

ONE

# **Downtown Pittsburgh**

## **RENAISSANCE AND RENEWAL**

**Edward K. Muller**



Despite a metropolitan population in decline since 1960, steady suburbanization, and the loss of several major corporate headquarters in the past two decades, downtown Pittsburgh remains a vigorous and vital central business district, in marked contrast to the downtowns of many older mid-level cities. Office occupancy rates remain stable, and the rehabilitation of older buildings indicates a steady demand for office space. Cultural attractions and tourism are increasing; hotel space is being expanded. Although retailers struggle to compete with suburban malls, they remain an integral part of the downtown business mix. Parking is tight, traffic congestion is a constant annoyance, loft housing is growing in popularity, and the boundaries of downtown are expanding, albeit slowly, to the east and north across the Allegheny River. Several factors particular to Pittsburgh helped to sustain the Golden Triangle, as downtown is frequently called, during the post–World War II era when the downtowns of other cities were rapidly deteriorating. But, most notably, active involvement of the civic leadership—both public and private—through programs of urban renaissance, renewal, and redevelopment has played a major role in maintaining the downtown’s viability.

### **Postwar Renaissance**

In 1943 when Pittsburgh’s leaders turned their attention, however briefly, away from the war and toward the future of their city, they despaired over what they saw. Despite the concentration of powerful industrial corporations

in the region, a severely degraded environment so diminished the quality of life that corporations not only found it increasingly difficult to recruit and retain topflight personnel but some even considered moving their headquarters out of Pittsburgh to New York City. Dense smoke lay over the city many days like a dirty blanket, defying earlier attempts at control. Downtown was merely a small triangle of land formed by the convergence of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers to form the Ohio. Vehicular traffic, streetcars, and railroads that ran on both riverfronts consumed portions of the historic Point and severely congested downtown. Although a federally sponsored flood control program was finally underway, the memory of the devastating 1936 St. Patrick's Day flood added to the dismal image. Assessment values of downtown real estate had not recovered from Depression lows, and no new office buildings had been completed for more than a decade (Alberts 1980, 57–58). Although the first major highway improvements were under construction after years of squabbling among governmental agencies, many projects remained on the planner's shelves, mired in local politics. The private, nonprofit Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association had scored some successes since its rejuvenation in 1936, but the slow pace of progress left its leaders despairing at the scale of the task that confronted them (Lubove 1969, 87–105).

Under the leadership of chairman Howard Heinz, who died unexpectedly in 1941, and executive director Wallace Richards, the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association had taken the lead role in promoting and shepherding projects through the labyrinth of politics and bureaucratic agencies. Nevertheless, frustrated at the limited progress, civic leaders organized the Allegheny Conference on Community Development in 1943 as a means to develop a postwar plan, elicit broad community support, and focus the energies of the city's powerful corporate leaders. One hundred and fifty community leaders constituted the Allegheny Conference (as it is usually called), but Richard K. Mellon, heir to the powerful Mellon family financial interests, dominated the organization. Under Mellon, the Allegheny Conference engaged able planning consultants, established an agenda for renewal of the city, and lined up private sector consensus behind it. Significantly, the Republican, Protestant, and blue-blooded Mellon, of Ulster descent, recognized the necessity of working closely with the city's Democratic Party boss, Irish Catholic David L. Lawrence, who came from distinctly humbler origins. Communicating through aides (for reportedly the two men rarely met), Mellon and Lawrence formed a public-private partnership of considerable clout, which engineered twenty years of redevelopment and bowled over opposition to specific projects (Stewman and Tarr 1982).

Plans for improving Pittsburgh after the war addressed four concerns: an overspecialized economy, degraded environment, inadequate infrastructure, and deteriorating downtown. The city's planners and civic leaders had participated in national discussions on solving urban problems, which had taken place for years before and during the war. Generally, proposals for Pittsburgh reflected the accepted wisdom of the day, similar to those under discussion for many other cities. What set Pittsburgh apart, however, was its ability to get the renewal process underway before the federal acts of 1949 and 1954 jump-started urban renewal in most cities (Teaford 1990). State legislation passed between 1945 and 1947 allowed Allegheny County and Pittsburgh to undertake redevelopment and set up authorities that could raise revenue, operate beyond the jurisdiction of a single municipality, and avoid local political embroilments (Lubove 1969, 106–41).

