



Detroit



Milwaukee



New York



Saint Paul

Learning from Case Studies

IN RIVER GOVERNANCE FROM AROUND THE UNITED STATES

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By Adam Flickinger, AICP

Editor: Joseph P. Schwieterman, Ph.D.

This analysis shows that Chicago can prepare for the next phase of river revitalization by learning from its peers.

- The novel strategies employed by Detroit, MI; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; and Saint Paul, MN, offer insights important to the next phase of river planning in the Chicago region.
- Governance of prominent river assets diverges across cities and needs continual adjustment, but much can be learned from how these four cities structure their river initiatives.

Planners worldwide recognize that investing in river corridors is critical to a city's quality of life, economic growth, and environmental health. As in other post-industrial cities, Chicagoans have the same awareness: Chicago's river system was badly mistreated and heavily polluted before being transformed into a vibrant, celebrated, and ecologically rich natural asset. Today, the Windy City earns accolades for the three-and-a-half-mile Chicago Riverwalk, which attracts over a million visitors and generates over \$16 million in economic activity annually. A coalition of nonprofit organizations, activists, political leaders, and government agencies overcame enormous challenges to realize their vision.

Yet, there is no single "right approach" to river revitalization. The following four cases show how Chicago and other cities can learn from how others approach existing and emerging river challenges and opportunities.



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MASTHEAD PHOTO (ABOVE): KAYAKS IN THE CHICAGO RIVER, 2024.

The author's bio appears on page 16



ADAM FLICKINGER, AICP

FIGURE 1. Four Case Studies



A CASE STUDIES APPROACH

The four cases were selected to showcase cities with leadership in river policy and characteristics similar to Chicago's. Their climate as well as their regulatory, historical, and physical contexts resemble the Windy City's. Each has rivers with a history of heavy industrial use and environmental contamination. Their example offers a rich analytical backdrop for comparing regulatory strategies and methods.

Each case considers five questions about the city's policy landscape and governance approach:

- Under what authority is the river corridor governed?
- Who manages permitting and intergovernmental coordination for river-related investments?
- How does the river organization manage and maintain river edge assets (including public parks, private riverfronts, and natural areas)?
- Who leads the creation of strategic plans that guide and prioritize river corridor investments?

- How are river initiatives, including capital improvements, maintenance, and administrative funding, staffed and funded?

The need to answer these questions became clear at workshops with government and nonprofit organizations participating in the City of Chicago's *River Ecology and Governance Task Force*, a city advisory body for river-related projects and initiatives. The case studies presentations begin with Saint Paul's Great Rivers Passage in Saint Paul, followed by the Milwaukee Riverwalk, the Detroit Riverfront Conservancy, and New York's Hudson River Park Trust. *Key takeaways and photo illustrations are on pages 10 and 13, respectively.*

Case 1 **GREAT RIVER PASSAGE** **Saint Paul, Minnesota**



The City of Saint Paul (population 311,000) covers roughly 56 square miles and has a history shaped by being a short distance downstream from the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. The Mississippi River corridor in Saint Paul is part of the Mississippi National River and Recreational Area, a 72-mile scenic river corridor popular for outdoor activities.

Saint Paul has long attended to its rivers to manage water quality, support recreation, reduce flooding, and restore and revitalize riverfront open spaces. However, the more recently established Great River Passage initiative is critical to planning and visioning for the next phase of river-related investment.

Roles and Responsibilities

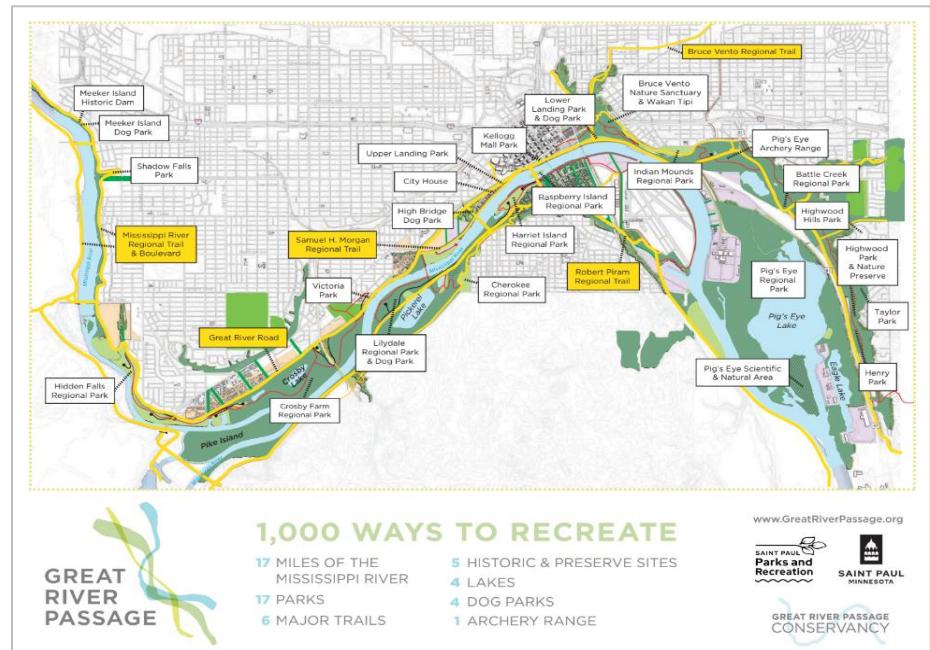
Responsibility for implementing the Great River Passage rests within the City's Department of Parks and Recreation, with support from the Great River Passage Conservancy, an external nonprofit organization. These entities have embarked on extensive planning and visioning initiatives, many of which are complete. In 2010, the Department kicked off an updated master planning process to create a new guiding vision for the future of the river corridor.

