NEORETROISM:

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Discovering When We Went Wrong, Where We Lost Our Way And How We Can Develop Strong Communities Once Again

Jeffory D. Blackard Joseph A. Pobiner





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NeoRetroism: The Lost Village

Discovering When We Went Wrong, Where We Lost Our Way And How We Can Develop Strong Communities Once Again

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Jeffory D. Blackard Joseph A. Pobiner, FAICP, CNU-A

Designed by JD Lee Edited by Monica C. Fink

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Preface

Ascending the Tower

t was one of those gorgeous early spring days in North Texas - a deep blue cloudless sky, no humidity, and a near-perfect 72 degrees. It was late March. The breeze was my companion and I drove with my windows down, enjoying this most pleasant of Texas spring days.

I was on my way to see Jeff Blackard, an old friend, colleague, client, and developer whom I hadn't heard from in a while. My emails and voicemail messages to him went unanswered, and messages left with his assistant were not returned. "Were the rumors true?" I wondered. I had heard others, who supposedly knew Jeff, talk of how he had become almost a hermit, sort of like Howard Hughes in his later years.

Had Jeff become a recluse? I thought this to be an unlikely summation. Jeff was a friend and I was determined to find out about his somewhat "dormant" status.

I was on my way from a meeting in Collin County, so I thought I'd swing by his company office, which was, at last record, known as still being located in McKinney.

Collin County, immediately north of Dallas, has had the distinction of being the fastest growing county in the U.S., with two of the fastest growing cities, Frisco and McKinney, leading the way. My destination was McKinney, more specifically an area on the west side of McKinney, a master-planned community called Stonebridge Ranch. The extensive landscaping and strict architectural guidelines of Stonebridge Ranch set the template for similar communities in the region and even nationally. Over the years, the once-unique environment of Stonebridge has become all-too-familiar as a result of numerous copycats.

I had previously helped Jeff brainstorm a proposed development he called Adriatica, which was to be located on a 48-acre tract in the middle of Stonebridge Ranch. Jeff wanted to do something different, distinctly not suburban, and something very un-metropolitan. He wanted to build a village. A Croatian village. Yes, a Croatian village in North Texas.

I was on my way to see Jeff and the progress he had made. I drove north on Stonebridge Drive, a gently curving landscaped boulevard that connected the various residential subdivisions within Stonebridge Ranch. Even with its wide and shaded sidewalks, and even on a perfect day like today, few people were actually walking. Most were driving. Just like me.

As I rounded the last gentle curve, there it was. Set on the rolling prairie, with a grocery store to the north and a country club to the west, was a bell tower. It was the promise of Adriatica. Jeff's vision for a village was taking shape. Now, while there are bell towers all over North Texas, they are almost



always part of a university campus or attached to a church. This, however, was different. It was a free-standing stone tower, maybe 10 stories tall at its peak. To me, it was a campanile – a free-standing bell tower commonly found across Europe, especially in small villages in Italy. Yet here it was, in North Texas, in the heart of the region's largest master-planned community.

Now I could see the bell tower, but there wasn't actually a straight road to get there. The nascent roadway system in Adriatica curved and bended, forcing drivers to slow down. As I drove along this winding and narrow road, the tower revealed itself in different poses, from full elevation to three-quarter profile. Up close, the tower was an impressive edifice, tall and thin, perhaps the tallest structure in this part of Collin County. It was, most assuredly, not typical of other edifices in the area.

I parked in the small adjacent lot and walked up to the massive wooden front door. The doorway revealed a small lobby with an elevator to the left and a restroom and staircase to the right. A campanile with an elevator? My day just got more interesting.

The bell tower was actually an office building, albeit one of the most unusual ones in North Texas. I hit the elevator button, got in, and pressed "7" for Blackard Global, the top floor.

When you exit an elevator, you normally expect some space between you and your destination, but the tower's upper floors were very small, maybe 20 feet by 20 feet. The door opened, and immediately in front of me was a desk with Jeff's assistant.

"May I help you?" he asked. I explained who I was and how I had been trying to reach Jeff for a while. The assistant confirmed that Jeff had indeed been travelling extensively and was rarely in the office. I left my business card and told his assistant to have him call me whenever he returned. I turned to push the elevator's "down" button when I heard a voice I recognized. "Send him up," said the voice.

I looked around and saw no one. Where was this voice coming from? Jeff's assistant got up from behind the desk and said, "Let me show you to his office." I figured maybe his office was on a lower floor that was unmarked in the directory. Instead, the assistant walked past me to the small bookcase on the right side of the elevator. He pushed a book on an upper shelf to one side and the bookcase opened like a door, revealing a narrow staircase leading up.

I've only seen this in movies and thought of the famous "put the candle back" scene from Young Frankenstein. This was no movie. It was real and right in front of me. "He's upstairs," the assistant said, smiling. "You can't miss it." As I walked up the narrow staircase, I thought, "Maybe he really did become a recluse."

Reaching the top floor of the tower, I saw Jeff sitting at his desk, looking exactly as I remembered. His office was surrounded by architecture books and photo journals from all over the world. If the seventh floor was small, this level was tiny, barely enough room for a desk, a small couch, a few chairs, and a small hammock that hung on one side. A portion of the floor was cut-out and covered with a plexiglass panel. Looking out from the 270-degree view, Jeff surely had one of the best views of Collin County, albeit in one of the most unusual office spaces. He was also able to see me through the plexiglass panel when I first walked off the elevator.

It turns out Jeff really was travelling most of the time. Between working on Adriatica, trips to Croatia, and managing his philanthropic work in South America, his plate was pretty full. Jeff apologized profusely for his lack of communication and I could tell he was sincere, not just giving me an excuse.

"So you really got Adriatica started," I said. He chuckled a bit and said "You have no idea what it took to get this going." Over a 2-year period, the project's pre-construction costs topped \$1 million, including a long process of working with the City of McKinney, that had never seen anything like this before.

I knew Jeff wanted to build a village, but never knew exactly why. After all, he had been a developer of master-planned communities, office parks, retail centers, apartments, and subdivisions. He was regarded locally as a successful developer whose passion was to build quality projects.

So why does such a developer spend so much of his time travelling to Europe for inspiration? Why did he spend so much time and money to get Adriatica up and running?

Like all good stories, it was a series of unanticipated events that led Jeff to his mission of creating villages, not just developments.

Joseph A. Pobiner, FAICP, CNU-A 2016

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How Do You Want to Live?

If you could live anywhere in the world, where would it be? It's a simple question, one that people ask themselves every day. Answers, of course, vary, but often include locations such as "a small village in Tuscany," "a fishing village on a Greek isle," or "a small town in the Rockies".

Notice that most don't say "a suburb" or "my subdivision". For many Americans, this is where we spend a good portion of our lives – either living in one house or in a series of houses over many years. It is where we make our single largest financial investment (our house). So why can't our suburbs be more desirable places? If you could choose to live anywhere, would you live where you are right now?

Don't get me wrong. This book is not an indictment of all suburban development. Nor does it present an "either/or" proposition. If you look at American development, it lies along a continuum, from the densest urban core to the most rural farmstead. Arguably, the most prevalent and fastest growing development type has been the American suburb. It has been this way for more than 60 years and has been known by many names - from white flight to suburban sprawl. If you are a Baby Boomer (born between 1946 and 1964), chances are you have lived in a suburban subdivision at some point in your life. Maybe you still do.

An Alternative to Current Development Patterns

This book offers an alternative to current development patterns that can be applied either to new greenfield development in both suburban and urban settings or to older suburbs, which are now beginning to experience their first round of redevelopment. Such an alternative already has a proven track record of success and adoption.

As an example, let's examine the lives of two families – one American, the other Italian. In this roman à clef, the names are fictitious, but the individual circumstances of the two families may be quite familiar.

The American Suburbanites

College sweethearts, Jim and Melanie, were married upon graduation. They have been married for 16 years, both are 38 years old, and they have two children – 14-year-old daughter, Madison, and 12-year-old son, Mark. They also own two cars: Jim's 5-year-old Ford Explorer and Melanie's 10-year-old Honda Accord, which she is thinking about trading in next year.

For the first year and a half they were married, Jim and Melanie lived in an apartment near downtown. It was close to where they both worked, and they loved the vibrant neighborhood with its diverse selection of restaurants, galleries, coffee shops, and the dry cleaners that always remembered exactly how Jim liked his shirts (light starch, hung, not folded).

When Melanie became pregnant with Madison, Jim and Melanie knew their apartment would be too small for their new family, so they decided it was time to buy their first home. They selected Arbor Oaks, a subdivision in a suburban master-planned community 25 miles from downtown. Arbor Oaks was located in a good school district and the homes were within their budget.

For almost 15 years, they have lived in the same modest 3-bedroom house built in the late 1980s. They like the fact that Arbor Oaks has a homeowner's association (HOA) to keep the subdivision landscaped and tidy. On the downside, they aren't thrilled that the HOA also requires residents to comply with a variety of strict design guidelines, from the height and placement of backyard swing sets to the color and location of Christmas lights. They figure it's a small price to pay.

Five years ago, Jim was recruited to join a large technology company as their Director of Human Resources. Melanie has been at the same civil engineering firm since graduation and has worked her way up to Senior Vice President. Their home in Arbor Oaks is not close to either of their offices, so they both commute every day by car. Their suburban city is considering joining the regional transit agency, but that election is at least 18 months away.

Jim's office is in a corporate office park 10 miles away. He could take the local highways, but due to traffic congestion he takes local streets. His commute is still almost 45 minutes each way. Jim figures he drives at least 400 miles to and from work each month, not counting the occasional midday offsite meeting, which costs him about \$70 to \$80 in gas (parking at the office is free). However, he is still concerned about gas prices and has even considered upgrading his SUV, knowing that the newer models get better gas mileage.

Melanie's office is 25 miles away in a downtown high-rise. Her commute is a combination of highways and a new toll road. Her drive time is also about 45 minutes, but by the time she finds a space in the garage and walks to the office, her door-to-door commute is almost an hour each way. Melanie's company pays for her parking, but her monthly commute is at least 1,000 miles each month, and with gas and tolls, it costs her a little more than \$250 a month. They'd prefer to put some of that money away into the children's college fund.

Jim and Melanie each leave for work around 7 a.m., about the same time Madison and Mark leave to catch the school bus. The HOA and the school district could not agree on school bus stop locations inside the subdivision (the HOA was reluctant to allow school bus traffic through the community). Until the dispute is resolved, the kids walk to one of the stops at the two subdivision entries which are about a 15-minute walk in either direction. Though she doesn't have her driver's license yet, Madison is already hinting that Mom should get a new car so Madison can "inherit" the Accord (or better yet, get a newer car). Madison keeps hinting that Mom should get a hybrid for the simple fact that she drives so much.

Melanie also travels out-of-town for projects every so often, so she needs to be able to get to the airport, an hour's drive in the opposite direction of her normal commute. On a normal day, both parents get home around 7 p.m. Try as he might, Jim just can't get home in time to catch any of Mark's soccer games during the week.

In the recent weekly HOA newsletter, there is an editorial from the HOA President who is concerned about the recent increase in daytime home burglaries. These are happening during late mornings and early afternoons, when most of the subdivision is empty. Parents are at work and the children are in school. One of the recent burglaries was located just 4 doors down, but neither Jim nor Melanie knows this neighbor. In fact, they only know the neighbor on their right because their driveways are close to one another and they chat for a few minutes while getting the mail at the curb.

On a regular weeknight, dinner is served at about 8 p.m. Jim and Melanie love to cook but they just don't have as much time or energy as they would like. Lately, they have been relying more and more on take-out and prepared "home meal replacements" from the grocery. Every so often, dinner might be delayed for Mark's soccer practice or Madison's marching band rehearsals, but they do try to eat together as a family 3 to 4 nights each week.

On the weekend, Jim and Melanie make time for errands, as well as family time whenever possible. The market is packed on Saturdays but that's really the only time they have to get their weekly grocery shopping done. Sometimes, the family packs up their bicycles and drives to the local park for an afternoon ride. (They see the irony of driving somewhere to ride bikes, but Arbor Oaks doesn't have bike paths and the major roads are not particularly safe to cross even for an experienced cyclist.) Sundays are reserved for church and maybe a few chores around the house afterward. Sunday dinner is often at a local Chili's or Macaroni Grill (and that new Thai place that just opened up next to the grocery store looks interesting). By 9 p.m., Jim and Melanie are exhausted and the new work week is just around the corner.

