City Hall officials in North Adams will readily admit off the record what is known to everyone on the street: North Adams is a desperate community. The recent lay-offs at Sprague Electric, though severe, are only the latest blows in a forty year period of steady decline. The city has lost over a fifth of its population since 1940, per capita income has remained consistently below -- and unemployment well above -- local, state and national levels. In 1980, 14.56% of the city's people lived below the poverty line, and this figure has without doubt increased under the Reagan administration.

North Adams' plight has not gone un-noticed. It has been the site of a number of urban redevelopment projects. The $295,000 Eagle Street/Monument Square Historic District, the $4,300,000 East Bay Development Corporation's plaza (anchored by the K-Mart store), the Hadley Overpass and the Hoosic River channel were all undertaken with the city's revitalization in mind. The Western Gateway Urban Heritage Park (WGUHP) is North Adams' most ambitious public/private urban redevelopment project to date.

Scheduled to open on Memorial Day, 1985 ("or thereabouts"2), it is hoped that the WGUHP will transform an abandoned old B&M (Boston and Maine Railroad) freightyard, which is a nationally registered Historic District, into an attractive and thriving retail park complex. The WGUHP is designed to be both a boutique

1See Appendix II.
2Carter Terenzini in conversation.
and restaurant complex as well as a historic celebration of the days when North Adams was the fastest growing and largest community in Berkshire County. In this paper I shall analyze the project's economic rationale, its environmental impact and its landscape aesthetics in order to make a critique of the project's validity and viability.

Undertaking and Executing the Project

Active citizen participation in the planning process is both essential and useful for a variety of reasons: to check the possible misuse of power, for a more informed and wiser electorate, to communicate citizen attitudes to planners and decisionmakers, to help recapture a sense of self-determination, for conflict resolution and to tap the expertise in each person.

Did the City of North Adams involve its citizenry in the planning and construction of the WGUHP? Or did it instead undertake the project in what McAllister refers to as "the traditional approach," where "the planning team conducts its work in relative isolation from citizens and then presents the final results for adoption at a meeting of public officials, which citizens are allowed to attend."

In fact, the city took just such a traditional approach. No active or passive forms of citizen participation (see McAllister, pp. 242-254 for examples of both) were solicited by the city in undertaking the WGUHP. No polls were taken and no public

3McAllister, p. 241.
4Ibid., pp. 241-242. Changed verbs from the passive to the active form.
meetings were held concerning the project's plans during either the in-design or construction periods. In its preliminary Environmental Notification Form (ENF), the city argued that there had been sufficient citizen input and approval. As evidence it presented the results of public meetings concerning housing and public services and claimed to be consistent with the broader desires of the citizens expressed there. Instead of soliciting citizen input, the city merely asserted the citizenry's tacit support in planning the project. This is evident in the conclusion of the preliminary ENF:

The project is consistent with federal and state plans, SCORP, DEM plans, City agency and commission plans. ...The plan is consistent with local growth policy statements and will serve to reverse the decline in residential value and conversion of residential to marginal commercial in the Furnace Street residential area and areas south of the park.5

This essentially paternalistic approach is not consistent with good planning techniques within a healthy democracy. In defense of the project's planners might be proffered the argument that in this metropolitanized, apathetic and atomistic age the managerial and logistical problems of involving the citizenry are simply too great. Such an argument would fail miserably in North Adams both in theory and by virtue of a nearby dramatic example to the contrary.

McAllister writes that,

Fully active and direct citizen input to the evaluation process is a useful goal, but it is more like an ideal to strive toward than a standard that we can be expected to

5Preliminary ENF, p. 10.
achieve regularly. Active citizen involvement throughout the in-design and post-design evaluation process seems reachable mainly in situations where the problem being addressed by planning is relatively nontechnical and the affected population is not too large.6

The planning of North Adams' WGUHP was clearly not an overly technical project nor can a city of approximately 16,000 be considered unwisely large.

