

Alternative Reuses of Abandoned Highway Right-of-Way

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The combination of organized citizen opposition, increased environmental awareness, and rising construction costs has halted construction of an increasing number of proposed highways. Where this has happened after right-of-way was already acquired and partially cleared, cities have been confronted with the need to find alternative land uses that are both creative and broadly acceptable. Representatives of planning bodies of four affected cities—Atlanta, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Lincoln (Nebraska)—presented case studies that emphasized both the planning process and the alternative selection. Despite the unique characteristics of each project, the four cases underscored three major recurring themes: (a) the importance of selecting alternatives consistent with density, use, and cultural characteristics of adjacent neighborhoods; (b) the essential quality of broad and active participation of key interest groups, government officials, financial interests, and developers; and (c) the critical need for an atmosphere in which interest groups are willing to compromise specific objectives in order to further the broader goal of community revitalization.

The legacy of rapid postwar highway development programs and of the organized citizen opposition they engendered has been the demapping of state and federal highways after right-of-way had already been acquired and partially cleared. As of June 1980, the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) has demapped 31 sections of the Interstate system as proposed in the 1960s (see Figure 1). Numerous state and municipal highways have been similarly withdrawn. Ironically, the neighborhoods that citizen groups fought to save have deteriorated as urban blight spread from cleared right-of-way to properties flanking it.

Although the specific circumstances surrounding each case differ, affected cities share the opportunity to stimulate community revitalization through creative redevelopment of land reclaimed from abandoned highway right-of-way. They also share the challenge of finding alternative land uses acceptable to all concerned interest groups.

Believing that shared experience would prove to be mutually beneficial, the Transportation Research Board Committee on Land Use and Transportation assembled a panel of planners from four affected cities: Atlanta, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Lincoln (Nebraska). These cities represent withdrawals ranging from Interstates to municipal highways and stages of redevelopment ranging from preliminary planning to construction.

A spokesperson for the Office of the U.S. Secre-

tary of Transportation introduced the issue by placing it into the broader context provided by the federal perspective. The Atlanta Great Park experience underscores the conflict and controversy engendered by competing interests as well as competing visions of future land use. In Milwaukee the Park West Project, a project emphasizing neighborhood revitalization, is now at the implementation stage. The key role of citizen groups is also apparent in Minneapolis where approaches to reuse of two corridors provide useful contrasts. The problems of abandoned highway corridors are not only the province of large cities. Medium-sized cities including Lincoln, Nebraska, are also seeking alternative uses for highway right-of-way. The case of the Northeast Radial Highway in Lincoln also provides the opportunity to review the reuse planning process at an earlier stage.

USING ABANDONED RIGHTS-OF-WAY: AN OVERVIEW

(Maureen Craig, Office of the U.S. Secretary of Transportation)

Passengers and freight daily log millions of miles on this country's transportation system—a dynamic network of goods, vehicles, corridors, origins, and destinations that is constantly changing. Unforeseen needs and new uses arise while outmoded ones are discarded. Against this complex framework lies the question of what to do with corridors cleared for highways never constructed. The prudent reuse of these corridors demands an appreciation of both past and potential uses, a knowledge of pertinent policies and legislation, and an understanding of the most outstanding problems. A hard look at what the future face of the United States should look like is an absolute necessity.