The Italian Mid-Towners

Carlo and Gia have known each other since they were children. They started dating in their early teens and seemed inseparable. Even though they went to university in cities far away from each other, they kept their long-distance relationship alive and married soon after graduation. Now, both 38 years old, they've been married for 16 years and have two children – 14-year-old daughter, Sofia, and 12-year-old son, Franco. They also have two cars – Gia's 10-year-old Audi A4 and Carlo's 5-year-old Ford Mondeo.

When they were first married, they were able to scrape enough money together to buy a small house not far from the Autostrada, on the edge of a large Italian city. They wanted to make sure they had a place big enough for the family they planned to start someday. Carlo and Gia both were working downtown, so the commute wasn't all that bad, since they could usually drive together.

Four years ago, Carlo and Gia looked at renovating their home. After calculating the costs involved (not to mention the disruption), they decided to look for a new place. They purchased a 3-bedroom townhouse in a new development called "Mid-Towne" – they liked the English name since it makes them think of the cool American urban neighborhoods they've seen in the movies. In addition to being in better condition, their new townhouse had about 15 percent more space than their home.

Mid-Towne is 10 kilometers from downtown and is part of an older established neighborhood. It is a mix of existing neighborhood homes, apartments and shops, with new townhomes, schools, and a light rail station a half kilometer away, which is roughly a 5-minute walk from just about everything in Mid-Towne. Most of the buildings in Mid-Towne are four to six stories, with street-level shops, restaurants, and offices. There is a central plaza that opens onto a neighborhood park. Carlo and Gia's townhouse is within a short walk from just about everything they need.

Carlo is the Creative Director for a prominent advertising firm located downtown. Gia is a senior accountant for a large multi-national corporation with offices in a new office park just off the Autostrada, just a few kilometers from their old house. Although their offices are located in opposite directions, the local light rail station provides two lines that serve both destinations, usually a 20-minute trip for each. Both of their employers provides them each with a free monthly transit pass as part of their compensation packages. Their monthly commuting expenses are negligible; the Audi and Ford generally stay parked at home 3 to 4 days a week unless they need to drive to a meeting during the day. In fact, Gia is suggesting they might sell one car (she wants to keep hers), but Sofia is already dropping hints about getting her own car when she gets her driver's license.

Mid-Towne has a resident's association that maintains a neighborhood website. Gia gets a text from the association director saying that local police have asked some of the retirees who live in the older homes in Mid-Towne to keep a watch on the townhouses, since the parents are at work and the children are in school. So far, the crime rate has been very low.

Sofia and Franco walk to their school campus four blocks away. Gia and Carlo walk together to the light rail station each morning around 7:30, stopping to pick up a cup of coffee and the morning paper at a small market on their corner. On the way home, they sometimes stop by the same market to pick up something for dinner, maybe fresh produce, bread, or a dessert.

If Gia and Carlo do need their cars during the day, they have a choice. They can drive from home or they can use their company ZipCar accounts, providing nearby rental cars on an hourly basis. When Carlo needs to travel out-of-town for business, he prefers to take the light rail line to the airport rather than pay for long-term parking or an expensive taxi ride. On a normal day though, both parents are home with their kids by 6 p.m., with dinner prepared together and served around 7 p.m.

Tall and strong for his age, Franco plays in an American football league. Whenever he can, Carlo gets home a little early to watch Franco's games. (Franco dreams of going to an American university and playing football, confounding his soccer-loving father.) Carlo's parents live nearby and own a small bookstore and coffee shop. Sofia convinced her grandfather to let her work there a few hours each day between homework and gymnastic team practices. She's saving money in the hopes of eventually getting that car she's been hinting at.

Weekends are for errands and family time. The neighborhood corner market provides some items, but there is also a new bigger grocery store one stop away on the light rail line. Other local shops - dry cleaners, pharmacy, electronics, clothing, hardware - provide most of the family's needs on a weekly basis. Also, a neighborhood service provides free home delivery to Mid-Towne residents when needed. Occasionally, they all drive out to the new mall on the outskirts of town, or take the light rail to IKEA to get some ideas for their townhouse (IKEA also offers free home delivery).

Sundays are for church and maybe a few chores around the house. Carlo's parents live above their bookstore and join them for dinner on most Sundays. Gia's family lives on the other side of town, but also joins them about once a month for dinner, often at a favorite local trattoria. By Sunday night, Carlo and Gia are ready to take on the upcoming week.

Which Way Would You Want to Live?

The fictitious American and Italian families demonstrate key differences that can be overcome by altering our approach to development. Jim and Melanie's lives are auto-centric by necessity and their daily routine is completely dependent on their cars. Jim and Melanie are much like the average American who spends approximately 1 hour each way commuting to and from work. That's about 1,000 hours a year commuting – more than 41 days getting to and from work! In more congested areas, that number goes up significantly. By simply locating diverse uses closer together, providing alternatives to car commuting, and creating walkable communities, a significant portion of those 1,000 hours may be reclaimed.

Carlo and Gia's daily routines involve very little driving. They could have bought a house in a new subdivision on the outskirts of town – and they looked at more than a few – but after weighing the added costs of commuting, combined with their city's notoriously congested traffic, they opted for a more convenient location. They also appreciate the private time the two of them have every morning walking to the coffee shop on the way to the station.

While there may be some drawbacks to townhouse living – virtually no backyard and limited opportunities for home improvements – Carlo and Gia appreciate the benefits of the neighborhood and its location.

This gives them more family time together, a feeling of being part of a community, and the ability to save and redirect money, that they might have spent commuting, to the children's college fund (Franco may just end up attending that American university he keeps talking about).

To be sure, there are those who enjoy suburban life and see the solo commute as much-needed "alone time". Increasing traffic congestion and gasoline prices begin to erode that benefit. Which daily routine would you rather emulate? Jim and Melanie's or Carlo and Gia's?



The Future In Our Past

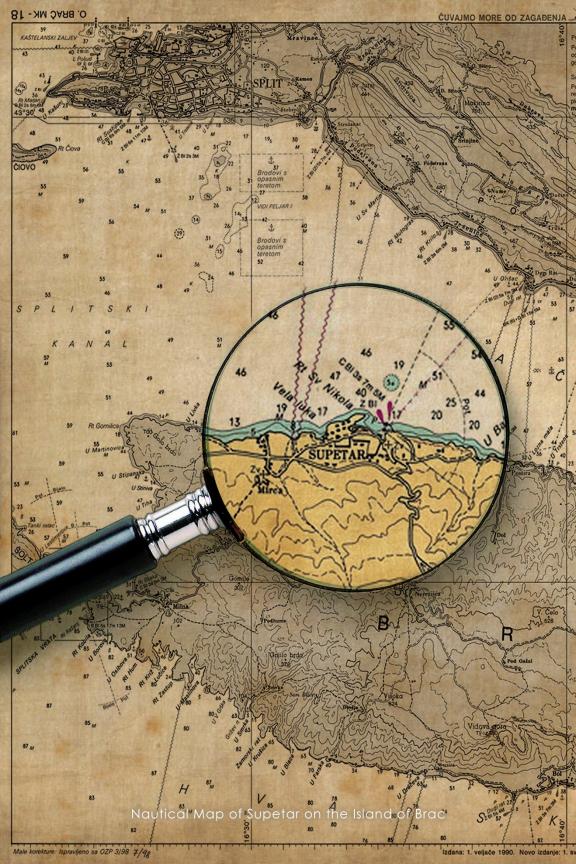
Chapter 1

It Took a Croatian Village

J eff's work as a developer was profitable. No one goes into business to lose money. Even still, he began to find it repetitive and unfulfilling. That's not something most successful developers admit. Most are focused on pro formas, market studies, and developing something that's easily financeable. At the end of the day, every developer measures his success by the bottom-line. North Texas has had its share of well-known successful developers such as Trammell Crow, Lincoln Property Company, Woodbine, Hillwood, and many others with successful local, regional, and national portfolios. While Jeff's company played in this rarified league, he was still searching for something.

Jeff's Story: The Challenge Begins

"I was working on a project in Houston, meeting with some friends for lunch. One of them was Rudy Tomjanovich (former coach of the Houston Rockets). Rudy was born in the U.S. but his family is of Croatian descent. He also happened to know a man by the name of Miomir Žužul, the Croatian ambassador to the U.S. Rudy was to have dinner with Ambassador Žužul, but had a conflict at the last minute and asked me to step in. I got to know the Ambassador over dinner and we started talking about development.





The Ambassador was interested in attracting American developers to Croatia, especially as a way of strengthening their economy after their war for independence in the early 1990s. He invited me to visit Croatia and see for myself the opportunities that were present.

Three weeks later, I found myself in Croatia, being escorted to various parts of the country. One area in particular that resonated with me was the harbor village of Supetar, on the island of Brac, off the coast of Split-Dalmatian region of southern Croatia. This village embodied the "village form" that I had been thinking of and searching for.

I purchased a development package in Supetar, which included the local hotel and several residential and retail buildings. I began to spend time in Supetar, observing how people interacted, not only with each other, but with the "spaces" that made up the village.

Supetar's heart was the harbor, with a grand promenade – a cornice – along the water's edge. Here the townspeople interacted with each other multiple times each day. This was the heart and soul of the village and it was simultaneously a plaza, a market, and a public gathering place. In essence, it was one space with many uses.

While observing how people used this space, I struck up a conversation with a young man who was a bartender at the hotel I had purchased. His English was quite good (my Croatian was not). He told me that after he earned a law degree at a large university in Dubrovnik, he came back to Supetar. "Why?" I asked. "You could practice law anywhere in the country or Europe." "This is my home," he replied. "This is where my family is. Maybe I'll have a chance to practice law someday, but this is where I want to be. This is where my roots are."

I heard the same response from a young woman working as a maid in the same hotel. She earned a medical degree in Zagreb, but also returned to Supetar because it was her home. She, too, expressed a desire to eventually practice as a physician in her hometown, but this is where she was from, where she belonged.

I had never heard young professionals talk this way in the U.S. Most were eager to leave and make their way in the world. But here in Supetar, the village drew everyone together. I couldn't shake the notion that these educated young professionals would forsake better employment elsewhere (not to mention better income opportunities) just to come back to this place. They believed that those opportunities would come in time, but what was more important was returning to the place where a sense of family and community was so prevalent.

This was what was missing from all my experience in development. Could I build something that created this sense of place, a place that had a soul? I travelled elsewhere through Europe, looking for other examples of village development. While I found this same idea to be prevalent, especially in smaller towns and villages, it could even be found in established neighborhoods and districts in the larger cities. That sense of place, of belonging, was reinforced by the design of the village (or neighborhood) and its residents.

This "village concept" is what I determined to be missing from the average subdivision and master-planned communities in the United States. During the day, most of these communities were empty. Parents were working at their offices and children were at school. The few daytime occupants of these subdivisions tended to be workers, gardeners, contractors, and the occasional security guard - the exact opposite of the environment of Supetar.

The United States does have some similar village examples if you look hard enough. Small communities dotting the country, across the Midwest, Northeast, and South, have been able to hold on to these values of community, place, and belonging. The similarity was that each community was relatively small, or was made up of small walkable neighborhoods.

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The harbor village of Supetar - on the island of Brac

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Families knew each other and generations often occupied the same house. Could I make this happen in suburban North Texas?

My experience in development had led me to the realization that we had lost our way in developing. Uniqueness and sense of place were replaced by franchises and repetitive architecture. Neighborhoods had become comprised of only homes, while absent of neighborhood shops, small churches, or even the corner bakery. Residential subdivisions were pushed away from everything else, forcing residents to drive everywhere - to school, to the store, to the park, to church. Sometimes, it was even hard to find sidewalks if you chose to walk to your destination. Why were we pushing everything away?"

The Art of Learning by Failure

Jeff hails from a family that has always been involved in the construction industry, since before it was titled as such. Real estate was in his family; he says he inherited and developed the family legacy.

