Leveraging Neighborhood-Scale Change for Policy and Program Reform in Buffalo, New York
Samina Raja, PhD, Michael Ball, MUP, AICP, Justin Booth, MS, Philip Haberstro, BS, Katherine Veith, BS

Background: The Healthy Communities Initiative (HCI) affects 8500 employees working in the Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus and 8925 residents of adjacent neighborhoods, where 37% of people live below the poverty line, and a majority (68.7%) identify themselves as African-American.

Intervention: The HCI partnership, which includes multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary organizations and neighborhood residents, implemented the Active Living by Design community action model with greatest emphasis on achieving policy and planning changes to support active living behaviors.

Results: The master plan of the campus now incorporates active living as a guiding principle. Physical improvements to support walking and bicycling in the target area have been planned and implemented through a $14 million federal transportation grant. The partnership facilitated the creation of a citywide Bicycle and Pedestrian Advisory Board and the passage and implementation of an ordinance to enhance bicycling infrastructure within the city.

Lessons learned: Buffalo’s experience suggests that to achieve lasting environmental change in the context of a medical campus and its surrounding neighborhoods, it is critical to: (1) engage neighborhood residents from the outset to build social capital; (2) cultivate a diverse partnership; (3) use a comprehensive approach; (4) balance long-term goals with short-term accomplishments; (5) integrate active living concerns within existing policy and planning mandates; and (6) make sustainability a priority.

Conclusions: Environmental changes in the public domain that support active living require collaboration among public, nonprofit, and private sectors; citizen engagement; and the presence of a legal and structural framework provided by government policies and plans to direct future development.

Introduction

The noted landscape architect, Frederick L. Olmsted, once described Buffalo, New York, as the “best planned city” because of its street infrastructure, public spaces, and park system. The city’s plan, originally devised by Joseph Ellicott in 1804, was modified in the late 1800s by Olmsted through the introduction of a system of parks and parkways designed to both link neighborhoods and be a haven from the congestion and rapid pace of urbanization. Despite its green infrastructure and architectural legacy, Buffalo faces considerable demographic and economic challenges. Although it is the second largest city in New York, by 2007, Buffalo’s population had shrunk to 264,292, nearly half of its peak population (580,132) in 1950. Recent estimates indicate that 28.7% of its population lives in poverty, compared to only 13% nationwide. The condition of younger Buffalonians is even more sobering: 41% of the population aged <18 years lives in poverty, compared to 18% nationwide. Within this socioeconomic context, particular neighborhoods, such as the city’s East Side, have been especially hard hit.

This paper describes the experience of the Healthy Communities Initiative (HCI) community partnership to promote active living in one of the especially vulnerable, albeit unique, areas of Buffalo. The initiative was launched in 2003 by the Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus, Inc. (BNMC, Inc.) with the aid of a 5-year, $200,000 grant from the Active Living by Design (ALbD) program of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. A nonprofit organization, BNMC, Inc., is re-
sponsible for maintaining a globally competitive cam-

pus. The initiative’s goals are to develop and maintain
an effective partnership to promote physical activity,
increase community awareness of the benefits of active
living, increase access to opportunities for physical
activity, enhance policy and organizational supports,
and improve built and natural environments to sup-
port active living in the campus and its surrounding
neighborhoods.

Methods

Setting and Population

The initiative’s target area, shown in Figure 1, includes the
Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus and its two adjacent neigh-
borhoods. This area was chosen by BNMC, Inc., to integrate
the campus with its surrounding yet disconnected neighbor-
hoods: the vibrant Allentown neighborhood and the historic
but economically challenged Fruit Belt neighborhood on
Buffalo’s East Side. The Fruit Belt faces greater challenges,
with limited services, poor housing stock, and fewer economic
opportunities available to its residents, while Allentown, a

historic preservation district, is home to eclectic businesses, a
vibrant art community, and a mix of affordable and high-end
housing. The two neighborhoods, which lie on opposite sides
of the city’s Main Street, have had little recent cultural,
economic, and social exchange. The campus, which physi-
cally bridges these neighborhoods, aims to integrate itself and
these neighborhoods into a unified social, cultural, and
economic subregion of the city, while celebrating the unique
identity of each neighborhood.