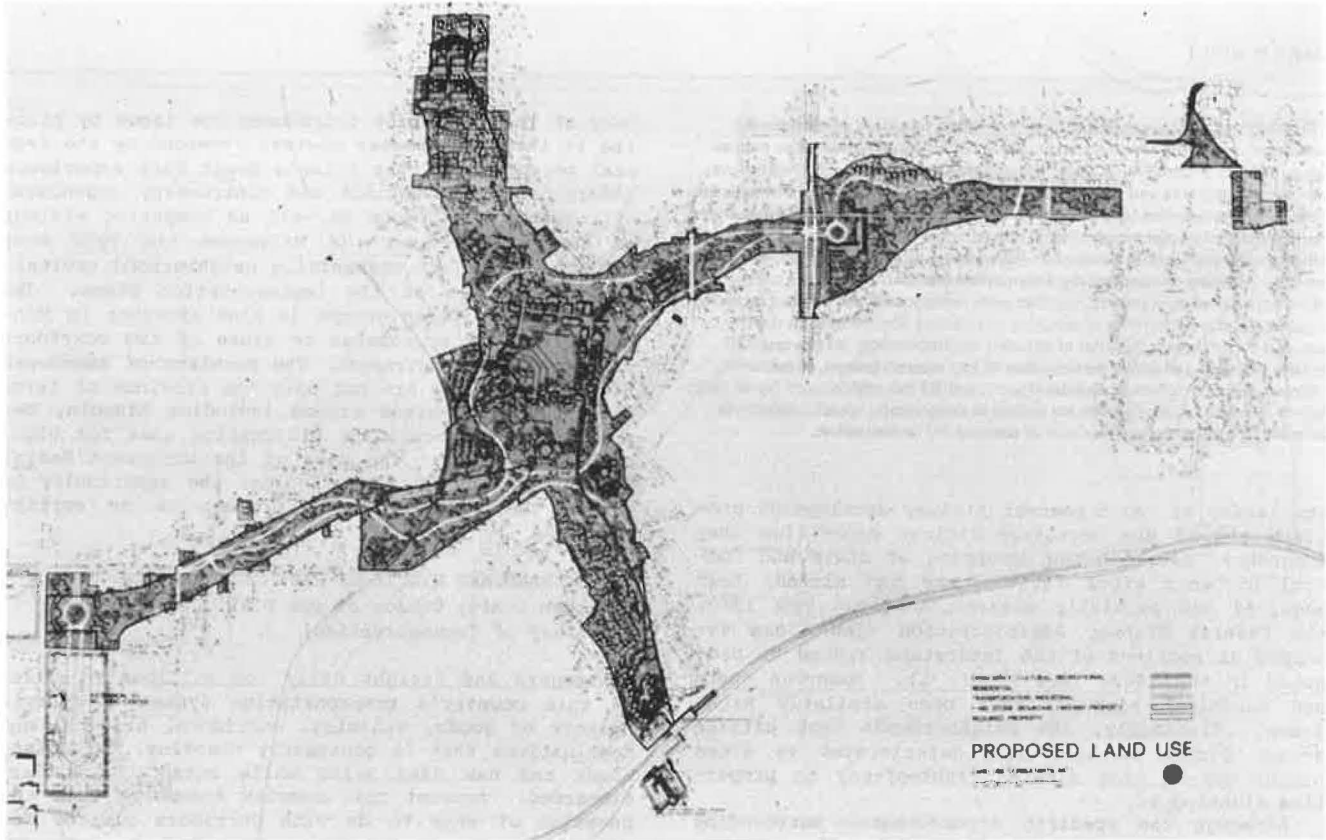
Legislation addressing this topic has been passed at all levels of government. The Surface Transportation Act of 1978 provides for disposition of property acquired by states that used FHWA monies in connection with these kinds of projects. Subsequent amendments and proposed rulemaking have further defined procedures for doing this. The payback issue has been a particularly thorny one—i.e., how much should the federal government be repaid if the purpose for which public funds were originally intended has changed? The situation sharpens considerably if private interests stand to profit from these kinds of project modifications. Payback preference is now given to right-of-way uses deemed consistent with U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT) policies and the public interest.

Numerous problems have arisen despite the best of intentions. Money is a perennial one. Proponents of reusing these rights-of-way insist that enough is not available. However, potential sources can indeed be found in both the public and private sectors. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grants have covered the construction of housing projects and community facilities located in abandoned rights-of-way. Some localities have used U.S. Department of Labor Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) monies. Property originally purchased with FHWA monies can be thought of as resources of high financial value. State and local governments have used a variety of funding mechanisms, as have groups like the National Trails Council and state trail associations. The private

Figure 1. Location of demapped highways.



Figure 2. Atlanta's Great Park.



sector has spent millions in realizing development opportunities along abandoned corridors.