In Peoria, Illinois, Arthur Joss, his maternal grandfather, dug ditches for building utilities for water and sewer lines for contractors. Watt Verna Blackard, Jeff's paternal grandfather, was a bootlegger for years, buying whiskey in Arkansas and transporting it by train to St. Louis. He eventually started selling houses. Similarly, Jeff's father dabbled in an advertising firm until he started his own company and developed very small subdivisions and, later, progressed into building apartments and condominiums throughout the Midwest.

Jeff's childhood was typical. He had an older and younger sister, and Peoria was all he knew. Situated along the banks of the Illinois River, Peoria was known as the home of Caterpillar, the construction equipment company. Times were simpler until Jeff was about 8 years old. That's when his world fell apart. He became broken and shaken to the core when his parents divorced. He was in the second grade. This event was very devastating to Jeff and led him to fail school that year. He had to repeat the same grade with new students and was quite embarrassed to do so.

Then Jeff failed the third grade. Jeff overheard the school principal ("O, ye of little faith") say to his parents that Jeff would not make it past grade school. Little did the principal know that Jeff would become one of the 100 most notable graduates of the highly acclaimed Northwestern University, among the brightest and foremost students in the world. It was not until, years later, that Jeff realized how severely his mother's yelling and his father's fighting with her affected his identity and belief in himself.

Jeff missed the most critical and elementary points of his educational life, as early as second grade. He knows, firsthand, the importance of this milestone of education to a student's development and future. This is the time when children learn to read and write.

Jeff ended up in the fifth grade at Concordia Lutheran School in Peoria, Illinois, older and taller than most of the other kids. He began playing basketball and was very good at it. To play, he had to get adequate grades to be on the team. Since he didn't have the fundamental skills of reading and writing, he used every other skill possible to pass. He learned to pay attention to everything in his environment. This sensitive awareness to everything around him was his skill base; it was necessary for his survival and formed his identity. By paying attention to his environment, he studied people's interactions all the time - a skill that saw Jeff through grade school, high school, and well into college and beyond.

After one year of acing junior college, Jeff decided to join a friend who was attending Northwestern. He entered with a track scholarship and majored in communications. That's where he learned about how the world, retailers, and everyday people interact and the importance of those interactions. Jeff learned how to recognize and compartmentalize, and leverage what he had learned as life skills.

Once he graduated from Northwestern, armed with experience in his father's property management company, he drove off to start his career on the West Coast. There he worked for six months at a real estate appraisal firm but realized what he really wanted to do was build houses. So he returned to Illinois, packed his bags and headed south in his beat-up Chevy to the land of opportunity, which, in 1980, was the great State of Texas. At the time, Texas had the highest growth of any state in the United States. Jeff landed in Dallas-Fort Worth. Here he was, a recent graduate, feeling pretty proud that he'd graduated with a B+ from one of the finest universities in the world (especially considering the fact that he'd failed both second and third grade). Still, he went from company to company throughout the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex, begging people to hire him.

Finally, Jeff joined a real estate development company that also did retail, apartment, and trailer park construction. He interviewed with the brilliant Bill Parsons, whose engineering degree was from Stanford University and who also earned a master's degree from Harvard University. Bill's brother-in-law was Chuck Wilson, also a Stanford graduate.

Year after year, Jeff worked at least 14 hours a day, every day. Christmas was no exception. He was the first one to arrive at 5 a.m. and the last one to leave at the end of the day. This became his identity, his meal ticket. Where before he had been recognized for his adeptness at basketball, he was now being recognized for his hard work. Money was not the motivating factor; in fact, Jeff was content and grateful for the experience he was obtaining. (This included learning from Bill Parsons how to negotiate and broker work with larger companies, such as homebuilding giant Fox & Jacobs.)

At only 23 years old, Jeff found himself in a managerial position. He was very involved in every aspect of numerous projects, some requiring the development of 5,000 residential lots. He not only wrote the contracts for the tradesmen but was also known for checking and surveying the grades.

In retrospect, this is where Jeff's communications major played a critical role. Knowing how to communicate with the various contractors and parties involved in the development process required thorough organizational skills. He went the extra mile to familiarize himself with all aspects of the process and insisted on checking and verifying the engineers' and architects' work, drawings and plans. At age 26, after a few short years full of unbelievable experience, Bill and Chuck made Jeff a partner in the company. They were possibly one of the largest master-planned community developers at the time.

By 30, Jeff expanded his development experience to include several office and industrial park divisions. So he began his own company which included ten of the brightest individuals on my team, with PhDs and master's degrees in architecture, engineering, and landscape architecture, among others. Jeff's company employed state-of-the-art technology and began to geographically diversify work across the nation. Soon, the company was working in Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, and all over Texas. Fortune 500 companies and institutions consulted Jeff's company for financial analysis on both the value and development plans for properties.

Jeff's insight during this time was key. He had learned the fundamental similarities of how villages, towns, and cities grow. He realized that the masterplanned community industry is not a franchise or a business; rather, it is an investment in people's lives.

His challenge had just begun.

Chapter 2

Cracking the Code: Elements of a Village

What Current Development Lacks

odern American development, mostly that which has occurred since World War II, has been routinely criticized by designers, planners, urban critics, journalists, and many others. They say, in brief, that our places lack a "sense of place"; that our suburbs and cities have lost their vernacular designs in favor of franchise architecture and interchangeable subdivisions, often built by the same national builders.

The late David Dillon, longtime architecture critic for the *Dallas Morning News*, famously called this a "big mess on the prairie". In fact, he specifically referred to the pastiche of architecture clichés that many home-builders and retail developers had resorted to as a means of "designing" their communities. A home may include Italian coining, a French mansard roofline, and Federalstyle columns. This design makes no sense, but the average homebuyer is apparently unaware of this clash of architectural styles. In David's words, it truly was a "big mess". Historically, the physical look and form of residential design was a response to its surrounding environment. That, sadly, has become a rarity. For instance, in Texas where summertime heat is a significant factor,

Victorian three-story home in suburban America

20

why would homes be designed with tall vaulted interior spaces and mansard roofs? This results in homes that are incredibly expensive to air condition in the summer. Not only do these designs not respond to the environment, but they have no contextual relationship to vernacular regional designs. A similar problem is replicated all across the United States.

A variety of other elements are missing in today's communities, not the least of which is the ability to walk to your destination. We have successfully separated diverse uses horizontally, so driving is often the only option. It is a mistake to assume that people won't walk unless the weather conditions are ideal. Go to any small town in Europe and people walk every day in almost all weather conditions. The same holds true for older cities throughout the United States, especially those that were established before the invention of the automobile. You can even find a few hardy souls riding bicycles in the winter snow in Downtown Minneapolis.

While it may be convenient to blame "bloated" local governments and "heartless" planners for these problems, the reality is that we find ourselves in this situation today as a result of a long series of unintended consequences.

Legal Segregation and Separation

The various development codes and regulations that guide the growth and physical form of our cities and towns are the result of greed. As will be discussed later, it is the unintended consequences of these codes that have gotten us to where we are today.

Most of our land uses, some of which are complementary to one another, have been segregated from each other. Segregation, in this case, does not refer to racial or ethnic separation. It means the artificial and horizontal separation of land uses that had previously been in close proximity to each other.

Today, there is little reason to horizontally separate most diverse land uses. In the beginning, it made sense to keep residential areas separated from industrial uses, as the latter were often toxic, smelly, loud, or operated 24 hours a day. Objectionable uses still remain, but many of today's "industrial" uses may also include desirable things such as high-tech research facilities that produce no noxious byproducts.

In our early days, the United States did not separate these uses. Of course, most people had two choices when it came to personal transportation - a horse or their own two feet. Things were naturally located a bit more conveniently. As cities grew, it was common to have "high-rises" (maybe 8 to 10 stories) containing factories, that produced clothing, metal goods, appliances, etc. People lived close to their work, perhaps on the same block.

The same held true with farms. By their nature, farms tended to be on the edge of the village, but that did not prevent people from living within walking distance. As technology improved (bicycles, streetcars, railroads, then

Chicago World Fair - circa 1893

ultimately the car), our land uses became further and further removed from each other.

Cities began to adopt policies that reinforced this pattern, favoring horizontal separation and ease of auto-centric access over walkability and compact forms. Two key zoning ordinances, in New York City and near Cleveland, Ohio, were instrumental in institutionalizing this pattern. More information regarding these ordinances is included in Chapter 7.

From the smallest town to the largest city, these policies created an unintended consequence of separating both developments and people even after the need for such separation was long gone. This led to further separation by income class, which proved to be a sort of institutionalized segregation. While there is no such language in the code of ordinances in any city or state, the result, sadly, was the same. In the name of preserving and protecting the "general health, safety, and welfare of the public", a phrase a planner recognizes as the basis for zoning, our development regulations have inadvertently hastened the deterioration of our communities.

Scale, Harmony, and Ensemble

The concepts of scale, harmony, and ensemble were employed to explain what made certain cities desirable. Often used in the City Beautiful Movement, they were also the foundation Daniel Hudson Burnham and Frederick Law Olmstead followed in the design of the influential 1893 World's Fair in Chicago (see Chapter 6).

Scale refers to the relative sizes of buildings. The most prominent buildings, often a church or government building, were the tallest structures. This example is evident today in Washington, D.C., where the Capitol Dome dominates the city. It is also visible in the smallest of villages, where the local church steeple may be the tallest structure. Scale gives balance and form to cities both large and small.

Harmony refers to complementary architectural styles that reinforce one another. Strict design guidelines regulate materials, color, architectural details, etc. Harmony can also refer to how buildings relate to their surrounding environments. One of the most unique examples of a harmonious environment is the historic core of Santa Fe, New Mexico. All buildings adhere to the pueblo or territorial architectural styles; almost all have radiuses corners (curved edges rather than a 90-degree angle); and all follow a complementary color scheme of adobe and earth-shaded tones.

Ensemble means how buildings work together as a group. At the heart of most all villages is often a central plaza or square around which the earliest buildings are organized. Sometimes this central space is occupied by a great public building or it may be an open plaza. The central plaza may be 4-sided (with buildings surrounding all sides), or 3-sided with one side open to a natural feature such as a lake or large park. Ensemble gives order to a built environment, one that we can relate to on a human scale.

Village development adhered to these principles, either intrinsically or through imposition of design guidelines. Yet, we seem to have forgotten these basic principles in our design of built environments. This is not only evident across the United States; it is an issue facing almost every culture that has been experiencing growth, from Dubai to China. Much of the new development patterns are either purely decorative, or have no grounding in basic townmaking principles.

Faith

At the heart of any village or city (large and small), you will see one of that region's earliest and most prominent of buildings. Invariably, it is a house of worship. The denomination tends to vary by region. In the South, it might be a Baptist church, in the Northeast a Catholic church. In the Middle East, it may be a synagogue or a mosque. Faith, regardless of religion, has played a very strong role in village form.

The church (or synagogue or mosque) represents an important role in uniting the community. In its early days, the village may have been established by members of a single denomination or sect. Having a place to come together for prayer and meeting was a central need.

As villages grew, this house of worship tended to become larger and grander. Throughout the world, you will see tremendous examples of architectural expression in these buildings. The leading designers, artists, and architects of the day sought out these commissions. These buildings could be incredibly ornate - from the extraordinary exterior statuary of Milan's Cuomo to Barcelona's massive Sigrid Familial, the latter having been under construction since 1882 (132 years and counting!).

Churches, especially, employed vertical form to reinforce connection with God. Tall spires and steeples caused viewers to cast their eyes toward the heavens. Arched Gothic windows were designed to do the same thing. The concept of "heaven-earth-man" can be seen in the design of older houses of worship. Mosques included a tall prayer tower as part of the architecture. As a truly functional design, it allowed the five daily calls to prayer to be heard by all.

Churches also served several community needs. Many included a bell tower or campanile that helped keep the village on schedule. Bells might chime hourly (some on the quarter-hour) to tell everyone what time it was. Some also included a clock for all to see. In earlier days, few people could afford wristwatches (the earliest watches were created in the 1500s and were limited to royalty and incredibly wealthy patrons).