The population affected by the initiative includes 8500
employees working on campus and 8925 residents of the two
neighborhoods. The 2000 census reported that about 37% of
the population in the target area earns income below the
poverty line. A majority (68.7%) of the residents identify
themselves as African American, 24% as white, 0.5% as Asian,
and 6.2% as other. Six percent of all residents identify
themselves as Hispanic.³

Among the 8500 employees, about 36% live in the Fruit
Belt, while about 6% live in Allentown. With about $1.5
billion in economic impact and 1 million annual patient visits,
BNMC, Inc.’s 115-acre campus houses world-class medical
and research institutions that are poised to be a growth
catalyst in the region. In addition to holding economic

Figure 1. Healthy Communities Initiative target area: Allentown extends west of Main Street, while the Medical Campus (bounded between High, Main, Goodell, and Michigan) and the Fruit Belt neighborhood extend east of Main Street

LEGEND

% Population Living in Poverty by Census Blockgroup

12.50% - 25.00%
25.01% - 35.00%
35.01% - 50.00%
50.01% - 75.00%

Healthy Communities
Target Area

Data Source:
U.S. Census 2000 Summary File 3

0 0.25 0.5 1
Miles

City of Buffalo

Figure 1. Healthy Communities Initiative target area: Allentown extends west of Main Street, while the Medical Campus (bounded between High, Main, Goodell, and Michigan) and the Fruit Belt neighborhood extend east of Main Street
promise, the campus is emerging as a model for planning and developing a healthy environment for employees, visitors, and residents living in its vicinity.

**Active Living by Design Community Action Model**

The initiative deployed all 5P strategies (preparation, promotion, programs, policy, and physical projects) of the community action model,\(^4\) including: preparatory strategies through assessments of infrastructure and policies that affect active living; new programs to promote active living; pursuit of policy and planning strategies to promote active living; communication and outreach efforts to promote active living; and changes to the physical environment to facilitate active living within the target area and the city at large (www.activelivingbydesign.org/our-approach/community-action-model). Among these, the initiative places greatest emphasis on policy and planning strategies.

**Preparation.** With the launch of the initiative in 2003–2004, BNMC, Inc. invited diverse stakeholders to join the partnership. Although BNMC, Inc. continues to be the lead agency, the initiative is implemented through a diverse partnership of about 30 organizations and individuals, including employees of institutions located on the campus, residents of adjacent neighborhoods, representatives of the nonprofit sector and the municipal and state governments, and academic partners. All partner organizations have fairly delineated roles. Key partners are listed in Table 1.

The partnership conducts extensive outreach to build connections between the campus and its surrounding neighborhoods. In 2004, for example, the partnership conducted visioning sessions with campus representatives and the residents of Allentown and the Fruit Belt, a historic first-time effort to engage them in developing a shared vision for the target area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Partner organizations and their roles in HCI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name of organization/entity</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>BNMC, Inc., a consortium of institutions, representatives of neighborhoods, and the city and county governments. The board of directors includes representatives of:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo Hearing and Speech Center</td>
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<td>Buffalo Medical Group</td>
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<td>Hauptman–Woodward Medical Research Institute</td>
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<td>Kaleida Health</td>
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<td>Olmsted Center for Visually Impaired</td>
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<td>Roswell Park Cancer Institute</td>
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<td>The Center for Hospital and Palliative Care</td>
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<td>University at Buffalo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upstate New York Transplant Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fruitbelt residents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allentown residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Buffalo (Mayor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Erie County (County Executive)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wellness Institute of Greater Buffalo and Western New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Green Options Buffalo</td>
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<tr>
<td>City of Buffalo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of Public Works</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of Strategic Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York State Department of Transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td>University at Buffalo (UB), State</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Planning</td>
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BNMC, Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus; HCl, Healthy Communities Initiative; HEbD, Healthy Eating by Design; UB, University at Buffalo
One of the key partners, the Wellness Institute, completed an assessment of existing policies, plans, and physical infrastructure—including sidewalk conditions and pedestrian amenities—that affect active living on the campus and in the Fruit Belt and Allentown neighborhoods. The partnership is committed to using evidence-based solutions to guide its efforts and therefore engaged the University at Buffalo to empirically evaluate whether proposed physical improvements on campus (e.g., street redesign and placement of signage and street furniture), scheduled to occur in 2010, will influence walking behavior of employees.