With so many actors involved, coordinating the reuse of these abandoned rights-of-way is no inconceivable undertaking. Federal interests are divided among the U.S. Department of Interior (DOI), DOT, HUD, the Federal Commerce Commission (FCC), and others. Garnering state and local support both in and out of government is a challenge of multilevel dimensions.

Nuisance problems have arisen as well. Neighboring landowners complain about the newly introduced activities. However, property values adjoining these rights-of-way have been shown to actually rise once new uses have been established.

Two looming problems must soon be faced. One is legal—i.e., the transfer of the title to the lands involved. The process can be a particularly lengthy, complex, and expensive one. Well-intentioned local groups are easily frustrated by the maze of easement restrictions, reversionary clauses, and other limitations that has been previously placed on transportation rights-of-way. The second major problem is potential conflict among national priorities. Federal urban policy calls for redevelopment of available city land in a manner supportive of urban revitalization. This includes the dense, mixed-up development being planned for and constructed on abandoned rail and highway rights-of-way. Such development effectively precludes any future transportation use of the corridor. Opponents of these projects argue that the aging cities need breathing space and therefore support conservation of the open space qualities typifying these linear rights-of-way. Conservationists support the creation of linear parks accessible to large portions of the urban population. Other pro-

ponents of preservation maintain that we may once again need these very same corridors for future transportation uses in the coming age of petroleum scarcity and decreasing mobility. In any event, these conflicts can be expected to continue.

Despite these conflicts and opportunities, what does the future hold? Close questioning of the need for completing the Interstate highway system and/or adding other roadways to a network already requiring major repair will continue. Greater demand will be experienced for urban recreational opportunities as well as alternative means of transportation, plus less public money to pay for either. Overall, more parties competing for reuse of abandoned transportation rights-of-way and one-time-only opportunities that cannot afford to be missed are likely prospects for the future.

ATLANTA'S GREAT PARK (Catherine Thomas,
City Planning Bureau, Atlanta, Georgia)

The issue of abandoned highway rights-of-way has been called an urban phenomenon of the 1970s. Atlanta's contribution to this phenomenon is a tract of land located immediately east of the central business district, which was cleared for the construction of two major highways, the Stone Mountain Tollway and Interstate-485 (see Figure 2). This property, which is known as the Great Park, is the largest single tract of abandoned expressway right-of-way in the country. It is bordered by medium-density, single-family neighborhoods being renovated that have active community organizations.

In 1973, Governor Jimmy Carter, following the recommendations of a blue-ribbon committee, declared that the Stone Mountain Tollway would not be built. I-485 was the first of a number of expressways that

were to form an inner loop to be removed from the region's plans. Community opposition to this facility was intense; it was accompanied by court action and, ultimately, led to withdrawal of political support for the project. In 1975, shortly after the environmental impact statement for this project was rejected, I-485 was demapped. About 219 acres of right-of-way had been acquired and cleared for these two freeways. The right-of-way is in a cross-shaped configuration. The east and west legs are where the Stone Mountain Tollway would have been constructed, and the north and south legs were to be I-485. There is a large area in the center where the interchange of these two expressways would have been built. The reuse of these abandoned rights-of-way has engendered a controversy as intense as that over the construction of the expressways themselves.

In 1974, the city of Atlanta took the reuse planning initiative by proposing a Great Museum Park in the abandoned right-of-way of the Stone Mountain Tollway (this was the origin of the term Great Park now used to describe the properties). This plan called for the construction of a museum complex with associated parking facilities and contained no provision for a transportation artery in the area. In 1975, an ad hoc committee was established by the city to advance the Great Park concept. Neither of these plans gained the support of the governor, the state transportation department, or community organizations. As a result, a new group was formed in 1976--Atlanta Great Park Planning, Incorporated--with representatives from the neighborhoods around the rights-of-way and government organizations. In 1977, the group presented its plan, which called for new housing units and parkland devoted primarily to passive recreation. This plan, like its predecessors, did not include a major transportation facility.

A major obstacle to the implementation of any revised plans has been the insistence of the Georgia Department of Transportation (GDOT) that a major east-west traffic carrier be constructed in the right-of-way to substitute for the expressways that will no longer be constructed. The GDOT, not the state of Georgia, actually owns the properties in question. The cooperation of this agency, therefore, is an essential ingredient to any reuse solution. The transportation issue, however, has been the overriding source of disagreement in the development of a reuse plan.