Leaders used traditional industrial development methods with some success to attract new companies that would help to diversify the economy and keep local industries from moving out of the region. Bolder strategies were needed, however, to tackle the environmental and infrastructural issues critical to encouraging new investment, especially downtown. With flood control largely a federal responsibility and dam and reservoir construction underway, air pollution loomed large among local environmental issues. Enforcement of the smoke abatement ordinance that was passed in 1941 but held in abeyance until after the war tested the public-private partnership. Mellon employed heavy-handed tactics to obtain compliance by local companies and the railroads, while Democratic Mayor Lawrence risked the support of both coal miners opposed to reducing coal consumption and his working-class electorate facing costs of conversion from coal to gas heating fuels. Enforcement began in October 1946, and Pittsburgh's skies brightened during the ensuing decade. The creation of a multicomunity sewer authority and construction of a new sewage treatment plant began the long process of cleaning up the rivers. The construction of the area's first two expressways to the east and west from downtown and the opening of a state-of-the-art airport in 1951 addressed important transportation needs. The stage was being set for downtown redevelopment (Stewman and Tarr 1982).

The tip of the Golden Triangle, known as the Point, held the key for redeveloping downtown. Railroad warehouses and tracks, highways, an unused exposition building serving as a pound for towed cars, vacant lots, run-down shops and houses, and tons of litter sullied the historic Point area. Traffic to and from the two bridges at the Point made redeveloping the area a particularly difficult design problem. Since the turn of the century, many plans, including those of illustrious designers Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.,



FIG. 1.1. Gateway Center. Testament to Renaissance I, Gateway Center anchors the end of Forbes Avenue, which along with paralleling Fifth Avenue awaits a controversial remake, ca. 1960. Courtesy of Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

E. H. Bennett, Robert Moses, and Frank Lloyd Wright, had been proposed to rejuvenate the Point in recognition of its geographical and historical significance. Efforts to designate it as a national park site had only recently collapsed. The design solution came with the bold decision to tear down the two bridges and build new ones upstream a short ways in order that more of the Point would be free of traffic and available for a park. The subsequent decision to go ahead with the construction of a thirty-six-acre state park in turn attracted the interest of private capital in an adjacent twenty-three-acre redevelopment parcel, which became known as Gateway Center (figure 1.1). The new Urban Redevelopment Authority acquired the land; the Equitable Life Assurance Society (of New York) became the developer. Between 1950, when construction began, and the mid-1960s, seven high-rise office buildings, a Hilton Hotel, a residential apartment tower, and an underground parking garage arose to comprise the redevelopment complex (Alberts 1980).

Point State Park and Gateway Center symbolized the rejuvenation of the city. Renaissance, as the postwar redevelopment became known, moved eastward up the Golden Triangle in the early 1950s with the announcement

that the Mellon foundations would give the city a park and underground garage comprising nearly an entire block. Mellon Square opened up a densely developed uptown area and anchored two new corporate skyscrapers, one by ALCOA and the other housing both Mellon Bank and US Steel. At the same time, long-standing plans for redeveloping the lower Hill District, an old immigrant and now African American slum a few blocks east of Mellon Square, were dusted off and recast as a cultural center. Beginning in 1955, this project displaced more than 1,500 families and 400 businesses from a ninety-five-acre site, where, with the largesse of department store magnate Edgar Kaufmann, the Civic Arena with a retractable roof served as a combination sports arena and venue for the Civic Light Opera. Hopes that the arena would spark further development of other cultural activities did not materialize. Instead parking lots and the long-planned Crosstown Expressway isolated the Civic Arena from downtown. With the exception of two apartment buildings and a hotel, little additional development took place on the site for several decades (Lubove 1969, 106–41). The lower Hill project was a classic example of an urban renewal failure.

In the 1960s, however, as the twenty-year-old Renaissance moved away from downtown to large neighborhood renewal projects, no one could foresee that the lower Hill District site would not soon develop. The environmental successes, new infrastructure, and downtown projects had energized this older industrial city, giving Pittsburgh confidence that it would remain one of the nation's most powerful metropolitan centers. Although an extensive economic study published in 1963 warned that economic diversification had still not taken place and predicted a severely diminished steel industry within twenty years, civic leaders blithely moved forward with plans for a new all-sports stadium (across the Allegheny River from downtown), an innovative rapid transit system (focused on downtown and not built until the end of the 1970s), and many other projects about the city and county. With the aid of Point State Park, Gateway Center, Mellon Square, the Civic Arena, and new expressways, the Golden Triangle avoided the ravages of retail and office decentralization that debilitated so many other American downtowns. Several reasons account for this fact. The population of the Pittsburgh metropolitan area grew slowly in the 1950s and peaked in 1960. The region was not constructing or even planning a circumferential beltway. Corporate leaders still preferred downtown for their headquarters, and were under pressure from the Allegheny Conference to remain there. Thus, while suburbanization was putting stress on downtown retail stores, new suburban malls and office complexes were not yet growing so fast as to threaten the Golden Triangle's supremacy.