Policy. Several campuswide plans and policies have been developed and modified by BNMC, Inc., including a master plan, an art plan, a security plan, and an urban design template that incorporate active living concepts. The initiative also works with city policymakers and administrators to create or modify policies and plans and make budgetary commitments to support active living.

Physical projects. Ultimately, the partnership aims to improve the built environment in the target area to make it more walkable. These improvements include the redesign of streets; provision of sidewalks, adequate lighting, and wayfinding signage; and assurance of safety within the target area. Necessary capital improvements are made possible through a complex public-private partnership among multiple agencies.

Promotions. In 2004, the partnership developed and implemented a multi-media communication and education strategy using print media, television, radio, and community presentations. Electronic and hard copy newsletters regarding active living programs and events are distributed among employees by BNMC, Inc. The Wellness Institute featured the initiative on its local television show focused on wellness.

Programs. In the second year (2004–2005) of the initiative, BNMC, Inc. facilitated the creation of the Employees’ Wellness Committee to guide the initiative and to act as a liaison with campus institutions. The same year, the Wellness Institute began implementing a weekly walking program, Walking on Wednesdays, on the campus. In 2005–2006, BNMC, Inc. launched an annual Summer Wellness Block Party, where vendors provide attendees with information and services on physical activity, healthy eating, and wellness. Some programming efforts by the partnership have occurred citywide. For example, in 2005–2006, Green Options Buffalo launched Buffalo Blue Bicycle, a citywide bicycle-share program (www.buffalobluebicycle.org).

Results

The initiative has resulted in systemic, environmental, and policy changes to support active living within the target area and the city at large, as described below and summarized in Table 2.

Creating Partnerships, Facilitating Conversations Among Diverse Stakeholders, and Building Social Capital

One of the greatest successes of the initiative has been to build social capital by initiating conversations through the establishment of a citizen-based Bicycle and Pedestrian Advisory Board neighborhood bicycle and pedestrian audits; and through visioning exercises among diverse stakeholders—such as campus employees and residents from Allentown and Fruit Belt neighborhoods—who previously had limited interaction, little trust in each other and the city, and no shared vision for the future of the area. A statement generated in one of these visioning exercises captures the residents’ and employees’ shared vision:

To have a campus that evolves by choice, not by chance; that incorporates and respects the needs of every stakeholder regardless of their individual wealth or perceived power. A safe and secure place where [people] want to live, work, and play and where surrounding neighborhoods combine their unique strengths to benefit Buffalo and the region. An inviting and vibrant community that is clean and well lighted, well connected socially, [with access] to multiple types of affordable transportation; [one that] offers access to high-quality food and neighborhood services, has well integrated parks and greenspaces that provide recreation opportunities for all . . . . (Community Visioning Workshop, Healthy Community Initiative, September 7, 2004).

Due largely to the initiative, the three entities—the campus, Allentown, and the Fruit Belt—have created a shared vision for the area, without subsuming the distinct identity of each. Partners see this participation of neighborhood residents in visioning, planning, and development of the target area and the emergence of a dialog and trust among Allentown and Fruit Belt neighborhoods and the campus as a step toward nurturing social capital.5,6

Overall, approximately 120 people—residents and representatives of the neighborhood associations and a local church—participated in the visioning sessions and in bicycle and pedestrian audits completed during the preparatory phase. Building on this process, in 2008, the city and BNMC, Inc. embarked on a comprehensive planning process—the Four Neighborhoods, One Community planning process—to further integrate the campus’s planning efforts with those occurring in the surrounding neighborhoods. This effort—which broadened to include the Downtown district—ensures that returns from investment of resources in the campus are not limited to the confines of campus boundaries but are shared in the surrounding community. The city and BNMC, Inc. hosted four community forums in 2008 in Allentown and the Fruit Belt. More than 100 residents, business owners, and community members gathered to discuss changes they would like to see in their neighborhoods. Residents’ ideas include focusing infrastruc-
ture resources along High Street and forming a unified voice for the area.