Governor George Busbee attempted to resolve the impasse by soliciting the services of an Atlanta architect, John Portman. Perhaps the most interesting part of the Portman plan, which was presented to the governor in 1979, was the transportation solution. Portman basically rejected the GDOT's desire to build a highway through the areas as infeasible, both from the standpoint of political acceptability and the reuse alternatives. Instead, Portman proposed that the freeway terminus be extended in tunnel through the right-of-way. This tunnel was estimated to cost about \$64 million. Portman also proposed 1500 housing units and that a variety of major community facilities, such as an amphitheater and an aquarium, be constructed in the right-of-way.

Unfortunately, neither the imagination of Portman's proposal nor the prestige of its creator could produce a consensus on reuse. In 1980, the state legislature established a seven-member Great Park Authority to study all previous plans and recommend a new solution to the stalemate. This authority conducted a round of public hearings and decided to concentrate its efforts on the transportation question; it had concluded that an answer to this was essential before addressing other parts of the reuse question. The authority's recommendations included

several transportation options. Further development of the park appears now to hinge on the possibility of developing a Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in the rights-of-way (see Figure 3).

There are many similarities between Atlanta's experiences and those of other cities. In regard to the types of reuse, Atlanta was similar to other cities in its desire to "reweave the fabric of the city" by incorporating housing and recreational facilities in its reuse plan. Commercial and industrial reuses were not as common as in other cities, probably because the right-of-way is almost totally surrounded by residential areas. The question of alternative transportation facilities was important in many cities, but it has assumed a paramount role in Atlanta.

One unfortunate aspect of Atlanta's experience has been the unwillingness of all groups to compromise. On the housing issue, for example, the neighborhoods proposed 500 units, while Portman recommended 1500. This has been a major issue of controversy on which both sides might compromise by supporting the construction of, for instance, 1000 units. But no one has been willing to do this. Similarly, the GDOT has always contended that a new parkway through the areas is needed.

On a philosophical plane, reuse presents an interesting contrast between the comprehensive, grand-plan approach and incremental planning. The 219 acres in Atlanta have always been regarded by government authorities as an opportunity to develop something truly unique and magnificent, an approach that is embodied in the Portman plan. The surrounding residents, in contrast, would prefer to see development put back approximately as it was before the GDOT acquired the land--that is, single-family houses to blend in with the existing residences, local streets to provide access to the housing, and a few parks for quiet relaxation. If the grand plan cannot be implemented and the land is sold back to previous owners, this is probably what will occur.