The development of nearby Burlington, Vermont's waterfront into a similar kind of historic commercial/civic/theme park provides a dramatic contrast in its approach to planning. Burlington is a city of over 38,000 and its waterfront development project is much more technically complex, and yet, as Socialist Mayor Bernard Sanders explains, there was tremendous citizen participation:

What we said is that the waterfront is too important to simply allow a developer to come in and do what they wanted to do. So we held several public meetings, which involved several hundred people coming out, and we sent out a questionnaire to those people. (Over 1,000 were returned.) We basically asked, "What do you want on the waterfront and what don't you want on the waterfront?" And in one word the basic response was, "Access: we want the waterfront to be open to the people." Of course, we had a lot of specifics about what sorts of public amenities people like - bike paths, parks, museums, low buildings, cultural activities, etc. We took all that and then a developer walked in and said, "We're interested in developing the waterfront." We said, "OK, here's a list of what the people of Burlington have indicated they would like to see on the waterfront."7

Why was no such list drawn up in North Adams? The WGUHP is expected to revitalize North Adams, and will without doubt transform the city's physical nature and socio-economic rela-

6McAllister, p. 252. (Emphasis added.)
7Germinale, Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 9, c. 2.
tions. Oughtn't these to be considered "too important" to be left in the hands of developers, planners and a few elected officials? The city's paternalistic and anti-democratic approach to the WGUHP project cannot be endorsed. Furthermore, it may well be argued that it is this approach that lies at the root of the project's fundamental inadequacy which shall be discussed below.

**Defining the WGUHP as a Sphere of Human Activity**

It is a commonplace of environmental analysis that "everything is connected." This principle is most obviously manifest when considering an issue such as acid rain where the "externalities" of certain human activities ramify through bio-chemical and other bio-spheric systems in such a destructive manner as to constitute a grave international controversy. The principle is no less valid, however, in considering less obvious and more localized human activities where strictly ecological ramifications are nearly insignificant. The WGUHP is just such a proposed human activity of modest scale and environmental impact. It is officially described in the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) proposal as, "The redevelopment of the National (Historic) Register "Freight Yard" District for a commercial/civic/theme park complex with related site improvements." As such, it makes manifest the First Rule of Ecology

*UDAG, p. 50.*
through primarily societal interactions. Disregarding the
meta-relational realm, there are three distinct levels of human
activity, each of which is, of course, inter-subjectively
constituted: the immediate, the local and the reasonably
complete.

The site itself is a 7.5 acre freightyard on which there are
six old freighthouses. (See Appendix A, pp. 1-3.) The site is
bounded on the east by the Hadley Overpass, on the south by
Furnace Street and dense urban development, on the west by the
steep slope of Witts Ledge, which is rather densely developed
with mostly low-income housing, and on the north by the B&M
tracks and the Hoosic River channel, across which lies City Hall
and downtown North Adams.

The yard has a distinctly claustrophobic atmosphere as the
views it provides are dominated on the one side by Witts Ledge
and its ramshackle development, and on the other by the steel
structure of the Hadley Overpass which is painted with that
heavy-duty, "industrial green" paint that is so reminiscent of
East Orange, NJ. Standing in the park is like standing in an
ugly, man-made hole. The project's original plan recognized this
and recommended removing four buildings to provide more open
space within the yard, but the Massachusetts Department of
Environmental Management (DEM) disallowed it.

The freighthouses themselves are all plain wooden struct-
ures, two stories high (except #5 which has three stories) with
loading docks and few windows. They were basically warehouses,
used originally for storing railroad supplies, coal and other dry goods. They were connected to the B&O mainline by short spurs for loading and unloading. The freighthouses are to be converted into restaurants and boutiques.

