td>1300</td>
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<td>Fremont habitation of the City Creek area ends</td>
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<td>Utah inhabited by the Ute, Paiute, Goshute, Shoshone, and Navajo</td>
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At the turn of the century Antonio Ferro opened a small store on West Second South in Salt Lake City where he sold groceries and tobacco products. In March 1905 the budding entrepreneur married Giovannina Calfa and soon thereafter launched the Western Macaroni Manufacturing Company. Eventually marketed under the “Queen’s Taste” label, no less than 45 different varieties of pasta products would be manufactured by Ferro and his associates. It seems that long before pasta dishes became trendy items on restaurant menus in Utah, the state had a pasta king.

Ferro was born in southern Italy on October 22, 1872, to Carmine and Angela Perri Ferro. The family owned a large farm. He attended the local schools and later a normal school, but in 1894 he left Italy for America. Like many of his countrymen he found work in mining, first in Pennsylvania and then in Colorado and Mercur, Utah. After working for more than a year and a half in Mercur, he left the mines and moved permanently to Salt Lake City. He managed the macaroni factory until his retirement in 1942 due to failing health. He died on August 29, 1944. Ferro was active in the Commercial Club, the Utah Manufacturers Association, several fraternal organizations—including the Sons of Italy—and the Catholic Church.

He and his wife had three children.

A detailed report of the factory published in the Utah Payroll Builder in 1927 provides information on the scope of the business and the factory’s operation. Ferro’s company employed about 25 workers and had a daily capacity of six tons of various macaroni products, although at the time produced only five tons. The factory reportedly furnished “most of the macaroni supplied to Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada,” with large quantities also shipped to Colorado, California, Oregon, Washington, and Montana. “Queen’s Taste” products were also marketed in British Columbia for a number of years until the Canadian government began to tax imported wheat products.

The 45 varieties of pasta produced at the plant ranged from acino-pepe to ziti and came in shapes resembling shells, stars, oats, and letters of the alphabet as well as various sizes and cuts of tubular, flat, and an array of spaghetti-like types. The Payroll Builder writer seemed dazzled by the thought that the five tons of macaroni products manufactured daily would, if made into one long piece of the common tubular variety, “reach farther than from Logan to Provo.” The guide at the factory said that Utah’s Greeks especially liked the small orzo pasta while Italians preferred spaghetti.

The Western Macaroni factory used Utah eggs and Turkey Red flour made from wheat produced on Utah and Idaho dry farms, but 80 percent of the flour came from the harder durum wheat grown in Minnesota. The large mixers in the factory used 300 pounds of flour at a time. The stiff dough or paste moved from mixer to kneading machine to pressing machines where the various types of pasta were extruded. Racks of pasta were then taken to one of the many drying rooms for 36 to 40 hours. The drying process, critical to quality of the finished product, was monitored by hydrometers and supervised day and night by a worker who used dampers and fans to control the speed of drying so that the pasta would be neither tough nor brittle. Packers placed the finished product into packages, boxes, and barrels for shipping to stores, hotels, and restaurants in the city and throughout the intermountain area.

In calling his product “Queen’s Taste,” Ferro was clearly exercising his prerogative as the pasta king of the Mountain West (Murphy, 1996).
Before there were east or west sides, railroads, or factories, what would become the Hub district was an integrated part of what one historian has called “an isolated but well-organized, relatively self-sufficient, ecclesiastical commonwealth built on irrigated agriculture and village industry.”
Utah was one of the first to give property rights to married women. Most original female plot owners were polygamous wives.

The pioneers did not settle in the plots indicated on this map immediately after arriving in the valley. Instead, they built a fort on what is today Pioneer Park. Surrounded by an eight-foot adobe brick wall, by fall 1847 the fort contained 450 cabins like the one drawn below. After the first winter, permanent dwellings were built across town, but the fort continued to serve as a temporary home for some new immigrants.

Brigham Young initially implored the Saints not to subdivide their land, but to keep one family per lot to allow room for everyone to grow their own food. As the map indicates, the injunction was observed sporadically.

Lewis Hardy was an original member of the Nauvoo Legion Band. Modern-day Morgan County
Obviously, for the various Native American tribes, explorers, trappers, and frontiersmen who traversed and settled in the region prior to 1847, the Hub district did not exist as an entity; it was just part of a seamless natural landscape.

In 1847, however, the Hub blocks (blocks 46 & 63) were drawn into existence as a part of the settlement founded by the Mormon pioneers. For them, the area formed part of the end of a long journey. Driven out of their homes by religious persecution, they set out across the plains to find a spot to set up a new City of God in the wilderness. They arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, which Brigham Young declared as “the place” for their new settlement. Two months after arrival, they surveyed the land and divvied up plots, assigning equal shares at random to most settlers. This was in accord with the communitarian and agricultural vision of the City of God that was first set forth by their prophet and founder, Joseph Smith. Within the next few years, those chosen for settlement in blocks 46 and 63 gradually moved out of their makeshift log cabins at the Old Fort, now Pioneer Park, and constructed permanent dwellings on the lots assigned to them.

The names of the original settlers of these blocks are recorded on the map reproduced on page 18, which is from a larger map created by Jesse Fox in the early 1850s for Brigham Young (Bradley, 2004). A few of these individuals went on to make names for themselves as famous pioneers in other parts of the state. In 1850, Lewis Hardy, originally assigned a plot on 300 South* between 400 and 500 West, became the leader of the first pioneer group to settle in Weber County and founded the town of Uintah (Stuart, 2005). Thomas J. Thurston, assigned two plots on the corner of 300 South and 500 West, built the first route through Weber Canyon and settled in what would become the town of Littleton, in Morgan County (Morgan County, 2005).

Others never went on to great fame, but what remains of their stories paints a descriptive portrait of life for these early settlers. Isaac Duffin, a brick maker, was only 21 when he made the trek to Salt Lake City with his 19-year-old wife Mary. They were assigned two plots of land on the corner of 600 West and 300 South and had two children by the time of the 1850 census. A story we can only guess at is that of Amy Clothier, the only woman assigned a plot in this area. Since very few single women were among the original settlers, this likely indicates that she was a polygamous wife given the responsibility of running one of her husband’s households. The other residents listed in the 1850 census were also young, most with children, and most were farmers or laborers of one kind or another. A majority of these settlers stayed in their original assigned plots until at
least 1867, when the first city directory was published, hinting at a firm attachment to the place or a strong sense of community (Travis, 1995).

The physical and cultural center of life for the early settlers in Salt Lake City was Temple Square. Today’s Hub district, five blocks from this center, was on the periphery of the community, on the boundary marking the end of urban development and the beginning of rural farmland. This marginal location was to have profound effects on the area as the city developed. Even at the onset, most high-ranking church leaders chose plots close to the temple grounds, leaving the outskirts to the rank and file. Likewise, the location next to the farmland encouraged a far higher percentage of the settlers on the periphery to engage in agriculture. The distinctions between farm and town and between Mormons and “Gentiles” (non-Mormon) increased as Gentile retailers set up shops along Main Street (often called Whiskey Avenue during this period) and brought with them different economic and social customs. These distinctions aside, the edge zone was part of a continuum with the rest of the newly-formed Salt Lake City, sharing in its generally Anglo-American population, agriculture-based economy, and above all, Mormon religion, which was still the center of life in the valley.

**the grid**

Salt Lake City’s design was modeled loosely on Joseph Smith’s “Plat of the City of Zion” (right). The city plan formed a concrete expression of Mormon ideals: a well ordered, community-oriented life centered on God, as signified by the Temple Block at the heart of the city.

The city was divided into ten-acre blocks, each consisting of eight 1.25 acre lots, with one house in the center of each lot. The streets were each 132 feet wide, allowing an ox cart to turn around. The lots were distributed at random among most church members.

The orientation of the lots alternated from east-west (like block 63) to north-south (like block 46). Traces of this pattern can still be seen in the layout of the area today.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1843</th>
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<th>1847</th>
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<td>John C. Fremont and Kit Carson explore the Great Basin</td>
<td><strong>24 July</strong> The first party of Mormon pioneers arrives in the Salt Lake Valley</td>
<td><strong>August</strong> One month after the pioneers’ arrival, the first survey lays out the 119 blocks of Plat A, much of today’s downtown</td>
<td>The end of the Mexican-American War results in the annexation of Utah as a part of the United States</td>
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**27 June** Joseph Smith assassinated at Carthage, Illinois
The immigrants who settled here did not do so as individuals, nor did they assimilate seamlessly into the surrounding environment. Most banded together with their compatriots to form distinct communities to capture the feel of their former countries or simply for economic survival. Marked off from the rest of Salt Lake City by their diverse languages, religions, and customs, these communities gave life to areas like the Hub district that were abandoned by those who could afford to go elsewhere, a vitality and diversity whose traces are still evident.

The largest of these ethnic neighborhoods was Greektown, located on 200 South between 400 and 600 West. Between 1900 and 1920, Leonidas G. Skliris, the padrones or “Czar of the Greeks,” brought thousands of Greeks to the state. He secured jobs on the railroad or in the mines for any one willing to sign a contract to pay him one dollar a month for the rest of their lives (or, in effect, until his power was broken by a strike in 1912). His offices were located at 507 West 200 South.

Though at first Greek immigrants were mainly laborers and railroad workers, they eventually owned and operated a significant number of businesses along 200 South. In its heyday, the two-block Greektown area was home to “small hotels and boardinghouses, coffeehouses, saloons, grocery stores, bakeries, and import stores selling octopus, Turkish tobacco, olive oil, goat cheese, liqueurs, figs, dates, and Greek-language newspapers,” all serving the area’s Greek community. Nearly 60 Greek businesses were located on these blocks in 1911 (McCormick, 2000).

Just east of Greektown along 200 South, a Little Italy flourished between the Union Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad depots. This was home to many Italians who came to Utah in the first part of the 20th century. Although most came to work the railroads or in factories, some founded successful businesses like the Western Macaroni Factory. Italian-language newspapers—such as the Corriere d’America, headquartered at 253 Rio Grande Avenue—served as important centers of the Italian community in the area.

Middle-Eastern immigrants to Salt Lake City settled mainly in Little Syria or Lebanese Town, located around 300 South and 500 West. The experiences of these immigrants were perhaps best summed up by Sarah Attie, an early Syro-Lebanese immigrant:

We lived on the west side, by Greek Town, with Lebanese neighbors. You know, when you are far from home, you want to be with your people. Lebanese Town it was called. Three Lebanese were very successful. Bonos Shool had a grocery store in Greek Town, on Second South. George Katter and Kalil Fadel also, dry goods, stores. George Katter got men jobs at Bingham copper mine. Lebanese men peddled, selling jewelry to Greeks and lace, linens, cloth, and bedspreads all over Utah. Many Lebanese men labored for ten cents an hour ten hours a day, making it necessary for the women to take in boarders. They had to (Papanikolas, 1976).
Spanish-speaking immigrants did not begin to settle the area in large numbers until the 1930s and 40s. As the more recent immigrants, Hispanics were often shoved to the bottom of the economic ladder. In one interview, John Florez summarized his experiences: “People who talk about the ‘good old days’ do so because they didn’t have to live it” (McCormick, 2000).

The Catholic Church established Our Lady of Guadalupe after 1930. The mission, located at 524 West 400 South, was led by Father James Collins and run by nuns from the Order of the Perpetual Adoration who had set up a convent in the area three years earlier. “The Sisters of Perpetual Adoration helped the children of the west side by teaching religion classes, Sunday school, and arts and crafts,” according to Jorge Iber of the Oral History Institute (Papanikolas, 1976). The mission still serves the Hispanic community of Salt Lake in its new location at 715 West 200 North. Although most were initially Catholic, a significant number of Hispanics converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, prompting the formation of the Rama Mexicana, or Mexican Branch, in 1921, located at 448 South 300 West.

For many immigrants, the blocks around the current Intermodal Hub formed the center of their community, a place where they felt a sense of belonging, could relate to others like themselves, and could seek refuge from an often hostile world. Their stories are woven into the fabric of these blocks and are visible today in the traces of the buildings they constructed.

### Frederick Eberhardt

Frederick Eberhardt emigrated from Germany to the United States for the mining industry. However, like Antonio Ferro (the “pasta king”), he soon found economic opportunity in a different sort of business. While mining he realized that he lacked anything adequate to sleep on, and this unpleasant experience encouraged him to develop his first “mattress.” Eventually Frederick established his own company called Salt Lake Mattress and Manufacturing. Later, in the 1930s, the company became Serta Salt Lake. Today, Serta is located on Redwood Road.

### Scandinavian Immigrants

Every census from 1850 to 1950, showed Scandinavia as the second most common region of origin among Utah’s foreign-born residents. In 1900, Scandinavian countries accounted for 34 percent of Utah’s foreign-born.

According to the census, Utah’s Scandinavians were employed as farmers, artisans, journeymen, apprentices, blacksmiths, carriage makers, tailors, carpenters, cabinetmakers, cooperers, wheelwrights, seamstresses, dyers, weavers, smiths, iron founders, coopersmiths, tinsmiths, machinists, shoemakers, tanners, saddle- and harness-makers, stonemasons, bricklayers, butchers, brewers, bakers, millers, fishermen, seamen, ropemakers, house painters, miners, matmakers, hairdressers, hunters, bookbinders, printers, thatchers, sailmakers, shipbuilders, instrument-makers, clerks, potters, and furriers.

### Louis Hentelff

Louis Hentelff, a Russian immigrant, arrived in Utah in 1928 and began manufacturing furniture with his brother-in-law, Ben Novikoff. During World War II, when steel was unavailable, they used plywood for springs. Later, when steel became available again, they retrofitted all the plywood springs with steel. Intermountain Furniture Manufacturing Company now has over 70 employees and supplies over 300 retail outlets across the western United States and Canada.
In 1870, the railroad came through Salt Lake City’s west side. This both established the west side as the city’s gateway and sowed the seeds for its future segregation from the town’s geographic, cultural, and economic mainstream.

**The Hub in 1867**

1. The first Denver and Rio Grande passenger and freight depots were built on this block soon after this map was drawn. The block is the location of the current Intermodal Hub.

2. Although Salt Lake started systematically planting shade trees in the 1850s, and some orchards certainly existed, the many neatly ordered rows of trees in this drawing may have been figments of the artist’s imagination.

3. Study area (blocks 46 & 63).
the revolution of the railroad

Images of Salt Lake City’s Early Years

A Steel engraving showing Salt Lake City in 1853
B Photo of Salt Lake City looking southeast from the top of Main Street in the mid-1860s
C 1867 drawing of Salt Lake City

HISTORY

25
Much of the Hub district's early character was to change after 1870, the major turning point for west side Salt Lake City. One year after the 1869 completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory Point, the Utah Central Pacific rail line was built, joining Salt Lake City to the transcontinental line near Ogden. This railway cut directly across Salt Lake's west side, drastically altering its physical character. An even greater transformation came from the economic and social changes that followed this new connection with the outside world.