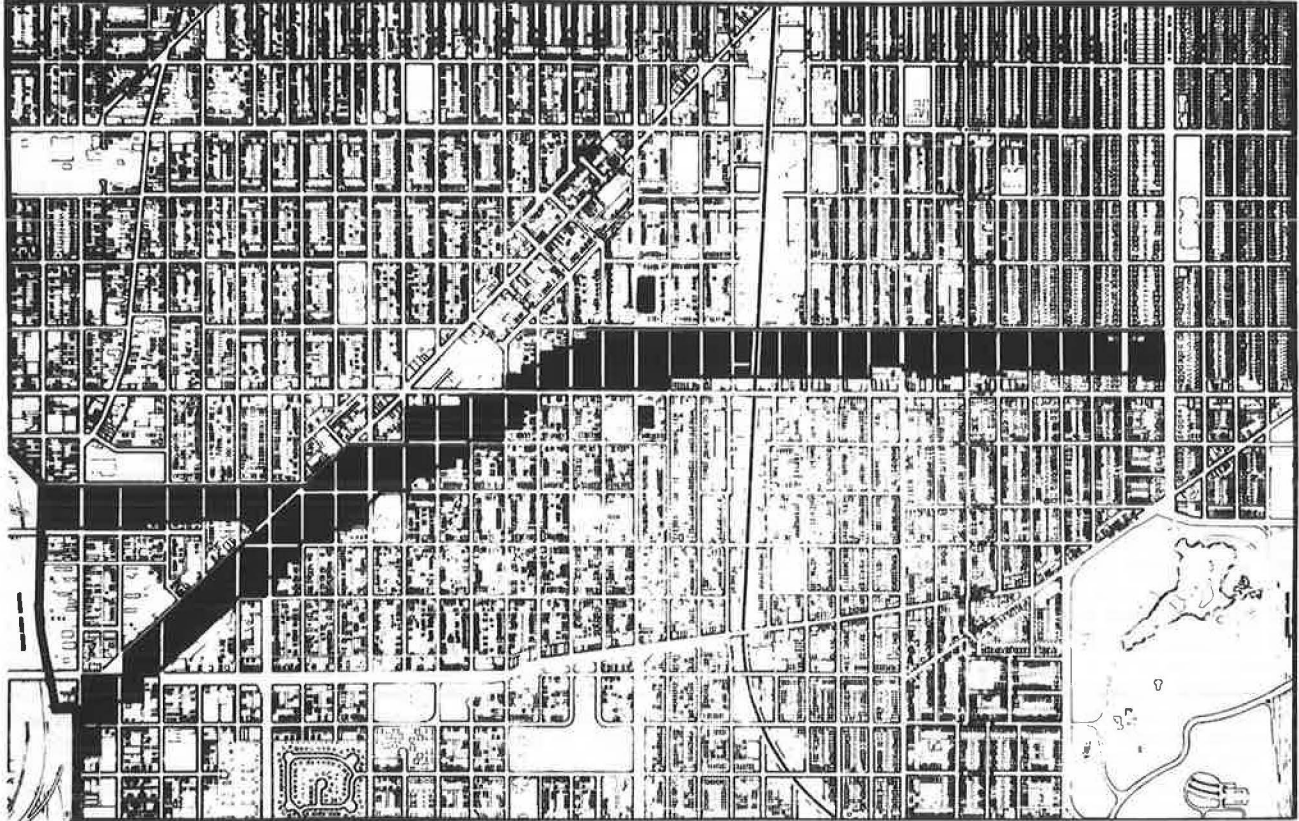
THE PARK WEST PROJECT (David Hoeh, Park West Redevelopment Task Force, Milwaukee; based on printed reports)

The history of the Park Freeway West began 20 years ago. In 1954, the North Avenue Expressway was designated, running north of and parallel to North Avenue. In 1957, the freeway route was changed to bypass the Sears and Roebuck store. In 1964, the expressway was renamed Park Freeway West. Acquisition and clearance for the highway occurred from 1966 until 1972 when a coalition of west-side citizen groups succeeded in winning an injunction to halt further activities until an environmental impact statement had been prepared and approved. In 1976, the statement was submitted to the DOT and in December 1976 it was rejected as inadequate. In January 1977, the Park West Redevelopment Task Force, comprised of elected officials who represented the Park West area, representatives from community groups, and a small at-large membership, was convened by Congressman Henry Reuss.

Between March and August 1978, approximately 40 workshops were held with community and church groups, business and professional associations, and other interested parties. In each workshop, a series of alternative plans for the corridor was presented, issues were discussed, and reactions from the participants were gathered. Comments and reactions were incorporated in later workshops and planning documents to refine redevelopment plans.

In July 1978, an amended urban development action grant application was approved to provide commercial revitalization loans. The \$100 000 grant was to be

Figure 3. Park West Development project area.



used to leverage \$1 million in conventional loans for the area. Responding to suggestions developed at community workshops, the Park West Task Force worked with business leaders, as well as industrial and civic groups, to develop an integrated multipurpose approach to revitalizing the corridor.

A draft property disposition plan was adopted by the task force in August 1978. In December 1978, the Milwaukee Common Council and the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors approved a revised disposition plan for the Park West corridor. When this was accomplished, Acting Governor Martin Schreiber transferred all state interest in the land to Milwaukee County. Since that time, negotiations have continued between the city and county, with task force participation, and have led to a transfer of approximately one-half of the cleared land to the city of Milwaukee for housing and commercial redevelopment.