## Renaissance II

Renaissance I represented a turning point in Pittsburgh's history. It reversed the downward trajectory in the Golden Triangle, began the critical cleanup of the city's environment, modernized several aspects of the infrastructure, and established a tradition of public-private partnerships. The legacy of Renaissance I is not only visible in downtown's landscape but is also palpable in the spirit of partnership, action, and success that civic leaders drew upon during the deindustrialization and social crises of the 1980s. Dubbed Renaissance II in 1977 by incoming mayor Richard Caliguiri, the second period of redevelopment lasted a little more than a decade, involved greater initiative by local government than in the previous period, was spread more widely about the Golden Triangle, and in the end probably had a greater effect on the downtown landscape. Some observers dispute that there was truly a second renaissance because there was not to the same degree a plan or an agency driving the process as there had been after World War II. Nevertheless, under the leadership of Mayor Caliguiri, both the Urban Redevelopment Authority and the newly created Mayor's Development Council (a body comprised of several city department heads and authority directors) attracted private investors, shepherded development projects through governmental steps, leveraged public funds, and generally nurtured continued downtown redevelopment. Thus, the public sector acted as catalyst for numerous skyscraper projects, upgraded downtown infrastructure to encourage private investment, welcomed redevelopment inspired by historic preservation, and cooperated fully with a nonprofit initiative to develop cultural attractions (Stewman and Tarr 1982).

Renaissance I ended with the election of Mayor Pete Flaherty in 1970. Capitalizing on the rising civil rights and anti-urban renewal sentiment of the 1960s, Flaherty attacked the Allegheny Conference for elitism, Renaissance's focus on downtown redevelopment, and the neglect of the neighborhoods. He terminated the public-private partnership, sued successfully to derail Allegheny County's innovative Skybus rapid transit system, instituted budgetary austerity, and shifted half of federal aid to the neighborhoods (Muller, Coleman, and Houston 1999). Despite the contentious relationships among civic leaders and the diminished focus on downtown, a few new projects came to fruition during the Flaherty years and a few others advanced in planning, which would later be associated with the Renaissance when they were finished in the 1980s (Lubove 1996, 58–61). US Steel erected its sixty-four-story headquarters building in 1971, and three thirty-plus-story towers went up in Oliver Plaza (containing two bank office headquarters). Disappointed that the Civic Arena project failed to generate a cultural complex,

the Heinz foundation under the leadership of Heinz family scion, H. J. Heinz II, funded the renovation of an old movie theater into a concert hall for the Pittsburgh Symphony. Finally, before Flaherty left office in 1977 plans for both a new convention center and a limited conventional light-rail transit network were completed, and discussions begun on upgrading Grant Street into a grand corporate address (Stewman and Tarr 1982, 91–94).

Acrimony between city hall and the Allegheny Conference, the much-publicized failure of the Skybus transit proposal, darkening clouds over the steel industry, mounting population losses, inner-city social turmoil, and the fiscal distress of cities around the country produced a sense of stagnation and pending crisis for the city in spite of the apparent continuing development momentum in these interim years between the two Renaissance periods. Downtown seemed to be in need of additional help. Both districts paralleling the rivers had underutilized older buildings, growing numbers of surface parking lots, little new investment, and in one case a vigorous vice trade. The department stores had begun to struggle in their competition with suburban malls as white flight accelerated, especially after the 1968 Martin Luther King riot in the Hill District. The once vital Fifth Avenue retail corridor between the Horne's and Kaufmann's department stores began to look shabby and increasingly catered to lower-income African American shoppers, who had lost their neighborhood business district in the adjacent lower Hill District to urban renewal. The axis of upscale shopping had begun to gravitate to Smithfield Street, running perpendicular to Fifth Avenue.