Originally, the railroad stopped a few blocks north of the Hub district, ending at what was to become the Union Pacific Depot and is now The Gateway development. In 1887, the Denver and Rio Grande railroad company extended the line south to their original depot just west of 600 West and 300 South. Hotels, saloons, and billiards halls sprang up around this depot to serve the needs of the immigrants that came to work in the mines and on the railroad. Third South between 500 and 600 West became a dense residential district, home mainly to railroad workers too poor to move farther east. They lived in wood, brick, and adobe houses, many of which were tightly-packed multiple-family duplexes. This created a building pattern quite different from the city's original widely-spaced single-family dwellings, and signaled a departure from prior economic and cultural patterns.

Along with Main Street, this area formed one part of what historian Leonard Arrington called Utah's "two economies:" the cooperative, agriculture-based economy of the Mormons, and the mining, railroad, and trade economy that marked this area, which was mainly non-Mormon. Arrington referred to this new economy as "a large enclave of gentle merchants, bankers, freighters and prospectors 'catapulted' by the railroad into the midst of the semi-closed Mormon cooperative economic system" (Arrington, 1964).

The changes brought to the area by the railroad were best described by John McCormick in his book The Westside of Salt Lake City:

After 1870 all of this began to change, and by 1900 the area had pretty much assumed its present character. The key factor was the coming of the railroad in 1870 and the development in the next two decades of a network of rails throughout the city, which split off and isolated the west side from the rest of the city. As this happened, much of the area became increasingly commercialized and industrialized. Thus, by 1890, a stockyard, two breweries … two tanneries … a brickyard, a brewery, a biscuit factory, a salt works, a soup factory, two lumberyards, several foundries, and an artificial ice factory [existed in this area]. The isolation of the west side also led to the sections that remained residential becoming working-class neighborhoods, many of whose residents worked for the railroads and for associated
enterprises. As the west side evolved from being part of an agrarian village to a mixed commercial/industrial/working class residential section, it became increasingly blighted, in several senses. First, the original lots were subdivided, and new streets and courts were cut through the original blocks. The idea was to enable more people to live close to town and to the railroads. The new streets, however, were subject to little regulation and instead of becoming quiet retreats from the noise and dirt of the city, they often degenerated into crowded back alleys of squalor. Both small operators and large developers, who bought entire blocks and subdivided them, undertook this new construction. Secondly, disagreeable industries and establishments increasingly located on the west side … for example, the city dump, the city stray pound, and the city crematory were all located there. Thirdly, city services were extended to the west side much slower than to other parts of the city (McCormick, 1982, 152-3).
Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame, • With conquering limbs astride from land to land; • Here at our sea-washed,

THE HUB

The numerous cafés along 200 South formed the center of Greek life in the city, along with the Holy Trinity Church, which was originally located on 400 South.

Cruise lines advertised regularly in the Greek-language newspapers, offering transport for friends and family to Ameriki, where there was work.

“On West 200 South between 400 and 600 West, was Greektown, the most extensive of Salt Lake’s ethnic neighborhoods. ... Along its two-block area were small hotels and boardinghouses, coffeehouses, saloons, grocery stores, bakeries, and import stores selling octopus, Turkish tobacco, olive oil, goat cheese, liqueurs, figs, dates, and Greek-language newspapers. In 1911, nearly sixty Greek businesses occupied the two blocks” (McCormick, 2000).

GREEKTOWN

“The coffeehouse in particular was an important institution... the real home of many Greeks... It was a community center often providing their only social life.”
"You know, when you are far from home, you want to be with your people."

SARAH ATTEY

sunset gates shall stand • A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame • Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name…

“A miniscule Little Syria blossomed during the 1920s and 1930s in the vicinity of the residences and stores centered on Third South and Fifth West.”

"Lebanese men peddled, sold lot of jewelry to Greeks. They peddled lace, linens, cloth, bedspreads all over Utah. They bought from New York stores."

"Three Lebanese were very successful. Bonos Shool had a grocery store in Greek Town, on Second South. George Katter and Kalil Fadel also, dry goods, stores. George Katter got men jobs at Bingham copper mine."

"Lebanese men in some labor jobs made ten cents an hour for ten hours a day. That’s why some Lebanese women took in boarders. They had to” (Papanikolas, 1976).
1889 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map
1 Original 1881 Denver and Rio Grande Western Railway passenger depot
2 Original D&RG freight depot
3 Rio Grande Hotel
4 Sullivan Hotel
5 Although only sparsely occupied at this time, this portion of 200 South would soon become a pulsating area full of shops, bars, and restaurants.

6 Although in 1889 there was a prevalence of dwellings (denoted by a ‘D’ on the buildings) on 300 South, the area was just beginning to transform into an industrial-and railroad-based economy.

7 Future site of the current 1910 Rio Grande Depot
By 1889, the major transformations wrought by the railroad were in place. The Hub area had fully left its agrarian past. No longer an integrated part of downtown Salt Lake City, it became a border land.

The arrival of the railroad in 1870 had transformed the city into two regions—a west side and an east side, a divide that grew in the following years. By 1910, industrial growth and immigrant workers had transformed this quiet and bucolic area into a loud and bustling urban-industrial section. Two Rio Grande depots, one freight and one passenger, were situated on the west side of 600 West between 200 and 300 South. These wooden buildings served the rapidly expanding Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, a fierce competitor to the older Union Pacific. Block 63, on the east side of 600 West directly across from the D&RG depots, contained an active district that supported the railroad, including two hotels—the Sullivan and the Rio Grande. The hotels included kitchens and dining rooms and were continuing to expand. Between the two hotels were several shops, houses, and a billiards hall.

The north side of block 63 (facing 200 South, between 500 and 600 West) was initially unchanged by the railroad growth. In 1889 there were five houses, but no shops or hotels. Yet, in just twenty-two years it would become a thriving entertainment district. The south side of the block (facing 300 South, between 500 and 600 West) was similarly defined by residential dwellings. They were not, however, all single detached homes. Of the sixteen dwellings along this stretch of 300 South, three were duplexes and one was a triplex. The center of the block contained outhouses, placed at the back end of the properties.

1889_1910

1870
- Only 7% of Salt Lake City’s population is non-Mormon; however, parts of the west side were more than 33% non-Mormon in late 1860s
- Utah Territory enfranchises women
- Dedication of St. Mary Madeleine, the first Catholic Church in Utah

1871
- Fighting the social and economic changes brought by the railroad, Brigham Young launches the United Order of Enoch, in which each ward was to act as a self-contained cooperative community; the plan was successfully implemented in only four of the twenty-four Salt Lake wards
- Horse and buggy streetcar system installed

1872
- Residential neighborhoods carved out of the farmland that used to form the southern edge of the city; these “streetcar suburbs” were made possible by and built around the new public rail system

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1891 Denver & Rio Grande Western Railway Passenger Depot
This wooden structure stood at 600 West and 200 South, the present site of the Intermodal Hub.

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The block to the south, block 46, was considerably less populated than blocks to the north. The east side of 600 West was completely barren. The northern and eastern block faces (facing 300 South and 500 West) contained only a handful of dwellings.

To the east of blocks 63 and 46 was a more densely populated residential neighborhood, which would soon be demolished to build the current Rio Grande Depot. Most of the nearby blocks from the original settlement had been subdivided and new housing units were built relatively close together and included several duplexes. These buildings were primarily constructed of wood, brick, and adobe.

As a border place this area was defined by boundaries. The coming of the railroad in 1870 created a clear line of demarcation between east and west, locals and immigrants, and wealth and poverty. Yet, this line would soon change again. By 1910 new railroad lines had been laid on 500 West in preparation for the construction of a new and larger depot. In essence, the boundary between west and east shifted one block closer toward downtown Salt Lake City. This shift continued to solidify the area as the industrial and transportation hub for the city and state.

### the sanborn fire insurance maps

“The Sanborn Map[s]® [are] a uniform series of large-scale detailed maps, dating from 1867 through 1969 and depicting the commercial, industrial, and residential sections of cities. The maps were designed by surveyor D.A. Sanborn in 1866 to assist fire insurance agents in determining the degree of hazard associated with a particular property. The D.A. Sanborn Co. was the first company to offer insurance maps on a national scale in response to the growth of urban communities after 1850. The company’s surveyors meticulously documented the structural evidence of urbanization—building by building, block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, community by community.

“Sanborn Maps® illustrate in outline form the site, size, shape, construction and building material of dwellings, commercial buildings, and factories. Details of buildings include fire walls, the location and number of windows and doors, style and composition of roofs, wall thickness, cracks in exterior walls, and makes of elevators. The maps also indicate building use, sidewalk and street widths, layout and names, property boundaries, distance between buildings, house and block numbers, location of water mains, hydrants, piping, wells, cisterns, and fuel storage tanks.

“Sanborn Maps® are colored keyed… adobe buildings are painted olive, stone blue, brick pink, wood yellow, iron gray. Until 1911, the maps were handmade and hand colored. After that, corrections and amendments were pasted on top every few years” (J. Willard Marriott Library, n.d.).

### Threshold of change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Congress passes the Edmunds-Tucker Act which disincorporates The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and reverts all its property to the federal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Salt Lake City’s population increases by 125% to 45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>“Gentiles” make up almost half of Salt Lake City’s population, allowing the anti-Mormon Liberal Party to take control of the city council and mayor’s office in 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Streetcar system electrified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### City streets and businesses begin to be lighted with electricity

### Salt Lake City's population increases by 125% to 45,000

### Congress passes the Edmunds-Tucker Act, outlawing polygamy and putting federal agents in charge of Utah's government

### “Gentiles” make up almost half of Salt Lake City's population, allowing the anti-Mormon Liberal Party to take control of the city council and mayor’s office in 1890
An important and longstanding influence on Salt Lake City's west side has been the Rio Grande Depot. The current Rio Grande Depot located at 300 South between 400 and 500 West replaced an original wooden depot building at 600 West to accommodate the joining of the Denver and Rio Grande and Western Pacific Railway systems. The Union Pacific, whose depot was situated just down the street at South Temple, was the Rio Grande's main competition. The new Denver and Rio Grande Depot was designed by Chicago architect Henry S. Schlachs and completed in 1910 at a total cost of $750,000. This depot served as a symbol of the influence of the railroad that had affected Salt Lake City since the turn of the century. The township of Salt Lake had nearly doubled in population from 53,000 to 92,000 and consequently changed the official status of Salt Lake to "city" (Utah Historical Society, n.d.).

The depot formed an important part of the cultural landscape of the community, a fact evidenced by the many stories that sprung up around it, including a series of reported hauntings. The most famous of these is the story of the woman in a purple dress. She is described as very beautiful with raven-colored hair. Her clothing appears to be from another period and she is usually seen near the Rio Grande Café, a restaurant currently located in
the depot. According to legend, many years ago, she was engaged to a handsome young man. Because rail travel was the primary means of transportation at the time, the woman would visit her fiancé by train. One day on the train platform they had a terrible argument and their engagement was broken off. The young man threw the engagement ring onto the railroad tracks and the young woman hurried to retrieve it. Unfortunately, in her rush she never saw the train that struck and killed her.

There have also been reports of a “phantom party” in the cellar. One night, when the lights were going on and off in the depot, a maintenance worker came to check the problem. He went to the basement to check the fuse box and was stunned to discover a large group of people having a party. Even more surprising was the fact that they vanished in a few seconds!

Another story is told about a security guard who heard someone walking on an upper balcony at the same time every night. Each time he heard the sound he rushed up to the spot but would find no one. Finally, one night, he hid and waited for the person. When he heard footsteps, he sprang out, yet no one was there, even though he could distinctly hear someone walking. The footsteps came closer and closer and as they reached him he felt something brush past and then heard the steps continue down the stairs.

“The depot … centers on Third South street, one of the main business thoroughfares and has an immense approach or foreground on the town side and large, roomy covered platforms paralleling the tracks on the railroad side.

“The center … large room is lighted by three immense arched windows on each side (each 28x30 feet) through green opalescent glass. The interior of the waiting room is treated in an adaptation of a classic style of architecture similar to the exterior, the color scheme being brownish red and gray for the walls with a deep brown for the ceiling. All of this, combined with the green light through the windows, gives the room a dignified quietness.

“In the wings of the building at each end of the waiting room are provided all the accessories necessary to every large railroad depot. In one end are the baggage, express and parcel rooms, while in the other end are provided everything necessary for the comfort of travelers, including men’s smoking room, women’s retiring room, restaurant, etc. In the center of the large waiting room are the ticket offices, news stand, telegraph and telephone offices and other conveniences for the traveling public.

“In the second story of the main structure are the railroad companies’ offices.

“… The best of material of the various kinds has been employed in the structure. For the exterior there is a marble base of white Colorado-Yule marble five feet high all around the building. The balance of the exterior is in terra cotta and red New Jersey rain-washed brick. The roofs are of red tile. The building is absolutely fireproof and is treated on the interior with tile floors throughout and with marble wainscoting, all harmonizing with the general color effect of the different rooms.”

The Salt Lake Tribune, 14 August 1910
The heart of Greektown, this portion of 200 South was thriving by 1911. Over 60 Greek-owned businesses were located here between 400 and 600 West. The Rio Grande Hotel and Sullivan Hotel no longer exist. However a “cheap boarding house” seems to have been formed by combining several former shops and one dwelling. The loss of hotels was probably due to the movement of the Rio Grande Depot from 600 West to 500 West in 1910. ZCMI warehouse. Western Macaroni Manufacturing Company. Denver Court was created to house railroad workers. Faust Creamery, later named Jensen Creamery. Utah Ice and Storage Company. Salt Lake Mattress and Manufacturing Company. ZCMI stables. The Greek Church (which moved to its current location on 300 West in 1925). Uncle Sam’s Cleanser.
Some transformations take hundreds of years, while others happen relatively quickly. Changes within the Hub area have occurred fairly rapidly. By 1911, 200 South had completely lost its former residential character. It instead contained a row full of shops, bars, and restaurants and was considered the heart of Greektown. In fact, over 60 Greek-owned businesses were once located on this street between 400 and 600 West (McCormick, 2000). These shops were situated directly across the street from the Stockade, Salt Lake City’s red-light district. This combination of bars, shops, restaurants, and prostitution created a lively, if somewhat controversial, section of town.

By 1911, the Rio Grande tracks and depot were located along 500 West. Although the depot itself was about the length of one block, the actual building property stretched from 200 South to 400 South, two full city block lengths. At the southern edge of this property was the coal powered Salt Lake City Union & Depot R.R. Co. Heating Plant.

In block 63, south of the shops at 200 South, were several storage facilities, factories, and residential areas. Two streets and a railroad track ran to the center of the block where the storage facilities were located. The J.I. Case Implement and Security General Storage warehouses were moderately sized and relatively simple. The Z.C.M.I. General Warehouse, on the other hand, was more complicated. This facility included several rooms, an iron awning on the north side, two night-men, and a railroad track that went into the building. The railroad tracks along 600 West still existed. However, the hotels and billiards hall which once served the now extinct former Rio Grande depots were gone, replaced by several shops, a cheap boarding house, and a grocery supply storage facility.