A home in earlier times may have had a large grandfather clock, handed down from generation to generation. A village clock was also essential at the time. That idea has been taken to the extreme with the construction of the world's tallest clock tower. At 1,972 feet tall, Saudi Arabia's Mecca Royal Hotel Clock Tower (Abram Al-Bait) is the third tallest structure in the world and houses the world's largest 4-faced clock, visible from as far as 16 miles away.

An old church and cemetary in rural Iceland



Many churches also included an adjacent cemetery. Older churches throughout the United States still have these in place, as relocating a cemetery is simply not feasible. These cemeteries were often the only open green spaces in the village at the time, where people would visit family gravesites.

A popular design theme was to adorn the cemetery with a grand iron arch, replete with angels, representing "heaven on earth". Thanks to too many 1950s horror films, these designs have lost their meaning. These cemeteries remain in place today because it is incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to relocate a cemetery.

The importance of houses of worship to a village's spiritual well-being cannot be underestimated. They served numerous roles - architectural, visual, practical, and spiritual - and were truly the heart and soul of a community. However, in today's suburbs, these buildings are far removed from their members, requiring large parking lots (sometimes garages).

Churches, too, have grown very large, with interiors that resemble sports arenas. The idea of the small, neighborhood house of worship is not dead, but it certainly faces its share of challenges.

Government

Another prominent public building central to village form was the seat of government. This may be a city hall, a county courthouse, or some other important building. In the early days, these buildings tended to be modest, for practical reasons. As villages became more established and grew larger, so too did the government building.

In the United States, in the absence of a royal ruling family, our government buildings took on a grandeur similar to some churches. Grand city halls in Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco became public statements of the importance of those cities.

Philadelphia's city hall is topped with a campanile adorned with a statue of William Penn at its apex, making it the world's tallest building at the time. A "gentleman's agreement" required all subsequent buildings of the city to not exceed the height of the top of Penn's hat, so that City Hall could remain visible to all. (That agreement was ultimately broken in the late 1980s.)

If everyone went to a religious service at least once a week, then everyone in the village probably had regular dealings at city hall. Whether it was a building permit, marriage license, traffic ticket, or just a meeting with an elected official, almost everyone had some interaction with city hall. The spaces outside these public buildings also become prominent gathering places, with local concerts, celebrations, and art displays.

City halls still play a prominent role in the identity of a community, but budget practicalities often dictate that these buildings be less grandiose. In some communities, "city hall" is not a public building at all; rather, it is leased space in an existing office building or possibly a small standalone facility with little, if any, real curb appeal.



Finance and Commerce

Another prominent use central to village life was commerce. Unlike city halls and houses of worship, these were private buildings developed for purposes of commerce and profit. The first of these may have been a small general store, which eventually may have become a large, multi-story department store (e.g., Macy's). Concurrently, a local bank was necessary as a means to safely store money, as well as to make loans to local businesses. Banks and bankers – though often negatively portrayed on film – are necessary components to the health and well-being of a community.

In some cities, finance and commerce became the central industry. Zurich's main street – the Bahnhofstrasse – is home to some of the most prominent wealth management firms, not to mention some of the most expensive jewelry stores. Who can think of New York without Wall Street and the Stock Exchange?

The idea of the neighborhood bank is still around, although it is most likely a branch of a larger national bank. Building a free-standing neighborhood bank has become more expensive (maybe \$2 to \$3 million, depending on location and size), so some banks have opted to forego a building altogether. Instead, they set-up operations in a local grocery store, which may be only one-tenth the cost of that free-standing bank building.

Education

No community can survive without the ability to educate its children. In some instances, education was also a service of the local house of worship. Some families opted to educate their children at home or to place them in a private preparatory school. Notwithstanding these approaches, the prevalent means of educating children was at the local schoolhouse. Public schools were not always located in the central part of town, but they were an important component. Eventually, as education methods expanded, various size buildings were necessary – smaller for elementary schools (which could reside within neighborhoods), larger for junior and senior high schools, which often had greater populations and athletic facilities.

The benefit of the neighborhood school offered the ability to bring the community together, in a similar fashion to the neighborhood church. Parents and teachers knew one another, and teachers may have lived within walking distance of the school. The neighborhood school provided a sense of pride and "ownership" in the community, which explains the deep high school rivalries that still exist today.

Unfortunately, the neighborhood school concept was at the heart of the segregation debate in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States. As a neighborhood became more homogenous with a single race or economic demographic, the neighborhood school naturally reflected this. The landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling Brown v. Board of Education served to undo



the neighborhood school concept on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection clause).

There is no argument that segregation divided our schools and our neighborhoods. While segregation definitely required action, the Brown decision addressed the symptom rather than the root of the problem. Schools became segregated because their associated neighborhoods were as well. This was a combination of "white flight" (residents departing for the suburbs that were perceived to be safer) and increasingly exclusionary zoning, which prevented residential products from becoming more diverse. As the neighborhood went, so went its schools.

This book, or its authors, do not condone any type of segregation. Brown overturned an 1896 Supreme Court ruling (Plessy v. Ferguson) that previously upheld State-sponsored segregated schools on the grounds that it was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Given the relative inequity of the resulting school systems, Plessy simply had to go. In doing so, Brown inadvertently undermined one of the essential components that define a neighborhood, a community, and a village.

Decoupling a school from its neighborhood meant the elimination of an important piece of the cultural framework that makes up a neighborhood and a community. In the Brown decision, there was no way to separate the demographics of a neighborhood and its associated school.

Property Ownership

A fundamental component of a village or any city is ownership. While governments and religious organizations may own the central portions of a community, ultimately it is composed of its residents and business-owners. Owning land is a central theme in American development, from the largest ranch to the smallest tract home to a tiny condominium. Ownership is also central to a sense of community.

Ownership, in turn, works with another central component: the bank. Mortgage lending and business loans are essential for people to grow and expand the community. This was an easier task for bankers when they knew the folks they were lending to. They were most likely friends, neighbors, members of the same congregation, or had their children in the same school. As those elements have slowly eroded over time, the process of personal and business finance has become less personal and more complex.

No one can deny the influence of property ownership and finance on a village. This reality was center stage during the Great Recession (starting in roughly 2008) when financial institutions made risky decisions, solely based on motives of generating profit. With this thirst for profit, other cascading issues would arise in the markets which would be catastrophic in nature.

Don't get me wrong, profit is fine; but the housing bubble that ensued, and ultimately burst, caused incalculable damage to the world economy. Maybe the outcome would have been different if we hadn't abandoned our local banks. You can't have a strong village, or even a strong city, without strong ownership of homes and businesses. When people have a significant financial investment in their home or business, they tend to have a similar, if not greater, emotional investment in that community. Renters and tenants also tend to have a similar connection with their town.

Access and Movement

Since the dawn of man, the location and physical form of hamlets and villages were governed by accessibility. For most of recorded history, "personal transport" was limited to a horse, a boat, or one's own two feet.

Communities, small and large, were designed to be compact by necessity. For example, designers calculate that an average 5-minute walking radius is anywhere from 1,000 feet to one-quarter mile. If the average person had a 20-minute walk to work, that was anywhere from 4,000 feet to a mile away. (Note that walking radii will vary based on the age of a person, their ability to walk, local topography, and weather conditions.) Walking in hilly San Francisco may be more difficult than in relatively level Manhattan.

Using the one-mile range, a community would likely be around one mile square for its residents to access the entire community - representing 640 acres. What if you had to travel further? If you didn't have a horse, even a 5-mile trip proved to be a complicated endeavor. If you were lucky enough to live along a river or waterway and had access to a boat or canoe, you could travel a bit further, if the weather cooperated.

Technology began to unravel our compact communities as it became easier to travel further. While we think of technology as only a contemporary phenomenon, it greatly influenced mankind's daily lives at every key phase in human development. The invention and promulgation of the simple bicycle (invented sometime in the early 1800s) made personal travel a bit easier. It was less expensive than owning a horse, but required much more effort on the part of the cyclist. It had a limited cargo range, but extended one's travel radius significantly.

Around the same time, railroads were growing in development, linking nearby communities that were previously more than a day's ride. It took until 1869 for both coasts of the United States to be linked by rail. Even then, regional and cross-country travel was a lengthy undertaking.

Railroads and their stations often became defining features for the central core of villages and cities. This provided a new contributor to physical form - the transportation hub. Hotels, restaurants, warehouses, and other compatible uses quickly sprang up in close proximity to these grand public buildings.

The concept of a "union station" did not relate to any particular rail company. In fact, early on, each rail line operated its own terminal. You can still see remnants of this in some larger cities. This became increasingly impractical as more people and more freight relied on rail. (Imagine what airports would look like if they were built to serve only a single airline.) The first Union Station in the world was developed in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1853, providing combined rail service in one location. This first union station still stands today, just a few blocks from the new Indianapolis Colts stadium, in the middle of a thriving urban district.

In denser cities, the development of the streetcar (tram or trolley) followed other technologies. Initially horse-drawn, streetcars evolved through steampower, electric, and eventually internal combustion engines (today's public transit buses). Streetcars were especially useful in cities that, while compact, had grown beyond the walking radius of a single neighborhood. The largest cities of the era all relied on such systems. Some still do to this day. Zurich's tram system effortlessly links its core with surrounding neighborhoods.

Technology took a giant leap forward with the development of the automobile. Initially a curiosity in the 1890s and early 1900s, the car slowly became a daily necessity. As paved roadways became prevalent and car prices became more affordable, ownership increased. However, in the years leading up to World War II, car ownership was limited by today's standards. Back then, a household may have one car, and urban dwellers still relied on walking and public transportation.

The post-World War II era saw the massive increase in car use and ownership. This was a combination of post-war expansion (the Baby Boom), suburban development, and the adoption of the Federal Highway Act of 1956, the beginning of America's interstate highway system.

Today, communities are auto-centric. If you do not have access to a car, you are relatively isolated, even in the middle of a bustling suburb. This, combined with zoning policies that continue to separate land-uses, has created low-density horizontal communities. The notion of compact development has been all but eliminated from our communities.

If there can be a silver lining to a crisis, it is that cities large and small are beginning to discover the benefits of walkable, compact development. Such forms reduce traffic, reduce pollution, reduce dependence on fossil fuels, create healthier environments by encouraging pedestrian activity, and reconnect us with our neighborhoods and environments. What once defined early villages, the notion of walking to one's destination, is finding new life and acceptance across the United States and internationally.

A well-designed roadway network is the framework for a great village and a great city. One cannot think of Washington D.C. without its broad radial boulevards, merging at great public circles. Yes, today they may be difficult to navigate by car, but few cities have such recognizable and defining features.

It is interesting to note that the designer of this famous layout, French-born American engineer and architect Pierre Charles L'Enfant, was influenced by the grand boulevards of Paris and Versailles. The L'Enfant Plan for Washington D.C. was to be the symbol of the young democracy, so it is ironic that these grand boulevards were based on Napoleon III's (the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte I) layout for Parisian streets during that city's massive reconstruction (1854-1870). Much of the classic form for which Paris is known is a result of these efforts. Napoleon III's boulevard plan was more strategic than in Washington D.C. His was primarily used for crowd control (Napoleon III remembered the lessons from the French Revolution).

Buildings were placed close to the street edge, so crowds had nowhere to go but in the street. Troops would be stationed at the circles where the radial boulevards merged, located strategically to artillery and cannons aimed at the mobs. Think about that the next time you're stuck in D.C. traffic!

Open Space

Something as important as parks and green open spaces is too often considered as an "amenity". Yet, this was essential to early village development and should be considered as an important land-use in any new development.

Early on, plazas and public greens served multiple roles: gathering places, farmer's markets, and community gardens. They were places for physical activity and public celebrations. Can you imagine New York without Central Park or Boston without its Commons? Those are large examples, to be sure, but these same needs apply equally to small villages and communities.

Today, park land is too often the leftover parcels that couldn't be developed. If those open spaces are not convenient, not safe (such as floodplains), or too small, they are not used as much as they should be. Cities and private developers alike would be wise to emulate the forms our early villages adopted and provide open spaces that relate to both people and their environments.

Throughout the United States, you will see various "military plazas" at the heart of towns that were Spanish in origin (e.g., in San Antonio or Santa Fe). These plaza des armas can also be found throughout Latin America and Europe. Throughout the world, cities small and large are organized around great public spaces.

