

Pride of Place

The Strength and Potential of Payne-Arcade

Produced by the Urban Geography Field Seminar • Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota • December 1998

Table of Contents

Introduction page 3

By Dr. David Lanegran

Chapter One page 7

People of the East Side

By Benjamin Gillies, with Matthew Abts and Cathleen Murphy

Chapter Two page 17

Planning on the East Side

By Crista Gardner and Jeffrey A. Norman, with Matthew Abts

Chapter Three page 31

Streetscape

By Ian Duncan and Ian H. Shaw

Chapter Four page 41

**Payne Avenue's
Potential Markets**

*By Claudia Fonkert, Wilson Lau and Kevin M. Shively,
with Benjamin Gillies, Cathleen Murphy,
Heddi Nieuwsma and John Schatz*

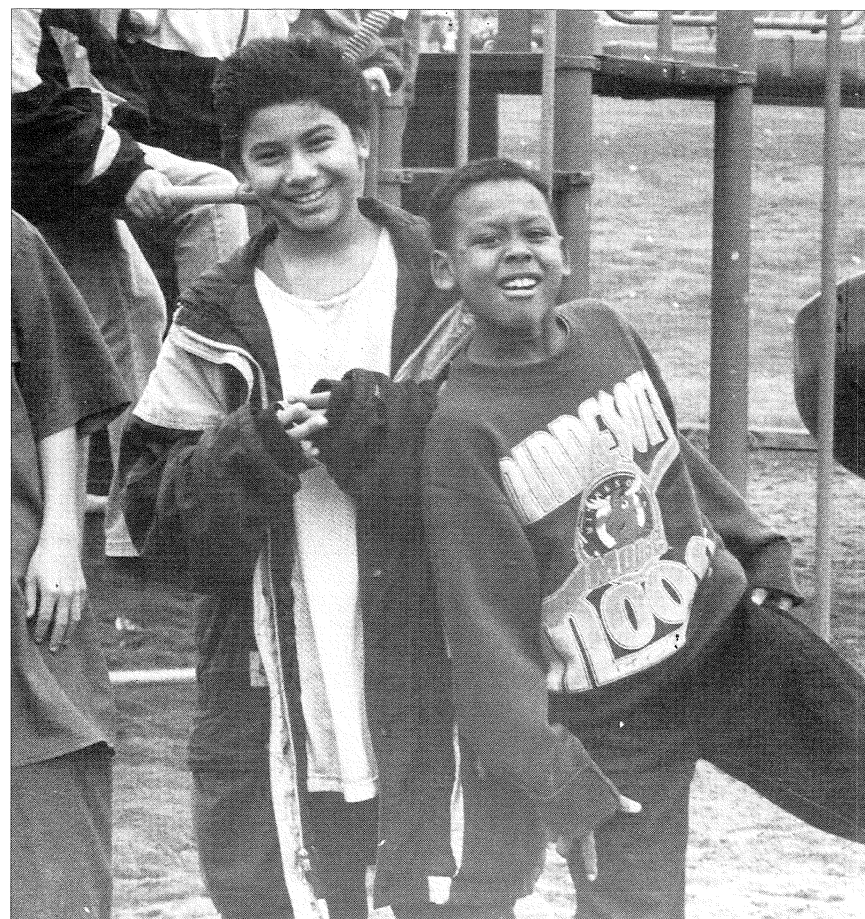
Chapter Five page 69

**Through the Future's Eyes:
Reflections from Johnson High School**

By Heddi Nieuwsma

Conclusion page 77

Introduction

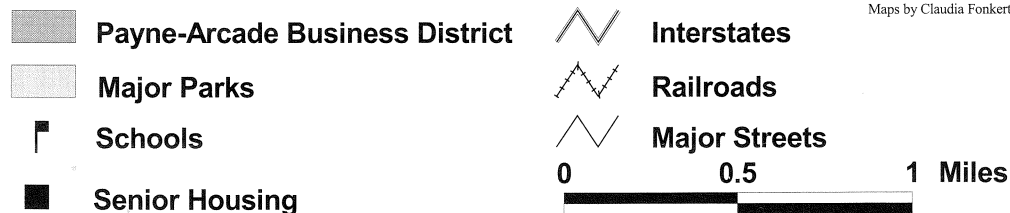
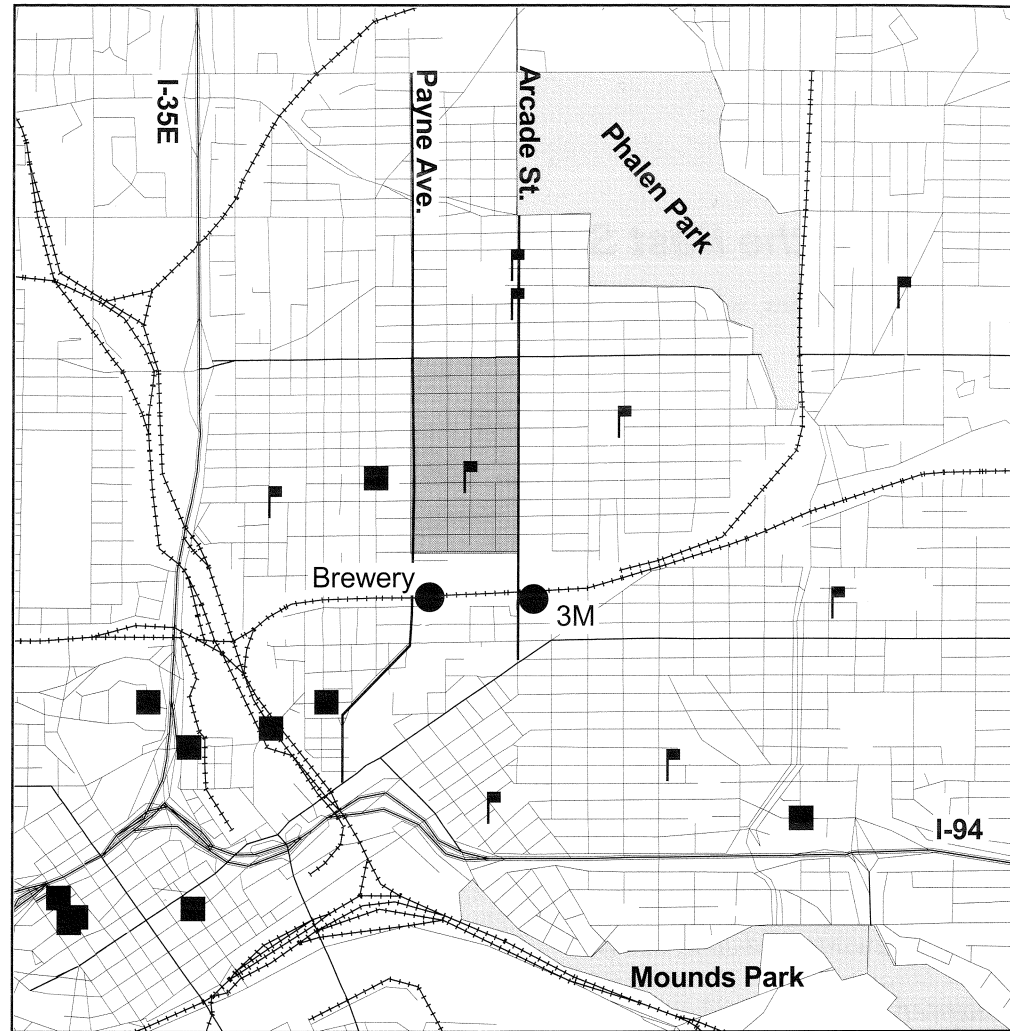
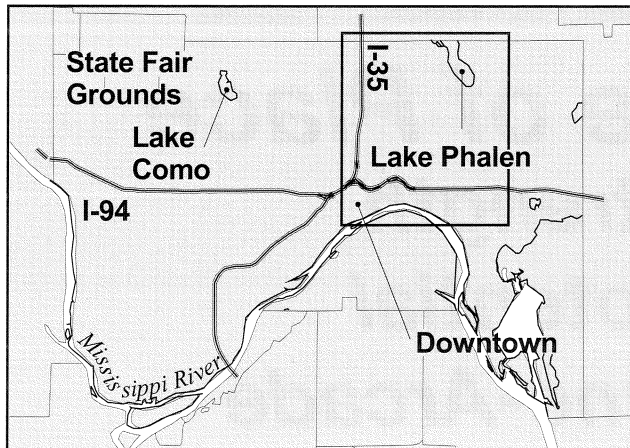
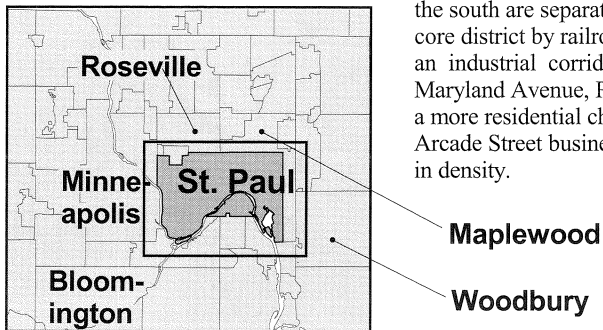


**Pride of Place
The Strength
and Potential
of Payne-Arcade**

Where is the Payne-Arcade Business District?

The Payne-Arcade Business District is located on the East Side of St. Paul, about one mile northeast of downtown, and a mile southwest of Lake Phalen. Payne Avenue runs north-south, extending into the suburb of Maplewood and connecting to downtown via East 7th Street. Arcade Street (US Highway 61) also connects St. Paul's northern suburbs with downtown. It is approximately one third of a mile to the east of Payne. Both streets have regular local bus service. Interstate 35E is about one mile to the west and parallel to both streets. Interstate 94 is one mile south of the district.

Payne Avenue and Arcade Street are both major commercial streets, but their businesses are physically separated by several blocks of residential land use. Still, establishments on each street serve the same neighborhood. While businesses are found along the length of each street, the greatest concentration of commercial activity occurs on a 12-block section of each. These blocks, from Wadena Avenue on the south to Maryland Avenue on the north, serve as the area for this study. Businesses to the south are separated from the core district by railroad tracks and an industrial corridor. North of Maryland Avenue, Payne takes on a more residential character, while Arcade Street businesses decrease in density.





*Businesses along
Payne Avenue*

Introduction



Introduction