It is in its economic aspects that the WGUHP will have its greatest impact on the locale of North Adams. All of the socio-economic relations of a mid-size retail complex will be generated in the city: a number of service jobs and a few managerial positions, increased tax revenue, increased demand placed on the city's services, and, it is hoped, an influx of tourist dollars clearly indicates that any reasonably complete definition of the WGUHP as a sphere of human activity must include the out-of-town tourists. The WGUHP is not expected to cultivate new visitors to the area, per se. Rather it is intended for it to compete for the tourists which already regularly descend upon the Berkshires, and thereby make the region achieved by means of an influx of tourist dollars clearly indicates that any reasonably complete definition of the WGUHP as a sphere of human activity must include the out-of-town tourists. The WGUHP is not expected to cultivate new visitors to the area, per se. Rather it is intended for it to compete for the tourists which already regularly descend upon the Berkshires, and thereby make the region as a whole incrementally more attractive to the visiting populace. This populace is primarily centered in the metropolitan areas of New York and Boston.
The WGUHP will therefore serve as a concrete interface between North Adams and the world at large. It will be across the counters of its boutiques that the dialectic of economic interaction between the local and the large will take place. Whether or not the human activity of the WGUHP as retail complex should prove viable will depend upon this dialectic. And a great deal does depend upon its success. Sprinkled throughout the UDAG proposal are such statements as, "The project should play a substantial role in reshaping the image of North Adams." Therefore, though in this paper I shall refer to the human activity as specific to the retail park complex, in determining the project's viability I shall analyze the suitability of the city on the one side of the dialectic, and on the other its attraction for visitors from outside the community.

Planned Benefits: A Two-Sided Critique

The WGUHP's planned benefits must be considered from two separate perspectives: that of North Adams and that of the visiting populace. This is necessary because the potential benefits to each party are as different in kind as buyers are from sellers.

As was stated above, North Adams is a desperate community. When asked if it was difficult to get the city's support for the project, Carter Terenzini responded, "To be perfectly frank --

9UDAG, p. 51.
this town is so hard up, you could put anything through."10 In short, though no citizen input was solicited, neither was there any local opposition of significance. Hence, the undeniably modest planned benefits presented below were well-received.

The direct benefits to the town were presented primarily in terms of jobs. 125 permanent jobs and 163 temporary jobs are expected to be created. 100 of the permanent jobs are to be low income positions with an average annual salary/wage of $9,500. 15 are to be middle income at an average of $21,000, and 10 are to be upper income at $30,000. 142 of the temporary jobs are moderate income positions with an average annual salary/wage of $18,000; 18 of middle income at $22,000 and 3 are upper income at $35,000.11

Other direct benefits include the generation of approximately $35,000 in net new real property and personal property taxes, as well as the rehabilitation of approximately 15 housing units in the immediate project area.12

The WGUHP is projected to have minimum annual sales of $5,255,000, which would constitute 4% of the total sales for the market area. The project should increase the total local retail sales by approximately 4.25%.13 It should also boost the occupancy rate at the North Adams Inn from the present annual rate of approximately 25% to the range of 50-60%.14 Other

10C. T. in conversation.
11bid., p. 104.
12bid., p. 21.
13bid., p. 105.
14bid., p. 11.
unquantified indirect benefits of the project include an increase of property values in the immediate area as compared to other sectors of the city, an increase in rents commanded for commercial Central Business District space, an increase in general property rehabilitation and civic pride, and, not least of all, a decrease in the local unemployment rate.

The retail analyses proffered to support these claims emphasize two general themes as well as listing numerous specific debits and credits. First is North Adams' relatively strong position as Northern Berkshire County's retail center, and second, yet of far greater importance, is the expectation of capturing a share of Berkshire County's tourist market.