The remainder of block 63 consisted primarily of residential buildings and a macaroni factory. There were at least 34 residences, including eight duplexes and one triplex. In addition to these a subdivision had formed with the creation of Denver Court. This street stretched from 300 South, through the center of the block, to the Security General Storage Facility. The residents of this area were primarily immigrants employed in blue-collar labor for the railroad, industrial or storage facilities, or some sort of service industry for the residents of the east side. Of particular interest in this block was the Western Macaroni Manufacturing Company. This facility produced over 45 types of pasta and distributed to the entire Intermountain West region (see page 17).

Block 46, on the south side of 300 South, contained similar residential/industrial diversity. The northwest corner was occupied by Utah Ice & Storage and the Jensen Creamery Companies. The ice facility operated day and night and contained a boiler and coal room, a tank room, and several water cooler rooms. Railroad lines ran...
adjacent to the southern edge of the building, which served as a loading dock. The Jensen creamery was positioned flush against the eastern wall of this building to capitalize on the natural relationship between dairy products and ice. These buildings both faced 300 South, but used the railroad tracks at their rear to facilitate shipping.

The remaining length of 300 South consisted of several dwellings and a shop. The Salt Lake Mattress and Manufacturing Company was near the middle of the block, but was accessed from 300 South and railroad tracks along its northern wall. The southern portion of block 46 (between the ice and creamery facilities and 400 South) was a mixture of housing, stables, a vacant church, and one cleaner company. On the 600 West block face was a small collection of wooden shanties, likely the cheapest housing available. Directly east of these housing units were the Z.C.M.I. stables, which included hay storage, a wagon shed, and stalls for horses. West of this building, near the middle of the block, was a vacant Greek church. Further west of the church, next to 500 West, were a poultry storage facility and several dwellings. Uncle Sam’s Cleanser was located along 600 West, south of the shanties. This facility is identified in the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps as being built of "hollow plastic blocks." Along the 400 South block face were a considerable number of housing units; one fourplex, one duplex, and eleven single detached houses. The Sanborn Map indicates a portion of one house as "built junk."

Between 1911 and 1949 this area reflected the peak of the railroad era before the transition to the age of the highway.

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**1903**
- Only 4.05 miles of Salt Lake City’s streets are paved
- Freight trains begin running on the Lucin Cutoff, a 102-mile railroad causeway across the Great Salt Lake, greatly increasing efficiency and ease of transcontinental rail transport
- Federation of Labor Hall dedicated, located on the southeastern edge of Exchange Place in downtown Salt Lake City; the hall was the focal point of the city’s growing labor union movement

**1904**
- The Judge Building, originally known as the Railroad Exchange Building, is constructed at 300 South and Main Street, housing offices of more than 24 railroad companies; this cements the status of 300 South as the “railroad artery” of the city

**1907**
- All prostitutes in Salt Lake City ordered to relocate to a newly-constructed “stockade,” 100 “cribs” surrounded by a high wall, located on the north side of 200 South between 400 and 500 West; closed in 1911
- Rainbow Bridge declared a national monument

**1908**
- Federation of Labor Hall dedicated, located on the southeastern edge of Exchange Place in downtown Salt Lake City; the hall was the focal point of the city’s growing labor union movement

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**History**

**LEFT**

*Faust Creamery employees pose for a photo on the creamery’s front steps, ca. 1905.*
The Hub

immigrants & the american dream

little tokyo

Many of Salt Lake's Japanese residents settled on 100 South between West Temple and 200 West, the area now occupied by the Salt Palace.

The Utah Nippo was a Japanese-language newspaper published until the 1990s.

Many worked on the railroads or in factory jobs such as chick sexing (above). They also operated many businesses across the valley, including the Fujimoto Soy company at 302 South 400 West, just opposite the Rio Grande Depot.

...Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand • Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command • The air-bridged
harbor that twin cities frame. • “Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!” cries she • With silent lips…

The saloon was central to the life of the Italian community. This created a negative impression among those from more established Anglo-American neighborhoods. One University of Utah student thesis stated: “The Greeks and Italians are perhaps the most careless and shiftless people found… Comfort to them is unknown unless it is in the form of a smoke by the fire or a drink.”

“Italian-owned grocery stores, saloons, restaurants, and other shops were part of ‘Little Italy’ that emerged along Salt Lake’s 200 South...between the Union Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande Western…depots.”

The Corriere d’America, headquartered at 253 Rio Grande Avenue, was an important part of the Italian community (Notarianni, 2004).
Two World Wars and the Great Depression took their toll on the area, but they do not compare to what was to come next: suburbanization and the freeway.
The city directories tell us the names and occupations of the residents of blocks 46 and 63, providing a glimpse of the community fabric woven by their lives. They were diverse and working-class; many were employed in nearby industries. Several would remain in the same houses for over thirty years.

NORTH SIDE of 300 SOUTH
546 Mr. Romo, laborer for the railroad
550 Mrs. Chumley, widow
552 The Rev. Jennings, Mt. Zion Church of God in Christ (non-denominational)
558 Mr. Rocha, bartender
560 Mr. Garcia
564 Bruno Chavez, laborer
566 Mr. Martinez

SOUTH SIDE of 300 SOUTH
519 John Mayo, employee of the Porter Macaroni Company
523 Mrs. Hendrickson, widow
527 Silvio Mayo, spreader for the Porter Macaroni Company
529 Dominic Putrey, helper at the Holy Cross Hospital

1 Railroad Club Place, a bar
2 City directories show a Mr. Kattar living here from the early 1930s to the late 1960s, perhaps a relation to George Katter, the Lebanese labor agent who helped create Little Syria on 300 South 500 West.
3 These car and bus facilities are evidence of the transition away from rail transportation.
4 Mt. Zion Church of God in Christ (non-denominational)
5 Cheap housing sometimes meant substandard living conditions. A Mr. Perry lived here for at least ten years, feet away from a poultry processing plant.
After 1950, the Hub district began a long decline into its present state of near abandonment. The main factors influencing this decline were the end of rail as a major form of passenger travel, the construction of Interstate 15 two blocks to the west, and the nationwide flight to the suburbs that drained most downtowns of their residents.

The Polk City Directories help document this decline. Analyzing the type and number of businesses and residents listed in the reverse directory section opens up a view into the economic and social character of the area. In 1955, the streets surrounding blocks 46 and 63 (500 West, 600 West, 200 South, 300 South, 400 South, and Rio Grande Avenue) listed 28 residences. By 1975, this number was down to 13, and by 1995, only four people lived in the entire two-block area. Commercial use (restaurants, bars, etc.) also plummeted, from 18 listings in 1955 to just three in 1995. Industrial listings (factories, warehouses, etc.) fared somewhat better: in 1955 there were 32 listings, which only decreased to 21 by 1995. The neighborhood was thus transformed from an area hosting a large number and variety of uses into a sparsely-used and homogenous industrial zone.

A major factor causing this transformation was the end of passenger rail travel. In 1977, the Rio Grande Depot was sold to the Utah State Historical Society and largely abandoned for rail uses (Utah Historical Society, n.d.). The electric trolley car system that served the area stopped running in 1941 (McCormick, 2000). The major impetus and means for going to the depot were thus both removed. The saloons, hotels, and cafés that relied on the pedestrian traffic formerly generated by the depot began to disappear. The railroads also now required fewer workers, contributing to the decline in nearby residential populations. With the end of rail travel, the depot switched from being a hub and center of transportation for the community to being a dead-end industrial district sandwiched between the undesirable relics of the old order—the railroad tracks—and the equally undesirable emblem of the new—the freeway.

The freeway, built two blocks to the west in the 1960’s, turned the area into a no-man’s land. An area already hindered by the noise and dirt of the railway now had a large and loud freeway to confront. With east-west travel blocked or detoured by this massive barrier, there remained little or no reason for traveling through the area. Instead, the flow of traffic, now almost totally vehicular, was swept up by the on-ramps north and south of the area and onto the freeway, to be taken miles away to the newly-blossoming suburbs. The growth of these suburbs was a major contributor to the area’s loss of residents. In 1950, Salt Lake City was home to 7 out of 10 residents in Salt Lake County. By 1990, the city’s population had...
declined slightly, but the rest of the valley had grown enormously. Salt Lake City was now home to only 2 out of 10 of county residents (McCormick, 2000). As residents left downtown, it was natural that one of the first areas to be abandoned would be a run-down factory neighborhood such as that found on 300 South. At the same time, the growth of shopping malls eliminated Salt Lake City’s function as the only, or even the primary, commercial center in the area, no doubt contributing to the decline of the former commercial district along 200 South. In order to survive, the street became a mini “red-light” district, home to numerous bars, taverns, and other pleasures unavailable in the suburbs. This lasted until the early 1980s, when these uses, too, were abandoned.

In 1990, 300 South between 500 and 600 West would have been unrecognizable to anyone who had resided there in 1950. The empty street with cracking pavement surrounded by weed fields, abandoned homes, and parking lots looked nothing like it would have when it was home to 10 residents, two factories, a church, and a steady stream of rail passenger traffic. The era of the railroad and the downtown had ended, and this block was among the victims of that change.
Spanish-speaking immigrants did not begin to settle in the area in large numbers until the 1930s and '40s. Although mostly Catholic, a significant number of Hispanics converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, prompting the formation of Rama Mexicana, or Mexican Branch, in 1921, located at 448 South 300 West.

As the latest immigrants, the Hispanics were often shoved to the bottom of the economic ladder. In one interview, John Florez summarized his experiences: “People who talk about the ‘good old days’ do so because they didn’t have to live it.” He recalled that his father, Reyes Florez, came to Utah after World War I to work for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. The senior Florez managed to hold on to his job during the Depression, but family members needed to supplement his salary by working the beet fields during the summer and early fall. The family lived on Salt Lake’s westside in a boxcar divided into kitchen and living areas. The “house was only twenty feet from the tracks” (McCormick, 2000).

… “Give me your tired, your poor, • Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, • The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

JOHN FLOREZ
of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

A large Scandinavian population supported many local Nordic newspapers. They worked mainly in the mines or on the railroad and in factories such as the Jensen Creamery.

This 1891 Rio Grande railway schedule was printed in German in the Beobachter, a newspaper which served the still-small yet growing German population, most having come as the result of LDS missionary work.

The Bikuben, Danish for “beehive,” was a newspaper and a bank created to facilitate payments to those wishing to travel “with the Latter-Day Saint emigration” from Scandinavia.

and many others
The decline that began in the 1950s had peaked by the mid-1980s. Many lots were vacant and the only remaining houses would soon be torn down. However, in the mid 1990s the city began plans to revitalize the district. Several plans were formulated and steering committees formed to create an urban neighborhood with a broad range of land uses and residents. These plans supported the creation of dense residential development as a way to bring the district back to life. Attention was given to transportation connections and the possibility of “transit-oriented development.” Some plans suggested splitting up the blocks to create a series of smaller, human-scale streets that would more easily facilitate the growth of neighborhoods.

The Rio Grande Depot still facilitated rail traffic. Most of this was freight, though limited Amtrak service continued at the depot until the lines were removed to create a park. Although there was little physical activity within this specific area, the larger Gateway District received significant attention. The Gateway, a mixed-use development, was created one block north and east of the Hub area. The popularity of the Gateway as a place to shop and live has added a sense of vitality and hope to the entire depot area. Instrumental to this revived sense of hope are two land use plans—The Gateway Specific Plan, and Creating an Urban Neighborhood: Gateway District Land Use & Development Master Plan.
The Gateway Specific Plan

The Guiding Principles
The Gateway Specific Plan provides objectives, policies, and urban design ideas that will guide land use decisions well into the next century. The plan envisions a transition of land uses from the current service-oriented commercial and industrial uses to a mixed-use district. To implement this vision, ten guiding principles were developed in the course of the planning process.

- Create a positive and clear identity for Salt Lake City and the Gateway District.
- Create a sense of place for the District that celebrates and supports neighborhoods, each with a distinct character and personality.
- Create a hierarchy of streets and open spaces that provide a structure and framework for the development of neighborhoods.
- Encourage diversity in jobs, residents, and visitors to balance neighborhood needs, and create a vital street life and a thriving local economy.
- Encourage excellence in design of public infrastructure opportunities such as the I-15 reconstruction, public transportation systems, and streetscapes that are elegant and fitting of a Gateway.
- Look to traditional patterns of development in Salt Lake City as examples of the kind of blocks and streets that encourage and support urban neighborhood development.
- Maintain, enhance, and create connections to neighborhoods surrounding the Gateway District, neighborhoods within the Gateway District, and downtown Salt Lake City.
- Maintain and encourage diversity through retention of existing businesses and residents, retention of existing structures and uses, development of a broad range of housing types that fit into virtually every area of Gateway, and through integration of social service providers and their clients into the fabric of the community.
- Require excellence in design through urban design guidelines that preserve views and vistas, create pedestrian-friendly and attractive streets, establish a distinct character, and create landmarks and signature structures in architecture and infrastructure.
- Leave an Olympic Legacy in the design of important infrastructure elements like the 400 South Street Bridge and the new viaducts; establish an address street with distinction in the area; and create a public open space system that brings City Creek back to the surface and integrates it into the neighborhood (Salt Lake City, 1998).

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<td>Salt Lake City’s annual bus ridership is 12 million, a 61% drop from 1946</td>
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<td>Salt Lake City’s population peaks at 189,454</td>
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<td>Crossroads Urban Center founded to serve Salt Lake’s poor and low-income residents</td>
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<td>Salt Palace dedicated; the construction of this $16.7 million complex helped revitalize a rapidly decaying downtown but eradicated most of a historic Japanese district</td>
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<td>The Cold War; Utah’s economy would particularly benefit from the increased defense spending during these decades; by the early 1960s, 20% of Utah workers were employed in military industries</td>
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<td>Eisenhower signs the Federal Aid Highway Act, establishing the Interstate system which would radically change the character of Salt Lake City, especially its west side</td>
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Creating an Urban Neighborhood:
Gateway District Land Use & Development Master Plan

The Rio Grande Depot provides the focus of this neighborhood. The depot should be protected so that it remains an integral and active piece of the emerging pattern of development.

With the transition of the California Tire and Rubber Company building to residential use, the trend for residential reuse of existing historic buildings continues following the example of ArtSpace and other housing developments in the area. Housing will be varied and accommodate all incomes. The mix of uses found in each reuse development provides for a variety of housing types combined with retail commercial uses such as shops, restaurants, day care, galleries, and studios. New development will complement a rich inventory of unique and historic buildings. Established patterns of scale and character will be enhanced and protected as a finer grain of streets, blocks and buildings emerges. New development should provide community services needed by residents of the area.