This monograph on the economic potential of the Payne-Arcade business district is part of an ongoing effort of the Urban Geography Field Seminars of Macalester College to contribute to the greater understanding of how inner neighborhoods of North American cities can be sustained. The concern for sustainable communities has grown in recent years as the urban populations of metropolitan areas have continued to expand into rural areas, and the population and median income of the older neighborhoods have declined. If our older neighborhoods are abandoned, the greater community will not only suffer the cost of replacing the housing, shops, churches, schools and public infrastructure of these areas, but our population will lose its sense of place. We will no longer have signs in the landscape that tell us of our past and the process that has shaped the present.

Fortunately, many people are determined to maintain the sustainability of communities and have formed organizations that are attempting to preserve and conserve the best qualities of our older neighborhoods. The East Side Neighborhood Development Company, Inc. (ESNDC) is one such organization. Directed by Mike Anderson, a long time East Side resident, ESNDC has promoted a variety of activities intended to find and promote projects

Photo by David Stomberg



Photo by Cathleen Murphy

1998 Harvest Festival, Payne Avenue

that will increase the sustainability of the neighborhoods that make up the greater East Side.

In 1997, Macalester College students and faculty began a collaboration with organizations on the East Side as a part of the college's Action Research Initiative. This effort, directed by Macalester's Community Service Office Director Karin Trail-Johnson and Professor of Urban Studies and former St. Paul Mayor George Latimer, is intended to help create linkages between the ongoing research programs at the college and the questions of city residents. This monograph is part of the Action Research Initiative and its publication was underwritten by a grant

from Minnesota Campus Compact and Minnesota Higher Education Services Office through the Corporation for National Service Learn and Serve America Program.

Every successful place has literature describing it to both its residents and outsiders. Furthermore, places in transition are helped by descriptions that articulate their strengths and weaknesses. Such writings inspire confidence among investors, both small and large. These works also have the power to reinforce positive opinions and point to possible solutions to recognized issues. We hope this work will play a part in the redevelopment of the East Side, one of St. Paul's most success-

ful communities.