Changes in Physical and Cultural Environments

The initiative has facilitated a subtle, but sure, cultural shift toward active living among public officials. For example, during a partnership meeting in 2008, an engineer from the New York State Department of Transportation (NYSDOT) acknowledged that, for him, the issue of physical activity through active transportation was never a paramount consideration in road design prior to his involvement in the initiative.

Eventually, the engineer’s involvement in HCI facilitated actual physical improvements to support walking/bicycling. In 2005–2006, NYSDOT made physical improvements on state-owned right-of-ways, including installation of countdown timers, high-visibility crosswalks, and speed-limit signage, to facilitate walking and biking by residents and employees in the target area (Figure 2). Signage has also been installed by BNMC, Inc. to facilitate way-finding in the target area.

Additional street and sidewalk improvements are planned in the target area within the next few years through complex sources of funding, including $14 million in grant monies through the U.S. Department of Transportation. The partnership played a key role in securing this grant. In 2004–2005, BNMC, Inc. facilitated a funding identification workshop, which subsequently led to the proposal submission and grant award. Another important source of funding for the planned improvement is the annual capital budget of the city’s Department of Public Works and that of NYSDOT.

Proposed physical improvements are occurring at a slower pace than originally anticipated. No physical improvements in the target area occurred until Year 3 of the initiative, and improvements on one of the target streets (Ellicott Street) were delayed by another 3 years. These delays are not surprising given that ALbD did not fund capital improvements, and the responsibility of making physical improvements rests with multiple public agencies, including the municipal Department of Public Works and NYSDOT. Capital projects that are publicly funded—such as those in the target area—usually take years to make it into a capital budget plan and to be implemented.

Table 2. 5P strategies used in the HCI in Buffalo NY*

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<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Established HCI community partnership; HCI area (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
<td>Campuswide wellness committee formed; medical campus (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
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<td>Infrastructure assessment report completed; HCI area (Wellness Institute)</td>
<td>Conducted funding identification workshops; citywide (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
<td>Procured $14 million from USDOT for physical improvements; citywide (BNMC, Inc. in partnership with city)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visioning exercise and development of shared vision statement; HCI area (Wellness Institute)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>Developed a communication and education strategy; HCI area (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
<td>Conducted workshop on planning and public health in partnership with local chapter of the American Planning Association; citywide (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Programs</td>
<td>Launched Walking on Wednesdays, a weekly walking group program; campus (Wellness Institute)</td>
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<td>Physical projects</td>
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<td>Policies and plans</td>
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*Each cell in the table contains information on outcome of strategies used in Buffalo; its geographic focus (in italics), and, wherever pertinent, the lead agency (in parentheses).
Changes in Policies and Plans to Influence Future Development and Investments

Among the strengths of the initiative has been its ability to shape the policies and plans that guide future development. On campus, the board of directors of BNMC, Inc. modified its mission statement to acknowledge the importance of active living, committing to “creating a distinct environment that provides opportunities for active living.” Likewise, the campus master plan, which was prepared before the launch of the initiative, discusses pedestrian circulation primarily as a transportation issue but does not expressly link it to physical activity. Following the initiative, the master plan is being revised to clearly incorporate active-living concerns as illustrated in the schematic design for the redesign of Ellicott Street (running north–south through the campus), which is scheduled for construction in 2010 (Figure 3).

Having successfully shaped the development trajectory on campus, the partnership is now facilitating citywide change. A key accomplishment is that partners were able to advocate for and successfully establish a citywide Bicycle and Pedestrian Advisory Board in November 2005, effective January 2006. The board is charged with reviewing and commenting on the impact of the city’s development activities on bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure in the city. The board, whose members are appointed by the city’s Common Council, is chaired by Justin Booth, a key member of the partnership.