Incoming Mayor Caliguri tried to address this general malaise by invoking the Renaissance spirit. A second Renaissance, even one that would also include the neighborhoods, he argued, would rejuvenate downtown once again. He revived the public-private partnership, set up his Mayor's Development Council, and directed his departments to cooperate with developers. Construction began on the convention center in 1977 and on the light-rail transit line, including a short downtown subway, in 1981. The city rebuilt Grant Street with brick paving and expensive landscaping. Eight office towers went up, three of them in association with ground-level retail complexes and one with a new hotel. The most ambitious of them was the PPG Place complex adjacent to old Market Square, designed by Philip Johnson. The project consisted of a forty-story tower, six low-rise buildings, and a plaza, all covering six city blocks (figure 1.2). PPG Place would not have succeeded without the city's involvement in declaring property blighted and using its power of eminent domain. Similarly, the city cooperated with the developers of Grant Street Plaza with a fifty-four-story office tower by reconfiguring streets and assigning subsurface and air rights for the subway and parking. In the case of the Liberty Center project, a hotel and twenty-seven-story





FIG. 1.2. PPG Place.

office building next to the new convention center, the city initiated the development and found the developer. With the addition of privately developed Oxford Center with a forty-six-story tower, Fifth Avenue Place, and a few smaller office buildings, the supply of office and upscale retail space vastly expanded. These developments were scattered around downtown, not having the total impact on one district as Gateway Center had during Renaissance I (Lubove 1996, 57–85).

Despite the construction of several large building complexes since World War II, many older buildings with architectural merit and entire blocks of pre-World War I structures remained. Historic preservation, especially with federal tax incentives legislated in the 1970s and 1980s for the rehabilitation of commercial buildings, became an important force in downtown redevelopment during Renaissance II. Although public officials were irritated by preservation advocacy for buildings in the path of new construction, they were more than willing to encourage preservation when it promised to develop buildings or areas that were not the focus of new development. Preservation developers targeted the ten-block area paralleling the Monongahela Wharf, which contained some of oldest mercantile, warehouse, and office buildings in downtown. It had been a backwater ever since development moved away from the wharf to the center of the Golden Triangle in the late nineteenth century. The city responded by renaming the area Firstside, cooperating with its designation as a national historic district, discouraging the creation of surface parking lots, and encouraging the rehabilitation of many structures into professional offices and lofts. Today, Firstside is a stable complement to downtown. A few blocks north toward the heart of downtown, the city cooperated in maintaining the historical character of Pittsburgh's "little Wall Street." Fourth Avenue was once the center of dozens of banks, private investment houses, and savings institutions, which arose from lucrative investments in oil, gas, coal, and iron and steel. Although the local stock



exchange closed early in the century and demolition had diminished the number of buildings, the street's designation as a national historic district has helped to preserve its turn-of-the-century office architecture and canyonlike streetscape reminiscent of lower Manhattan. Elsewhere in downtown, preservation incentives led to the rehabilitation of scattered individual buildings such as the Daniel Burnham–designed Pennsylvania Railroad station and the former Romanesque-style Old German Savings Bank on Sixth Avenue. The modest success of preservation in downtown has staved off the worst effects of classic urban renewal and modernism and helped to maintain the critical high-density development and diversity of buildings fabric that make downtown a successful landscape (Toker 1986, 33–41). Nevertheless, preservation advocates have to remain vigilant because city officials and developers frequently do not value or respect the contribution of older buildings to the Golden Triangle's success.

Preservation also played a key role in the strategy for redeveloping the fourteen square blocks paralleling the Allegheny River between Stanwix and Eleventh streets, known as the Penn-Liberty corridor. However, the primary means for redevelopment involved the cultivation of cultural amenities such as the symphony, opera, ballet, and theater, which, it was argued, would enhance both the city's competitive edge for economic investment over other metropolitan areas and downtown's distinctiveness within the metropolitan area. The success of Heinz Hall (1971) and the adjoining Heinz Plaza parklet (1979) pointed out the potential of cultural attractions, but the concert hall's location in the Penn-Liberty corridor left it isolated from other downtown facilities and embedded in a deteriorating area of warehouses, wholesalers, and vice activities. Moreover, when downtown's remaining movie theater closed during the 1970s, nightlife besides the vice trade nearly disappeared. Acting on consultants' advice, the leadership of H. J. Heinz II, and the financial support of the Howard Heinz Endowment foundation, the Allegheny Conference incorporated the Pittsburgh Cultural Trust in 1984 to oversee the transformation of the Penn-Liberty corridor into a cultural district. The Cultural Trust acted as developer, facilities manager, and service provider to arts organizations. With the city's financial and planning cooperation the Cultural Trust became the central actor in the redevelopment of a major portion of downtown. Its goals were to remove the vice trade, support both Heinz Hall and the new convention center (also located in the area), enhance the city's cultural institutions, and restore nightlife in downtown (Lubove 1996, 194–201).