The potential development of an intermodal station along 600 West and 200 South would provide an opportunity for Transit Oriented Development (TOD) in which community needs and services are combined with those of commuters to benefit the neighborhood as well as the transit system. 300 South Street between the intermodal station and the Rio Grande Depot should develop as a pedestrian oriented plaza and street and make a visual and physical connection to the Depot. Pioneer Park is also a focus for the neighborhood and a tremendous asset. Its edges are especially important and require active uses that combine residential development and a strong civic/cultural presence. To increase its attractiveness, programmed events and programs will be necessary to activate the park.

Community service uses such as a community center, local grocer, branch library, social service center, senior citizen center, medical clinics, churches, schools, day care, markets, public transit, veterinarian, offices, galleries and studios will meet the varied needs of residents. Social service agencies and homeless individuals and

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<td>Urban flight: More Americans live in the suburbs than anywhere else</td>
<td>The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints builds the ZCMI Center Mall</td>
<td>Governor’s Mansion restored and reoccupied</td>
<td>Utah State Historical Society moves to the former Rio Grande Depot; the railroad company sold the building to the state for $1</td>
<td>Record snowfall causes spring flooding and State Street becomes a river for weeks while the Great Salt Lake overflows its shores, destroying crops and covering roads and highways</td>
<td>Urban blight: More than 40% of Salt Lake City’s housing declared “blighted” by one study</td>
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families are a part of the neighborhood and will continue to be served and integrated with development.

### Implementation Issues
- Provide the necessary social services in ways that are compatible with new and existing businesses and development.
- Work with Salt Lake City Parks and Recreation and other partners such as the Downtown Alliance to program and activate Pioneer Park.
- Continue the ongoing police presence in the park to increase safety and security in the neighborhood.
- Work with the State and/or developers to determine a suitable reuse for the Rio Grande Depot.
- Work with designers and developers of the intermodal station facility so that it provides a strong terminus to 300 South Street and reinforces the connection between the station and the depot (Landmark Design, n.d.).

This illustration shows just one idea of what the Gateway District may look like when it is fully developed. Some of the buildings shown currently exist and will remain while others are “made-up,” but this illustrates how a residential block might be laid out; how public plazas can be integrated with large cultural and civic buildings; how City Creek may make its way through the area; where large open spaces can be located; how the streets are planted with trees and medians; how the larger block may be broken into smaller blocks, particularly on those blocks which have a strong residential focus; and how it is important to emphasize and reinforce the framework established for the Gateway District.

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<td>Salt Lake City is named host city of the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, setting off a flurry of construction in preparation and a wave of investigations in the wake of bribery allegations.</td>
<td>UTA TRAX light rail line from Salt Lake City to Sandy opens, ushering in a new era of urban rail transit after the death of the trolley system almost 60 years prior.</td>
<td>The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints dedicates its new Conference Center in downtown Salt Lake City.</td>
<td>Salt Lake hosts the Olympic Winter Games.</td>
<td>Salt Lake City sells a block of Main Street to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, sparking off years of lawsuits and public debate.</td>
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1. The west façade of the Rio Grande Depot, which used to be the railroad side of the terminal, now faces a park on 500 West.

2. The historic Utah Ice & Storage Co. building still stands on 300 South.

3. Businesses such as the Hong Kong Chinese Restaurant and Tea House are bringing new life to the district.

4. Freight trains still run where UTA commuter rail will carry thousands of travelers daily by 2008.

2003 aerial photo
5 A sign in the parkway on 500 West tells visitors what they can and cannot do.
6 Commuters passing through the new Intermodal Hub will see this view down 300 West when they enter Salt Lake City.
7 An old rail spur still curves its way through a parking lot along 600 West.
8 The former Denver Court is barely recognizable as a street.
**recommendations**

History is an integral part of any place. Not only does it let us know where we have come from, it also informs us about where we want to go. Any “living” community incorporates the past into its future. We offer the following recommendations as a way of using the past to create a vibrant future for the Hub area.

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<td><strong>one</strong></td>
<td>Preserve and protect existing historic structures.</td>
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<td><strong>two</strong></td>
<td>Explore the feasibility of converting historic structures for housing or for business uses.</td>
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<td><strong>three</strong></td>
<td>Identify investors and developers committed to historic preservation.</td>
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<td><strong>four</strong></td>
<td>Integrate historic structures into the new fabric of the area.</td>
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<td><strong>five</strong></td>
<td>Remove the asphalt from roads in the district and repair the brick streets underneath (where possible).</td>
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<td><strong>six</strong></td>
<td>Place markers in historically significant locations.</td>
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<td><strong>seven</strong></td>
<td>Create an awareness of the historic uniqueness of the area.</td>
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<td><strong>eight</strong></td>
<td>Create a place that contains the district’s history, perhaps at the Intermodal Hub, the Rio Grande Depot, or in a restored Utah Ice &amp; Storage building.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nine</strong></td>
<td>Mark historic ethnic neighborhoods and promote the creation of new enclaves.</td>
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<td><strong>ten</strong></td>
<td>Use the history of the area to give it a sense of identity and purpose for the future.</td>
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Almost 158 years after its initial settlement, the Hub district has experienced a variety of changes. It has been transformed from farmland to industrial development around the railroad, from scattered farmhouses to packed ethnic neighborhoods, from a quiet religious community to the edge of a red light district, and then finally from all of these things to depopulation and abandonment.

The future holds the promise of yet another dramatic transformation. The new Intermodal Hub on 600 West between 200 and 300 South will bring thousands of people each day and new development to the area. The Hub represents the area’s future, yet it stands on the same site occupied by the original freight and passenger depots of the 1880s. Thus we see the influences and traces of the past that continue to coexist with elements of the future in this area of Salt Lake City.
EVERYBODY HAS A STORY

the people of the rio grande depot district

the hub

2004_05 UNIVERSITY OF UTAH HONORS THINK TANK

ETHNOGRAPHY COMMITTEE
Sadie Dickman
Matt Melville
Julianne Sabula
The American city should be a collection of communities where every member has a right to belong. . . .

It should be a place where each individual’s dignity and self-respect is strengthened by the respect and affection of his neighbors.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
Some voices are heard and others are submerged. Audible voices often represent politicians, lobbyists, corporate executives, and the media—powerful elites who create and perpetuate agendas and policies. The subaltern voices are not excluded because they lack articulation; they are not absent from the decision-making arena because the speakers are unable to formulate their complaints; nor does their relative silence denote consensus. These voices are all around: residents, commuters, small-business owners, and the homeless. The perspectives of these diverse individuals on the state of the area surrounding the Intermodal Hub was the subject of the Think Tank’s ethnographic research.

Ethnography is the “branch of anthropology that deals with the qualitative description of human social phenomena, often based on months or years of fieldwork and may describe society as a whole; or it may focus on specific problems or situations within a larger social scene” (Wikipedia, n.d.). It is a subjective science that focuses on the human story and voices of those who experience what is being explored. For example, reviewing data about crime perpetrated by the homeless presents one perspective of homelessness; talking to homeless individuals evokes a different impression of what it’s like to be homeless and puts a face on the lifeless data that is so often the basis for policy.
Our ethnographic study focused on the Hub area of downtown Salt Lake City, specifically blocks 46 and 63—between 500 and 600 West and 200 and 400 South—plus the surrounding two block radius. We began with a vague understanding of ethnography. Our grasp of the subject came in two phases: (1) dispelling preconceived assumptions about what to expect from ethnographic research; then (2) developing a methodology that laid the groundwork for effective information gathering. Some issues such as communication barriers with non-English speakers and the impacts those barriers had on our ability to interview minority members of the neighborhood complicated the process.

…but I know who holds the future.”
RALPH ABERNATHY
PRECONCEIVED ASSUMPTIONS

We assumed that a list of questions could capture the complexities of downtown and enable respondents to impart their concerns in a quantifiable manner. However, we realized that an open conversation allowed us and the respondents to become more comfortable with the interview process and provided a more comprehensive awareness of the respondent’s analysis of downtown. The eventual paradigm was more a cordial dialogue than a rigorous interview. For example, we found business owners who were ignorant of the complexities of the homeless situation and homeless people who were conscious of the contradictions imposed on their situation from the outside.

Our initial assumptions about the type of establishments stakeholders would want in the Hub area had us focused on entertainment and social interaction—bars, clubs, restaurants, and coffee shops. We imagined that respondents would have similar visions of downtown, and we even discussed coffee shops as a possible addition to the neighborhood. However, few respondents’ ideas matched our assumptions and some adamantly opposed more bars and restaurants.
Each person we interviewed presented us with a distinct perspective of Salt Lake City.

**METHODOLOGY**

When we asked people questions randomly, their answers seemed vague. Our interviewees had an intricate knowledge of downtown, but most of them had never been asked their points of view about the development of their city; they hadn’t been asked to consider specific problems and possible solutions.

It was necessary to allow respondents to speak for themselves and at the same time help focus their answers by asking for descriptions and anecdotes—and all this without imposing our perspectives. We did not want the inherent control we had in the ethnographic process to yield an overrepresentation of our opinions.

Qualitative and ethnographic research methods require capturing individual voices, finding common themes, and organizing the research around these themes. We group our research results under the headings *The First Day, Artspace, Pioneer Park, Pierpont, and Gateway.*
THE RESULTS

The First Day
Cup of Joe’s became the designated meeting place by default. It wasn’t that there weren’t other choices; it was the place that met our two criteria: (1) it was near the Hub district and (2) it served coffee and muffins. The first day of field research, we stared at each other from around a small, Formica-topped table at Cup of Joe’s, sipping our coffee and making small talk, while working up the nerve to conduct that first interview.

Before arriving, we had anticipated profound conversations with downtown stakeholders, imagining ourselves posing brilliant questions and receiving insightful answers that would immediately contribute to our study and point us in a constructive direction. There we were, on the edge of our seats, vaguely recalling our previous confidence and our desire to enlighten and be enlightened.

So we theorized about our research, but finally decided to call someone we knew from the area to get us started. The acquaintance agreed and presented us with our first perspective—“I hate corporations, [The] Gateway, and everything mainstream.” Though his language seemed derivative, his worldview—that big business is bad for communities and neighborhoods—was compelling. Chain stores often drive locally-owned stores out of business. Rather than investing back in the community, they send most of their profits to out-of-state headquarters. On the other hand, large companies provide many jobs to local residents that might not exist otherwise.

Artspace
We thought that residents would have the highest level of interaction with the neighborhood, and therefore would be the greatest source of information about what was, what is, and what should be in this place. The two elements of the area’s past that have most influenced its present condition are its historic low-income roots and its more recent artistic sensibility.

The continuation of the low-income tradition of the neighborhood means there are affordable living spaces for people like Pete, the executive director of a non-profit organization, permitting him to engage in activism with low overhead. It also enables Lyndsie, artist and owner of Artisan Frameworks, to run her own business outside her back door. However, Lyndsie notes that when she first moved to the area, drug deals were a common
occurrence. While the amount of dealing has decreased, the continued presence of the homeless population in Pioneer Park eliminates a possible outdoor play space for her preschool-aged son Jack. Her neighbor, Franco, does not seem particularly bothered by the homeless population, but he expressed concern over drug deals in the area, while noting their decrease in recent years. Still, he prefers the solitude of his apartment to the environment outside, and apart from his relationship with a few businesspeople in the area, most of his interactions take place outside the neighborhood. Despite the negative aspects attributable to the area’s low-income status, however, these residents claim to feel safe here.

Most residents saw the neighborhood’s support of artistic endeavors as an important feature of its character. Three of the existing apartment projects and one that will be built soon are part of Artspace, an organization providing a combination of housing and workspace to local artists at relatively low cost. That has led to a vibrant ambience and a variety of local businesses that cannot be found elsewhere in downtown Salt Lake City. While residents appreciate the avant-garde nature of the community, they do not have what we understand as a sense of neighborhood. A limited interaction among neighbors appears to contribute to this.

One of our researchers, Julianne, formerly lived in the Cup of Joe’s building, but recently moved to an area of with a mix of single-family residential and apartments because she wanted a better sense of neighborhood. During the first day at Cup of Joe, Julianne realized that although she recognized many friends, pets, and faces, they were only from the building where she had lived, not from other neighborhood buildings. It appears that few people walk from place to place or bump into one another in the course of daily activities. Instead, many residents travel to other parts of the city by car for many of their daily needs, including human interaction. By comparison, the people in Julianne’s current neighborhood who know one another are those who spend time in the neighborhood. They play with their children, hold yard sales on their lawns, relax on their front porches, walk their dogs, and walk to work and to a variety of other area businesses, most frequently a local market, a Vietnamese restaurant, a coffee shop, three bakeries, and a laundromat.

The apparent lack of interaction in the Hub area raises some important questions for planners: What will get people out of their cars and onto the street? What will get them to cross the park on their way from here to there? What will get them interested in the neighborhood outside their apartment buildings and workplaces?

"The grocery store is the great equalizer where mankind comes to grips with the facts of life like toilet tissue.”
JOSEPH GOLDBERG
Some residents had ideas about what would foster community interaction while allowing the neighborhood to better meet residents’ needs. The most often mentioned need was for a local grocer. Although a few residents mentioned that they would like to see a Super Target at The Gateway—an idea that has been discussed by planners and developers—most were interested in small, urban corner markets that carry affordably-priced, everyday necessities such as dog food, toilet paper, canned and packaged foods, and a small selection of meats, dairy products, and produce. This would allow transit-dependent and vehicle-owning residents to make frequent trips on foot for groceries, rather than occasional trips by car or bus. Symbiotically, this would provide more sidewalk activity and opportunities for neighbors to encounter one another outside of their respective apartment buildings. Local business owner Tony Caputo recognizes the need for a general purpose grocery store, but believes that the neighborhood’s residents alone could not support such a store. Still, with several new housing projects currently planned or under construction, as well as an influx of commuters that the new inter-modal transit hub is expected to bring, a local grocery store may prove to be viable in the near future.

Some residents also indicated that they would support more nightlife, especially from small, locally owned restaurants and bars. Indeed there are few evening activities to generate street activity outside of The Gateway. The Gallery Stroll, held one Friday evening each month, brings visitors to the neighborhood. There are also several nightclubs in the area, but they are isolated and chiefly accessed by automobile.

The Farmers Market, held Saturday mornings during the summer months, is the largest generator of foot traffic. Residents unanimously viewed The Market as representative of what urban life could be like in their neighborhood. The market includes a variety of material and performance art, locally-grown produce, and vendor carts from local shops and restaurants. It provides a place where residents, the homeless, commuters, and small-business owners mingle. The event has become so popular that the city recently added Wednesday afternoons to the Farmers Market schedule.

The Gateway is a mixed-use brown field redevelopment project that most people know as a large outdoor shopping mall. It includes numerous national chain stores, a movie theater, a planetarium, several restaurants, and a large fountain where people gather and children play. This mall has inspired strong but mixed feelings among residents. For some, it is a welcome addition because it is accessible on foot. Shaun, a photographer and screenwriter, loves the freedom to see movies across the street from...
his home. Lyndsie shops there regularly, and enjoys having a fun, clean, and comfortable place to visit with her son Jack.