Although the board remains concerned that its recommendations are not yet mandated as part of the city’s development review process, its recommendations do receive considerable support from the Common Council. In 2005, following the board’s recommendation, the council passed a modification to the city’s ordinance to mandate that any new development that results in new parking spaces for automobiles must also provide parking for bicycles. The administrative order, which operationalized the ordinance within the planning board approval process in 2007, stipulates that bicycle parking facilities shall be provided . . . for any new building, addition, parking lot, or en-

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<tr>
<td>Launched pre–post test evaluation of how changes to Ellicott Street will affect physical activity of employees; campus (UB)</td>
<td>Pre-test phase of evaluation of Ellicott Street complete; campus (UB)</td>
<td>Continue expanding and strengthening partnership (BNMC, Inc.) Post-test phase of evaluation of Ellicott Street improvements; campus; (UB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disseminated information about the HCI partnership through three public access television programs; citywide (Wellness Institute; BNMC, Inc.)</td>
<td>Presentation at Partners for Smart Growth Conference; nationwide (BNMC, Inc.)</td>
<td>Continue promotion efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed year-round wellness program for campus employees; campus (Wellness Institute)</td>
<td>Commercial district bicycle parking program; citywide (Green Options Buffalo)</td>
<td>Continue programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Developed a security master plan; campus (BNMC, Inc.) Bicycle parking administrative order; Citywide (Green Options Buffalo)</td>
<td>Update to BNMC master plan; campus; (BNMC, Inc.) Complete streets ordinance amendment; citywide; (Green Options Buffalo)</td>
<td>Four Neighborhoods One Community plan; HCI area (City of Buffalo, BNMC, Inc.) Addendum to citywide comprehensive plan to incorporate active living and healthy eating; citywide (Green Options Buffalo; BNMC, Inc.; UB)</td>
</tr>
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BNMC, Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus; HCI, Healthy Communities Initiative; NYSDOT, New York State Department of Transportation; USDOT, U.S. Department of Transportation
largement of an existing building or any change in occupancy of any building that results in the need for additional auto parking facilities.\textsuperscript{9} As a result of the board’s efforts, numerous bicycle racks have been installed as part of new development citywide.

Discussion

Engage Neighborhood Residents, Build Social Capital

To ensure that the 5P model works in the context of a campus located between two unique and disconnected neighborhoods, it is critical to engage neighborhood residents and build social capital. In doing so, it is important to have residents involved in the decision-making process right from the outset—as Fruit Belt and Allentown residents are in Buffalo—through visioning, planning, and now implementation. Fruit Belt and Allentown residents also hold one (nonvoting) seat each on the BNMC, Inc. board, which ensures that their voice is heard during all phases of the initiative.

Cultivate a Diverse Partnership

Although a number of factors contribute to its success, the Buffalo partners repeatedly cite two key factors: the diversity of the partnership and consistency in leadership. The partnership includes multiple sectors and disciplines (including health promotion, urban planning, and transportation engineering): BNMC, Inc. is experienced in working with municipal agencies; Green Options Buffalo has a record for advocating for policy change within city government; the Wellness Institute has experience in health promotion programming and facilitating community visioning; and the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University at Buffalo actively supports research and civic engagement on the intersection of active living and urban planning. The complementary expertise of the partners enables the partnership to implement all 5P strategies.

Even when partnerships are diverse, they may fail to sustain their work over the long run due to the absence of consistent and effective leadership.\textsuperscript{10} The partnership is fortunate to have such leadership from BNMC, Inc; their director of planning has consistently engaged diverse partners in conversations focusing on active living. Likewise, the Wellness Institute and Green Options Buffalo have consistently led intra-partnership dialogues with the city to facilitate policy change. Emphasizing both inter- and intra-partnership conversations is an essential strategy for building social capital to achieve sustainable change. Partners that have a demonstrable record of success lend credibility to any efforts to pursue policy change. In Buffalo, the campus is perceived as a model of successful development. Partly because of this success, ideas emanating from the partnership are well received by the city government.