Between 1984 and 1987, the Trust engineered the conversion of the old Stanley Theater into the Benedum Center for Performing Arts and the con-

struction of the CNG (Consolidated Natural Gas) Tower, from which the Trust received substantial income. The city and the Trust then obtained the designation of a sizable portion of the area as a national historic district and with that in place undertook a street and building facade improvement program. While the office construction of Renaissance II ended with the recession that swept across the nation at the end of the decade, the Trust continued its redevelopment of the Penn-Liberty corridor or Cultural District, as it has become known. During the 1990s it converted another movie house into a theater for smaller arts companies (the Byham), turned an X-rated movie theater into a venue for foreign and specialty films (the Harris), opened an art gallery, completed the construction of a new facility (the O'Reilly) for the popular Pittsburgh Public Theater, which allowed it to move into the district, and built the first phase of a riverfront park. Other indications of the success of the redevelopment process include rehabilitation of some historic buildings for loft apartments; the transformation of the Fulton office building into an upscale hotel; new restaurants; the architecturally noteworthy expansion of the convention center; a planned new hotel; and the opening of a high school for the performing arts. Still, considerable work remains to be done in the district.

While Mayor Caliguiri hoped in 1977 that a second renaissance would breathe life into a city experiencing long-term decline, he articulated a more ambitious goal at Renaissance II's mid-point in the 1980s. Surveying the carnage of deindustrialization, the mayor declared that downtown's new office towers, streetscapes, cultural amenities, rapid transit, and historic rehabilitation were aiding the city and region's transformation to a vigorous urban economy built around education, research, health care, advanced technology industries, and professional and business services (Lubove 1996, 61). The city assisted private and nonprofit developers with tax abatements, land assembly, low-interest loans, street improvements, and cooperation in many other ways. By 1990 large sections of downtown had undergone substantial redevelopment and office occupancy rates remained above 80 percent, but problems remained in the retail and entertainment functions. Nightlife was minimal and concentrated in the emerging Cultural District, and there were too few residential opportunities.

### **Post-Renaissance Developments**

Mayor Caliguiri's untimely death in 1988 coincided roughly with the end of Renaissance II. The accumulating pressures of increased population loss, plant closings, rising unemployment, declining tax revenues, and the na-



FIG. 1.3. Fifth Avenue corridor.

tional recession caused the next administration to become far less entrepreneurial. Development activity in downtown subsided, and a few projects planned in the 1980s collapsed for lack of funding. Nevertheless, pressure built for completing the Cultural District, improving the dilapidated Fifth Avenue retail corridor, expanding convention business, and stimulating more nightlife and a downtown residential community. By the mid-1990s the burgeoning national economy renewed the demand for downtown office space. With his election as mayor in 1994, Tom Murphy actively addressed these issues with the full satchel of governmental assistance strategies and even, as in *Renaissance II*, some initiation of projects. The concentration of new or planned projects in an expanded downtown area has observers beginning to talk about a third renaissance.

The city's major downtown initiative at the end of the century has been the effort to revive retailing in the Fifth Avenue corridor (figure 1.3). It helped Lazarus close its old department store adjacent to Gateway Center (formerly Horne's) and construct a new one on Fifth Avenue. One block further up Fifth, the city encouraged Lord & Taylor to come to downtown and adaptively reuse the historic Mellon Bank building (1924). In a controversial move, the city and Urban Redevelopment Authority negotiated a deal with a Chicago developer to assemble several blocks at the lower end of Fifth and permit the removal of many businesses and demolition of numerous older buildings in order to develop a mall-like complex of national retail shops and entertainment attractions. Preservationists opposed the potential destruction of so much of downtown's older building fabric; others doubted the wisdom of turning over so much space to stores that duplicate those found in suburban malls. Both opponents believed that downtown would lose some of its distinctiveness if this plan were implemented. The deal collapsed. The city in cooperation with local businesses and preservationists created a set of

principles for redevelopment, and has contracted with a new developer for reviving the area.