Some suburbs have privatized green space. It may be a "members-only" golf course or an "amenity center" that is part of a master planned community. Unfortunately, this sends the wrong signal. In an ideal setting, green space should be open and available to all. It is the mark of a great community, one that can be celebrated and marketed. Several American cities tout their park systems that were designed by influential landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead.

Whether green spaces are called emerald bracelets, emerald necklaces, or something else, they are a singularly distinctive feature of each city, celebrating and preserving the natural environments unique to each community. Parks and open space are vital components in the makeup of a village, a neighborhood, a community, and a city.

Not only do they provide a space to relax and unwind, but they also provide a place where visitors can intermingle and connect. In other words, it is where the soul of a community facilitates connectivity. This connectivity is essential to building strong communities.







Dupont Circle in Washington, DC

The Third Place

This element is a little harder to define, as it actually varies from person to person. A third place is defined as a social space or destination that is separate from home and work. For some, it may be a favorite coffee shop or bookstore; for others, a bench at the local park. Urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg defined this concept in 1989 (*The Great Good Place*) and defined the major characteristics of a third place:

- It is free or inexpensive, welcoming and comfortable
- Food and drink may be available
- It is easily accessible, ideally within close walking distance
- There are regulars who routinely use this space
- Users interact with old friends and have the opportunity to create new relationships

The third place is a function of other existing development, thus reinforcing the importance of buildings and spaces that are flexible, with multiple potential users. It is possible that a school or a church may also be a third place, but only when the user opts for this destination for social reasons (not just for classes or services, per se).

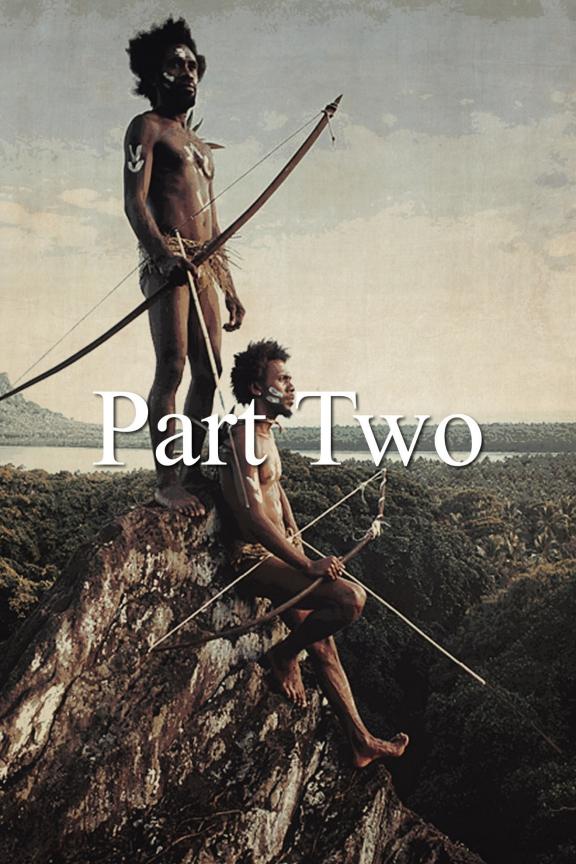
Third places define the social heart of a community. There are many diverse options, depending on individual liking. It is logical that teens may have a third place that is completely different from retirees. It is also possible that these two disparate groups could enjoy the same third place.

It is relatively difficult to actually design a third place. Architects and planners may claim this capability, but more often than not, it is the public who determines what actually constitutes a third place. That place may change over time - whether due to climate, a change in ownership of a local hangout, or something else. Third places are fragile but important aspects that provide social unity to the smallest village and the largest city.

What Does This All Mean?

All of the above elements represent important components in our daily lives. Village-style development places these components in close proximity to one other, which in turn, increases the chances of them being used and enjoyed as much as possible.

The typical American approach to suburban development includes most of these components, but separates them to the point where the convenience factor is removed. In many cases, their designs favor horizontal separation as opposed to compact development. Yet, it is this compact form – the village – that has shaped the bulk of mankind's civilization.



How We Got Here

Chapter 3

Mankind's Urban Progress

From Tribes to Towns

S ince the dawn of man, we have sought out the ability to live in groups. In fact, sociologists contend that humans are "hard-wired" to live in groups for security, for necessity, for social well-being.

From our earliest days, whether in tribes, clans, or as nomads, humans have formed small groups for certain things. Some people were better at planting and harvesting; others excelled at hunting; while others protected the group. Without this natural instinct to band together, the evolution of mankind would easily have been in danger.

Most human gatherings made permanent settlements based on some very basic factors – for example, strategic location and good access to local resources (such as water and agriculture). Take a look at any city in the world and chances are you will discover its core and its "raison d'être" - its reason for being.

Over time, some settlements struggled while others thrived. Storms, floods, war, and disease have claimed more than a few of these, but many continued to grow into larger communities; hence, a village was formed. As the villages grew, a structural framework began to emerge as a way to organize the community. Through this organized growth, eventually towns and cities were formed.

Indigenous Tribal Elders of the Kalam Tribe - New Guinea

Just because there were no cars yet didn't mean there wasn't a need for streets. Horses and carriages provided access when feet weren't enough. Many of these young street networks were not designed by engineers nor laid out by planners. They simply followed natural features and topography.

In fact, an irony of our earliest communities is that there wasn't an overall master plan to them. Planning was often the result of the introduction of a hierarchy - royal or feudal overlords, military leaders - that led the community.

As great empires began to grow - the Ottomans, the Greeks, the Romans - so too did their influence. When the Roman armies reached what is now the United Kingdom, they established "camp towns" based on military planning and strategy. Some of these are still evident today. Communities in the UK whose names end in "ester" were initially Roman camp towns (such as Manchester and Chichester).

Technology on Urban Development

As expected, American development, before British colonization, was small in scale. The great cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia began as small villages with a strong harbor-oriented trade. When the new residents from Europe arrived, the British, Dutch, French, and Spanish brought their experience and knowledge of city-building, cultivated over centuries of experience.

The late comedian George Carlin famously called America "Europe Junior". His reference was regarding America's interest in expanding its political influence internationally, much as the British, Romans, and Greeks had done before. He was inadvertently on target regarding how our country was developing. The settlements, villages, and eventually cities of the original Thirteen Colonies resembled Europe for a reason. The architects, buildings, and engineers of the time learned their trades in Europe and exported those styles, eventually putting a uniquely "American" spin on things.

American development from colonization through the Civil War was largely low scale. The country was still small, with the bulk of the population located between the East Coast and the Midwest. The U.S. population didn't reach 100 million people until 1915, and even then, more than 90 percent of the population was rural.

During Reconstruction, as the country began a long healing process after the Civil War, the U.S. was experiencing the impacts of technology and cities began to grow. An early example was the tragic Great Chicago Fire of 1871.

The Great Fire killed more than 300 people, left more than 100,000 homeless, and consumed more than 2,100 acres (more than 3.3 square miles). Of course, Chicago was a much smaller city back then, but what magnified this tragedy was that most of the city at that time was composed of wood-frame structures. Residents huddled on the shores of Lake Michigan as it appeared nothing could stop the fire from completely destroying their beloved Chicago.

The old historic Chicago Water

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The fire eventually burned itself out, leaving only five structures standing (all built of stone material). So the next time you go to Chicago, stop and take a good long look at the Water Tower on Michigan Avenue, one of the five surviving structures.

So what do the Chicago Fire and technology have in common? As Chicago rebuilt from this unprecedented disaster, it discouraged the use of wood as a principal building material. While there are still smaller buildings and homes that are wood-framed, Chicago was one of the first cities to introduce the widespread use of steel-framing for larger and taller structures. This, along with increased use of masonry exteriors, paved the way for taller and more resilient structures. Chicago's great architectural tradition can be traced to this terrible event and the subsequent proliferation of steel-frame construction.

At the time – the late 1800s – buildings were not powered the way they are today. To complement taller buildings, more daylight somehow had to be introduced into these larger floor plates. Improvements in glass production resulted in larger panes to do just that. This, combined with U-shaped buildings to include "light wells," made these taller buildings more practical. Many great examples of this period architecture are still standing in Chicago, New York, and other cities.

Two particularly good examples in Chicago are the Rookery Building (219 South LaSalle Street, built in 1888) and the Santa Fe Building (also known as the Railway Exchange Building, at the corner of South Michigan Avenue and Jackson Street, built in 1904). Taller structures also present the challenge of vertical circulation. Decades before electricity, the mechanical elevator provided vertical access to buildings that were 20 and 30 stories tall.

Another technology that affected urban form was the railroad. No longer was city size limited to a day's horse ride. Railroads now connected cities near and far, and urban terminals, such as the first Union Station in Indianapolis, became the new urban hub and its center of commerce.

The Long Depression (1873 to 1879)

About the same time that Chicago was rebuilding, a great economic upheaval was affecting the United States and Europe, its chief trading partner. At the time, this period was actually referred to as the Great Depression, from 1873 to early 1879. (It was renamed the Long Depression after the United States entered the Great Depression beginning in 1929.)

As with all economic crises, the Long Depression was a result of several unrelated factors. Beginning with the Panic of 1873, the stock market crashed based on overbuilding of the railroad system (a result of a post-Civil War building boom) and associated land speculation. Other factors included moving American currency off the gold standard (during the Civil War), military conflicts in Europe, disruptive technological advances in industry resulting in higher unemployment, and questionable trading and investment practices.



The United States' economy was closely tied to trading partners in Western Europe, so when one economy faltered, the others felt the pain. When the American economy began to contract, economic conditions in Western Europe continued to worsen. Even the wave of immigrants to the United States, who sought a better life, began to wane as it became obvious that things were no better on this side of the Atlantic. Many of these conditions are not too far removed from what we've experienced since the Great Recession of 2007. More than 140 years removed from the Long Depression, many of the same issues returned, things such as land speculation and questionable financial practices.

The Long Depression affected different countries at different times and to varying degrees. (Economic wonks call this phenomenon Kondratiev waves, or K-waves, attributable to the 1925 work of Soviet economist Nikolai Kondratiev, who documented economic "super cycles" that affect the global economy.) Eventually by the spring of 1879, things started to look more optimistic. The United States returned its currency system to the gold standard which curbed inflation. It also experienced promising agricultural yields later that year that bolstered the economy. Stability seemed achievable for the first time in years.

The Gilded Age (1870's to 1900's)

To be sure, there were other periods of economic instability, including the Panic of 1893 and another stock market crash (brought on by overbuilding and speculation on the gold market). Fortunately, in the ensuing years, there were great periods of growth and exuberance, as seen in America's Gilded Age, a period of unprecedented wealth creation from the 1870s until around 1900, reflected in grand homes and public buildings.

Great family names, still known today, include Carnegie (steel), Rockefeller (oil), Mellon (banking), Vanderbilt (railroads and shipping), Morgan (banking), Flagler (oil and railroad), Astor (banking and commerce), and Stanford (industrialist). Despite the nickname "robber-barons", many of these families, while amassing great wealth, practiced great philanthropy. Stanford University, Vanderbilt University, Carnegie-Mellon University, the world-renowned Carnegie Hall, the Rockefeller Foundation, and numerous other organizations improved the general state of our built environment through billions of dollars in investment and new building.

More than 2,500 new libraries were built between 1883 and 1929 with grants from the Carnegie Foundation, with most (1,689) located in the United States, recognizable by their classic architectural style. Over half of the American libraries at the time were funded by Carnegie grants. Other Carnegie libraries can also be found throughout Canada, the UK and Europe, Australia and New Zealand, Africa, the Caribbean, and beyond. Andrew Carnegie believed in the power of education represented by libraries and made it his mission to help transform every community that qualified for one. A Carnegie

library became the new center of activity for many towns and campuses, which continues to this day.

The character, density, identity, accessibility, and even location of American communities are the result of a variety of unrelated and sometimes unintended consequences. War, drought, economic upheaval, and philanthropy have all shaped (and continue to shape) our built environment. So, too, have a variety of movements and policies.

Chapter 4

The Movements

Il designers and planners study the various movements that have influenced urban growth and development. It is safe to say that none of these movements were established for selfish purposes. It is also pertinent to mention that none of movements were ever fully realized.