As can clearly be seen on p. 1 of Appendix B, North Adams is the shopping center of Northern Berkshire County. Williamstown residents do 68% of their shopping there, Clarksburg residents do 93% of theirs in North Adams, and North Adams residents themselves do 84% of theirs within the community. Appendix B, p. 2 demonstrates just how vital the retail market is to North Adams. With a per capita income of only $3,824, North Adams' retail sales per capita is actually $3,937 -- a retail sales expenditure ratio of 103%. By contrast, Williamstown's ratio is only 53% and Pittsfield, while maintaining significantly higher per capita
Barriagton, etc.) which has long captured the majority of tourism in Berkshire County . . .16

There is little question that the trend will be for Northern Berkshire County to capture an increasing percentage of the county’s out-of-state visitors. The current real estate and development boom in Williamstown stands as testament to that. Supporting these hopes are the following existing major tourism event draws:

a) North Adams Fall Foliage Festival (estimated 60,000
general attendance);
b) Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (estimated 110,000
annual attendance);
c) Williamstown Summer Theatre Festival (estimated
50,000 annual attendance);
d) Mount Greylock (annual visitors to summit observatory
estimated at 220,000);
e) Brodie Mountain Ski Area (New Ashford).17

Weighing on these hopes are the following liabilities:

a) North Adams is on the far end of the tourist belt.
b) North Adams does not have interstate access.
c) A significant portion of the tourist traffic are
skiers who may not have the time to venture to the mu-
seum/retail area.
d) Other destination points such as Williamstown,
Tanglewood music and Arts and other museums have never drawn
over 350,000 people.18

The question is, of course, whether or not North Adams, and
specifically the WGUHP, can capture more of the existing north-
county visitors, and perhaps contribute to the attraction of
still more out-of-state visitors. Halcyon is justified in
questioning Coldwell-Banker’s apparently overly optimistic
prediction “that 86% of tourists or 78% of the total population

16Coldwell-Banker, p. 36, f. 1.
17Ibid., p. 36, f. 1.
18February 8, 1982 memo, p. 3.
would visit the museum."19 Yet there is some cause for optimism.

North Adams' downtown shopping area does have a unique historical character. What primarily holds it back from a more successful exploitation of the tourist market is its image problem. As the dramatic revitalization of Lowell, Massachusetts, has demonstrated, the image of an old mill town need not be a liability. North Adams can and must create cooperative merchant/government organizations, and/or hire a general marketing manager, to aggressively promote a positive new retail identity for the trade area. Such an organization or agent must of course develop a strategy to link area retailing to area tourism, as it is clear that internal growth will remain static at best.

In addition to promoting old strengths, the city could determine and fill certain merchandising gaps. Carter Teren-zini's "tummy analysis"20 and Coldwell-Banker's quantitative capture analysis found two major gaps: mid-range family and/or these food and beverage establishments, and specialty apparel and accessories. In short, there is nothing like Williamstown's Water Street retail district in North Adams, no River House Restaurant and no ice cream or T-shirt shops.

It is presumed that the WCUPF would fill these merchandising gaps, and it is further presumed that when it opens the already

19Ibid.
20The "tummy analysis" consists of walking around town with an empty stomach and trying to imagine what would best fill it. (From conversation with Mr. Terenzini).
initiated promotional campaign will pick up steam and meet with success. With these presumptions in mind. Appendix B, p. 3 appears realistic and sensible. These presumptions must be questioned, however, from the perspective of the out-of-state visitor.

There is, of course, no way to predict how well the visiting populace will respond to the newly transformed North Adams. My analysis, though lacking accredited expertise, is not nearly so optimistic as those of the project's various consultants and promoters. My conclusion is that though both of the above mentioned strategies for developing the area's tourism-oriented retail trade are quite valid, the WGUHP alone is simply not enough to actualize their optimistic predictions.

The WGUHP cannot bear the burden of the city's revitalization alone because it is seriously hampered by unalterable and unfortunately downright ugly landscape aesthetics. As described in the preceding section the site itself is sadly surrounded by man-made blight, and there is very little that can be done about it.