The two-year planning process that followed encompassed research, conceptual design, and community engagement. Dozens of river-focused projects were identified as opportunities to achieve the mission of “connecting two of our city’s greatest assets—our people and the Mississippi River.” Conservancy and City are charged with leveraging public–private partnerships to realize projects conceptualized in the plan, including raising funds, negotiating with property owners, and fostering intergovernmental collaboration.

Several projects underway exemplify the initiative's visionary spirit:

- **The River Balcony**, a proposed 1.5-mile promenade along downtown Saint Paul's river bluff, connecting public spaces, civic landmarks, and development sites.
- **The Mississippi River Learning Center**, a proposed facility combining education facilities and the National Park Service Headquarters and Visitor Center. This will be a one-of-a-kind national hub of Mississippi River-focused recreation,

FIGURE 2. SAINT PAUL'S GREAT RIVER PASSAGE MAP



education, and environmental stewardship.

- **The East Side River District**, a 1,000-acre proposed restoration and interpretation project.

Geographic Scale and Physical Area of Authority

The service area of Great River Passage initiatives is centered on a 17-mile stretch of the Mississippi, encompassing 3,500 acres of parkland spread over 17 parks, six major trails, four lakes, and numerous other amenities. This district is delineated in the maps part of the Great River Passage Master Plan (see Figure 2). It is a subdistrict of the Mississippi River Corridor Critical Area (MRCCA), a much larger river corridor district defined by the State of Minnesota that runs through seven counties.

Regulatory Framework for River Authority

The impetus to create Saint Paul's Mississippi River corridor's vision came from a 1976 state law

that required local governments to adopt local plans and regulations to coordinate the regulation of the state-designated MRCCA. This mandate covers the land on both sides of the Mississippi throughout the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area. The Great River Passage Master Plan, adopted by the City of Saint Paul in 2013 and later by the Metropolitan Council, is part of the city's official comprehensive plan. Further legislation established an operating budget, roles, and responsibilities for implementing the Master Plan's vision and recommendations.

Organizational Structure and Staffing

The City of Saint Paul's Department of Parks and Recreation staff manages this initiative with the Conservancy's support. The Conservancy remains an independent nonprofit with its own board of directors and executive director. Its board, however, includes City department officials and nonprofit, Tribal, and private sector representatives.

Funding

In fiscal year 2024, the City budget for the Great River Passage Initiative program was less than \$500,000, and the operating revenue for the Great River Passage Conservancy remains less than this amount. Despite this, remarkable coordination across organizations and different levels of government has been a springboard for beneficial river investments.

Case 2

Milwaukee Riverwalk

Milwaukee, Wisconsin



The City of Milwaukee (population 577,000) is Wisconsin's largest city, covering 97 square miles. Situated at the confluence of the Menomonee, Kinnickinnic, and Milwaukee Rivers, a system



Milwaukee's Third Ward Riverwalk (Adam Flickinger). Inset credit: City of Milwaukee

flowing into Lake Michigan, the land within the City's boundaries has been a hub for human habitation for thousands of years. The Milwaukee River waterway system, stretching almost 100 miles, is central to the City's history and development. Robust collaboration among government agencies, including the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage District and the City's Department of City Development, private businesses, the nonprofit Milwaukee Riverkeeper, and other area organizations, is leading many river investments and protections currently underway.

A distinctive aspect of this region's waterways is that large stretches of the Milwaukee River system still have a natural character. Ordinances protect these areas as greenways. In the downtown Milwaukee Riverwalk District, where the shoreline has fewer natural qualities, policy has been directed at improving public access and achieving recreation and tourism goals. The results are impressive: Milwaukee Riverwalk has earned distinction as one of the "Great Places in America" by the American Planning Association.