The redevelopment project that is now under way includes a linear pedestrian parkway, several county-developed parks, an expanded school site, housing development of varying types and densities, commercial district improvements, and industrial site preparations. An incomplete interchange from the old freeway will be constructed to provide improved access to the community. As part of the redevelopment program, house moving is being considered as are programs that will stimulate revitalization of the existing residential and commercial properties adjacent to the cleared land. A new farmers' market is under construction and will serve as an attraction for new commercial activity. Existing industries have expanded both plant and employment. The city of Milwaukee has appropriated \$3 million for capital improvements and an application for \$1 million in Economic Development Administra-

tion (EDA) funding for industrial site improvements is pending.

A developer for the housing has been designated and is pulling together the details of construction and permanent financing. Architects are at work on detailed site plans and a housing unit program. Construction of the housing is expected during the current construction season.

The redevelopment process in Milwaukee has begun. New challenges continue. Yet the cooperation between government units and active citizen participation that brought the project to this stage should help weather new challenges as well.

REUSE OF I-335 AND HIAWATHA AVENUE RIGHTS-OF-WAY IN MINNEAPOLIS (Ollie Byrum, City of Minneapolis; presented by Ghaleb Abdul-Rahman, Metro Council, St. Paul)

Interstate-335 was to have been the 4-mile north leg of a freeway belt around downtown Minneapolis that would create a major transportation facility in a corridor where before only local streets had existed. The Hiawatha Avenue project was to have been a 13-mile freeway connecting downtown, Wold-Chamberlain Airport, and suburban communities to the southeast. In contrast to I-335, Hiawatha Avenue has historically been, and always will be, an important transportation corridor.

In each case, right-of-way for the proposed project was acquired and cleared with major relocation. I-335 has been withdrawn from the Interstate system and no major facility will be built. The plans for Hiawatha Avenue are being scaled down from a freeway to a major upgrading of the existing highway, possibly to include high-occupancy-vehicle lanes or light rail transit.

In the case of I-335, the land in question encompasses about 50 acres. Major considerations in determining reuse were (a) there would be no major transportation facilities, (b) the proposed right-of-way had removed both residential and industrial property and was located in an area where residential and industrial edges had met and overlapped, (c) the land is less than a mile from downtown Minneapolis, (d) most of the corridor is bordered by a railroad, (e) in Minneapolis--as in most central cities--there is a need for both industrial and residential land as well as an opportunity for riverfront recreational land in this neighborhood, and (f) strong politically sophisticated citizens' groups had experienced urban renewal projects and had been able to stop the freeway when their original goal had only been to redesign it.

Reuse issues in the corridor tended to center around land use, density, who would decide, and who would implement.

The I-335 Alternate Use Advisory Committee, established by the city council in 1976 and which consisted of neighborhood and city agency representatives, had several objectives:

1. A balanced land use plan that attempts to meet the diverse, and often conflicting, needs--from a physical, social, and economic standpoint--of the affected neighborhoods, the Northeast and Near North communities, and the city as a whole;

2. A coordinated land use plan that attempts to consider and incorporate the expressed concerns and plans of a large number of organizations and agencies (the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority, Minneapolis City Planning Commission, Joint Powers River Committee, Minneapolis Park Board, Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission, Neighborhood Project Area Committees, Minnesota Highway Department, etc.);

3. An economically feasible land use plan that takes into consideration not only the benefits but also the costs and marketability of any recommended actions;

4. An intensive land use plan that, without negatively affecting the neighborhoods' needs, recommends where appropriate an intensive level of development to increase the taxes generated and thus ease the tax burden on Minneapolis property owners; and

5. A land use plan that preserves and enhances the natural amenities within the I-335 right-of-way, particularly the Mississippi River Corridor, and that provides access to those amenities for community and citywide residents.

In order to meet these objectives, this committee recommended that the land be acquired by the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority as a re-development district.

Because there would be no major transportation facility, the committee was able to recommend structuring or amenity elements that would enhance land use choices. These were a riverfront park and a residential parkway. These in turn set the stage for recommending that a major portion of the land be reused for low- and medium-density residential purposes.