For others, The Gateway represents the invasion of corporate homogeneity in a unique area that supports artists, activism, and homeless and lower-income populations. In their opinion, it does not interact with or complement the neighborhood; in fact, it does just the opposite. Mike, artist and owner of Green Glass Art, and Franco noted that The Gateway has brought a dramatic increase in automobile traffic. Pete feels that it has motivated a push to drive out the people who currently occupy the area, especially the homeless and the people who serve them.

Pioneer Park
We stood out among the homeless in Pioneer Park more than anywhere else in the city. We walked into the park with good intentions, armed with cameras and notepads. We practiced our best ethnographic techniques and we listened and we observed. Perhaps most importantly, we used the things we saw to evaluate the things we heard.

Storytelling seems to be a regular pastime among the homeless. We met one homeless man when he spotted a Noam Chomsky book one of us was carrying. The man, who called himself both Eddy and Artemis, engaged us in a long, and at times philosophical conversation about his life and the homeless community. Artemis was a very convincing storyteller.

According to Artemis, he had hopped freight trains across the country for years. He migrated with the seasons, preferring to spend his time in college towns in their libraries. As he peppered our conversation with tidbits from Chomsky, Nietzsche, and other scholarly authors, it was obvious that he had either attended college or was highly self-educated. He had just spent some time in jail in Delta, Utah, after being caught riding a freight train.

We encountered another homeless man who gave his name simply as It Don’t Matter, and thus we began calling him It Don’t Matter or IDM. We could have given him a fake name for research purposes, but his response seemed too poignant to dismiss. IDM had a less credible presentation than Artemis. He seemed slightly intoxicated and was visibly dirty. He spoke with a slight slur, but presented a valuable and compelling view. He claimed that although he was once homeless, he currently had a home, a computer and a job as a paramedic. In addition, he told us that some obscure member of the city government had tasked him with patrolling the homeless to ensure order and that he had contacts in the city government, the homeless shelter management, and Big-D

“People who are homeless are not social inadequates. They are people without homes.” SHEILA McKECHNIE
Construction, a local business housed in a large building adjacent to the park.

IDM described alleged corruption within homeless services, including how donations intended for one of the shelters were sent instead to a local thrift store for resale. He described homeless service workers who took donations as they pleased, including one woman who stole nearly 50 pairs of jeans. IDM was frustrated because the newspapers reported that the homeless services received $40 million in one year and he could not determine where it was being spent.

Although their presentations differed, Artemis and IDM shared some qualities. They both claimed to be claustrophobic and they both spoke disapprovingly of homeless services, preferring to do things on their own.

We spoke to another homeless man, whom we nicknamed Bob. Bob spoke candidly about the problems the homeless face with police and addictions. While Bob was not the only man who spoke on this issue, he spoke more about it than the others and he appeared to be, at the time of the interview, under the influence. Bob said that the homeless people were just trying to “live their day-to-day lives, trying to be a part of society.” Bob said they weren’t out to hurt anybody or to create a problem for the system. To Bob, the problems the homeless face do not invalidate the role they play in society.

**Pierpont**

We assumed that our interviews with Hub area business owners would reveal a strong connection to downtown as well as a deep sense of concern for the neighborhood. The actual results were mixed, however. Even the small business owners and workers seemed somewhat removed from the pulse of the neighborhood, either physically or ideologically. Nonetheless, all of the business people with whom we spoke were at least marginally invested in the area, even if for no other reason than to boost business.

The most prominent business owner we spoke with was Tony Caputo, owner of Tony Caputo’s Market and Deli. Tony was the person mentioned most often by other respondents: residents, the homeless, and other business people spoke enthusiastically about Tony’s contribution to the neighborhood. Tony seemed very proud to be a part of the neighborhood, and felt that rather than his business benefiting the neighborhood, the neighborhood benefited his business. Of all the business people we interviewed, Tony felt the most positive about the homeless presence in the neighborhood. He remarked that sometimes it is “good to step over a bum, because it
makes you see how lucky you really are.” But even Tony is somewhat removed from the area because he lives elsewhere in the valley.

Another business owner, Cindy Kindred, director of Vanguard Media Group, founded a local business group called Friends of Pioneer Park. The group seeks to make Pioneer Park a place for families and picnics, but Cindy said nothing about where the homeless people who sleep there in the summer months would go.

The Gateway
We conducted most of our commuter interviews in or near The Gateway. The commuter category included anyone who traveled to the neighborhood, but did not reside or own a business there, primarily shoppers and employees. The Gateway is a key destination for people who live in the suburbs, as well as out-of-town guests. It was near The Gateway fountain that we first discovered some problems that can occur during interviews: From midway up a flight of stairs, we watched people in pairs and groups traversing and stopping to relax in the fountain area while we tried to decide who we would approach first. We felt that many people were there for a specific purpose or might be in a hurry and would not want to be disturbed by students asking questions. We had just decided to ask a couple with two young children for an interview. They were sitting on a bench while their children played in the fountain but as we approached, several people walked up and joined them. We felt like we would be invading a family gathering, so we decided to choose someone else. We thought a well-dressed Asian couple might be foreign tourists and would therefore know little about the area. In addition, there could be a language barrier. Another couple seemed to be having a romantic moment. A middle-aged couple with teenage children was walking too swiftly for us to comfortably intercept. We finally settled on a Hispanic man and his preadolescent son. He did not speak English, but from this proximity, we could hear the Asian couple speaking English. So much for our assumptions.

Next we selected a couple in their early thirties accompanied by a woman who appeared to be the mother of one of them. They were from out of town, so likely would have a different take on the area than locals. First, they noted that while some of the stores had already opened, none of the public restrooms opened until noon on Sundays. Because the younger woman was pregnant, she saw this as a major inconvenience and an unfriendly gesture to visitors. Second, they had passed Pioneer Park as they walked from their downtown hotel to the mall. While most locals would characterize the park as having great potential were it not for its homeless, these
We interviewed some skateboarders who had been harassed by mall security for skating on the premises. How was their activity different from ours? We both used the space for a constructive purpose—ours academic; theirs athletic. Neither of us received permission for our respective actions. Nor was either of us economically supporting any establishments. Is it that their image legitimized dismissal while ours received courtesy?

people described it, without reservation, as a beautiful park, noting that it was nice to see so much green in the middle of a city. When we arrived at the park an hour or so later, it was filled with homeless people sleeping, walking, and gathering for the food that is distributed there on Sundays. Was it empty when these people passed by, or did the homeless people there not strike them as significant or problematic? Not “knowing” about the area gave them a unique perspective.

Part way into the interview, the nearby fountain became so noisy we could scarcely hear the people talking in person, much less on the recording later. Although we could consider their perspective as we analyzed the common themes of our body of research, their comments were unusable as part of the short film we were making to document our research. In addition, some of their most critical observations came when the interview was officially over and the recorder turned off. They asked about the local liquor laws and whether it was possible to “get a beer in this town.” In truth, beer, unlike hard liquor, is relatively easy to obtain in nearly any restaurant, but this question demonstrated how a city’s reputation can influence the behavior and perceptions of visitors.

Near the end of an afternoon of interviews at The Gateway, we became actors in our own ethnographic study when we were approached by mall security who asked what we were doing. We replied that we were University of Utah students working on a research project about downtown. The officer told us we needed permission from mall executives to conduct interviews on mall property, but that permission would not be hard to come by because of the nature of our project and our status as students. When we left, we discussed how our status grants us rights and privileges unavailable to other segments of the population. For instance, Julienne mentioned that she used to run at The Gateway early in the morning when mall security removed the sleeping bums. Though both runner and bums were using the space, one use was deemed unacceptable while the other was deemed appropriate and even received genial waves.

Further, our experience raised questions about public versus private space. The Gateway resembles a public street but is actually privately owned by a corporation with economic interests. As a result, activities that would be acceptable on a public street, protesting, “soap-boxing,” pamphleteering, and loitering are all prohibited. Nationally, as more Main Streets give way to Gateways, we wonder: What public rights do people have in private spaces that resemble public ones? Are privately owned malls functionally equipped to replace the truly public domain? What is to become of political
activities that traditionally occur on Main Street but are prohibited by private malls?

On our way back to Cup of Joe’s, we interviewed some skateboarders who had been harassed by mall security for skating on the premises. Unlike the officer’s response to us, however, mall security had not suggested the boys obtain permission to skate; instead, they were forcibly removed and legal action was threatened. We both used the space for a constructive purpose—ours academic; theirs athletic. Neither of us received permission for our respective actions. Nor was either of us economically supporting any establishments. Is it that their image legitimized dismissal while ours received courtesy?

Many commuters seemed surprised by the idea of this area as a neighborhood. The absence of street-facing front doors and balconies makes it appear that there are no residents here. It is even difficult to tell from within The Gateway development that it includes apartments and condominiums. It also seems that commuters do not so much visit for a vibrant downtown experience, but instead travel to a specific destination for a particular purpose. We spoke with a middle-aged husband and wife in biker attire whom we called the Motorcycle Couple. They were spending their day as they do a few times each year, enjoying a ride on their motorcycle in the pleasant spring weather, with The Gateway as their sole downtown destination. Thirty years earlier when railroad operations were the primary activity here, the man had worked right on The Gateway site. It was easy to see why he would view it as the one bright spot worth visiting. He noted that Main Street is in need of revitalization and that he would have no reason to visit it. When we described the Hub area, he found it challenging to imagine the neighborhood outside the walls of The Gateway.

Melissa, who works for a neighborhood service agency, noted that most visitors drive to the area. When we asked her to describe what she sees when she walks in the neighborhood on her lunch hour, she noted that there are few people out on the sidewalks and the area lacks “that neighborhood feeling.” Because she contrasted it with neighborhoods like Sugarhouse and Ninth-and-Ninth, we felt that it was important to observe what qualities these two neighborhoods have that the Hub area lacks. Both are bordered by a predominance of single-family homes. Both have a greater emphasis on small local businesses. Both have their fair share of automobile traffic, but they also have a healthy mix of pedestrians and cyclists. Both have sidewalk sales and sidewalk dining, bringing life out of building interiors, inviting activity and interaction. Rather than being environments with isolated pods of activity, both

What public rights do people have in private spaces that resemble public ones?
neighborhoods could be described as having high levels of integration.

Although many Gateway area residents cited the neighborhood’s diversity as an asset, a young woman working the counter at Cup of Joe’s noted the lack of integration of its diverse elements. She said that visitors stayed within the confines of The Gateway while other areas were almost exclusively populated by the homeless. She was interested in seeing more green space downtown, but felt that no one really uses Pioneer Park because of the homeless people there. She also remarked on the stark divide between the row of homeless services on the south side of 200 South and The Gateway’s shops on the north side, a divide that creates a close but unsettling juxtaposition of poverty and affluence. However, she saw no obvious solution, “I don’t know where else they (the homeless) would go.” She reflected upon how interesting it would be to see a true mix of people and activities in the neighborhood, such as that observed by many during the Farmers Market. While it seems a complex task to create an environment that would foster such integration, it is clearly something that would enhance the sense of neighborhood in the area.

“I have an affection for a great city. I feel safe in the neighborhood of man, and enjoy the sweet security of the streets.”
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW
People are the blood of downtown. A downtown can only prosper when the people love it, when it speaks to them, when there is the potential that it can fulfill their wants and needs.

The purpose of our ethnographic study was to present a perspective of downtown Salt Lake City that is often overlooked. We hope we have given a voice to the voiceless and encouraged those we encountered to envision and pursue a vital urban life.
All architecture is shelter,
all great architecture is the design of space
that contains, cuddles, exalts, or stimulates
the persons in that space.

PHILLIP JOHNSON
“A community is not something you have . . . Nor is it something you can buy . . . It is a living organism based on a web of interdependencies—which is to say, a local economy. It expresses itself physically as connectedness, as buildings actively relating to one another, and to whatever public space exists, be it the street, or the courthouse square, or the village green . . . It must be generally loved and competently cared for by its people, who, individually, identify their own interests with the interest of their neighbors.”

JAMES HOWARD KUNSTLER

In his book *The Geography of Nowhere*, James Howard Kunstler defines a community as a living economy loved by its residents. He describes the type of neighborhood the Think Tank’s housing committee envisions for the Intermodal Hub area. It is a vision we caught glimpses of during visits to the Pierpont Avenue neighborhood and during walks along 300 South at 300 West. It is a vision we hope to see maintained and celebrated for its unique contribution to our city.

In our research and observations, we concentrated on four areas. First we evaluated the character and quality of the existing neighborhood, noting the elements that made it unique. Next we sought to research the need and availability of affordable housing in Salt Lake City. Third, we looked at which housing models would be the most sustainable in the Hub area and the role public transportation could play in the development of future housing. Finally, we asked the residents to respond to and help revise our research, ideas, and vision. We incorporated their ideas into the suggestions we offer to city planners and developers.

Although the area surrounding the Hub and the Rio Grande Station has been in decline since the 1950s, it still provides the basis for a diverse community. Take a walk down the district’s streets. Notice the alleys between apartments where people stop to greet
their neighbors as they return from work. Shake Tony Caputo’s hand and ask him about the day’s specials. Notice the man sleeping on a park bench. Hear a bicyclist ride past in one direction and a group of young skateboarders in the other. These residents are the lifeblood of this community.

Take a walk down the streets of this place. Notice the alley between apartments where people stop to greet their neighbors as they return from work. Shake Tony Caputo’s hand and ask him about the day’s specials. Notice the man sleeping on a park bench. Hear a bicyclist ride past in one direction and a group of young skateboarders in the other. These residents are the lifeblood of this community.

Projects in which some units are sold and rented at market rate and others are subsidized. The particular benefit of building this type of mixed housing near the Hub is that it continues to promote the mingling of socioeconomic classes. Living in a transit-oriented community encourages neighbors of different income levels to commute together. In addition, it gives families who would not normally consider living in an urban setting the opportunity to be a part of the cultural and civic center of our state. Children and the elderly are able to travel without relying on someone to drive them places. The best communities are designed for children and the elderly.

The mixed-income housing model is in contrast to the older, stigmatized ideal of low-income housing that has become synonymous with projects such as Cabrini Green in Chicago. This type of housing packs a large number of tenants into a small space without considering the impact the concentration of residents in one income bracket will have on the community’s economy or resources.

The mixed-income model focuses on good design principles that help integrate a diverse array of housing into a community without impeding the organic development of diversity that flourishes there. Good design enables affordable housing to be an asset to a community. Residents are proud of their community, and they are eager to become involved in maintaining it (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d.).