Roles and Responsibilities

The goal of the Milwaukee Riverwalk District is to increase public access and support economic development. It seeks to achieve this by working with property owners to build a continuous system of river pathways along both sides of the Milwaukee River. Because of how these funding mechanisms were established, they are very closely connected to the city's economic development goals, and they emphasize the riverwalk as an amenity to attract new real estate development. The design standards for private development along the Milwaukee Riverwalk District are defined by the Department of City Development through the zoning code. River-related initiatives are reviewed and approved through the City Plan Commission for compliance with the development standards.

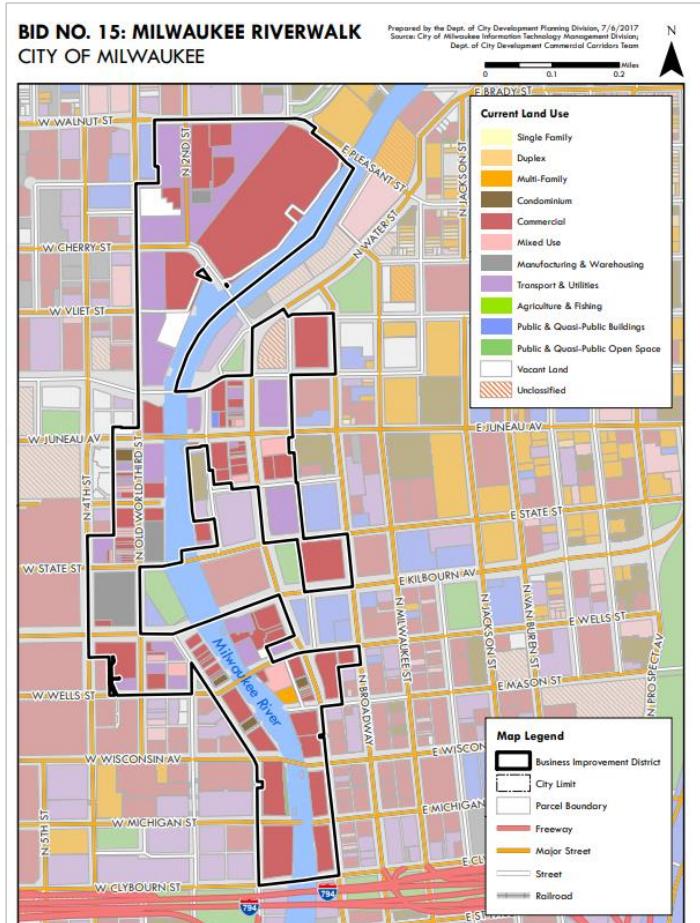
Geographic Scale / Physical Area of Authority

Once the goals are realized, the Riverwalk will cover 3.1 miles along both sides of the waterway. The related district will cover roughly 60 waterfront sites (see Figure 3). The district boundaries are designed as a Business Improvement District (BID) in the City's zoning ordinance. The City has also created special zoning districts for stretches of the river corridor, including the Milwaukee River Greenway Corridor district, which is further north.

Regulatory Framework for River Authority

To ensure compliance with the Wisconsin Public Trust Doctrine, which applies to all lakes and streams, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources requested that the City of Milwaukee prepare a master plan that includes guidelines for the construction and use of riverwalks. The city's mayor and other political leaders also strongly advocated revitalizing the riverfront. Based on the master plan that resulted from such advocacy, a 1993 resolution created the Riverwalk Site Plan Review Overlay Zone, which applies to all property within 50 feet of the river edge. At the same time,

FIGURE 3. Milwaukee Riverwalk Business Improvement District Map



the City adopted a Riverwalk Development Fund. Established in 1994, BID No. 15, the Milwaukee Riverwalk District, provides a financial mechanism to work with property owners to build the riverwalk and related amenities.

Organizational Structure and Staffing

The BID has an operating plan to manage its special tax assessment revenue as required by state statute. The Milwaukee Riverwalk District, Inc., is an independent not-for-profit organization whose membership includes property owners, businesses, nonprofit organizations, and individuals who work on initiatives to support the riverwalk's success. The financial cost-sharing program and other components of the Riverwalk

initiative are managed by the staff of the City's Department of City Development.

Funding

The BID received \$25 million in foundational funding from the City and \$10 million from private property owners. Today, it relies heavily on special-taxing-area revenue to fund operations and maintenance. In addition to the BID, there are funds for physical infrastructure improvement, which is cost-shared through the City department's Development Fund and nine Tax Incremental Financing Districts.

A unique and consequential aspect of Milwaukee's river-management strategy is its cost-sharing program for capital improvement. The City contributes, on average, 70% of riverwalk construction costs up to \$2,000 per linear foot for riverwalk improvements. In exchange, the City receives a permanent public access easement for the riverwalk. Since 1994, over 2.5 miles of riverwalk have been created through this program.

These well-crafted arrangements have been instrumental to many projects leveraging Milwaukee's rivers.