The major reuse debate concerned only 4 acres of land. This tract was abutted by the proposed parkway, existing residential area, a small industrial tract, a major street, and a railroad. The neighborhood argued that to use the land for industrial reasons was not making use of the parkway amenity. Others, including many at city hall, argued that the land was unmarketable as residential land and that the industrial use should be permitted to provide space for expansion of the adjacent industrial oper-

ation. This was principally because another operation by the same owner would be relocated by another city project. After debate by the planning commission and the city council, the neighborhood was given three years to market the land for housing.

After three years, the land is still held by the state, but the neighborhood has a long waiting list of potential residential buyers, and it appears the use will be residential.

The Hiawatha Avenue land is quite different. The land cleared was adjacent to an existing transportation facility. The excess land, which will not be specifically defined until redesign work is completed, will be a narrow strip of variable width along one side of whatever project is finally decided on.

The transportation corridor has always served as a boundary between industrial and residential land use. The cleared land is on the residential side, and the adjacent residential use is largely for low-density, detached single-family houses.

As in the case of I-335, years of debate over the nature of the transportation improvement for Hiawatha Avenue have helped create a very knowledgeable, alert, and influential citizenry that has substantial impact on transportation planning and will now also have substantial impact on land use planning. However, in this case there will be a highway with which reuse must reckon and be compatible. Also, serious consideration is being given to major transit improvement. Active community participants tend to favor light rail transit as the preferred transportation alternative. However, justification for transit in a corridor with industrial use on one side and low-density housing on the other is marginal. High-density reuse would help the cause but is viewed with concern by present residents. Thus, in this corridor, the issues are (a) reconciling the interests of the city and various neighborhood groups, (b) compatibility of land use and design of the transportation facility, (c) balancing land use density with existing land uses and with the need for transit patronage, and (d) maximizing the development potential that may result from transportation improvements.

The process for determining the reuse of land in Minneapolis in the I-335 and Hiawatha corridors is not yet complete. The experience to date suggests several conclusions, some of which are probably quite obvious. First, citizens who develop the power and expertise to stop a freeway will be a major determinant in reuse of land in the corridor; second, more choice is open in corridors where no major transportation facility exists or will exist; third, in a corridor where mixed uses were present before clearance, the residential area tends to expand in the reuse plan, as adjacent residents strive to use the new development as a buffer between them and nonresidential use; and fourth, the narrow linear character of such land use planning areas naturally results in existing adjacent land uses being a principle determinant of reuse. Much less flexibility is available than in other shaped tracts of similar land area. In a sense, it becomes an "edge problem" throughout.

NORTHEAST RADIAL REUSE (Gordon Scholz,
University of Nebraska, Lincoln)

Lincoln, the state capital of Nebraska, lies about 50 miles west of the Missouri River in the southeastern part of the state. With a population of 172 000, Lincoln is second in size to Omaha. Interstate-80, built through Nebraska in the late 1950s and early 1960, connects Lincoln with Omaha to the northeast.

The concept of a northeast radial highway to connect downtown Lincoln with northeast areas of the city has been proposed, developed, and altered numerous times over a 30-year period as a part of the city's planning efforts. In 1967, a preliminary design for a roadway was prepared. The proposal was for a four-lane, median-divided roadway 2.3 miles in length to be built over a 17-year period at an estimated cost of approximately \$30 million.

Following this design study, the city proceeded with land acquisition and expended approximately \$3.4 million for that purpose between 1967 and 1973, when the city council called a halt to all land-acquisition activity in response to opposition to the proposed roadway.

After attempts to revive the radial concept failed in 1979, the Radial Reuse Task Force was established in the summer of 1979 as an advisory group to the city council. Its 12 citizen members were appointed by the mayor and city council to represent the following interests: citizens-at-large, neighborhood organizations, businesses, commercial and industrial interests, alternative energy, and the financial community. The general charge to the task force was to present recommendations to the city council within six months on alternative uses of the city-owned land along a major portion of the proposed corridor.