This chapter discusses five key movements that have guided the growth of American communities. Their names are familiar. Their influences are still quite evident today. While these movements happened independent of one another, they share overlapping periods.

City Beautiful Movement (1880's to 1900's)

As a nation of immigrants, the United States brings with it the collective experience of persons who initially travelled here from the capitals of Europe and Asia. In the late 1800s, the principal entry port for the United States was New York City.

Here, thousands of new immigrants set foot on American soil for a better life for themselves and their children. Most had heard the tales. "The streets are paved with gold," they were told. The reality was that sometimes the streets weren't paved at all, with gold or anything at all.

Tenement building at 97 Orchard - Lower East Side of Manhattan

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The United States at the time was a young country and could not afford to build the beautiful and grand capitals of Europe that many of these immigrants left behind. Paris, Rome, London, and others were the result of centuries of royal decree that guided building and urban development. Immigrants lived in crowded and often unsanitary tenements; streets were muddy and unpaved; and as more people moved from farms to the cities for economic opportunities, overcrowding became rampant.

So began the dilemma - the pursuit of freedom, but with unsanitary and unattractive urban conditions. Thus began the City Beautiful Movement. Surely a country with limitless possibilities such as the United States could provide the same inspirational and beautiful cities they left behind. Sadly, at the time, it just wasn't affordable.

Even though New York City was the arrival point for many of these immigrants, it is not the city most often associated with the City Beautiful Movement. Rather it was the growing Midwest cities of Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit, as well as the young country's capital, Washington D.C. Here, impressive public buildings shared space with public art, monuments, plazas, and grand boulevards. Chicago, of course, had "benefited" from the fact that it had to rebuild much of its city after the disastrous 1871 fire. It served as an opportunity to create this new grand city from scratch.

While we think of Cleveland and Detroit as challenged Rust Belt industrial cities, they were originally envisioned as grand waterfront urban centers. Detroit, similar to Washington D.C., found its inspiration from French development. Cleveland was defined not only by its Lake Erie waterfront, but by a series of parks - an emerald necklace - designed by preeminent landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmstead.

Why did the United States not see more beautiful cities? It was simply too expensive to build, especially in the face of periodic economic challenges, like the Long Depression and the subsequent Great Depression.

There was one example, albeit a temporary one: the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Also known as the Columbian Exposition, it was a worldwide celebration of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' voyage to the New World. So, it should have opened up in 1892, right? Like many grand projects, it ran behind schedule and actually opened in October 1893.

World's Fairs were a popular way of showcasing a country's finest accomplishments and attracting a global audience. The idea for the Columbian Exposition began to percolate in the early 1880s and gained traction by 1890. Competition to host this World's Fair was fierce and it was largely assumed that New York City would be the site; after all, this was the largest city in the country and where most immigrants first entered the country. St. Louis, Washington D.C., and Chicago also threw their hats in the ring.

The World's Fair was one of the projects backed by the wealthy Gilded Age families. New York's wealthy families pledged \$15 million to stage the Fair. This was considered to be the winning bid until a last-minute bid by Chicago's



elite upped the pledge by a few million dollars more. Chicago won the rights to the Columbian Exposition.

The Chicago World's Fair would be a six-month celebration of not only Columbus but of American achievement and innovation. To showcase this, Fair organizers turned to two prominent designers of the day - Daniel Hudson Burnham (architect) and Frederick Law Olmstead (landscape architect) - to design the fairgrounds and its layout. A site along Lake Michigan was chosen and work began.

This was finally the opportunity to apply City Beautiful principles in America on a grand scale. Burnham and Olmstead pulled no punches in this effort, designing the grand Beaux-Arts, a 690-acre White City. Nothing like this had ever been attempted in the United States before. To save time and money, the Fair's 200 buildings were largely wood-framed, covered with a material called staff, a combination of plaster, cement, and jute fiber, painted white to give them a uniform look, as if made from marble or limestone. These were temporary buildings after all, designed to be torn down after six months.

Although dedicated on Columbus Day 1892, the Fair didn't actually open until May 1, 1893. It ran for six months, until October 31, 1893, and was a huge success, attracting more than 27 million visitors. Ferris showed his Wheel, Aunt Jemima demonstrated her pancake mix, and Westinghouse beat out rival General Electric to provide electricity and lighting to the whole site. The staffcovered buildings glowed a brilliant white at night when illuminated by Westinghouse's streetlights, earning it the nickname the White City. To keep the White City white, Chicago Mayor Carter Harrison Sr. banned the use of coal in Chicago during the winter of 1892-1893.

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair cemented the importance of Burnham and Olmstead as the country's leading urban designers. They went on to influence thousands of communities big and small across the United States and internationally. Over 100 years later, their influence is still an inspiration for a new generation of designers.

The World's Fair was not without some controversy. The United States at the time was experiencing another recession, so how could such a grand event be staged? Thanks to the backing of Chicago's Gilded Age millionaires, the cost of staging the event - \$24 million (more than \$500 million in today's dollars) – was largely paid for with private contributions. Despite this generosity, Mayor Harrison's coal ban did not sit well with shivering Chicagoans during a cold Midwest winter. Sadly, the fair ended on a flat note. Even though the Chicago World's Fair was intended to be temporary, there wasn't enough money budgeted to actually demolish the site after its run. It languished for almost a year, with many of the temporary buildings, mostly vacant, becoming shabby and run-down. The epitome of the City Beautiful Movement wasn't beautiful anymore. It proved that not only were beautiful cities costly to build, they were also expensive to maintain. The remaining buildings on the Fairgrounds went up in flames in July 1894, the victim of arson allegedly at the hands of disaffected workers from the Pullman Railroad strike. Only the White City's



Palace of Fine Arts (now home to the Museum of Science and Industry) and the World's Congress Auxiliary Building (now home to the Chicago Art Institute) survived.

Even though it was a temporary development, the Chicago World's Fair and the White City influenced how Americans would forever think about their cities. The White City was immortalized in the words of America the Beautiful, a poem written by fairgoer Katharine Lee Bates, in which her reference to "alabaster cities" was directly inspired by the White City. Eventually set to music by Samuel Ward, America the Beautiful arguably became our second national anthem. The influences did not stop there.

A local Chicago reporter, L. Frank Baum, and his photographer (W. W. Denslow) were assigned to cover the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. To say the fair had an impact on Baum is an understatement. About 10 years later, he would recount the White City in his series of children's books, most notable was *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. In the Oz tales, the Wizard lived in a magical city, the Emerald City, so-called because it glowed so brilliantly white that you had to wear green sunglasses to look at it. The classic 1939 movie is a reinterpretation of the White City.

The influence did not stop there. One of the construction workers on the massive fairgrounds was a 34-year-old family man named Elias Disney. Years later, Elias would recount his tales of the White City to his young son Walt. It is said that these tales inspired Walt Disney's designs for the original Disneyland in Anaheim, California.

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the White City greatly influenced the next generation of architects and planners. Burnham, chief architect of the fair, is often called the Father of City Planning for his impact on the importance of not only how buildings are designed but how they relate to one another in the greater context of a community. Burnham went on to prepare the 1909 Plan of Chicago, the first comprehensive plan in the United States. Almost every city, big and small, still prepares and adopts a comprehensive plan as a guide for its growth and development.

The City Beautiful Movement began to fade in the early 1900s and generally fell out of favor by the Great Depression and the 1930s. Some say it isn't quite dead. Its influence can still be seen internationally, in cities as diverse as Canberra (Australia) and even Dubai, the latter perhaps the definition of the New City Beautiful Movement. Beautiful cities may still be out of reach for most, but the desire for them has not completely gone away.

Garden City Movement (1898 to Present)

Partialy overlapping the City Beautiful Movement, the Garden City Movement was rooted in more humble beginnings. This movement can actually be attributed to a single individual, Ebenezer Howard of Great Britain. His landmark 1898 publication *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* was the only book he ever published. Howard was not a designer or an architect; he was essentially a court reporter and journalist.

Howard's book painted a utopian picture of how towns could be planned, largely in response to the generally poor living conditions and slums much too common in cities around the world. His work was inspired by a 5-year stay (1871-1876) in the United States, where he lived and worked in Nebraska initially, and then Chicago. It was his exposure to America, as well as to utopian writers such as Edward Bellamy, that prompted him to envision a better way for cities to be built to improve overall quality of life.

Howard's theory for what he called a Garden City employed three principle "magnets" – town, country, and town-country. His ideal city was approximately 32,000 residents over 6,000 acres, laid out in concentric rings defined by parks, public open space, and six wide radial boulevards (as seen in Washington D.C., Paris, and Versailles). His Garden City was designed to be self-sufficient with a cap on total size and population. When the maximum size was reached, a new neighboring self-sufficient Garden City would be built, and so on. Eventually, multiple Garden Cities could be joined together by a railway to create an urban center.

Howard believed that his three magnets offered people a choice separate from working and living in either crowded slums or on distant farms. The Garden City brought these disparate uses closer together and provided an ideal opportunity for maximum employment and self-sufficiency. In Howard's own words, a Garden City would be "a town designed for healthy living and industry of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life but not larger, surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership, or held in trust for the community."

Could this work, whereas the City Beautiful Movement largely failed? Could the Garden City Movement be the answer we were looking for? Unlike the City Beautiful Movement, the Garden City Movement did result in several new communities, all of which still exist.

The first of these, Letchworth Garden City, was built in 1904 in rural Hertfordshire, 34 miles north of London. In fact, it was a little too successful, resulting in home prices that attracted middle and upper-income buyers. Howard's idea for an equitable community that was affordable for all was priced out of existence in Letchworth. The first Garden City attracted residents and industries in a park-like setting, the roots of the American suburb.

Letchworth's sister development, nearby Welwyn Garden City, was built 16 years later and adhered a bit closer to Howard's original concept. Welwyn has become the model for the British "new town". As expected, Garden Cities quickly found favor outside of the UK.

There are numerous examples of such development in the United States, including the aptly named Garden City (New York), Greenbelt (Maryland), Radburn (New Jersey), Parma and Shaker Heights (Ohio), and even Los Angeles' Baldwin Hills neighborhood. Many more examples are found across the country. Garden Cities are also found in Argentina, Australia, Brazil (portions of São Paulo), in the former Czechoslovakia, and South Africa (outside Capetown). Even Tel Aviv (Israel), a master-planned city when the region was under British control, was designed with the principles of the Garden City Movement.

While suburbs were not conceived by Ebenezer Howard, his influence on their development throughout the United States is undeniable. However, these developments do not adhere to Howard's original concepts and he later denounced any connection to the Garden City Movement.

The Garden City Movement, born more than 100 years ago, has never really ended. It is undeniably the basis for today's New Urbanism Movement, which borrows heavily from Howard's designs, if not his utopian and equitable ideals.

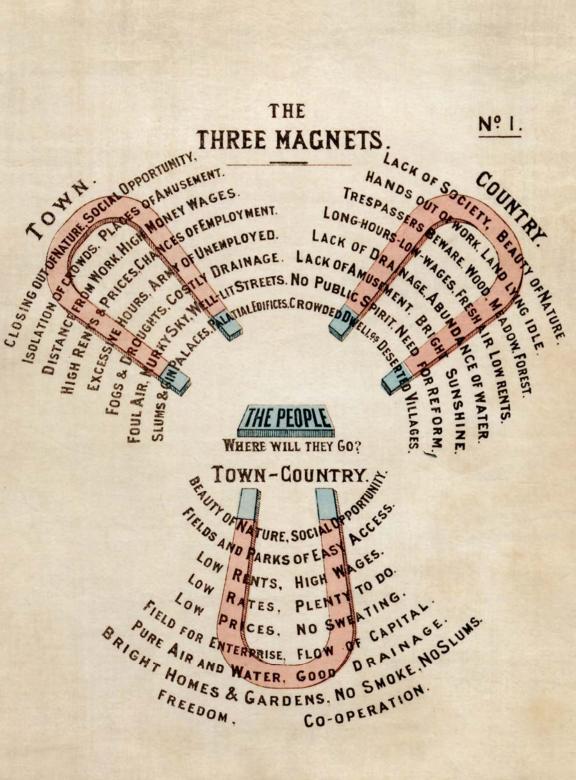
City Practical Movement (1909 to 1960's)

Overlapping with the City Beautiful Movement, the City Practical Movement was its antithesis. It accused the former of being overly focused on visual appeal and being overtly superficial. There were more pressing problems at hand that had to be addressed, such as public health, safe living conditions, sanitary water supplies, sewage treatment, paved roads, and the increasing provision of electrical service. What good were inspirational and beautiful cities if people were dying as a result?