The WGUHP is also planned to be the western anchor of a revitalized downtown trade area, with the Eagle Street/Monument Square Historic District serving as the eastern anchor. The WGUHP will have great difficulty performing this function, however, because there is very little traversable or even visual continuity between the park and the downtown area. It is blocked off by the river, the train tracks, the freeway-like overpass and
the fairly large building that houses City Hall. It is connected only by a pedestrian bridge that stretches from near freighthouse #6 across the river and tracks to Main Street, west of City Hall, and another pedestrian bridge beneath the overpass which would leave the pedestrians on American Legion Drive with the whole of the East Bay plaza between him or her and Main Street.

It is quite possible -- and pleasing -- to conceive of a revitalized North Adams based upon a service/tourist-oriented economy. It will require more than the WGUHP, however, to generate such a new and positive image of the city. One imagines a tourist wonderland with a developed Greylock Glen, Hoosic Tunnel, Natural Bridge and historic Victorian neighborhoods. If North Adams has to wait long for such further developments, the WGUHP could go belly-up and with it the last of the city's hope. The WGUHP is a very positive first step, but it must remain well in the consciousness of the North Adams community and its leaders that it is only a first step. The process of deindustrialization is neither painless -- especially for the working class and the unemployed -- nor quick, and indeed, there are no assurances that is actually viable.

**The Project's Environmental Impact**

The project's site and plans were thoroughly studied to determine if the creation of of the WGUHP may have any adverse effects upon the environment. The conclusion was, not surpri-
singly, that the park's construction and maintenance would have practically no impact upon the environment as the area was already thoroughly urbanized. Mr. Terenzini declared in the ENP that, "The only form of vegetation on the site is a 30" maple tree which is diseased and which will be removed."21

Nine aspects of the proposed project were analyzed by Bay State Environmental Consultants, Inc. (BSEC, Inc.) They were:

1) traffic;
2) noise levels;
3) the retaining walls (30' deep holes were drilled into the walls' faces to determine the geological stability of Witts Ledge, the Hoosic River channel and the walls themselves.);
4) area geology (more drill holes);
5) soil (referred to as "surficial geology deposits;' the pH factor of which would prove to be significant);
6) plant life (just the maple tree and some weeds); 11
7) animal life (none to speak of); 11
8) water quality (the Hoosic River has previously been classified as a Class B water resource, and by observation -- by means of a 2' well, 12' deep -- the water run-off from downtown North Adams and the B&M freightyard groundwater were determined to be typical of an urban area);
9) air quality (The consideration of additional HC, NOx and CO burdens from reasonably acceptable vehicular volumes was not found to be likely to exceed minimum ambient air quality stan-

21ENP 111479. p. 35.
dards. Also considered were the possible increase in railroad traffic and the use of natural gas in the freighthouse space heaters. 22

Carlos Carranza, Ph.D., C.E.P., the Boston Engineering Company consultant to Storch Associates, wrote in conclusion that, "no element of the environmental findings would appear to hinder in any way the development of the Heritage Park. All potential adverse effects appear manageable." 23

The project’s EIR was granted a conditional approval on May 21, 1981, rendering unnecessary the filing of either an Environmental Impact Report or Statement. If the four conditions were met, then the WWUPF would be considered completely sound environmentally by the Massachusetts DEM. These four conditions were:

1) The opting for an alternative plan that did not propose the demolition of three residential structures and the Sons of Italy building.

2) The development of a plan for controlling erosion and siltation during construction [that] will be the subject of an Order of Conditions by the North Adams Conservation Commission pursuant to Ch. 131, S. 40. In addition to preventing the erosion and siltation directly into the Hoosic River, the plan should protect existing and proposed storm drain inlet struc-

22 Information gleaned from numerous progress reports from BSEC, Inc. consultant Carlos Carranza, Ph.D., C.E.P., to Storch Associates. The progress reports are compiled in the Final Report on Environmental Article III Services for the Western Gateway Heritage State Park, North Adams, MA.