In addition to incorporating good design, development in the Hub area must be sustainable. According to a study conducted at the University of Florida, sustainable development should be based on three principles:

- **Environmentally sound**: Decision-making should focus on reducing the impacts of population growth and development on natural resources and the environment.
- **Economically productive**: Community members should make local capital investments that will sustain local human and natural resources and yield adequate financial returns to those investments.
- **Socially just**: Access to resources and decision-making processes should be equitable and foster the distribution of benefits across all sectors of the community (University of Florida, n.d.).
One way to promote these principles is by incorporating community gardens into development plans. Projects like community gardens help neighbors meet and build meaningful relationships with one another. “You can’t get better security than knowing your neighbors will help you and you will help them,” said John Lantz, manager of Shallowford Gardens Apartments in Doraville, Georgia. “If you have a community of people who know each other and take pride in where they [live], it’s a totally different feeling from being in a strange place with a bunch of strangers. Community is a big word that encompasses a whole lot of little things, such as a sense of security, pride, and self-esteem” (Adams, 1995).

Community gardens benefit both individuals and communities. Individuals can save money on groceries by growing some of their own food. Communities benefit from the sensory beauty of gardens, the excess food the gardens produce (which can be donated to those in need), and the opportunities for environmental education.

In 2004, the city of Des Moines, Iowa initiated 75 community gardens. Seven of these were included in low-income housing projects, another 29 were created by neighborhood associations, and 8 were planted at shelters. As part of the project, the city:

- Created 5 rain gardens and 13 native prairie plantings in public green spaces in Des Moines.
- Trained 40 horticulture staff to plant and maintain native plantings within the park system.
- Trained 56 teachers in the Project Bluestem environmental education curriculum.
- Held an 8-week-long organic gardening class series attended by 25 people.
- Assisted in the development of an urban conservation committee of the Park Board.
- Secured $40,000 in education grants (City of Des Moines, n.d.).

The current residents of the Rio Grande district have a sense of community. They are proud to call the area home. Future residents should be proud, as well. As more people move here, additional residential-supportive infrastructure and services must come with them. Entrepreneurs have been reluctant to open a grocery store because they do not feel there will be enough business. However, one study suggests that a corner grocery store—the type many residents told us they want—needs only 1,000 people within three or four blocks (Alexander, 1977). As people move into this area, resident-oriented services such as grocery stores and daycare centers and transportation-related businesses such bicycle collectives may become viable.

There is a connection between downtown vibrancy and housing. According to Envision Utah, the Greater Wasatch Area’s population will grow from 1.7 million in 2000 to 2.7 million in 2020 (Envision Utah, n.d.). With so much projected growth, the Hub area seems the perfect place to take the first steps toward building a sustainable community based on public transit and public consent using good design and sustainable community principles.

According to Envision Utah, the Greater Wasatch Area’s population will grow from 1.7 million in 2000 to 2.7 million in 2020.
the need for affordable housing

In the 1970s Salt Lake City had affordable housing spread throughout the central city neighborhoods. With visions of new buildings and rising land values, developers invaded the neighborhoods, buying land and evicting the tenants. One resident, Melvin Hipwell, a long time protestor of the demolition of affordable housing, would not move out of his duplex, which was slated for demolition. So the developer sawed Hipwell’s duplex in half to develop the other half of the lot. The 70s were filled with such stories. Neighborhoods were displaced by the Internal Revenue Service building (50 South 200 East), Red Lion Hotel (161 West 600 South), and Ken Garff’s Mercedez Benz Center (the block from 100 to 200 East and 500 to 600 South). The demolition of the Brockbank apartment building (the block from 200 to 300 East and 500 to 600 South) left forty-five families without a home; the site now hosts a surface parking lot. According to Kem Gardner, now vice chairman of the Boyer Company, “At the time, when I was young, I didn’t see it a problem to tear down old dilapidated houses. I now do better” (Davis, 2003).

Fortunately, affordable housing is coming full circle. The renewed interest could not have come at a better time. The United States Census Bureau recently reported that in the next 30 years Utah will be among the top five fastest-growing states. Eighty-eight percent of the nation’s population growth will occur in the South and West, with Utah and its neighbors receiving most of this growth. The projection for Utah’s growth is 56%, equal to about 1.25 million people. Utah’s Governor’s Office of Planning and Budget (GOPB) argues that these numbers are far too conservative. GOPB estimates that in the next 30 years Utah will grow 81%, about 1.83 million people (GOPB, 2005). Projecting to 2050, GOPB estimates the growth will be 183%, about 3.12 million people. Salt Lake County will receive 24% of this growth. According to GOPB, the county’s growth in 30 years will be 53% (478,742 people) and in 50 years it will swell to 84% (761,217 people). Housing is one of the vital items needed for this growth. “Everybody deserves to have a home” (May, 2005). There is an especially strong housing need for those households earning less than the area median income.

One-third of the nation—95 million people—had housing problems in 2001. The most common problem was with the cost of housing (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2004a). The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) calculates the Fair Market Rent (FMR) to determine the dollar amount below which 40% of the standard quality housing units are rented. HUD uses FMR to determine the eligibility of rental housing for Section 8 vouchers; Section 8 participants cannot rent units higher than the FMR.

While the 40th percentile is used to permit a large-enough selection of standard-quality housing to serve as many people as possible, many people cannot afford that rent level at their current wage. There is no jurisdiction in the United States in which a full-time job at the current minimum wage provides enough income to allow a household to afford a two-bedroom home at the FMR (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2003). According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition the housing wage—the amount a forty-hour per week worker must earn per hour to afford the FMR—falls far behind what most people earn currently. The FMR for a two-bedroom unit in Salt Lake County is $747 and the housing wage is $14.37; with this wage one would earn $29,880 a year. Far too many households fall below this wage. In Salt Lake County a household earning $18,330, 30% of the area median income, can afford rent of only $433. Social Security recipients can only afford $169. A minimum wage earner can afford rent of no more than $268. To afford the FMR, a minimum wage earner would have to work 112 hours per week. In other words, the members of a Salt Lake County household would need to hold down the total equivalent of three full-time jobs.
Disparity between wages and rents is likely to increase. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, rents continued to rise faster than incomes in 2004. Compared to the previous year, the Consumer Price Index rose 2.9% for housing costs while hourly wages only went up 2.6% (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2004b). The federal minimum wage has remained at $5.15 since 1997.

Nationally, from 1999-2001, the number of rental households who paid more than half their incomes for housing rose from 4.86 million to 5.07 million (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2001). For Utah the story is about the same. The American Community Survey estimates that there are 80,991 renter-occupied units in Salt Lake County (American Community Survey, 2003). Approximately half of those households spent more than 50% of their income on rent. Statewide, 45% of renters spend more than 30% of their income on rent (Utah Issues, 2005).

In 1996 the Utah Legislature enacted House Bill 295. The bill states that “municipalities should afford a reasonable opportunity for a variety of housing, including moderate income housing” and that “the availability of moderate income housing is an issue of statewide concern.” James Wood of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research at the University of Utah conducted a study of the effects of HB 295 in 52 cities in Utah from 1997-2002 (Wood, 2003). He concluded that there was a 12,000 unit disparity between the number of moderate-income units built and consumer demand. He determined that cities need 40% of their housing for low to moderate income households, but only 10 cities met this requirement. While more than 43% of new units built in Salt Lake City during the study period were affordable to low and moderate income households, most of the surrounding jurisdictions produced less than half that percentage.

Concerned about possible impacts from having concentrated areas of poverty, the Salt Lake City Council recently voted to spread out affordable housing projects. The city will no longer fund housing if more than 26% of an area’s population is at poverty level (May, 2005).

Mixed-income housing has been shown to be one of the most effective approaches to providing affordable housing. A recent local example is the Library Square Condominiums being developed by Utah Community Development Corporation. Of the 29 units, 6 are designated for people making 80% or less than the area median income. According to Bruce Quint, executive director of Utah Community Development Corporation, the six moderate-income units are targeted at "the working class, teachers, secretaries, [and] office workers" (Davis, 2003).

For the entire National Low Income Housing Coalition report, visit: http://www.nlihc.org/oor2004
Numbers are important in understanding the need for more affordable housing. Yet, they do not tell the full story:

Numbers do not tell the stories of families who hold on to their homes by their fingertips, keeping the rent paid only by relying on food pantries and soup kitchens to eat at the end of the month and counting on informal and haphazard arrangements for child care so parents can work. Numbers do not describe what it means for a child to bounce from school to school because his or her family must keep searching for cheaper places to live, never catching up on lessons or forming lasting friendships. Numbers cannot make us feel the anxiety of an aging widow who fears that she will lose her home as her rent or property taxes go up and her pension does not. (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2003.)

Because the causes behind today's housing affordability crisis are myriad, the solutions must similarly be multi-faceted. Each city needs to tailor its solutions so that they will be successful. Housing in the Hub area will provide part of the solution due to its transit-oriented design. It would appear that affordable housing in Salt Lake has started to come full circle, although Melvin Hipwell did not live long enough to see the results. Ironically, the Library Square Condominiums are being built on the same spot where Hipwell's duplex was halved 30 years ago.
Anyone who has not spent time in one of North America’s transit-oriented cities, such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, or San Francisco, will probably have a hard time imagining life without their cars. While the automobile admittedly has its benefits, few Americans understood the price they would pay for such freedoms when the auto industry took over many of the nation’s urban street car systems 60 years ago. America essentially traded its walkable, transit-oriented neighborhoods and towns for a new paradigm of suburbanization built around the automobile. Walkability and public transit were to be the automobile’s first casualties. Unintended societal, environmental, and economic consequences would soon follow as our auto-dependency grew. Studies flourished during the 1990s linking traffic congestion to urban sprawl. As the automobile continues to erode the quality of life for many people, the search for an alternative has led to a renewed interest in places that are walkable and transit-oriented. Many cities across the globe are now turning toward transit-oriented development (TOD)—design centered on public transportation—as a way to reduce automobile dependency and its associated social afflictions.

Private transportation is expensive. A report released by the Surface Transportation Policy Project, Transportation Costs and the American Dream (2003), found that Americans spend more than three times the amount on transportation they spend on healthcare. Over 19% of every household dollar spent in 2001 was on transportation. Most families are spending more than half their incomes on transportation and housing costs combined. America’s poorest families are hit the hardest. According to the report, “the poorest 20 percent of American households, those earning less than $13,908 (after taxes) per year, spend 40.2% of their take home pay on transportation.” Since 95% of this spending is on private vehicle use, many families appear to be trading off their ability to save for home ownership by committing themselves (especially through credit financing), to vehicle ownership. In other words, present trends show that owning a home is increasingly out of reach for many families.

One of the most innovative solutions to combat these trends is to integrate housing with public transportation, also known as “location efficiency.” Homes placed within proximity to transit systems significantly reduce the cost of transportation and, as a consequence, provide families (especially first-time home owners) with the opportunity to invest in housing. “Communities with affordable housing within an easy walk of transit could increase the ability of those with limited resources to participate more fully in our economy” (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004). This fact can be further leveraged to encourage “smart growth” through a mortgage product called a Location Efficient Mortgage® or LEM. The LEM allows a homebuyer who purchases a home in a transit convenient area to
qualify for a larger loan. For example, a potential buyer who would avoid $500 in auto costs every month by living in a convenient area could qualify for a larger mortgage.

Authors of a peer-reviewed study on the relationship between location efficiency and auto dependency demonstrated a link between TOD cities and a reduced dependence on driving, traffic congestion, energy use, and air and water pollution. “Over the years, sprawl development has forced us to drive more and more,” said John Holtzclaw, the study’s lead author and consultant to Natural Resources Defense Council (1994). “Not surprisingly, smarter, more convenient cities resemble the pedestrian and transit-oriented cities of our grandparents, which were built before the car dominated our zoning laws and transportation projects.” However, according to a book entitled The New Transit Town: Best Practices in Transit-Oriented Development, cities that employed the TOD model have had differing levels of success. One of the key characteristics in successful TOD cities is the issue of choice:

Choice is the defining feature of the best neighborhoods. A well-designed neighborhood offers many activities within walking distance for those who do not drive (e.g. the young and elderly), people who cannot afford cars, and people who choose not to rely on cars to get around (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004).

Choice provides a community’s residents with a range of housing options from single-family homes to apartments that support residents at different stages in their lives with different income levels. “TOD is about expanding rather than circumscribing options” (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004). In addition to housing choice, transportation choice and shopping choice are some of the benefits of employing a mixed-use and mixed-income model of development. This mixed-use model should roughly balance the development of commercial construction (office and retail) with residential to insure a balanced use of the transportation system by spreading foot traffic throughout the day and night.

Increasingly, Americans of all ages and backgrounds are seeking more sustainable, livable, urban lifestyles. Salt Lake City is no exception. The demand for housing downtown and in urban neighborhoods surrounding downtown is occurring at a pace that
was unimaginable a few years ago. Not only has reinvestment accelerated in popular neighborhoods like Capitol Hill, but it is also spreading to areas that were considered to be struggling just a few years ago, such as the Rio Grande/Gateway District. National demographic trends show strong support for smaller homes, town homes, and homes on smaller lots in vibrant walkable neighborhoods. These trends also demonstrate demographic shifts such as increased diversity as a result of immigration, baby Boomers who are reaching the "empty nest" period of their lives, and "echo boomers" aged 24-34. All of these populations will be seeking a new housing paradigm, one that makes transportation choice central to housing preference.

Utah’s light rail system has already dramatically increased public transportation choice and has enjoyed a recent escalation in ridership. Judging by light rail’s success, Salt Lake’s Intermodal Hub is certain to receive similar support so long as there is a large-enough residential population and associated infrastructure to support it.

TRAX has already dramatically increased public transportation choice and has enjoyed a recent escalation in ridership. Judging by light rail’s success, Salt Lake’s Intermodal Hub is certain to receive similar support so long as there is a large-enough residential population and associated infrastructure to support it.

Good design alone will not ensure that individuals who have grown up with a suburban mindset will occupy housing near transit. It is going to take time to educate the public on the benefits of transit-oriented housing before a truly transit-oriented community can be realized. One of the greatest challenges in the implementation of successful TODs is the question of how to wean individuals from their auto dependency and the infrastructure that supports such dependency. People will not stop driving overnight; clearly a nuanced approach should be taken that encourages individuals to decrease the amount of driving they do. To some extent good design will accommodate a transitional period by providing parking and infrastructure that supports limited car use. Another concern will be what is commonly referred to as NIMBY or not-in-my-backyard. The willingness of communities to accept higher density, mixed-use developments will depend on their awareness and acknowledgment of its benefits. Clearly informing the general public on such benefits as increased vitality, more convenient services and amenities, and more walkable communities is key in developing the necessary public consent.

likely to walk, shop locally, and get to know their neighbors, fostering a sense of community and creating safer neighborhoods. While compact development is central to the notion of a livable and sustainable community, good transit-oriented design will become a critical factor in determining the success of transit-oriented communities. High-quality design provides urban amenities, affordable housing, access to transit, and proximity to work, schools, parks, cafes, shops, and more.