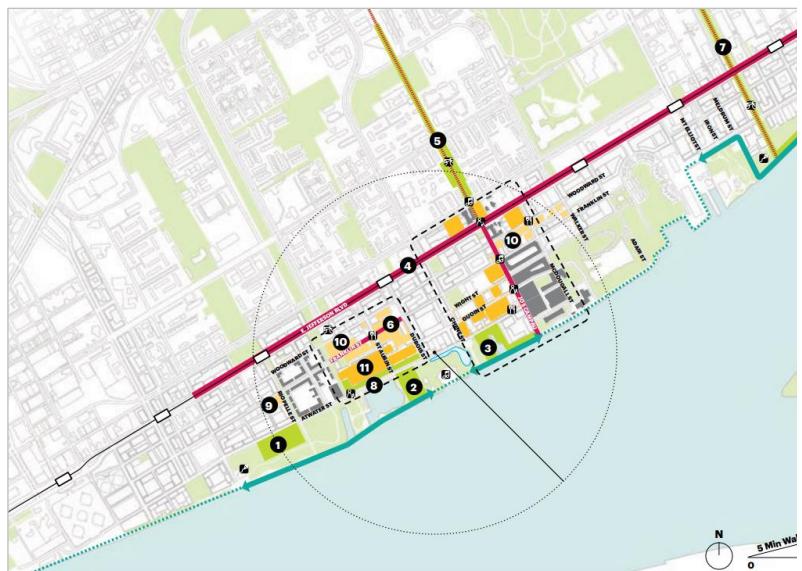


Detroit (population 630,000) is Michigan's largest city, spread out across 143 square miles. The Detroit River is 28 miles long and acts as the international border with neighboring Canada. The river connects Lake St. Clair to the north and

Lake Erie to the south and is one of the world's busiest marine-transportation corridors.

Like many North American river systems, the Detroit River has long suffered from heavy pollution. However, this problem was gradually alleviated through the leadership of environmental organizations. In 1997, the Detroit River was named one of 14 American Heritage

FIGURE 4. Old Detroit East Riverfront Map



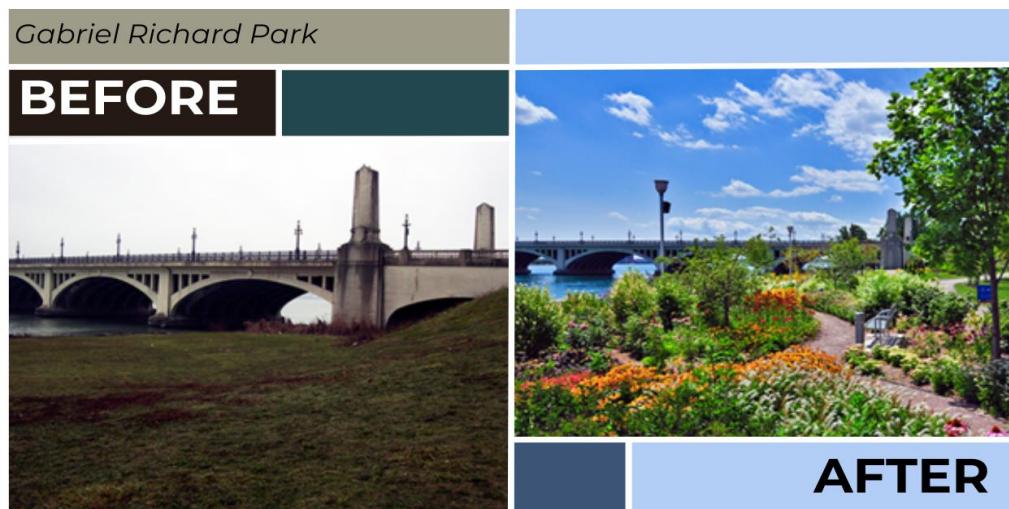
Credit: City of Detroit

Rivers, recognizing local leaders' vision to restore and revitalize it. Today, new investment through public-private partnerships led by the Detroit Riverfront Conservancy (DRC) has improved riverfront spaces, transforming them into attractive destinations for residents and visitors.

Roles and Responsibilities

In response to the rapid privatization of Detroit's international riverfront, the DRC was created as a public-private partnership in 2003 to establish leadership in advancing riverfront goals. The DRC is responsible for capital improvements, operations management, maintenance, security, and programming of the riverwalk and connected

FIGURE 5. The Transformation of Detroit's Gabriel Richard Park



Through Detroit's public-private partnership approach, they have been able to achieve transformative river edge park spaces with lushly planted gardens and recreational amenities such as Gabriel Richards Park (shown above). Credit: Detroit River Conservancy

green spaces. It fulfills many of these functions in collaboration with the City of Detroit. Its responsibilities include supporting consistent maintenance of river edge sites, providing technical assistance, and reviewing riverfront conditions. These are part of the City's Shoreline Services Division, an administrative body responsible for river edge maintenance and restoration issues, such as permitting, bank stabilization, sewer outfalls, breakwaters, and environmental sampling. These technical assistance services are outsourced to a consultant team, and assistance can be requested through a website.