23 Final page of final progress report, included in ibid.
3) "Grease and oil traps will be installed in all drainage outfalls discharging run-off from the project site and DEM will make provision for their regular maintenance.

4) "Because high levels of zinc are indicated in the EP toxicity trace metal analysis for the site, DEM recognizes the need to ensure that pH levels remain at 6.5 or greater in areas to be landscaped, in order to guard against phytotoxic effects to plants."24

Condition (1) was met immediately. Condition (2) was met with the granting of MEPA 241-26 by the North Adams Conservation Commission. The first phase of Condition (3) has been met, though not without some confusion and difficulty in construction; the latter phase awaits the park's opening. Condition (4) was consistently maintained with the extended consultation of BSEC, Inc. The WGUHP is and should remain as ecologically sound as any urban park can be.

Values, Valuations and Recommendations

My values are rooted in my commitment to the emancipation of the working class and other exploited peoples in harmony with "man's inorganic body," i.e. nature. Though this commitment is essentially ideological, it has taken tangible form within this

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24Certificate of the Secretary of Environmental Affairs on ENF, p.2.
community. I hold jobs unrelated to Williams College in both Williamstown and North Adams and consider myself to be a participant-member of the Northern Berkshire community. The WGUHP is a project which brings to the fore many of the region's difficulties and challenges one's values to develop into actual, unpretty policies. Clearly, from a McHargian standpoint the WGUHP is an ideal project. It entails no significant ecological impact, adverse or otherwise. The site is "most suitable for urbanization," (See McHarg, pp. 143-145.) and was, of course, previously urbanized. Whether or not the project will optimally reduce urban pathology (See McHarg, pp. 193-195.) is not so clear, and will depend primarily upon the long term effects of the project on adjacent property values. At first glance, it certainly appears to be a desirable transformation of one of North Adams' worst areas of urban blight and social disease into a potentially attractive urban heritage park. It may also, however, be a mild form of "gentrification," which displaces and abuses the disadvantaged. In the final analysis, though, the project is quite clearly free of significant environmental reservations.

Concern instead ought to be focused on the development of policies which address the societal interactions generated by the project. What kind of socio-economic relations is North Adams to have? If the WGUHP is, as its planners admittedly intend it to be, a successful first step in the deindustrialization of North Adams, it must be asked whether or not a service/tourist-oriented
economy is optimum for the community. North Adams is clearly -- though arguably unjustifiably -- losing its once proud manufacturing base. The WGUHP could signify the first step in a new trend of revitalization. This trend could, however, replace the indignity of unemployment with the indignity of low-paying "chambermaid" jobs that are dependent on the luxury expenditures of people from outside the region.

These are the values and concerns which infuse the valuations within my analysis of the WGUHP. These valuations are not evident in any formulae as I've utilized none, and the figures employed were all the results of the analyses of others. They are evident instead in my selection of, and emphasis upon, certain factors, variables and analyses. I believe these judgements to be wholly defensible within the framework of this paper's limited objectives and general argument. As for my judgements of the project's landscape aesthetics, I can offer in explanation only my subjective predilection for rural settings and the landscape architecture of the traditional New England small town.

The WGUHP does not represent, in my view, the optimum kind of development for North Adams. Nevertheless, unsatisfactory development must be preferred to no development. Therefore I do endorse this revitalization project but with the following two qualifications:

First, that public and, to a lesser extent, private capital
make a major and aggressive effort to develop the region's other tourist potentialities, such as the Greylock Glen, the Hoosic Tunnel, the Natural Bridge and smaller scale beautification projects. As argued above, the WGUHP alone will simply not be enough to carry North Adams over into a newly dynamized service/tourist-oriented economy. Indeed, a period of grace during which profitability expectations must be minimal should be granted the WGUHP until other quality tourist attractions can be developed.