HOUSING & TRANSPORTATION: BUILDING SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES THROUGH TRANSIT-ORIENTED DESIGN

TRAX has already dramatically increased public transportation choice and has enjoyed a recent escalation in ridership. Judging by light rail’s success, Salt Lake’s Intermodal Hub is certain to receive similar support so long as there is a large-enough residential population and associated infrastructure to support it.
Integral to any inquiry into Salt Lake City housing is the opening of a dialogue between those studying an area and those living in the area. There is a gulf that is impossible to ignore between those who are acquainted with the streets from charts, aerial maps, and zoning codes, and those who know the streets with the intimate knowledge that comes from living in the area, sitting on the steps, speaking with neighbors, supporting the shops, reading the community boards, and being a part of the area’s history. Residents may not be familiar with the current zoning ordinances but they do know the reality of the neighborhood; they know what does and does not make the neighborhood work, and they are deeply affected by decisions made regarding the area. It is for these reasons that the Think Tank Housing Committee chose to direct its focus towards housing built on public consent.

As the Honors Think Tank inquiry into the Intermodal Hub progressed, the housing committee had the benefit of meeting with and asking questions of some of the people whose current or future housing situations would be directly effected by the Hub’s construction. Our questions, though varied, were derived from three fundamental and interconnected concerns:

1. What is the need for housing downtown?
2. What housing model may best utilize the benefits enjoyed by living near a transit hub?
3. What are the needs and desires of the current and future residents of this area?

Our interactions with current and potential residents of this area occurred at two different venues.

The first was a meeting with current residents of the Artspace Rubber Company Project (353 West 200 South). The Artspace residents were concerned primarily with the continued affordability of the area. Our committee was told many times that the Artspace project was one of the few places downtown available to lower income residents. (Artspace requirements cap resident eligibility at an income level of $26,000 a year). Residents seemed skeptical about the possible effects of new upper-income housing developments on the neighborhood. Many feared that the new housing would have a detrimental effect on the current diversity of the neighborhood. They often noted that there were places downtown for either end of the economic spectrum but very little housing available to those located somewhere in between the two extremes. Middle-income housing options would be attractive to families, blue-collar workers, and young professionals looking to urban housing for accessibility to cultural opportunities and proximity to educational institutions such as the University of Utah.

Many residents felt that the diversity enjoyed by this neighborhood was a result of the various local and independent businesses and non-profit organizations located in the area such as Cup of Joe’s, Mermaid Books, a local frame shop, Shundahai Network, and SpyHop. Although opinions about the newer, more expensive housing ranged from warm acceptance to skepticism, the general concern was clear: residents want their neighborhood to be developed but do not want to be priced out of it. According to one resident: “I like the feeling of living down here, it’s artsy… I hope we can keep this community a diverse place for all pocketbooks.”

In addition to housing, residents named other improvements that they would like to see in the neighborhood that would serve both to support their needs and perpetuate the diversity that has made this a unique, vibrant, and desirable community. Among these, residents’ first priority was a small-scale grocery store, complete with
all the basic household needs. Residents voiced their concern over large “big box”-style stores, preferring instead a small, independent and locally-owned grocery store. An increase in inexpensive retail space for artists and small shops to continue the eclectic feel of the neighborhood topped the list of one resident. Others voiced desires for community education centers and greater emphasis on alternative forms of transportation such as increasing infrastructure to support bicyclists.

Our second meeting took place at the Salt Lake City Intermodal Hub Project’s Open House and Community Forum. Suggestion forms were made available to the public as they walked through the open house; all of the following quotes, many of which were given anonymously, were taken from these forms. A majority of commentators responded to the need for infrastructure supporting the everyday requirements of residents. As before, the desire for a grocery store, coffee shop, pub, and facilities supporting alternative forms of transportation such as bicycling were the most prevalent comments. “I am a little concerned with [some of] the posters I saw tonight. They show three lanes of traffic for each way. I thought walkable communities reduced the number of lanes. Also where are the bike lanes?” Another resident wrote, “I live, work, and raise my family in this neighborhood. I also use a bicycle for transportation! PLEASE make the bike riding and transportation more obvious, comfortable and practical for others.” Many comments specifically noted the desire for grocers and others shops to be local and independent: “I want to say Hi to the produce market owner as I stop to pick up some vegetables. If I can stop for a drink after a hard day’s work just before hopping on the train that would be great. I want the first image and last of Salt Lake during my ... and best.” Other commentators focused upon the role of diversity in Salt Lake City’s West Side: “The west side is the most influential part of S.L.C. It is the entrance to the city. Build up the city with history, density, and vertical mixed use. No Targets, Wal-Marts or big box, UNLESS they can fit in smaller vertical sq. footage requirements.” Another comment read, “The city should encourage lots of small development projects, rather than more large scale developments like Gateway and the malls downtown.” Many people responded to the housing committee’s mixed income housing poster board: “I appreciate especially the poster entitled ‘Need for mixed Income Housing’ it is encouraging to see Honors students... aware of the tremendous challenges that daily confront the citizens in our community.” Other people wrote of their desire to see more housing available for those in the middle income range: “The city should encourage more housing in the $200,000 - $250,000 range. I am an empty nester who would love to move downtown, but there is virtually nothing in my price range. Everything is either too expensive or much cheaper, but too small. A three-bedroom townhouse on a quiet side street within walking distance of TRAX and a grocery store would be ideal.” Others remarked on the need for open and green spaces to be included in the new developments: “I’m a little bit surprised that I don’t see enough ‘green,’ in other words, trees, parks gardens, waterfalls, etc.” Another resident requested that any development take into careful consideration the preservation of “historic and existing buildings.”

It became obvious to the housing committee that there is a demand for housing in this area. Interactions with residents and written comments from the general public spoke of the desire to live downtown, and specifically to live in a downtown community. Public transit has received overwhelming public support; other forms of transportation such as bicycling still need to become safer, more practical, and accessible to complement the available transportation. People also spoke of a desire to see a diversity of housing and shops available for all price ranges. One commentator wrote that it “takes diversity to create a working neighborhood.” A desire for the diversity of local independent shops and mixed-income housing topped the list of common concerns.

The housing committee suggests that all efforts be made to include in the Hub area housing available to a multitude of income levels. This, however, should not undermine the availability of lower-income housing already highly valued and available within the
neighboring today. We pass along the concern from the residents we spoke with that a central focus of any development must be the inclusion and support of local and independent businesses. The housing committee also recommends that every effort be made to emphasize the connection between housing and alternative forms of transportation. This area has a long history of diversity—diversity of ethnicities, cultures, pocketbooks, and uses. Such diversity has made the Rio Grande District an attractive place for both dwellers and developers. Future development must take this existing diversity into consideration, being careful not to arrest it. As one resident put it, “You must allow diversity to grow by creating space for it.”

Future development must take existing diversity into consideration, being careful not to arrest it. As one resident put it, “You must allow diversity to grow by creating space for it.”
This chapter has described some of this issues related to the future of housing in the Rio Grande District. While there is little housing in the area today, present housing serves a variety of individuals, many of whom have contributed their energy, dedication, and artistic abilities toward making the Rio Grande District a vibrant and diverse community. Demographic trends indicate a need for more housing, particularly housing that appeals to individuals looking for the convenience and walkability afforded to those living near TOD sites. Observations of successful communities in other cities across the United States offer useful examples of how housing can best be developed to reinvigorate this neighborhood. Our committee investigated these examples to inform our own opinions about sustainable development. We are convinced that good design and careful planning will ensure successful communities built upon the principle of choice.

Our investigations also uncovered a variety of perspectives to developing a neighborhood in keeping with its present character, quality, and charm while simultaneously looking forward to the changes and benefits provided by the new Intermodal Hub.
the public process of our research
In a conversation with a Think Tank member at the open house, one city leader made comments to the effect that the people in general are not well enough informed to make decisions in the planning process. His intention was to place the fault on the public, but perhaps it is not the average person who is the cause of the problem. Perhaps more effort should be given to inform the public of future planning decisions and strategies.
what is a charrette?

The term charrette evolved from a pre-1900 exercise at the École des Beaux Arts in France. Architectural students were given a design problem to solve within an allotted time. When that time was up, the students would rush their drawings from the studio to the École in a charrette, the French word for cart. Students often jumped into the cart to finish drawings and respond to comments from critical viewers on the way. The term evolved to refer to the intense design exercise itself.

Modern applications of the process are a bit more confusing. Charrettes come in all shapes and sizes. They are used for local, state, and regional planning processes and can last as long as a week. We adapted the charrette concept into what we thought best fit our constraints—namely time and resources. Our plan included a single public meeting (co-sponsored by Salt Lake City and the Utah Transit Authority) that was focused on presenting information and gathering feedback. Because of the diverse nature of the research that was being conducted, we decided on three methods of presentation—poster boards, interactive exercises, and film.
We made initial contact with Salt Lake City in February 2005. We discovered that there was an on-going planning process that included the Hub area, but that it had come to a halt for various reasons and was just beginning to get started again. It seemed like an ideal opportunity to connect our research to efforts already in process.

We presented a proposal for a jointly-sponsored public open house to Mary Guy-Sell, the city’s Transit Development Manager. The response was very positive. Ms. Guy-Sell explained that an open house had been held in January 2004, and expressed interest in hosting another. We set the date for the first week in April and the location as the newly completed first phase of the Intermodal Hub facility.

We centered the open house around gathering public input. To that end, we created a series of high-quality display boards and a short film presenting the research of the history, housing, and ethnography committees. In addition, the group created several interactive installations, including an open community discussion, general comment forms with suggestion boxes, a series of drawable large scale maps, and a visual preference survey.

The community discussion component of the open house was designed to be similar to a town hall meeting, where people had the opportunity to stand and discuss specific questions they had. The city took charge of ensuring that qualified individuals were present to accurately answer questions. The results of this community discussion were mixed. Although the public came with meaningful questions, and our “experts” had all the answers, few people actually participated. Apparently, too little effort was made at engaging people in dialog.

To elicit written comments, we considered using topic specific comment forms tailored to the subjects of individual displays. We decided, instead, to use a neutral, open-ended form that would allow participants to comment on issues of most concern to them, without being prompted to respond on specific topics. Think Tank members were instructed to ask each visitor to fill out a comment form. We hoped that this would greatly increase the amount of feedback we would receive.
After the open house, we collected the comment boxes and began to look through the feedback forms. Although we had a better than anticipated turnout at the open house, the number of completed forms was below what we had expected.

For the most part, the public seemed most concerned with the plans for extending the TRAX light rail line to the Intermodal Hub. Many seemed to disapprove of the proposal to create two new TRAX stops between the Intermodal Hub and the Delta Center. They seemed to prefer a single stop option. Of particular interest was a full-page typed letter by local business owner Richard Thomas who laid out a logical and well-reasoned argument against the two-stop proposal. According to Thomas, he could, within 9 minutes, walk to four different proposed TRAX stations from the front door of his business. Thomas concluded that it would be faster to walk from the Intermodal Hub to the Delta Center with so many stops slowing down the train.

We also received a number of forms regarding the work done by the Think Tank. The majority of these applauded the involvement of university students in the future of Salt Lake City. Many called for continued public access to the material created by the Think Tank, whether via a website or some form of publication. The research done on the history of the area seemed to be of particular interest. One person noted that the Think Tank had done an “excellent job in highlighting historic events to help educate the public on the importance of this area.” Participants also appreciated our focus on a need for mixed-income housing, some citing the fact that most families were either too poor to afford the luxury condominiums springing up all over the downtown area, or they made too much money to qualify for the subsidized housing that is available. By and large, the comments expressed appreciation for our work and our involvement, and encouraged further participation from the University of Utah.

Perhaps the most pervasive and relevant theme found in the comment forms was a desire to see the area surrounding the Hub become a comfortable walkable neighborhood. Individuals expressed the desire for coffee shops, exercise facilities, small local grocers, and intimate neighborhood bars. Further, those participating wanted green space in the form of trees and grass, and places to sit and enjoy the quiet and peace. Overall, open house participants indicated a desire for an intimate, friendly, and familiar setting for what will become the entryway to Salt Lake City.
mapping the story

The Idea
Maps are an efficient visual medium to show information about an area’s past and present. For example, the Think Tank’s history committee used historic maps—such as a mid-nineteenth century bird’s-eye-view of Salt Lake City or the later series of Sanborn fire insurance maps—to learn about the past of the Rio Grande District, bring the area’s history to life, and connect historic photographs to the current places they depicted. The ethnographic committee used maps to help those they interviewed recount the stories about the area and their experiences in it.

Maps also offer a unique visual means of figuring out a neighborhood’s potential and deciding its direction. The charrette committee used maps at the community open house to discover the public’s ideas, hopes, and concerns about the Hub district and its future. The open house’s mapping station, “Mapping the Story,” was set up to complement the visual preference survey and comment forms, and to provide participants another opportunity to have their voices heard. Unlike the other forms of feedback gathered at the community forum, these maps allowed respondents to see the current situation in the area and then visually express their ideas and opinions. Participants had to carefully consider what they wanted to see in the area. For example, they had to not only envision a grocery store, but also decide where in the neighborhood it would be, how large it would be, and how it would interact with its surroundings. The hope was that each person in attendance would offer suggestions for the area: what could be improved, what should be built in the future, and what possibilities there are in upcoming changes.

The Process
We printed ten maps that were approximately 36” by 54”. These maps included a light, black-and-white aerial photograph of Blocks 46 and 63 and bordering areas. Orienting points such as streets, the Rio Grande Depot, the Intermodal Hub, and The Gateway were labeled. The maps were made available, along with markers, on two tables at the open house. An instruction board directed participants to use the markers provided to
draw any ideas they had for the area directly on the maps—to illustrate specifically what they wanted in the neighborhood and where they wanted it.

The Results
In reviewing the maps, a few trends become apparent:

- Many Salt Lake City residents want to bring their city, and these blocks in particular, down to a more human scale. Concerns include the size and architecture of buildings and pedestrian-friendly streets and sidewalks. Participants also recommended dividing the ten-acre blocks into smaller parcels using streets, green space, and pedestrian paths. This would result in smaller, more manageable, and more comprehensible spaces in the district. Specific suggestions included adding more shade trees on the plaza at 300 South and 500 West and making 300 South more pedestrian friendly.
- Participants supported locating an aquarium on Block 46 (a possible use for the area that had been the subject of recent media coverage).
- People want neighborhood businesses such as a grocery store and cafés. They also want restaurants already in the area to provide outdoor seating on the sidewalk.

While most comments concerned the quality and texture of the area as a neighborhood, there were some suggestions for things that would draw people from a larger area. Among these were a baseball diamond, a skate park, and an outdoor music venue.