For that past 125 years, newcomers to St. Paul have found on the East Side the affordable housing and the supportive community they needed to become a part of the economy and culture of the United States. Several waves of people have called this area home. First were the Yankees and Scandinavians who built the first streets and neighborhoods. They were soon joined by immigrants from Italy, Poland and Ireland. During the 1920s, Mexicans and Spanish-speaking Texans moved in. During the 1980s, African Americans and immigrants from Southeast Asia and their families arrived to take up residence in this stepping stone neighborhood. The East Side has been a springboard for new arrivals who wished to enter the American middle class. It has an enviable reputation. Thousands of people have been propelled by their East Side experience into successful careers and family lives.

If the neighborhood is to continue to fulfill this role in decades to come, changes must be made in the landscape over the next few years. New businesses must be attracted to fill the vacancies on the main thoroughfares. A sense of place and local pride must emerge in the young populations so they will have the confidence needed to foster private investment in the area.

This book is not a plan or set of prescriptions for the concerns of the area. Instead we have attempted to provide some baseline research that we hope will guide discussions among the community and decision makers about their future. We have focused attention on the potential of the two commercial streets.

***The East Side has
been a springboard
for new arrivals
who wished to
enter the American
middle class.***

While no commercial strip can exist apart from the neighborhood it serves, commercial strips can be instrumental in the redevelopment of neighborhoods in several ways. First, because they are heavily traveled, any change on the streets is seen and discussed by large numbers of people. Second, commercial streets serve as social spaces where neighborhood residents congregate and share experiences. The streets are like seams that can stitch diverse neighborhoods together. Thus, a successful street frequently spurs a rapid revitalization of surrounding residences. Commercial strips are ideal

places for organizations to begin the revitalization process.

We are convinced that the time is ripe for the redevelopment process to begin on Payne and Arcade. We base this opinion on our very conservative analysis of the wealth in the market area of Payne-Arcade. Using the industry standards for measuring consumer spending power, we show that over one billion dollars is spent each year by residents of this area. To be sure, most of this money is drained out of the area by competing commercial districts. Second the potential of the the East Side has not been recognized by outsiders. Consequently, rents are not high and there are several vacancies. This is important because small scale entrepreneurs just beginning operations have a chance to establish themselves in the area.

We also are impressed by the fact that the public schools are working hard to instill a sense of pride in the coming generations of Eastsiders. According to our survey, 59 percent of Johnson High Students who live on the East Side like their neighborhood. In addition, many of these student take a fierce and somewhat defensive pride in living on the East Side. If their energy and creativity can be harnessed, the revitalization will proceed quickly.

It has been a great pleasure work with this seminar. Their energy,

dedication, intelligence and humor have made the heavy workload seem light. Each student played an important role in the research, writing and production of the book. Special thanks are due to Katie Murphy who acted as editor-in-chief and Heddi Nieuwsma who not only was our liaison to Johnson High School but also co-edited this book. We could not have produced the key maps and graphic components of the work without the generous support of Carol Gersmehl, Macalester's cartographer. She helped our cartographers, Claudia Fonkert and Ian Duncan, in countless ways.

Dr. David Lanegran

**Pride of Place:
The Strength and Potential of Payne-Arcade**

*Produced by the
Urban Geography Field Seminar
Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota
December 1998*

Dr. David Lanegran, Ph.D.

Matthew Abts
Ian Duncan
Claudia Fonkert
Crista Gardner
Benjamin Gillies
Wilson Lau
Cathleen Murphy
Heddi Nieuwsma
Jeffrey A. Norman
Ian H. Shaw
John Schatz
Kevin M. Shively

*With the assistance of the
Advanced Placement Geography Class
Johnson High School, St. Paul, Minnesota
Mr. Kelly Swanson*

Annette Hanley	Chue F. Lee
Thomas Hofer	Som S. Lor
Jonathan Iserman	David Stomberg
Phoua Kong	John Wagner
Punnavith Koy	Lauren Wilson

Acknowledgements

Daniel Bostrom

Xavier Escobedo

Reverend Nadell Fullwood

Carol Gersmehl

Fran Ivory

Larry Laughlin

The Mac Weekly

Garneth Peterson

Reverend Bill Pratt

Marlyn Trevino

Mark Vander Schaaf

Kelly Swanson, Johnson High School teacher

The AP Geography Class (see class list at left)

Gary Whipple, Johnson High School guidance counselor

Members of the Johnson High School Governor's Club:
Richard Lundberg, Dave Walgren, Jeremy Armstrong,
Douglas Heitkamp, Rob Boldt, Robb Murray,
Jason Michaelson, Bud Swendner.

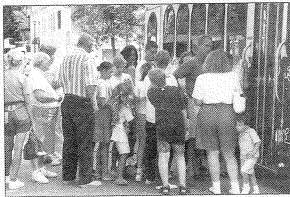
*The opinions expressed in this book are the responsibility of the authors and not
the Trustees or Officers of Macalester College.*



Harvest Festival-goers board a bus painted to recall a trolley.

Chapter One

People of the East Side



Chapter One

People of the East Side

- Population Trends
- Business Environment
- Interview: Marlyn Trevino
- Interview: Nadell Fullwood
- Interview: Bill Pratt
- Place-names

Photo by Cathleen Murphy

Population Trends on the East Side

While the first settlement of St. Paul was established in the 1840s, the segment of Payne Avenue and Arcade Street above Wells began to be developed in the 1880s by Scandinavian immigrants. This was a period of rapid growth. In fact, population growth in the Twin Cities was at twice the rate of the state as a whole between 1870 and 1890. Residents of Swedish heritage continued to dominate the population for several decades. According to the 1990 census, the Payne-Arcade area was largely occupied by whites, but by examining the population data from the last six sets of census data, we can attempt to better understand the demographic trends affecting the corridor.

Despite the migration of Swedes out of Swede Hollow by 1900 and the decline in the number of Scandinavian residents in this area after the 1930s, we can see in the chart to the right that Swedish immigrants were still a high 14 percent of residents in 1940. Together with others of European ancestry, they made up fully 99 percent of residents. Little change is apparent in the ethnic and racial makeup of the neighborhood until the census of 1990; with the exception of the declining proportion of Swedes, due to the pro-



Photo by Cathleen Murphy

Woman and children stop in at a booth during the Harvest Festival in September.