While the City Practical Movement doesn't have a single "father," its origins can be found in the works of various individuals including Edward H. Bennett (1874-1954, Chicago-based architect, city planner, and assistant to Daniel Hudson Burnham), Bertram Goodhue (1869-1924, Boston-based architect), and John Nolen (1869-1937, Boston-based landscape architect and planner). It was also directed by scores of civil engineers who were designing the infrastructure of a growing America. All promoted logical city layouts that favored practical design.

The City Practical Movement coincides with the rise of two technologies, which today are considered indispensable - the automobile and electricity. As automobiles became more affordable and proliferated, the demand arose for better roadways to accommodate them. Even if you couldn't afford a car, riding in an early public bus on bumpy roads was painful. How could cities flourish if one couldn't get around?

This issue had been a politically divisive one since the formation of the Office of Road Inquiry (1893) which became the Bureau of Public Roads (1915) and finally the Federal Highway Administration (1966). The problem, it seems, was not that roads needed to be paved, but how to pay for them. Cities wanted the state to pay for roads; the state said it should either be the Federal government or a local issue; and the Federal government lobbed the ball back to the local and states' court. No one could quite agree on the best way to handle this, and some say we're all still arguing the point today. Private toll roads partially solved the problem. Users paid for the privilege of driving



Ebenezer Howard's 3 Magnets

on a safe, smooth roadway. The increase interest in toll roads today indicates this approach is finding new life.

Interest in paved roads can also be traced to Dwight Eisenhower, but not as a general or president. Rather it was his experience as a young lieutenant colonel that highlighted this need for national security reasons. Shortly after the end of World War I, the United States realized there was a strategic value to be able to move troops and equipment across the country in a timely fashion. In 1919, 29-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Eisenhower participated in the first Motor Transport Corps Convoy (also called the Transcontinental Army Convoy), a strategic exercise to demonstrate the Army's capability to transport men and material 3,250 miles from Washington D.C. to San Francisco. The convoy included 81 vehicles from small trucks to heavy military transports. The transport was filmed and also used for public relations purposes, as it cut through the heart of the United States.

It may have been a public relations success, but as a strategic movement exercise, it was an unmitigated disaster. More than 230 accidents occurred along the way, which destroyed 21 of the 81 vehicles and injured 21 of the 297 participants involved. An untold number of wooden bridges were damaged or destroyed by the convoy between the Midwest and Nevada, and unpaved roads slowed the convoy's average speed to a ponderously-slow average of a little over 5 miles per hour. The goal was to complete the journey in 50 days, averaging 10 hours of driving each day. It took more than 56 days (573 travel hours at around 10 hours each day) to reach San Francisco (a little less than two months), six days behind schedule. Not very strategic, for sure.

The result of this experience informed Eisenhower's opinion on the need for a network of paved roads and sturdy bridges as a strategic military need. He carried that idea into his Presidency, where he championed and signed the Federal Highway Act of 1956, creating the National Interstate Defense Highway System, the interstate highway system we know today. The interstate highway network was to cost \$25 billion and be completed by 1968. It also established a national gasoline tax to pay for it. That system is still being built today; its cost has soared to more than \$250 billion.

Eisenhower's inspiration for the interstate system came from his 1919 convoy experience as well as seeing Germany's Autobahn and Italy's Autostrada, high-speed highways with controlled access providing rapid movement across country. The interstate system would do this and provide a safe and rapid route for troop and equipment deployment while avoiding urban traffic congestion.

If you've driven on today's interstates, you know the exact opposite to be true. The interstate highway system inadvertently hastened the expansion of suburbs and suburban sprawl, encouraged explosive associated retail and residential growth, and served the increasingly mobile driving public. Years later, Eisenhower expressed his regret for promoting the interstate highway system, saying it was not his intention to cause traffic and suburban sprawl. It was also not his intention to create a system that would cause economic

A vintage car travels eastbound along U.S. Highway 14

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harm to older downtowns and businesses, as traffic fled the older U.S. highways and local roads for the new interstate system.

In Eisenhower's defense, this shift in population and business was never on anyone's radar screen. One of the few similar roadways at the time was Connecticut's Merritt Parkway. Built in 1938, it is a 37-mile highway that starts at the New York State line in Greenwich and runs to Milford (near New Haven), in the south central part of Connecticut. As a controlled-access 4-lane highway, there is actually very little development along the Parkway. It is mostly centered near its various interchanges. Unlike the modern interstate system, the Merritt Parkway is heavily landscaped, and is covered by a natural tree canopy, with great detail in the architectural design of its numerous overpasses (it is one of the few highways to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places). The Merritt Parkway, along with New Jersey's Garden State Parkway, is one of the American analogs for the interstate highway system.

As cities and suburbs grew, provision of basic municipal services had to be planned and expanded. Water, sewer (sanitary and storm), gas, electric, and telephone (and now fiber optic lines) all had to be accommodated. Most often, it was easiest to include these in the right-of-way of a parallel public roadway. City planning favored the City Practical Movement for its public safety and its relative affordability. It also found widespread acceptance as the United States grew by leaps and bounds after World War II. The unprecedented suburban expansionism, coupled with the Baby Boom, fueled the need for new cities, new schools, and new employment opportunities in relatively short order.

It was during this time that two other industries rose to prominence, reinforcing the City Practical Movement. The first of these was the rise of the large civil engineering firm. Of course, civil engineering was a viable profession long before the City Practical Movement, but firms found expanded opportunities across the United States. With a supply of engineers, many of whom had served in World War II, firms could grow to be regionally and nationally prominent practices. To a certain extent, a parallel experience can be found in architecture firms that grew on new public building, hospital, and school commissions.

The other was the rise of the "developer class". This industry grew exponentially to provide new subdivisions, shopping centers, university campuses, hospitals, and just about everything else associated with our daily lives. One of the principal factors was the availability of low-interest loans for mortgages and tuition reimbursement for returning veterans provided by the G.I. Bill. This new bill (technically the Service Members' Readjustment Act of 1944) was the government's way of not only honoring returning troops, but partially atoning for the generally poor treatment of World War I veterans on their return home. In a relatively short period of time, it provided more than 2.4 million low-interest mortgages, spurring further need for new subdivisions across the country.

The developer class rose to meet this challenge. New communities seemed to spring up overnight. Developer Levitt & Sons built huge new "Levittowns"



across the country. The first of these (Levittown, New York), began sales in 1947 and sold over 1,400 homes in the first few hours of operation. Levitt's homes were modest, to be sure, but were also produced in an almost assembly-line fashion. Models didn't vary all that much and the initial homes were relatively small by today's standards - a new house in Levittown was approximately 900 square feet.

Other developers quickly followed, copying Levitt's monolithic assemblyline approach, building homes, apartments, shopping centers, office parks, schools, and hospitals. Most developers tended to specialize in one market homes, retail, etc. A few attempted to build in multiple markets, but most tended to stay with what they knew. Not surprisingly, developers of today generally follow this same pattern.

You can even see the results of this approach in the television shows of the day. In the early 1950s, programs such as *I Love Lucy* and *The Honeymooners* were situated in large cities (usually New York City). Family comedies such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*, were set in small towns and villages, where most people lived if they weren't in a large city. In the 1960s, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* took a different path. The lead character (Rob Petrie) worked in midtown Manhattan as a television comedy writer, but commuted each day from suburban New Rochelle, New York. The suburb was front and center on the television screen in our living rooms. A new community form was validated as the ultimate in middle-class living.

New Urbanism Movement (1980's to Present)

While the American suburb had enjoyed widespread acceptance, there was a growing voice of unease with the development prototype. Once touted as a means of escaping the "ills" of the big city, suburbs found themselves experiencing the same problems. Critics of the suburbs began to note that the suburbs suffered from similar problems, including crime, drugs, traffic congestion, and a general lack of a "sense of place". Suburbs were criticized as living up to their name - less than urban.

The seeds of dissatisfaction can be traced to Jane Jacob's seminal work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). A journalist by trade, Jacobs harshly criticized suburbs for abandoning the basic planning principles that make cities great. She was dismissive of most of the modernist (and City Practical) planners, most famously of New York City's Robert Moses. Her book began to open the eyes of the public at-large, recognizing that our "suburban utopias" were far from the real thing.

Increased interest in environmentalism during the 1960s began to shine a spotlight on the basic tenets of suburban development, specifically dependence on automobiles and long-distance commuting. Although forced to resign in shame in his second term, one of President Richard Nixon's signature first-term accomplishments was the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1970. NEPA created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA),

charged with improving and preserving the environment and our natural resources. While it has its share of critics, the EPA and its local state-run counterparts have dramatically improved the country's air pollution and water pollution problems that were quite evident up until the late 1960s.

Thirty years after Jacobs' book, seven architects were invited to a conference in 1991 to address the ongoing issues with our built environment and to develop a set of guiding principles for designing communities. The group included architects Peter Calthorpe, Michael Corbett, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Palter-Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides, and Daniel Solomon. The resulting document, the Ahwahnee Principles, led the way for the development of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) two years later.

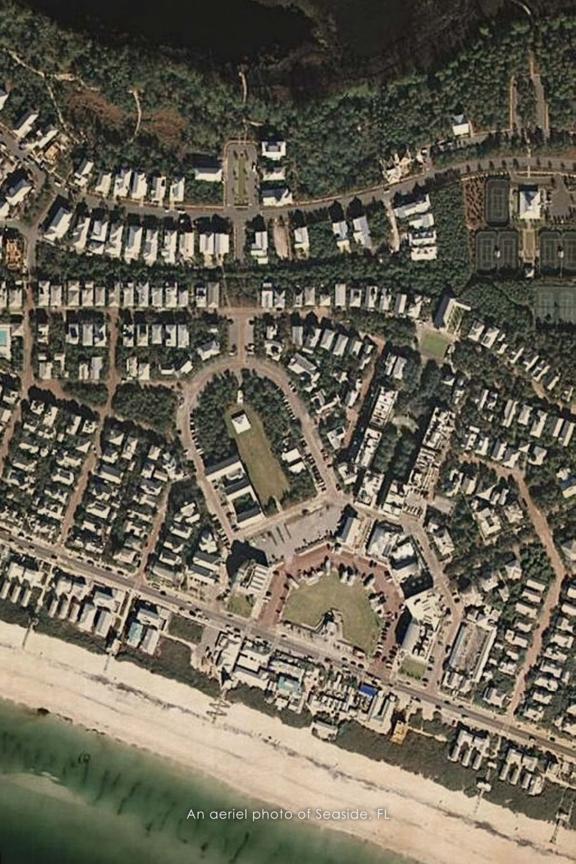
These "new urbanists" were not the only critics of suburban development. A host of architects criticized the state of our suburbs including Austrian architect Christopher Alexander, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Alexander's books, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (1977) and *The Timeless Way of Building* (1979), became required reading for designers desiring to learn how cities were "made", especially in the European tradition.

The idea that the New Urbanism Movement apparently borrowed heavily from the previous work of Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement was no accident. Where "new urbanists" differed was on a stronger emphasis on design principles, rather than as a utopian egalitarian city-form. Not coincidentally, new communities stamped with the "New Urban" label were seen as modern reinterpretations of Garden Cities. The first and arguably most famous of these is Seaside.

Seaside, designed by the architecture firm DPZ (Duany and his wife Platter-Zyberk who is now also the Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Miami), is located in northwest Florida. A relatively small site (80 acres), Seaside was originally envisioned as a collection of vacation homes. Thanks to widespread press and a starring role in The Truman Show (1988) as an artificially-constructed town on a set of a worldwide television show, Seaside suddenly became a tourist attraction. Lot prices and home prices skyrocketed.

The mass appeal of Seaside ushered in a tidal wave of "new urban" developments across the United States and internationally. From the Kentland (Gaithersburg, Maryland) to Celebration (near Orlando, Florida) to Laguna West (Elk Grove, California), there are now similar developments in almost every state.