Second, that labor aggressively organize the local service sector. Northern Berkshire labor is relatively well organized, yet somewhat lacking in actual strength as their below average union wages attest. Nevertheless, no body other than the unions can be relied upon to protect the interests of the working class during this difficult period of economic transition.

These qualifications are beginning to be met. Significant development efforts are being made by the Governor’s Task Force and the Northern Berkshire Economic Development Council, as well as the more modest and specific efforts being made through the offices of Mayor Barrett and President Tisinger of North Adams State College. The Northern Berkshire Labor Coalition is also gaining in strength. The many recent struggles that they’ve met have greatly improved their solidarity and resolve.

Revitalization via deindustrialization is neither an easy nor an unambiguous process. There is a struggle going on here. Happily, the WGUHP, though of questionable potential viability, represents a very significant investment of capital in the local
means of production. If the project is not to result in the further pauperization and degradation of the local working class, it must be greeted as a new staging ground for struggle, requiring new tactics, yet also providing new possibilities for the realization of the workers' emancipation.
Where do consumers in the Northern Berkshire area shop?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North Adams</th>
<th>Williamstown</th>
<th>Adams</th>
<th>Pittsfield</th>
<th>Zennington</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Adams</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williamstown</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarksburg</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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</table>

Source: North Adams State College Marketing Survey, April 1983
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Retail Sales ($000)</th>
<th>Retail Sales Per Capita</th>
<th>Per Capita Income</th>
<th>Total Personal Income ($000)</th>
<th>Retail Sales Expenditure Ratio</th>
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<tr>
<td>Berkshire County</td>
<td>$482,872</td>
<td>$3,750</td>
<td>$5,376</td>
<td>$798,675</td>
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<td>Adams*</td>
<td>$19,592</td>
<td>$1,756</td>
<td>$4,388</td>
<td>$48,948</td>
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<td>North Adams*</td>
<td>$71,917</td>
<td>$3,937</td>
<td>$3,824</td>
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<td>Williamstown*</td>
<td>$21,586</td>
<td>$2,490</td>
<td>$4,689</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>Pittsfield</td>
<td>$227,783</td>
<td>$8,127</td>
<td>$4,938</td>
<td>$272,548</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Northern Berkshire area

Source: 1977 U.S. Census of Retail Trade;
Coldwell Banker Real Estate Consultation Services;
Berkshire Regional Planning Commission (per capita income figures).
### Exhibit 1. ESTIMATED RETAIL POTENTIAL - WESTERN GATEWAY

**URBAN HERITAGE PARK, NORTH ADAMS, MASS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Market Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Capture Rate</th>
<th>Days/Year</th>
<th>Visits</th>
<th>Expenditures/Visitor</th>
<th>Total Expenditures</th>
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<tr>
<td>Downtown Employees</td>
<td>3,379 1)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>168,950</td>
<td>$4.40 4)</td>
<td>$743,380</td>
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<tr>
<td>Students (N.A. State)</td>
<td>2,300 1)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>3.00 3)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary Market Area</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident Population</td>
<td>18,063 6)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>329,650</td>
<td>4.40 4)</td>
<td>1,450,460</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Local Visitors</td>
<td>294,000 2)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>88,200</td>
<td>5.93 5)</td>
<td>523,026</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tertiary Area</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A. Trade Area (excluding N.A.)</td>
<td>22,000 3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>240,900</td>
<td>4.40 4)</td>
<td>1,059,960</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Capture Rate</th>
<th>Days/Year</th>
<th>Visits</th>
<th>Expenditures/Visitor</th>
<th>Total Expenditures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>850,700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,845.826</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1) Survey conducted by North Adams Community Development Department, 1982.
2) Number of visitors to Mt. Greylock, 1981.
3) Estimated
4) 50 percent of average local visitor expenditure for food and retail goods, 1981, Quincy Market Place, Boston. Source: The Rouse Company.
5) 50 percent of average non-local visitor expenditure, Quincy Market.
6) 1980 Census of Population and Housing.