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Population	5, 031	4, 994	4, 811	4, 517	3, 742	3, 842
Largest Immigrant Group	Swedish 722 14%	Swedish 394 8%	Swedish 776 16%*			
Asian/ Pacific Islander					8 <1%	272 7%
Latino					123 3.2%	199 5%
African American	1 < 1%		0 0%	1 <1%	9 <1%	146 4%
European American	5, 025 99%		4, 804 99%	4, 485 99%	3, 592 96%	3, 193 83%

This data was taken from the US Census for the respective years. As is other statistical data in this section. Categories were chosen to allow for changes in Census classifications. The tract which was originally tract 10 and later tract 0310 is part of the area to be studied and was chosen for its having maintained a high level of comparability throughout the time studied. Where cells are empty, data was not collected for this category.

*The 1960 Census reports "Foreign Stock", which includes both foreign born residents and those who had at least one foreign born parent.

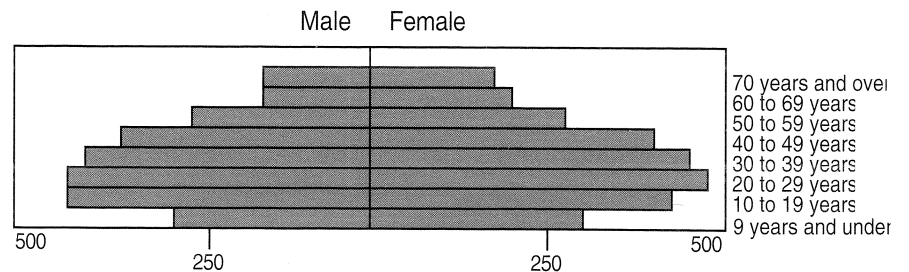
gression of assimilation. With the benefit of hindsight, the changes apparent in the 1990 data are foreshadowed by the small new populations of Asian and Latino residents, who we see in the 1980 count. Recent observation in the area would suggest a continuation of growth of minority communities. For example, Johnson High School's student body is 30 percent Asian American, 15 percent African American, four percent Latino, one percent Native American and 50 percent European American. The East Side Neighborhood Development Company's decision to work toward establishing Asian-owned businesses is wise in light of the obvious shifts in the racial and ethnic characteristics of the neighborhood. However, attention should also be paid to the entrepreneurs of other minority groups, such as Latinos, whose populations show growth.

Equally important to the future of the neighborhood are the changes in the age and gender of area residents. A useful tool for identifying the processes of neighborhood change is the age/sex pyramid. These graphs track populations in various age categories in census tract 310, which is within the Payne-Arcade study area and has maintained comparability through the decades. They can be used singly, to provide a snapshot of a popula-

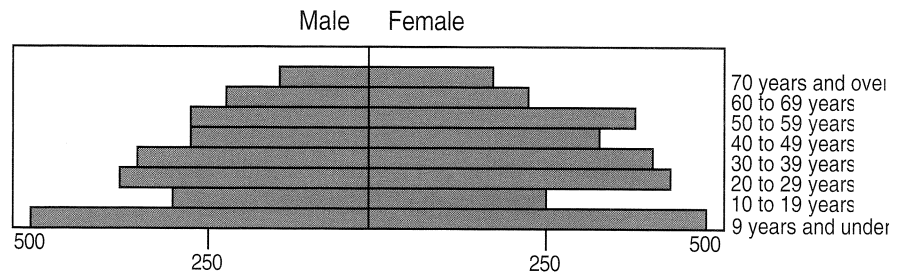
tion; or in series, to illustrate change over time. For example, a pyramid with a wide base and thinner summit shows a quickly growing population because there are relatively few adults and many children. In contrast, a very steep, verticle, or inverted slope signals a stable or declining population. Historical events are also depicted by them.

After 1950, the middle-age and elderly cohorts are reduced. This is likely due to the outward movement of established families to suburban areas. Birth rates, however, remain quite high, signaling a large population of young families. This population seems most obvious in 1990 when young children and 25-35 year-olds are the largest populations. The reduction in middle-age residents is important, as income changes drastically at through the life cycle. Most workers reach their peak earning power in their 50s. Consequently it is in the best interest of a neighborhood to keep its middle-aged residents. On the other hand, young families often have little extra income and have different needs, as does the still significant elderly population. In response to changing demographics business owners must adapt their selection, marketing, and service paractices if they are to prosper.

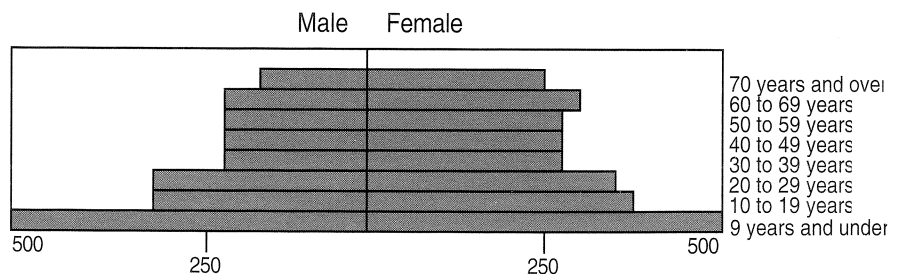
AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1940



AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1950

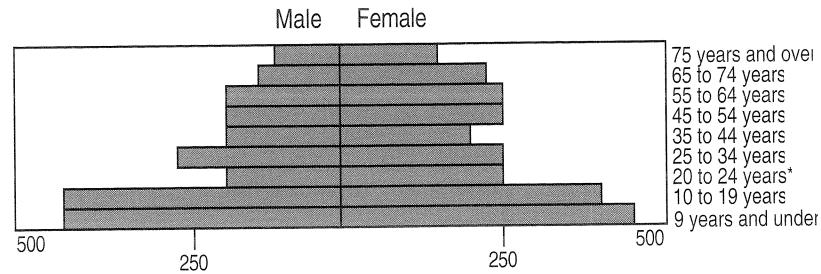


AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1960

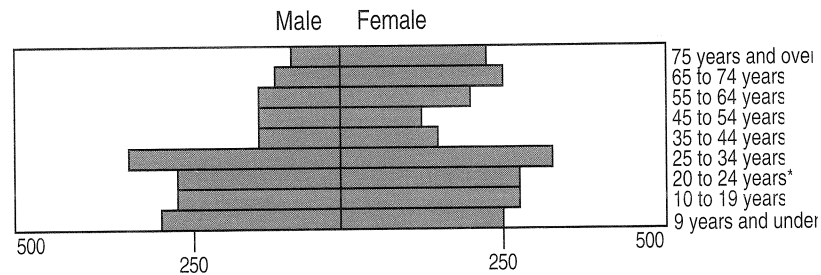


* Metadata note: The census changed its method of age classification for 1970 and later. This change means that some difference exists in the classification groups here as well.