Geographic Scale / Physical Area of Authority

The river district overseen by the DRC is defined in the Detroit zoning code as a special development district, which assigns the area "Riverfront Mixed Use" zoning. This district covers roughly 5.5 miles of riverfront.

Regulatory Framework for River Authority

The DRC initiative was founded voluntarily by diverse local leaders who desired to work

together to improve Detroit's waterfront. The DRC partnership includes governmental representation from the City of Detroit, including the City Council and Planning Department, as well as a group of philanthropic organizations led by the Kresge Foundation, and private local

business leaders, including General Motors. These organizations work together to advance redevelopment of the Detroit waterfront for public benefit. Their vision regards the waterfront as the "face of the city." Their mission emphasizes the potential economic benefits of improving and providing access to the waterfront with connected green spaces, promenades, and trails.

Organizational Structure and Staffing

The DRC's staff of 21 includes a Public Spaces Manager, a Director of Operations & Security, and a Head of Construction. A 44-member Board of Directors oversees the organization and has six working committees with different responsibilities. Based on their initial organizational working experiences, it has a "constituency-based" board that incorporates community and resident input into the development process and encourages transparency and collaboration.

Funding

The DRC initiative was launched with a \$50 million grant from the Kresge Foundation. General

Motors invested \$25 million in their own property's riverwalk and then donated that improved area to the DRC with supplemental in-kind and cash support for ongoing maintenance. The City of Detroit has also invested in riverfront infrastructure improvements. Over \$1 billion in investments have resulted from the DRC's creation and subsequent initiatives. The result is a dramatic improvement to Detroit's riverfront.

Case 4
Hudson River
Park Trust
New York City, NY



The country's most densely populated city, New York (population 8,258,035), covers more than 300 square miles of land. Its four-mile Hudson River waterfront, once a major embarkation point for transatlantic commerce, is unlike any other U.S. river city.

The Hudson River starts in Upstate New York's Adirondack Mountains, flows through the Hudson Valley along the western edge of Manhattan, and then becomes a tidal estuary, finally draining into the Atlantic Ocean. Despite the unique context of New York, the creative strategies used by local and state government leaders to revitalize and restore the Hudson River's Manhattan shoreline are inspirational examples of how to create and manage riverfront amenities.

Like so many other extensive metropolitan waterways, this stretch of the river was once

marred by pollution due to industrial discharge, urban runoff, and sewage. Due to stepped-up regulations from the Clean Water Act and decades of remediation, significant improvements and stabilized water quality have been achieved. Recognizing the immense value of the Manhattan riverfront for civic use, the State and City worked together to acquire land and build and maintain public park space along its shoreline. This accelerated with the creation of the Hudson River Park Trust (HRPT), which has involved nearly \$1 billion in park construction, ecological restoration, research, and riverfront programming.

Roles and Responsibilities

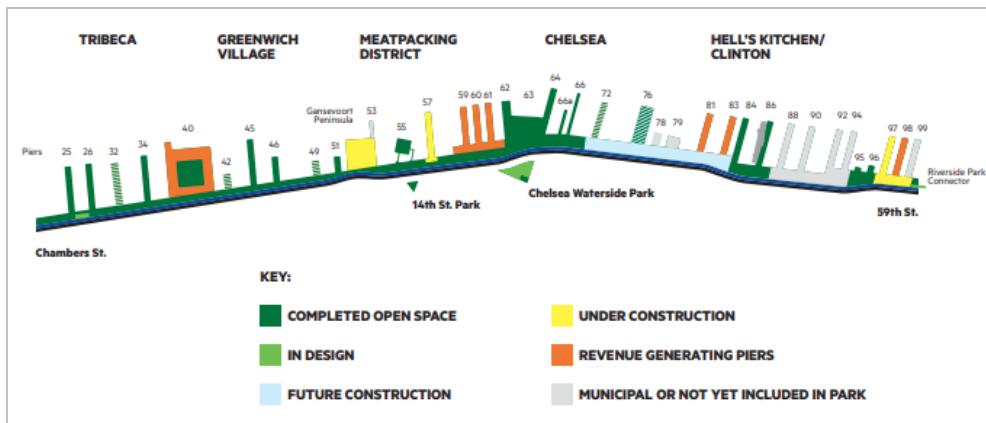
The HRPT, created in 1998, is a large, multi-faceted organization that designs, builds, operates, and maintains new and existing public parks and estuarine sanctuaries in and along



"Little Island" park, a recent addition to the Hudson River Park system. (Adam Flickinger)

several miles of the Manhattan shoreline. The Hudson Park Act, which created the special district, delineates the special district's boundaries, specifies permitted uses, and

FIGURE 6. Hudson River Park, Landmarks and Projects



This map shows park capital improvements status and district boundaries. Source: Hudson River Park Trust

establishes the park's operating framework. The Trust is guided by clearly defined goals outlined in its vision documents and strategic plans. Its principal goals are to advance park design and construction, protect habitat by enhancing the estuarine sanctuary for endangered species, operate and maintain the parks in a financially sustainable way, and provide educational and entertaining programming that is financially accessible to a broad user group.