Finally, a key challenge in cities such as Buffalo is a lack of financial resources. Therefore, it is important to remain open to unusual alliances to facilitate environmental change that support active living. For example, in spring 2007, BNMC, Inc. partnered with ReTree Western New York, a nonprofit organization, to plant 150 new trees in the Fruit Belt (www.re-treewny.org/main.html). Along with creating environmental benefits and scenic walking vistas, this alliance has resulted in tangible changes visible to residents.

Take a Comprehensive Approach

Environmental and systemic change to facilitate active living requires a comprehensive approach. In this case, the approach was shaped by the 5P model. Early preparation through assessments allowed the partnership to develop more informed programs and policies and also enabled the leveraging of additional funding for the initiative. Provision of programs and promotional activities generated excitement and awareness of active living as an issue in the target area. For example, the Walking on Wednesdays program has conducted 78 walks, so far, with an average weekly attendance of 35 participants. A key partner from the Wellness Institute personally leads the walks across the campus and adjacent neighborhoods. Likewise, the Summer Wellness Block Party, now in its third year, has about 2000 attendees annually. The adoption of plans and policies to support active living in Buffalo ensures that short-term gains will continue in the long term. Using a comprehensive 5P approach allowed the HCI partnership to demonstrate short-term successes without losing focus on long-term goals.
Balance Long-Term Goals with Short-Term Accomplishments

Environmental change requires a great deal of time. The initiative began 5 years ago but is just now beginning to see the results translated into physical projects: $14 million in federal grant monies for street improvements in 2004–2005 has not yet been used, largely due to the many actors involved in the design and construction phases. Therefore, it is critical for partnerships to be prepared to pursue environmental change over a long time. Because of this, it is important to have immediate, demonstrable results to energize a partnership and maintain its momentum. A Fruit Belt resident in Buffalo noted that “[BNMC, Inc.] have participated in clean-a-thons in the Fruit Belt; the streets have fixed up in the last 4 months or so . . . not sure who did it, but it’s happened; trees have been planted on Carlton and High streets . . . ; [BNMC, Inc. are] very responsive . . . .” (personal communication, Fruit Belt resident, December 2008). Such immediate accomplishments—very rare in the Fruit Belt, no matter how modest—keep residents excited and engaged in a process of environmental change that can be arduously long.

Integrate Active Living Concerns Within Existing and New Planning and Policy Mandates

Research shows that particular features of the built environment—such as the availability and quality of parks and sidewalks—and proximity of commercial destinations—influence a person’s decision to walk or use active transportation. These features are shaped in part by local government plans, such as comprehensive and land use plans and zoning codes. Therefore, a promising strategy for pursuing environmental change is to integrate active living concerns within existing and new planning and policy mandates in municipalities. In Buffalo, as described above, the partnership initially chose to incorporate active living concerns within an existing campus master plan.

Once active living mandates are integrated into existing plans, communities can explore more ambitious tools. For example, municipal governments can broaden the scope of development impact assessments, a common urban planning tool used to gauge the impact of land development on the physical activity of residents. Owing to advocacy by the partnership, Buffalo’s municipal government has begun this process through its new bicycle parking ordinance. Recognizing that this effort, like many others to create environ-
mental change to promote active living, would have
been even easier had the citywide comprehensive plan
included a section on “health,” the partnership has now
embarked on a scaled-up collaborative effort with city
officials to prepare an addendum on active living and
healthy eating for the official comprehensive plan. This
initiative is funded through the ALbD sustainability
grant. Such codification would enable residents to
invoke these policies as a basis for requesting any
publicly provided active living infrastructure that may
be necessary in the future.

Make Sustainability a Priority

Because environmental change initiatives require con-
siderable resources, it is important to plan for sustain-
ability. This is especially important in economically
strapped regions such as Buffalo, where local govern-
ments are fiscally unable to undertake new mandates
such as active living. In this initiative, sustainability is
ensured through institutionalization of policies by
BNMC, Inc. and the city government; continual expan-
sion of the partnership to include new partners; and
aggressive pursuit of funding for future initiatives.

Conclusion

Environmental changes in the public domain that
support active living require collaboration among pub-
lic, nonprofit, and private sectors; citizen engagement;
and the presence of a legal and structural framework
provided by government policies and plans to direct
future development.

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