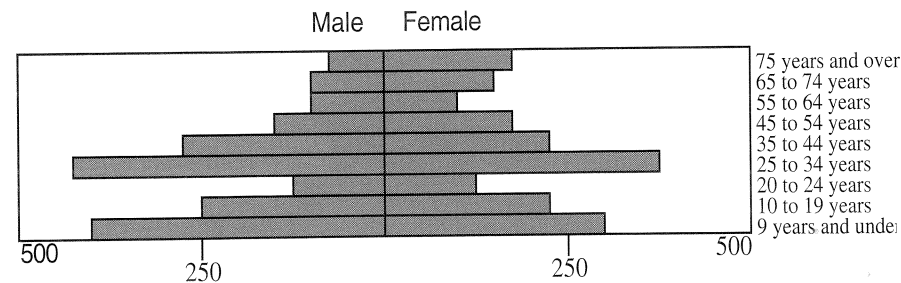
AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1970



AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1980



AGE/SEX PYRAMID 1990



Business Environment

At the time of Payne-Arcade's settlement, changes were taking place in the methods of city-building. While the steel-frame skyscraper, began to transform America's downtowns, the street car impacted the pattern of residential neighborhoods and the business strips that served them. The skyscraper allowed the building structures taller than 10 stories to be feasible and concentrated downtown development. Conversely, streetcars expanded the range of residential growth. In the past, the vast majority of city dwellers had been pedestrians, limiting their routine movement to a three-mile radius. Streetcars extended this range considerably, resulting in a less dense, single-family-home pattern.

Commercial strips are another feature often associated with the streetcar city and Payne-Arcade's strip has a history of long-lived family-owned businesses, some of which survive today. Among these are Anderson's Shoes and Borgstrom's. In a collection of interviews, *Up & Down the Avenue*, residents and business owners recount their experience with the street. Many discuss the congenial nature of street life earlier in the century as well as changes in business opportunities. For example,

Bill Godwin, who purchased Payne Avenue Hardware in 1955 blames the rising cost of being an entrepreneur as a factor in the decline of small-business ownership. He states that, "Now a store won't even look at you if you don't have \$150,000-\$200,000. That's why it's so hard for young people starting out today. A young person can't get in unless the business is being passed on from father to son." He also cites rising property taxes and changes in retailing, specifically shopping centers as obstacles. Other interview subjects named malls, supermarkets, and shopping centers as contributing to the decline of business in the area.

Conclusions

Many shopping streets have experienced the negative effects of changes in transportation systems and residential patterns as our urban areas have become increasingly suburban and automobile-oriented. Those that have prospered have done so mainly by addressing shopping as an activity of recreation rather than one of utility and by forming strategies to attract customers to the unique character of their area and unifying the street.

This concept of street-unification helps the street to compete with its larger competitors with their more diverse selection by making

each store a part of a linear “superstore” of greater market power. While Payne-Arcade has made some movement toward this concept, it needs to do more promotion of its historicity, its atmosphere, and growing diversity.

We have seen that Payne-Arcade has been affected three kinds of change since its settlement: changes in its racial and ethnic character, its demographics, and a changing business climate. The first, much talked about, must be addressed. The neighborhood must decide how to integrate these new residents into the its social and economic structures while remembering and utilizing the area’s strong immigrant tradition. The changing demographics in the neighborhood dictate that organizations in the community find ways to address not only minority and ethnic populations, but the growing number of young families as well. The neighborhood needs to keep its population of stable residents. Lastly, the street’s business community must learn to work as a cohesive unit to promote itself and its member businesses, create demand for its services outside its area, and keep the business of the neighborhood’s residents.

Sources - *The Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis*, Aber, Adams, and Borchert; *Historic Sites Survey of Sain and Ramsey County: History of St. Paul and Vicinity*; “From Swede Hollow to Arlington Hills, From Snoose Boulevard to Minnehaha Parkway: Swedish Neighborhoods of the Twin Cities”, Lanegran, David 1996; *Up & Down the Avenue: 100 Years of Change*, East Side Arts Council c. 1991.

Interview: Marlyn Trevino, Volunteer

As reflected in census reports from the past fifty years, the population of the East Side has become more diverse. Yet according to longtime resident Marlyn Trevino, the most important characteristic of the community has been constant — East Side pride. “There is still a great sense of community here,” said Trevino.

Trevino has lived on the East Side for more than 40 years and has been a volunteer in the community. As past president of the former Phalen Area Community Council (PACC), Trevino also edited PACC’s newspaper, *The Eastsider*. Another one of her volunteer activities has been her involvement with the East Side Neighborhood Development Company (ESNDC), for which she has volunteered for the last 15 years.

Except for the early years of her marriage, Trevino has lived in St. Paul her entire life. She and her late husband, Arthur, moved their family to the neighborhood in 1957 after living briefly in a suburb of the city. Trevino said that her family moved to the East Side because

of “the accessibility of everything.” Her husband worked nearby at the 3M plant. Her six children mostly went to local public schools. Payne Avenue provided an abundance of amenities, including two bakeries, two meat markets, a major grocery store, several clothing stores and shoe stores.

Trevino believes that the community needs retail businesses to return — businesses which would be compatible with the diversity of the East Side today. “There was a lot more retail, and that’s the part that I miss,” Trevino said. “That’s what I’m looking forward to as ESNDC goes into more of the activities it has going on now. Eventually maybe we can look more to more retail. And at this stage in the game with the change in the neighborhood, it’s exciting, because we could have more diverse types of businesses.”