There were even a few unusual and amusing suggestions for the blocks: a goat farm, a lighthouse, “infill sprawl” (a new suburban neighborhood in the heart of one of the blocks), and a statue of Sasquatch. While these suggestions were most likely not serious, they provided a good laugh. Besides, perhaps a lighthouse over 700 miles from the nearest coast could prove to be a big tourist draw. Especially if it has a statue of Sasquatch on top and is filled with goats.

Perhaps the most important result of the mapping exercise was that people responded and drew on the maps, indicating a level of care about the city and this neighborhood. The maps are among the first pages in the story of this area’s future—a future that can be shaped to a large degree by the regular people who will live, work, and just pass through this place every day.
After the open house, the maps were returned to the College of Architecture + Planning at the University of Utah for storage. For the purpose of analysis, each map was assigned a number. The following is a complete list of comments made on the maps.

**Map 1**
- subdivide big blocks
- playground
- Hub Pub—UI&S Co [bar]
- possible 45° parking
- Outdoor Seating in front of buildings
- landscaped medians on 300 South between hub & depot
- grocery store—YES! YES! YES!
- !!!!—closer to Dakota Lofts!
- not a big box
- small business (independent)—I support local businesses

**Maps 3, 4, and 5:** These maps had no comments on them.

**Map 6**
- baseball diamond
- Power Exchange (Scott’s hangout)
- park—green space
- DENSITY DENSITY DENSITY—all of these blocks need to be broken up, too boring!
- walkable paths & interesting vistas
- AQUARIUM
- Rimini Coffee HQ
- mixed-use residential/commercial café—outdoor seating
- housing

**Map 7**
- AQUARIUM
- grocery store somewhere in the neighborhood
- outdoor market
- skate park
- residential
- book store
- record store—café
- interesting street network
- (tall) higher buildings toward center of block
roundabouts/45° parking—sq. footage restrictions
make Target fit into this ☺
PRESERVE VIEWS—lower height
on immediate structures; glass
[on east side of Intermodal Hub]

Map 8
office space visible to freeway (4th South)
parking [at center of block 46]—
[response:] NO WAY!
Hidden/underground only.
VERTICAL MIXED USE/Break up
these blocks for PEOPLE
Res/retail
trees [over Utah Ice and Storage
Company building; response
from another visitor:] leave this
beautiful building here. Preserve
our history
Res/office/retail
small/grocery store
lighthouse
goat farm
no big box retail anywhere!
need on-street parking and freight
loading zone

Map 9
new movement—‘infill sprawl’ ☺ [a
new cul-de-sac leading to
suburban-style lots and houses

was drawn on the map]
Utah State Records Center?
Make street one-way with wide
sidewalks
PIAZZA—wireless internet, obelisk,
pet-friendly area
hub pub [written twice]
road [with reference to breaking up
the blocks]
install a statue of Sasquatch
 carrying a 6 pack of beer
Grecian Café
Condos
Amtrak: Let’s hope it is still here

Map 10
How about an outdoor music
venue? People get off commuter
rail or light rail and walk into a
concert…
BRING BACK Little Italy, Syria,
Greek Town. Build on our
HISTORY. Not just historical
markers.
The Hub Pub
Human-size chess board
park/playground
community garden
hidden or underground parking
requirements
Grecian Café
Where is the low-income housing??
visual preference survey

Visual preference surveys provide the opportunity for residents, architects, designers, business owners, community leaders, and others to create a collaborative vision for the future. Usually, surveys consist of a series of photographs of different development and land-use patterns, transportation issues, and other elements that might be relevant. Participants are asked to rate each photograph, and then the highest-rated pictures are used as a prototype for future development. Most visual preference surveys are conducted by showing pictures one after the other and asking participants to rate them as they are shown. Designers use the themes, scale, mix of activity, or characteristics of the photographs to guide them in their work.

The Honors Think Tank took the principle of the visual preference survey and adapted the process to meet our specific needs. Instead of showing generic photographs, the Think Tank chose to use design drawings that IBI Group had created for blocks 46 and 63. For block 63, where The Venue nightclub is currently located, IBI provided three options which illustrate various ways to break up the block, make it more pedestrian-friendly, and add green space while preserving most of the existing structures. Four options were provided for block 46, where the historic Utah Ice and Storage building is located. Finally, six street design options were supplied for 300 South between the Rio Grand Depot and the Intermodal Hub. The charrette committee put all the options on poster boards with descriptions (also provided by IBI) about each option. This allowed participants to compare and contrast each idea. Respondents rated each option and completed the survey at their own pace. The purpose was to see which options the public found most favorable.

It should be noted that the survey was not comprehensive and gave respondents only a limited number of options; those with different ideas, however, could draw them on the maps at the “Mapping the Story” station (described above).

There were 83 participants who took the visual preference survey. Participants rated each option on a scale of 1 to 5, with the following scoring system: 1, strongly dislike; 2, somewhat dislike; 3, neutral, 4,
somewhat favor; and 5, strongly favor. Because not all participants evaluated every option, no option was rated 83 times. Option C from block 46 received the most evaluations (80). For whatever reason, the street-infill portion of the survey received the least amount of participation; many participants simply left this section blank. One individual noted that all the options suggested keeping traffic flow to a minimum while perhaps it would be expedient to keep traffic flow to a maximum. Further, in some cases, some options had more than one number circled. In these cases the higher number was used for scoring purposes unless it was evident that the participant had changed their mind from the higher number to the lower one.

The results of the survey are outlined on the following pages. We hope the information will be valuable to the city as it proceeds with the development of the Hub district. It would be interesting and informative to conduct the survey several times with different groups of people. The survey could also be provided online so even more people could participate. Hopefully, property owners, the city, and the people of Salt Lake can come together and see this area develop in a way that would be advantageous to all.

The drawings and associated descriptions on pages 100-105 are provided courtesy of IBI Group.
options

Option A
Block is split to exploit, as much as possible, existing openings between buildings and railway right-of-way. Small green space located, as much as possible, in already open space on site. East–west street aligns with entry to Intermodal Center across 600 West. Infill development could be in keeping with style and scale of existing buildings. Opportunities for higher density, mixed use residential exist at 600 West and 300 South, facing Intermodal Center, and mid block along 500 West. Smaller scale residential development could focus along internal streets and green space.

Option B
Approximate quarter block subdivision of block with central green space. This allows development immediately south of buildings on 200 South, screening their “service” sides from green space. Development patterns could be similar to Option A.

Option C
Block is split in modified “half/third” and “quarter block” configuration, creating a finer “grain” along 300 South. Development patterns could be similar to Option A.
### Results

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<th>2: somewhat dislike</th>
<th>3: neutral</th>
<th>4: somewhat favor</th>
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**Highest-rated Option**

**A**

Average score: 4.14 out of 5

Option A by far was rated the most in the “strongly favor” category.

**Lowest-rated Option**

**B**

Average score: 2.97 out of 5

Option B was rated 20 times as “somewhat dislike,” accounting for about 25% of option B’s total.
block 46
bounded by 300 South, 500 West, 400 South, and 600 West

existing block

options

Option A
Block cell is split in modified ‘nine square’ configuration. Site could develop as medium density office, with an office/mixed use focus along 300 South.

Option B
This option is also based on ‘nine square’ configuration, but introduces a green space. The perimeter of the block might develop as office and mixed-use office/retail, with the interior developing as residential.

Option C
A ‘half/third’ block cut is employed here to further break down the scale of the original and strengthen through-block connections. A large park is the focus of the block. This configuration might be amenable to a greater focus on residential development.

Option D
Block is split in modified “half/third” configuration with small park space. This configuration respects the large property at the east, a potential aquarium site.
results

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highest-rated option

C average score: 3.91 out of 5

Although there wasn’t much difference in the “somewhat favor” category, option C was dominant in the “strongly favor” category.

lowest-rated option

A average score: 2.23 out of 5

Option A was not rated once as “strongly favor.” This option elicited strong negative responses.
**options**

**Option A**
*Large mid–street zone as developable property*
Multistory mixed use development. Possible below grade parking. Retail, gallery, small office uses at street level. Keep through traffic function. Provide on-street parking. Keep travel lane widths to a minimum.

**Option B**
*Seasonal street fair—farmer’s market or art walk*
Pedestrian-scale street lights with banner arms. Trees in planters with white Tivoli lights. Encourage street vending and busker performances. On-street parking and bike lanes. Keep travel lane widths to a minimum.

**Option C**
*Supplemental mid-street angled parking with safe pedestrian access*
Trees in planters for enhancement and safety. Add decorative bollards along mid-street walkway. A further short term benefit with mid street parking seems to be that of “traffic calming (as elsewhere on 300 South)."
Option D
*Create large central median for public use*
Utilize as linear plaza or park. Add retail kiosks, green space, fountains, etc. Provide on-street parking and bike lanes. Keep travel lane widths to a minimum. Provide “bulb outs” at intersections. Provide structured left turn lanes.

Option E
*Maximize sidewalk width on one side of street*
Utilize enhanced public space or utilize excess as developable space. Provide on-street parking and bike lanes. Keep travel lane widths to a minimum. Provide “bulb outs” at intersection. Provide structured median with trees.

Option F
*Maximize sidewalk widths on both sides of street*
Utilize as enhanced public space or utilize excess as developable space. Provide on-street parking and bike lanes. Keep travel lane widths to a minimum. Provide “bulb outs” at intersections. Provide structured median with trees.
results

<table>
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<tr>
<th>option</th>
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<th>3: neutral</th>
<th>4: somewhat favor</th>
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**highest-rated option**

**B**  
average score: 3.89 out of 5  
The idea of extending the Farmers’ Market from Pioneer Park to this block was popular.

**lowest-rated option**

**E**  
average score: 2.90 out of 5  
Option E had an average score just below option C. It is interesting to note that neither C nor E had the highest number of “strongly dislike” ratings. The radical mid-street building in option A got strong positive and negative responses from participants.
Our intention as a committee was to provide an opportunity for all individuals who were interested in, or who would be affected by, the future development of the area surrounding the Intermodal Hub to have their voices heard and their concerns taken into consideration. Being neither developer nor government agency gave us the advantage of remaining neutral to all proposals.

One lesson we learned along the way was that a little advertising can go a long way. A few phone calls, emails, and faxes were the difference between the expected turnout for the community open house—which was 100—and the actual turnout—which was estimated at 300. People are interested in what is happening in their neighborhood. They care about the future of their city.
We must never forget that a city belongs to its residents. Officials are elected, appointments are made, and employees are hired to ensure the will of the people is brought to life. In a conversation with a Think Tank member at the open house, one city leader made comments to the effect that the people in general are not well enough informed to make decisions in the planning process. His intention was to place the fault on the public in general, but perhaps it is not the average person who is the cause of the problem. Perhaps more effort should be given to inform the public of future planning decisions and strategies. Not everyone is an expert city planner or architect, but everyone should have a voice when it comes to deciding the future of what is ultimately theirs—their city.
It is difficult to articulate “the sense of an ending” for this experience. Just as Frank Kermode suggests in his literary analysis, this is an artificial construct, needed more for the comfort and cultural expectations of the reader than in any way a reflection of temporal boundaries. However, we did find ourselves at the end of the academic year, and at the end of our formal gatherings as a group. So this kind of ending applies to our classroom meetings and not to the influences that will resonate in our work and imaginations.

I have never been involved in a class that was as open and potentially creative as this one. I situate this kind of experience within Greg Ulmer’s pedagogy of invention (1994). According to Ulmer, heuretics, or the “logic of invention,” shifts responses to readings from interpretive to inventive. Invention follows as a response to analysis: from hermeneutics to heuretics, using theory not only to interpret an object of study but also to design a poetics.

The levels of dedication, concentration, and responsibility differ from that of a more traditional class. In such a setting, everyone has to take the work seriously. That is not to say it wasn’t fun; and certainly not to ignore the potential to liberate the imagination, but it requires a commitment we seldom see from students in our new business model of education. It differs dramatically from the usual classes in which students are often absent,
indifferent, or even hostile; and in which they “expect to get the grades they have paid for.” The Think Tank model not only gives students an opportunity to have a more intimate experience as learners, but also provides faculty with a renewed sense of the importance of our own work.

So what kinds of things did we invent in our classes? As you have read, students wrote a series of essays describing their research and findings. Their approaches incorporated interdisciplinary perspectives: they recognized through their work the interrelationships of history, politics, economics, the dynamics of current social processes, and the embodied voices of those who are living around or near The Hub.

According to the students, “Everybody Has a Story,” and it was through this emphasis on constructions of narratives or storytelling that the students found their voices and were able to help others articulate for themselves. So we find a project that links social structures with historical roots. According to William Whyte (1980), “any study of an organization or community must be built on a firm historical base” (p. 161). For example the ethnographic interviews and the politics of housing are embedded to a degree in this sense of history. History is embedded in the attitudes and values that inform the politics of housing and homelessness. Having gained an understanding of the importance of context helped us see how this kind of project could be further developed and enriched; and importantly, gave the class a sense of the complexity of research, field work, and of representing the voices of others.

So if I respond to the work of the students—that is, if I use theory to first analyze the classroom processes in the production of this kind of “pedagogical text,” and I return to Ulmer’s theory, I should invent from this experience a poetics of pedagogy.

What if I travel from the issue of housing to the crisis of homelessness to the idea of home. What if this takes me to intersect with the idea of the exile and the wanderer. I entered the class as an exile, having been absent during the beginning semester, due to an immense tragedy. I wandered through the process, trying to find a place, trying to find
home. My heart is moved by the exiles in Pioneer Park we encountered: interviews with the homeless, the wanderers, who search ceaselessly for a safe place to rest. Exile is written on their bodies, on their faces, in their eyes. I wonder how they became homeless, what in their lives causes them to wander, how we look to them, what questions they would ask us if they had the video camera in their hands.

Their stories are of poverty, sorrow, freedom, and fear. They tell us of corruption in the shelters and of their sense of place in the park. My response to them is emotional, another aspect of Ulmer’s theory, academic research “whose structure would come from an emotion rather than from analysis or in which the emotion associated with analysis” guides the invention (p. 257). Perhaps it was this emotional response that guided the housing group to imagine homes that reflect more social justice and to suggest as part of their project, a way to design inclusive and integrated housing that promotes hope, possibility, and democracy.

The historical essay is responsive to both the successes and failures of the people in Salt Lake City and to the erasure of the cultures that lived in harmony with this dry and dramatic place, and demonstrates, along with all the other groups, a perspective shift from one that is individually centered to one that emphasizes context, continuities, and interactions.

So back to the top of Ensign Peak, back to the vastness of the West, back to the place of Salt Lake City within the natural and historical context of the land, back to take another look. Looking down on the city lends context and complexity to this place. We have been in the city, we have seen the faces of the people who live here and tried to imagine the lives of those who lived before. The view is sweeping, but the city has taken on many other dimensions, defined by the lives and hopes of the people we have met.

So thank you Martha Bradley for the opportunity to be a part of this experience; thank you Ann Darling for holding my place with such care; thank you Keith Bartholomew for being a perfect inspiration, and thank you students for helping me find a sense of place.
References