The city-owned land in the reuse area, approximately 50 acres, is primarily rented to private tenants, although some acreage is used for public purposes. There are broad expanses of vacant land and mature trees. A natural waterway crosses the corridor area and nearby are large grain elevators. There are many unpaved and unimproved streets. A variety of types, styles, and ages of housing (including mobile homes) exists in the area, as do commercial and industrial establishments.

Based on a study of existing conditions and plans, the task force prepared a book of background information, which provided a problem statement and base information for an interdisciplinary visiting team of volunteer professionals called a Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT). This group was invited to Lincoln by the task force to assist in generating reuse ideas. The R/UDAT is a public-service program offered by the national office of the American Institute of Architects.

During the four-day R/UDAT visit to Lincoln, the seven-person team was taken on a bus tour of the reuse area, and special briefing sessions were arranged with various city department staff members. An important part of the R/UDAT weekend was a public hearing at which anyone could voice opinions to the team.

Following the R/UDAT visit, the task force defined and prioritized reuse goals. This was accomplished by synthesizing the findings and results from earlier studies and the R/UDAT recommendations. A list of 23 goal statements was formulated and arranged in priority order through a process that allowed each task force member to allocate 100 points across all 23 goals. Median and mean weights for each goal then determined the order and relative importance assigned to each goal. Based on the goal statements, reuse recommendations were prepared and A Plan for Urban Growth and Redevelopment was published.

The overall design concept that emerged featured industrial land on the north that was separated from residential land on the south by a continuous linear park and bikeway. The linear park and continuous commuter bikeway became a central organizing feature of the reuse proposal. In addition, the proposal included provision for cluster housing along the reuse corridor and in-fill housing on vacant parcels.

The reuse plan was presented to the planning commission and city council in August 1980; it was subsequently endorsed by the planning commission in September and adopted by the city council in November 1980. Implementation of the plan, however, has been delayed by efforts to reconsider the build and no-build options for another section of the corridor.

To date, the case reemphasizes the importance of including a broadly representative task force in the planning process and of providing for the opportunity for public involvement. Outside experts may provide ideas and stimulation, but goals and land use alternatives must ultimately be determined by local representatives if they are to be supported for implementation.

CONCLUSIONS

These cases illustrate a variety of alternative land use proposals ranging from a mixed-use concept to a major emphasis on housing rehabilitation. The opportunity for preservation of open space through the linear park concept was recognized in several of the cases. Radical departures from previous land use patterns were not encouraged, although opportunities for community revitalization were noted both in housing mix and in commercial patterns selected. In most cases, the transportation use for which the corridor had originally been designated seemed to be all but overlooked in the emphasis on creating an improved urban environment. All cities seemed determined to regard the abandoned highway right-of-way as a valuable resource for community redevelopment.

The primary contribution of the case studies, however, was not in the field of urban design but in illuminating key elements in the planning process that would facilitate development of alternative land uses. These elements included references to both planning substance and to implementation strategy. They should blend with both existing city land use plans and with the built environment adjacent to the corridor. Grand revitalization schemes should be replaced by proposals consistent with the density, use, and historical or cultural character of adjacent neighborhoods that fought successfully to prevent dissection by a highway.

The panelists stressed that political cooperation at all levels is essential if the proposed alternate uses are to be implemented. The citizens successful in opposing highway construction must be involved in proposing viable alternative uses. Other interest groups represented by chambers of commerce, industrialists, environmental lobbyists, or government officials must not only be consulted but coopted by participation in a task force primarily responsible for developing an alternative land use proposal. Continued participation of such varied interests is only possible given considerable patience and a spirit of compromise among all parties. Outside consultants may stimulate thinking or add specificity but they cannot substitute for the local planning effort if the plan is to have sufficient popular and government support for implementation. In the final analysis, however, community dedication must be reflected not only in broad public participation but also in the financial support of lending institutions, industrial developers, business interests, and real estate developers who are convinced of the need for and viability of the alternative land use plan.

(Editor's Note: This paper highlights presentations made during a panel discussion on "Alternative Land Uses for Abandoned Right-of-Way" during the January 1981 TRB Annual Meeting. Publication is sponsored by Committee on Transportation and Land Development.)