She added that improving the housing stock in the community is also vital to the community. “One of the more serious issues in the community such as this is that housing starts to deteriorate, so by having an organization like ESNDC that is at least going to make a concerted effort to try to keep abreast of it I think is very important. [Businesses and



Photo by Cathleen Murphy

housing] go hand in hand — one deteriorates, the other is going to. The important thing is to get a handle on it.”

Trevino also sees recognizing and welcoming diversity in the community as important for the future of the East Side. “I think because the community is so diverse, it is really essential that as an organization and as a community that we reach out to all these groups of people that are coming into our community and make [the East Side] a really livable and working place,” she said. •



Fullwood on the right, a friend on the left.

Photo by Matthew Abts

Interview: Nadell Fullwood, Pastor Word of Life Christian Fellowship

Nadell Fullwood is the pastor of Word of Life Christian Fellowship, a congregation that began two years ago. He and his wife Carol, who is also a pastor at Word of Life, have lived on the East Side for six years. When they first looked for a building for their congregation, they were drawn to the East Side. "My wife and I drove up and down Payne Avenue, and we looked in other places, but on the East Side there was just this comfort, and we thought this is where we belong," Fullwood said. The congregation of East Emmanuel, which shares its build-

ing with the Word of Life Christian Fellowship, has been very welcoming. "The hospitality that they have shown to us is breathtaking. Our contract was up last month, and the whole church agreed to let us stay here another year, we've gotten along very well, I love it," Fullwood said.

One of the things that Fullwood really likes is the mix of people on the East Side. "I think that any neighborhood you move into should be diverse," he said. In the past, the area has been predominantly white, and many residents are tense because of the minorities moving in. But the demographic change "is inevitable, and

if you don't want to change with the times, you've got a problem," he said. One thing preventing residents from coming together is what Fullwood calls the "fear factor." "People have this myth that all black people are violent, but that's not true." People can experience just how false this myth is through athletics at the local community organizations. The Monday night basketball league at the YMCA is just one example. "We haven't had one fight, or bad language," Fullwood said. He also mentioned the need for media coverage of positive developments in the neighborhood.

Another positive scene is the community leadership. Whites are wisely including African Americans on many boards and steering committees. "They're tearing down the walls, and allowing us to be a part of the change on the East Side, that's tearing down the fear factor, and so in the end, we become friends," he said. As Fullwood pointed out, he can now refer people in the African American community to white leaders, and he's noticed white leaders sending people to him, so that a network is created across racial lines.

Still, a lot of the responsibility for racial harmony in the neighborhood lies with the people at the very top of the hierarchy. If the "powers that be" or the "good old boys" decide that they will control everything

and exclude minorities, then they will poison the spirit of the neighborhood. "That leaves an atmosphere of contention, the atmosphere of division which I don't

"They're tearing down the walls, and allowing us to be a part of the change on the East Side, that's tearing down the fear factor, and so in the end, we become friends."

think any neighborhood should have," Fullwood said. If on the other hand, the "powers that be" open their doors and see everybody as equal, this would "really help the East Side, the West Side, and any side there is." These issues need to be talked about, rather than just swept under the rug if the east side is to move forward.

Another problem that can not be ignored is housing. The neighborhood needs to create enough low cost housing to support the influx of people. If it doesn't, Fullwood warns, people are forced to overcrowd the existing houses, which can create legal complications.

Fullwood sees the neighborhood as economically vibrant. “There are businesses galore on the East Side, and with the Phalen Corridor Initiative bringing in more businesses, our economic development is going to go sky high. I can see this neighborhood really taking off economically over the next five to ten years,” he said. During this economic revitalization, the East side should focus on jobs for uneducated people that enable them to support themselves. When people can’t support their family on their wage, they sometimes turn to crime to fill the gap. A much better alternative would be trade school, which is one of the projects in Fullwood’s vision. “My whole vision is centered around meeting the needs of the community. I have a very large vision, to reach the teens on the East Side, the homeless people on the East Side, to start a skills center to help people get a trade, and employment services to put them on jobs after they finish school or other training, where they can take care of themselves.” Fullwood is already mobilizing capital and taking business classes so that he can make his visions a reality. •

Interview: Bill Pratt Pastor East Emmanuel

Bill Pratt has been the pastor of East Emmanuel Luther for 25 years. The son of a naval officer, he graduated from Stanford University in 1964 and joined the Air Force, stationed in great Falls Montana. While there, he made a decision for Christ through the Billy Graham crusade. After attending Luther Seminary in St. Paul, and began his ministry at Peace Emmanuel Lutheran Church on Payne, which became an independent Lutheran church and changed its name.

The role of the church is complicated, because it is located in the city, but most of its members live in the suburbs, which makes it hard for them to relate to the neighborhood. A year ago, the congregation did a study to see whether they should relocate. They decided to stay on Payne, but realized that integrating other ethnic groups would be essential to their survival. Refugees from Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia have already joined the congregation, and Emanuel Lutheran shares its building with Word of Life Christian Fellowship. Other churches in the area have also followed this model. Ar-