Geographic Scale / Physical Area of Authority

The area managed by the HRPT is defined in its enabling legislation and covers about 550 acres of land (see Figure 6). The district map forms a special taxing and zoning district in the City's zoning code. This area, called the Special Hudson River Park District, has been amended over time to include additional land.

Regulatory Framework for River Authority

The HRPT is a public-benefit corporation established by the New York State legislature to expressly protect and enhance the Hudson Riverfront for its ecological and public recreational value.

The enabling legislation for the Trust reads:

"The planning and development of the Hudson river park as a public park is a matter of state concern and in the interest of the people of the state. It will enhance the ability of New Yorkers to enjoy the Hudson River, one of the state's great natural resources; protect the Hudson

River, including its role as an aquatic habitat; promote the health, safety and welfare of the people of the state; increase the quality of life in the adjoining community and the state as a whole; help alleviate the blighted, unhealthy, unsanitary and dangerous conditions that characterize much of the area; and boost tourism and stimulate the economy."

Organizational Structure and Staffing

The HRPT is governed by a 13-member Board of Directors, with appointments by the New York State Governor, the New York City Mayor, and the Manhattan Borough President. The organization has an extensive staff, with positions that cover a wide range of professional management, legal, ecological stewardship, marketing, finance, security, and public relations functions. The HRPT staff consists of three main divisions, with staff to support each of these areas of work. The Parks Management Division is in charge of operating, maintaining, and securing existing park spaces. This includes managing a security team, employing a manager of facilities, and being a steward of natural areas. Capital planning, design, and implementation activities are led by the Trust's Finance and Real Estate Division. Its work

encompasses real estate negotiations and lease management, design and construction of projects, overseeing liability issues and insurance for facilities, and financial management, including maintaining public–private partnerships. A separate events, programming, and marketing team promotes and activates the riverfront park area. This includes organizing major public events and renting the spaces for private functions.

The organization is also advised by the Hudson River Park Advisory Council, which is made up of elected officials representing neighboring communities, local community representatives, and environmental, labor, business, and civic organizations. Lastly, the Trust works closely on fundraising with the Hudson River Park Friends, which is led by its own 29-person board.

supplemental funds from the federal government, private philanthropic contributions, discretionary grant allocations from elected officials, and the sale of development rights. Operating revenue is raised through leasing arrangements with commercial tenants in the district, and additional revenue is generated from the large parking structures on the HRPT property. Its core operating budget exceeds \$40 million, \$5 million of which comes from parking fees, user fees, and sponsorships. The Hudson River Park Trust is also a special taxing district. This major revenue source for the capital improvements has been critical to abetting the transition of the shoreline from industrial to civic use, which is revered by residents and visitors alike.



Ping Tom Memorial Park on the South Branch of the Chicago River. (Adam Flickinger)

Funding

From its inception through 2024, HRPT invested \$990 million in new park construction, maintenance, and the construction of related facilities. Capital funds associated with new park construction have been provided primarily by the State of New York and the City of New York, with

Comparing the Cases

The cases presented showcase the panorama of innovative management and governance strategies involving urban river corridors in cities. They also show why creative partnerships must be cultivated between governments, nonprofits, and private companies to preserve urban rivers and effectively steward these critical natural resources. The overarching theme of collaboration is apparent across the organizations' other shared attributes.

Three observations stand out:

Observation 1. Most initiatives are

facilitated by a state-level planning or

regulatory authority. The role of the state governments in New York, Milwaukee, and Saint Paul is particularly noteworthy. Their respective states have established a framework to protect and enhance riverfront spaces centered on the Public Trust Doctrine. This legal principle, often used in conservation efforts, establishes that

certain natural resources, such as public lands and navigable waters, are held in trust by the government for the benefit of the public. Such a regulatory foundation provides a strong base for creating local laws that protect and restore the riverfront for public rather than purely private use

Observation 2: A diverse funding structure is critical, but success often involves leveraging nonprofits due to their flexibility and nimbleness in fundraising and advocacy.

The funding structure applicable to each case varies, but a commonality is the need for funding from diverse sources. Like it is for all infrastructure, funding is limited, and consolidating funds to advance major capital improvement projects usually requires interorganizational collaboration.

Each of the peer cities leverage government, private, and nonprofit funding sources.

- Milwaukee stands out for using special tax contributions from the Business Improvement District properties to support basic maintenance.
- Detroit has catalytic corporate and private foundation funding to encourage complementary private sector investments.