The city also helped both Mellon Bank and PNC Bank find downtown locations for new large-operations office buildings. The city worked closely with the state to enact a plan that more than doubled the size of the convention center and reoriented it towards the Allegheny River. Since the convention center is located in the Cultural District, civic leaders believed that it would enhance the viability of the area's cultural attractions and nightlife. The securing of state financial support became entangled with the city and county's efforts to fund two new sports stadiums. Together the package of funding for the stadiums and convention center affirmed a trend towards the expansion of downtown's boundaries beyond its historic limits. Perhaps, the initial expansion of downtown occurred in the 1970s when the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation purchased the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad station and freight buildings on the south shore of the Monongahela River directly across from downtown (and Firstside). The development of the properties into a retail, entertainment, office, and hotel complex created a successful destination point and a complement to downtown (Lubove 1996, 218–23). In the 1980s, lawyers and other professionals rehabilitated older buildings to the east along Forbes and Fifth avenues, pushing downtown a few blocks beyond the Crosstown Expressway that had acted as a barrier since its completion in 1964. The construction of Two Chatham Center added to this eastward movement.

The biggest expansion of downtown, however, is north across the Allegheny River (see also chapter 8). The city and county are intent on creating a corridor of activities on both sides of the river. This strategy reflects the realization by civic leaders that the rivers are once again essential to the city's future, but this time as both a natural and recreational amenity rather than simply part of the region's industrial infrastructure (Muller 2003). The new stadiums and reoriented convention center are the centerpieces of the plan. They are joined on the north shore by Alcoa's new corporate headquarters, a few older warehouses rehabilitated into offices, planned development around the stadiums, the Andy Warhol Museum, and the Carnegie Science Center and Heinz corporate complex at each end. On the Allegheny River's south shore, in addition to the convention center, the Cultural District complements the new north shore developments and is linked to the stadiums on game days by the limiting of the Roberto Clemente Bridge (formerly the Sixth Street Bridge) to pedestrians. The conversion of older riverfront properties into new developments has enhanced the vitality of the corridor, and the inevitable development of several prime riverfront acres of what is now surface

parking upriver between Eleventh Street and the vibrant Strip District will extend the corridor and with it downtown. On both shores, riverfront trails, completed or in planning stages, tie the activities together.

The landscape of Pittsburgh's Golden Triangle still reflects its origins as an eastern North American downtown. It has a marvelous mix of architectural styles, ornamental sculptures, and building facades of different textures and colors. Constrained by the three rivers, it is densely developed with many skyscrapers and relatively few surface parking lots creating gaps in the block fronts. Streets and sidewalks are narrow. And the awkward, angular conjunction at Liberty Avenue of the two original rectangular street plans, one fronting the Monongahela River and the other the Allegheny River, has created visual delights for pedestrians and architects, but headaches for traffic engineers. Each weekday the sidewalks are crowded with people bustling about, the streets filled with cars and buses. The intensity of activity says this is downtown.

Degraded by smoke, flooding, and railroads, ill-suited for the automobile, and minimally affected by planned improvements, downtown entered the post-World War II era in need of massive new investment and imaginative planning. Suburbanization, a declining metropolitan population, contentious race relations, deindustrialization, and the loss of several major corporate headquarters over the second half of the century added further pressure on downtown. (See also chapter 9.) Adopting current fashions in planning, architecture, and redevelopment, a proactive civic leadership managed to maintain the Golden Triangle's vibrancy, enhance its usability, and position it well for continued success early in coming decades. Mistakes in design, demolition of older buildings, and traffic planning have been made, of course, along the way. But without the involvement of local government, foundations, and nonprofit organizations in initiating redevelopment, nurturing private investment, and obtaining state and federal financial support, the Golden Triangle would probably not be so golden at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

## References

- Alberts, Robert C. 1980. *The Shaping of the Point: Pittsburgh's Renaissance Park*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Lubove, Roy. 1969. *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- . 1996. *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*. Vol. 2, *The Post-Steel Era*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Muller, Edward K. 2003. River City. In *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region*, ed. Joel A. Tarr, 41–63. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- Muller, Edward K., Morton Coleman, and David Houston. 1999. Skybus: Pittsburgh's Failed Industry Targeting Strategy of the 1960s. Center for Industry Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2002, [www.industrystudies.pitt.edu](http://www.industrystudies.pitt.edu).
- Stewman, Shelby, and Joel A. Tarr. 1982. Four Decades of Public-Private Partnerships in Pittsburgh. In *Public-Private Partnerships in American Cities*, ed. R. Scott Fosler and Renee A. Berger. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.
- Teaford, Jon C. *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Toker, Franklin. 1986. *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.