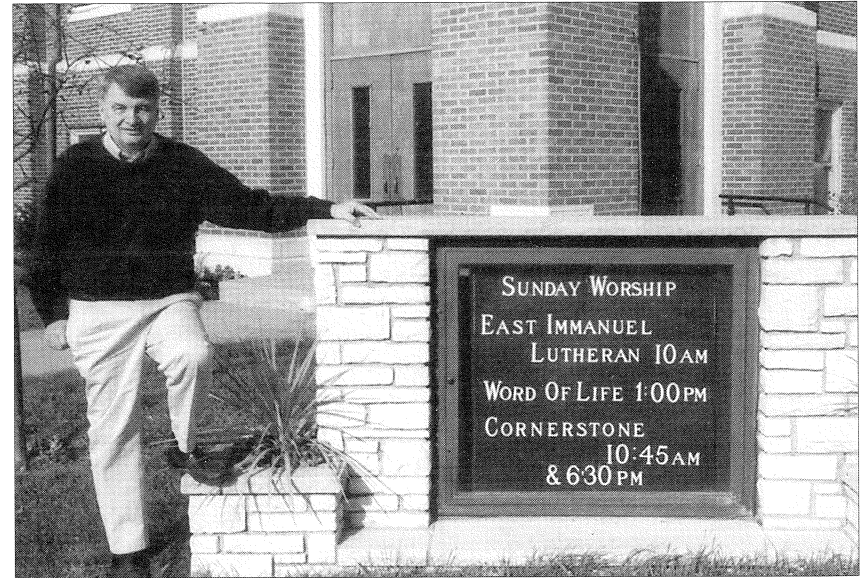


Photo by Matthew Abts

lington Hills is an Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) church with a Black Pentacostal congregation and a Mennonite Hmong congregation within its walls. At Messiah’s East Gate, a Mennonite-Lutheran Congregation and a Hispanic congregation occupy the same building. Bill sees a lot of gains being made through sharing space with others. “People grow, and we also see a lot of barriers broken down between people and between various ethnic groups. When people get to know individuals as individuals and not just as a member of an ethnic group, then we see the walls come down. That’s a big plus.”

In addition, East Emmanuel has tried to minister to the neighborhood

through participating in a food pantry, youth tutoring and outreach programs and the Salvation Army’s hot meals program. Because the congregation is small in numbers and wealth, they have formed a relationship with some suburban churches. The other churches provide money and volunteers, and channel their efforts through the leadership and location of East Emmanuel.

In his long term, Pratt has noticed some changes in the neighborhood, especially in the increase in ethnic groups. He credits this largely to the low-rent housing, which fills up with people who can’t afford high rents—often minorities. One

symbol of the change is a Hmong newspaper in Borgstrom's Drugstore alongside a Swedish newspaper which has been there for years.

Pratt finds that people from the suburbs often have a false perception of the East Side. "I would say that in the upper income suburban areas this area is seen as a high crime area and a place to avoid if at all possible. But I don't think people are really living in

"[The neighborhood needs] meaningful jobs. . . that would allow a person to be a homeowner and to have a hope for the future rather than just riding out a meager existence with no hope for advancement."

fear here," he said. The East Side has advantages over the rest of St. Paul and the suburbs, according to Pratt. "The East Side is probably more of a community than other parts of St. Paul. There's a lot of history here, and a lot of pride here, and you see it in the Harvest Festival," he said.

Nonetheless, many are fleeing to the suburbs in search of better schools and more stable housing values. Not everybody is moving out though: for example the hardware store, Our Own Hardware, that burned down is re-opening rather than relocating. In response to community demand, a 2.5 million dollar Salvation Army building was placed on Payne.

Pratt sees the solution to the neighborhood's ills in a combination of jobs and hope. "If the Phalen Corridor brings in the kind of businesses and employment opportunities that they say it's going to, I think this neighborhood could reverse the direction it's going in and really become the kind of community that people like to live in. I believe that it will help a lot." Pratt also stressed that the neighborhood needs "meaningful jobs, not just KFC and McDonald's jobs, but jobs that would allow a person to be a homeowner and to have a hope for the future rather than just riding out a meager existence with no hope for advancement. Hope is necessary, otherwise, why try? I think it's really important that the churches can give them hope religiously, and the community can give them economic hope." •

Essay: Place-names and vernacular regions

People who feel a strong attachment to their neighborhoods generally give them a special name. While the name East Side is generally applied to the entire section of St. Paul east of I-35E, residents of the area use other names to signify special locations. Place names like Swede Hollow, Railroad Island, Dayton's Bluff and Mounds Park all signify special parts of the East Side. Areas recognized by local inhabitants as having special features are called vernacular regions.

The map illustrates our attempt to determine vernacular regions in our study area by examining the use of local names by businesses. There are clear patterns in the area of Phalen, but East Side names are widespread with a concentration on Payne and Arcade. There is an interesting in the expansion of vernacular regions. If a name for a place has a positive connotation, nearby residents tend to claim the name and the vernacular region expands.

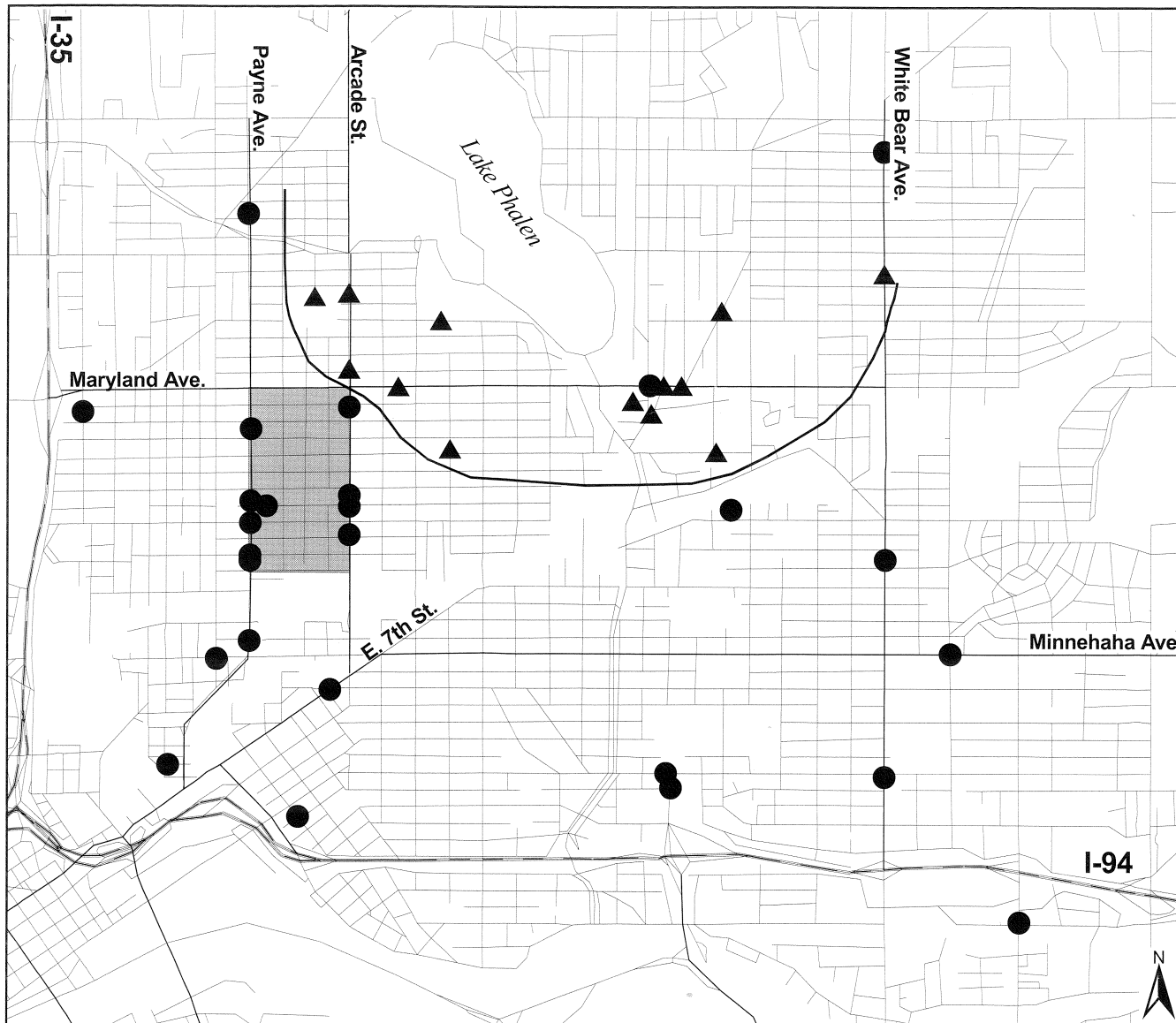
Several examples of this change in the boundaries of such regions exist in the Twin Cities. Perhaps the most useful case is the expansion of Crocus Hill. This label once referred to a small neighbor-