Table 1. Summary Matrix of Key Attributes from Case Studies

Case Studies	Authority Enabled By	Type of Entity	Funding Source	River Geography
Great River Passage (Saint Paul)	Department of Natural Resources and city ordinance	City Parks and Recreation Department and nonprofit organization partnership	Government, philanthropic organizations, donations	17 miles
Hudson River Park Trust (New York)	State enabled, local special zoning district	Partnership between nonprofit organizations	State, city, leases, taxes, philanthropic organizations, donations	4 miles
Detroit Riverfront Conservancy	Public–private partnership between city, foundation, and private companies	Led by nonprofit organization with support from private sector and city	Philanthropic organizations, donations	5.5 miles
Milwaukee Riverwalk	City of Milwaukee	Department of City Development, BID, and nonprofit support	City, property owners	3 miles

- New York, apart from having programs at a scale far beyond that of smaller cities, has creatively leveraged parking revenue, special taxing districts, and the sale of development rights to build capital improvements that attracted additional corporate sponsorship and private donations. Notably, however, it also relies heavily on nonprofits as fundraising partners.

Both Detroit and New York have funding primarily led by nonprofits, likely due to their adeptness in bundling different funding sources and utilizing them more fluidly than government agencies can.

Working within budget constraints, the agencies involved are challenged to maintain beloved built and natural assets simultaneously and create new

river-related natural areas, parks, access points, water trails, and other amenities.

At the same time, rivers are uniquely positioned to help provide the respite, resiliency, economic growth, and environmental health that thriving cities require. To unlock their full potential, rivers require a clear vision backed by government leadership, effective and modern regulations, continuous infrastructure maintenance, and a well-defined investment strategy for future capital projects. These case studies showcase various approaches to achieving this important work and offer inspiration for the next phase of vital river investments.

Observation 3. Initiatives are guided by a strategic vision plan for a defined land area of impact.

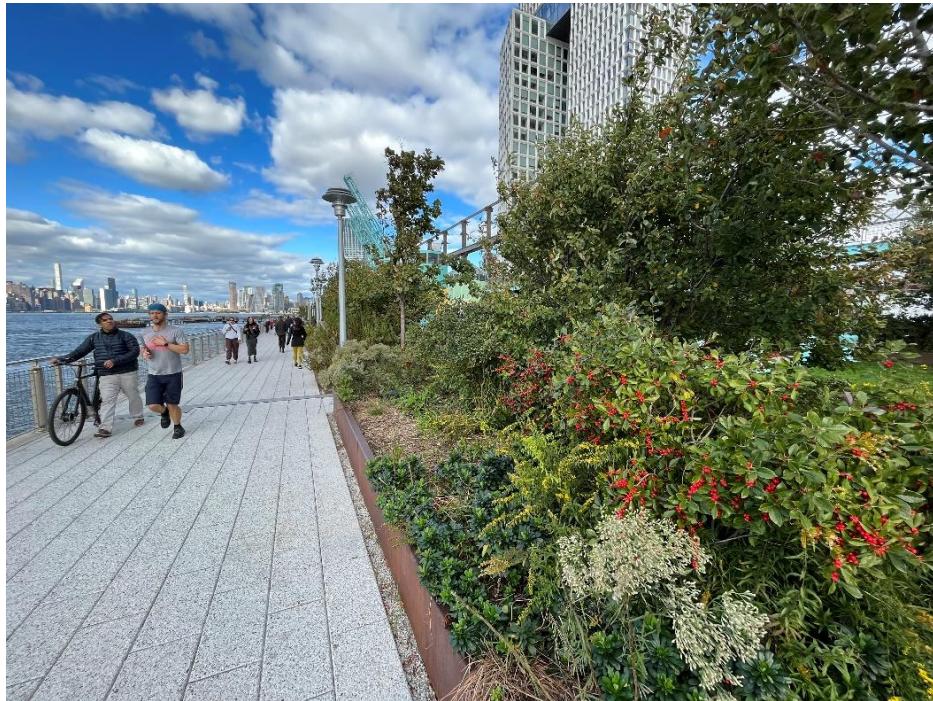
Each case is shaped by slightly different priorities, which vary with respect to natural resource protection, cultural and historical interpretation, economic development, and other factors. Yet, all the case studies have enshrined these priorities in plans and visions for particular river-related districts. A clearly defined district, mapped and documented in local regulations, provides clarity

and focus to these organizations engaged in river governance and investment. These districts vary in size; Milwaukee, Detroit, and New York have smaller districts that are less than six miles long, while Saint Paul has a citywide river corridor strategy. Regardless, their visions set out in their plans are bounded by clear geographic parameters.

Conclusion

The future will bring new river investment and stewardship challenges. The needs of Chicago and other cities will require leveraging the creative and collaborative approach evident in these case studies. Infrastructure is aging, ecosystems are under unprecedented pressure, and as the urban context around rivers continues to grow and densify, residents, government leaders, and private businesses will desire new investment opportunities. These case studies showcase various approaches to achieving this important work and offer inspiration for the next phase of vital river investments.

PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR



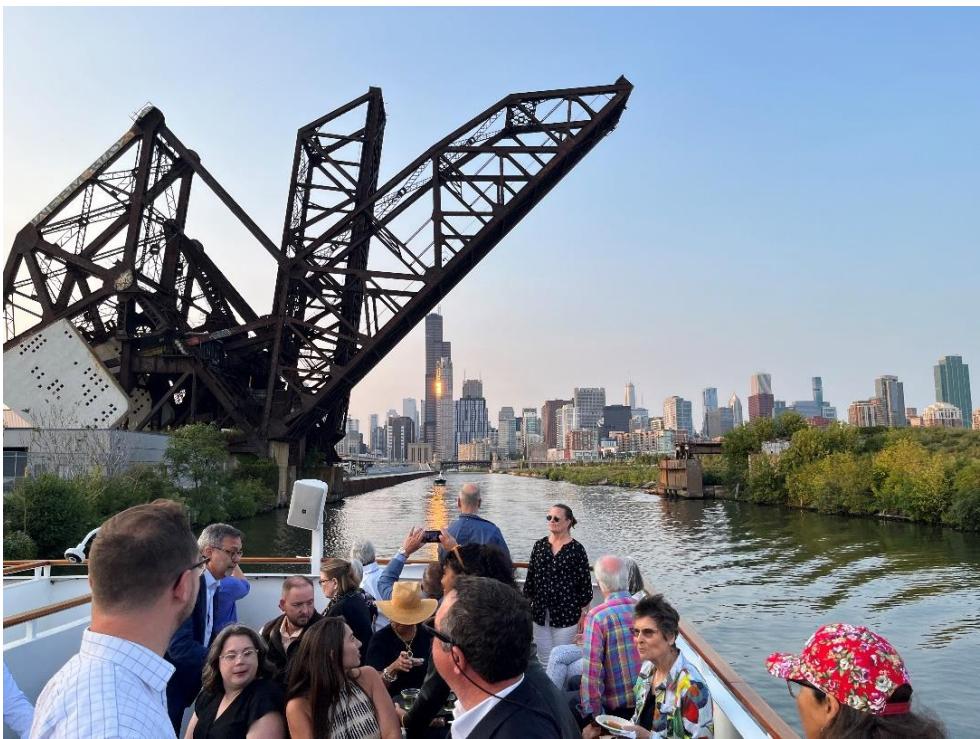
The recently opened Domino Sugar Factory river edge parks in [New York City's](#) Williamsburg neighborhood along the East River in Brooklyn employ a creative approach to restoration of a post-industrial riverfront, honoring its history, restoring habitat, and providing unique ways for residents to enjoy the waterfront.



Domino Park in [New York City's](#) in the aforementioned Brooklyn factory redevelopment, boasts abundant gardens with native plants while maintaining remnant industrial infrastructure that speaks the area's history.



A crew squad practices along the North Branch of the Chicago River, which has seen extensive river edge ecosystem restoration projects over the past few decades led by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, non-profits, community organizations, and the Chicago Park District.



A tour boat has just passed a pair of enormous movable railroad bridges, one of which remains in use, on the South Branch of the Chicago River, and is approaching the largest river edge redevelopment site remaining in Chicago, named by its developer "The 78."



Boaters and other recreationalists enjoy Chicago's downtown riverwalk on the south bank of the Chicago River's Main Stem, just west of State Street.



A community workshop on kayaks highlights various conservation and development projects along the North Branch of the Chicago River, near Goose Island, against the backdrop of the Loop skyline, including the Willis Tower.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Adam Flickinger, AICP, LEED

In his role as Friends of the Chicago River's Planning Director, Flickinger leads innovative waterways planning to advance Friends' ambitious vision for a healthy, accessible, and resilient Chicago-Calumet River system. Adam's focus is on promoting the 156-mile Chicago-Calumet River system as a blue-green corridor, guiding river edge development, advocating for a connected river edge and water trail system, collaborating on nature-based stormwater solutions, and engaging with river edge communities to modernize waterway plans and policies.

Adam is an American Institute of Certified Planners licensed professional with 20 years of professional experience. Before joining Friends, Adam worked as a planning consultant in the private sector on a wide variety of community planning and urban design projects, including large-scale international developments, comprehensive plans, downtown plans, and transit-oriented developments. Adam has a Master's Degree in Architecture, with a focus on urban studies and urban design, from the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. His LinkedIn [page is here](#). Adam is also a Chaddick Institute "River Fellow"

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Please [click here](#) for the Chaddick Institute's other river policy work and our other 2024-25 [River Fellows](#).

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REFERENCES & RESOURCES

The analysis draws on publicly available sources of information, including:

SAINT PAUL, MN

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