hood on the west side of downtown St. Paul bordered by Grand Avenue, the St. Clair Bluff, and St. Albans. Realtors expanded the area to Victoria and then Lexington. Examples include "Cooks of Crocus Hill" at 877 Grand Avenue and "Crocus Hill Gift Emporium" at 957 Grand Ave.

The Payne-Arcade corridor has lessons to learn from this concept.

Creating greater perceived cohesion along the streets could help to establish multiple-stop consumption patterns. Another way to encourage economic vitality in a region is to link it with a region of greater prosperity. Similarly, the Payne-Arcade area is abutted by a more prosperous region around Phalen Lake. Surveys indicated that this Phalen region is more highly regarded than the Payne-Arcade area. The conceptual power of the Phalen label is increased by its use in the Phalen Corridor Initiative. If Phalen were to be used in naming establishments on Payne and Arcade, the perceived distance between the commercial ribbon and the lake area would be reduced and a positive shift in the image of the Payne-Arcade corridor, and therefore economic opportunity, would result.

Vernacular Business Names



■ Payne-Arcade Business District

Business name includes:

● Eastside

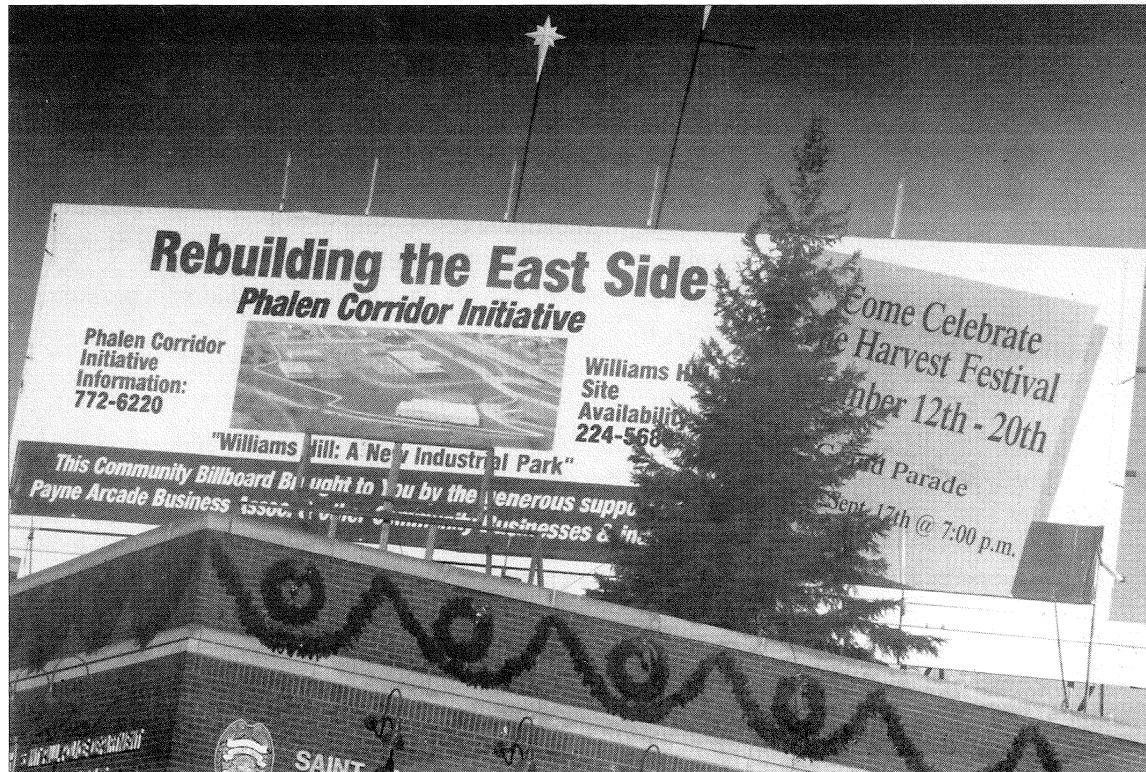
▲ Phalen

Symbols represent businesses whose names include a reference to specified place or neighborhood name.

⤿ Approximate extent of Lake Phalen vernacular region

Source: Internet Yellow Pages, Oct. 1998

Map by Claudia Fonkert



A billboard at Payne and Minnehaha communicates the enthusiasm and prospects of the Phalen Corridor Initiative.

Chapter Two

Planning on the East Side