Like all movements, New Urbanism is not without its critics. Some call it "soul-less" for its artificial re-creation of small villages, often on greenfield, suburban sites. Others note the appeal to middle and upper-income tenants, shutting out more affordable units or providing them in miniscule numbers. New Urbanism has also been criticized as ceding the creation of towns solely to architects, taking it out of the hands of landscape architects, certified planners, and citizens at-large. Additionally, New Urban developments have often been criticized for their very strict design guidelines which completely take "organic"



evolutionary growth out of the equation in favor of market research and focus groups. The occasional "happy accident" that one may find in a real small town or village is either taken off the table by the designers, or is achieved in an awkward and contrived fashion.

The rise of "lifestyle retail" centers has paralleled New Urbanism and has been equally criticized as bland and interchangeable. For all their success as retail centers, they tend to remain monolithic, being almost completely retail. A few centers, notably West Palm Beach's CityPlace (one of the early analogues for such development), does include non-retail uses such as residential, hotel, and office space. Newer versions of "lifestyle retail" centers seem to omit the residential, but may include some measure of office space.

For all its criticisms, New Urbanism has brought a renewed interest in aspects of town-making that seemed to be either lost or forgotten for decades in our suburban expansion. Walkability, livable streets, and the return of the ideas of scale, harmony, and ensemble (the latter being core principles of the City Beautiful Movement) are found in many New Urban developments.

New Urbanism seeks to make communities more humane and more human. When partnered with transit-oriented development, New Urbanism has the capability of bringing life to urban and rural areas alike. Time will tell if a new movement arises, or if New Urbanism morphs into a new approach. For now, it represents the latest thinking to make our built environment more livable.

NeoRetroism Movement (2005 to Present)

While New Urbanism has certainly carved its niche as one of the more influential standards in recent American design, on a scale of 1 - 10, with 10 being a perfect village, it comes in at about a 6. A new movement is evolving called NeoRetroism, based on human ecology, which touts the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary study of the relationship between humans and their natural, social, and built environments.

NeoRetroism begins where New Urbanism leaves off and introduces the concept of building villages to engineers, architects, builders, city planners, municipalities and developers. Obviously, we cannot build a village that took hundreds if not thousands of years to evolve. We cannot recreate evolution. However, we can emulate and mimic the characteristics of evolution, which create all of the different aspects of an authentic village.

For instance, when you walk around The Vatican in Rome, you will see thousands of years of art, sculptures, paintings, architecture, buildings, and culture. You don't know why you love it; you just know that you love the feeling and the ambiance of being in a place where you are surrounded by the evolution of history.

Another example is the small fishing harbor of Supetar in Croatia. In his own words, Jeff shares this story: Upon making a substantial investment in a resort hotel and other assets there, and spending the greater part of the next two years filming, photographing, people watching, and connecting with the soul of the community, I realized there was a much different feeling I had as opposed to the sterile feeling I was used to after the completion of my latest New Urbanism community. There was something different. I can't really describe it, but I can tell you there is a spirit of connectivity that exists in places like that all over the world. Unfortunately, in America, we have lost that sense of community, for the most part.

In Malcom Gladwell's book, *Outliers*, he describes a town called Roseto, Pennsylvania, founded by an Italian immigrant named Nicola Rosato and named after his native town of Roseto Valfortore (Valley of Roses), a small town of about 1,300 people in southern Italy. In 1887, Rosato purchased some land and built the first house there. Before long, many immigrants were coming to America from that small Italian town and settling in the new community founded by Nicola. Eventually Roseto would become the first 100 percent Italian borough in the U.S.

As the story is told, these Italian immigrants built very close to one another in clusters, reminiscent of their Italian villages back home. They built a chapel called Mt. Carmel Church. They also built streets named after famous Italian folk heroes and organized festivals and societies to keep their culture alive. They planted gardens, built farms and raised livestock to create a natural resource for food and sustenance. They built schools, shops, bakeries, and eateries to service the growing population. Everyone pitched in to help, from the oldest to the youngest.

Basically, Roseto was a self-sufficient community with all the essentials necessary for one's health and well-being. One day, a local physician and medical professor named Stuart Wolf was approached by another local doctor to help identify why the people of Roseto rarely, if ever, had issues with heart disease. Wolf, having grown up not too far from the town, was familiar with Roseto. Along with a sociologist named Bruhn, he would eventually convince the people of Roseto to participate in a study that would attempt to determine why virtually no one under the age of 55 died of a heart attack.

Equally as fascinating was the fact that for men over the age of 65, the death rate was half that of the rest of the U.S. The death rate from all causes was about 35 percent lower overall.

People actually died of old age and no one was on welfare. What a novel concept! As the study concluded, their findings pointed to the interesting conclusion that the longevity of the people of Roseto was not necessarily diet related. The study also revealed that it was not genetics related either, but, rather it was Roseto itself that was the cause of the longevity of its people. It was the connectivity, the interaction, and the exchange of life energy that was the secret.

The human ecology of Roseto was a big factor in terms of the health and well-being of its people. It was the ecosystem of faith, wisdom, history, food, arts, and culture passed down generation after generation. The medical community did not want to accept the findings of the study, as it could rationalize the typical data from which the world of medicine seeks to

An aeriel photo of Supetar on the island of Brac in Croatia

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derive its conclusions. Thus, Gladwell calls Roseto an outlier; or in other words, it was something outside the normal order of replicated systems.

At its core, NeoRetroism is based on the same set of variables of the town of Roseto. It advocates the recreation of old world culture in a modern day development environment. It is a philosophy of village-building and community-strengthening that has worked wonderfully in the past, in both America and in Europe, as well as in other parts of the world. Form, function, evolution, people, and ownership equal a village. There is an equation to these variables and taking into consideration the fact that no two villages are the same, the quantity of each variable may change from village to village. Although we cannot recreate the evolutionary part of a village, we can emulate many of the characteristics of a village. By using NeoRetroism as the standard for how we design, build, and develop, we can create an environment where people can flourish.

The way we live today has been reduced to being stuck in traffic twice a day, five days a week; working a job during the most productive hours of the day; and, hence, being relegated to enjoying life in snippets of the evening and weekends. People live behind gated communities, powered garage doors, 10-foot high hedges, and privacy fences that allow them to stay hidden in their own little worlds, separated from the life and energy of their communities. The good news is this: things are beginning to change.

Leigh Gallagher, editor at *Fortune Magazine* and author of the book, *End of the Suburbs*, states that for the first time in 90 years, the population growth of our cities has outpaced that of our suburbs. She also notes there are more baby boomers and senior citizen households in the suburbs today than families with young children, which, according to history, is the opposite of what suburbs were created for. This population shift is indicative of what Millennials and children want today. They want action and access to things. They want to be able to walk to places where they can hang out with their friends; they don't want to be in their cars.

There is a longing for a return to the density and near proximities of the variables that make up a village. Internally we all yearn for that connection. Warren S. Wilke, Director at GSR/Andrade Architects and renowned designer, states that most people are disconnected from each other. There is even a spiritual aspect to it - the fact that we long to be connected to someone or something. However, by the way we design our homes and our cities today, we have become more and more disconnected. People want to be where the energy is. They want to be near the theatres, restaurants, and shops. In other words, they wish to enjoy the "life" of the community. At the end of the day, they want to be connected to each another.

While New Urbanism and its emphasis on architectural style gets us to a 6 on the scale, we must see, that in terms of a true village, NeoRetroism and its philosophy-based approach, done perfectly, could easily achieve a 9. One can never recreate evolution; thus, one can never build a village that has existed for hundreds if not thousands of years.

The human ecology factor of NeoRetroism is the key that, until now, has gone unnoticed by planners, builders, and developers. With the recent and new awakening of this development style and its value to the health and well-being of mankind, NeoRetroism is certainly proving to be the way forward.

Chapter 5

Regulations and the Rise of Zoning

Freedom and personal liberties are fundamental to the United States Yet, these same inalienable rights, as Jefferson eloquently stated, contradict the way villages and cities had been historically built outside of the United States. Here, we have no emperor or ruling family to control architectural design, no military overlord to regulate the strategic placement of access points, nor any religious leader to dictate the placement of various land uses. In fact, the United States generally has had a "hands-off" policy when it comes to overriding planning policies.

One of the most significant policies that has guided American development for approximately 100 years has been zoning. Zoning is a series of guidelines codified into an ordinance that regulates the location and character of development into specific districts or zones. Even before the practice of zoning began, cities exercised a certain amount of control regarding their developmental environments.

Architectural and Development Controls

As previously referenced, Napoleon III greatly influenced the built character and nature of Paris as a result of an expansive and massive reconstruction effort after the French Revolution. Much of the character of the City of Lights that we think of today can be traced back to Napoleon III.

Washington D.C.'s layout and architectural character was regulated by the L'Enfant Plan, possibly the most French-looking set of guidelines for any city in the United States. L'Enfant's plan is considered sacrosanct and is rigorously enforced by the District to this day. If one wants to propose something that goes against that plan, chances are that the proposal will be denied or will require massive modification.

Nevertheless, the L'Enfant Plan has been modified over the years. In fact, L'Enfant was fired (dismissed) in 1791. It was reported that his ego could not let him agree to plan changes that the Commission overseeing the effort had requested. Specifically, the Commission, backed by Thomas Jefferson, wanted to spend the young country's limited funds on constructing federal buildings first. L'Enfant insisted the plan be executed as a whole, in a piecemeal fashion.

The Commission that oversaw L'Enfant's work, appointed by former surveyor George Washington, dismissed L'Enfant and handed the work over to surveyor Andrew Ellicott. The L'Enfant Plan we think of today was actually completed by Ellicott in 1792.

More than 100 years later, another plan was developed to help guide the development of the growing District. This new effort was led by the Senate Park Commission chaired by Michigan Senator James McMillan. The group quickly became known as the McMillan Commission and set out to address the generally poor condition of the District's public spaces.

Adopted in 1902, the McMillan Plan gave the L'Enfant Plan more formality and definition. Gone were the National Mall's Victorian gardens in favor of the simpler more open landscape we are familiar with today. It created the "monumental core," a place to house the growing list of proposed monuments in the District. The then-proposed Lincoln Memorial is but one of their most notable monuments (the Lincoln Memorial wouldn't be completed until 1922).

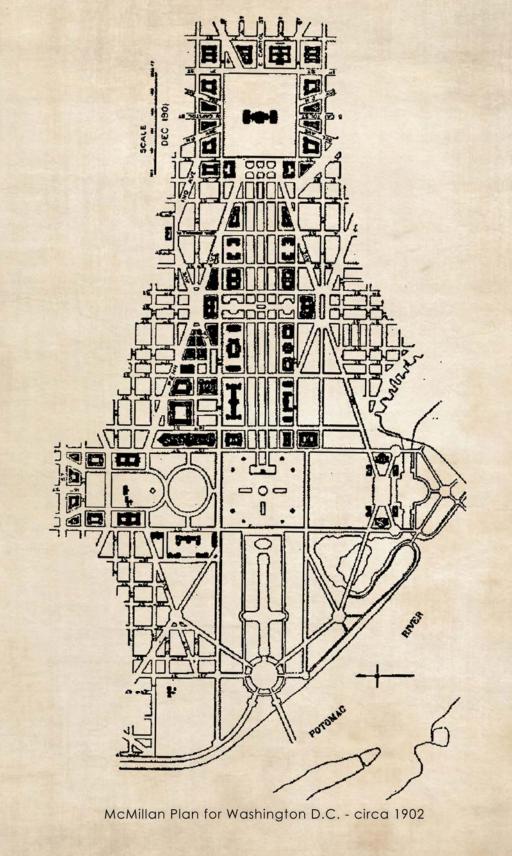
The McMillan Plan was also inspired by Boston's Olmstead-ian park system to create a network of parks and public plazas throughout Washington D.C. It also connected the city to important existing natural areas including the Potomac River and Rock Creek Park. The McMillan Plan took such a broad view of the District that it defined the practice of urban comprehensive planning, which almost every city engages in to this day.

Neither the L'Enfant Plan nor the McMillan Plan was ever fully realized as originally envisioned. Combined, these two plans set the tone for the development of Washington D.C., which governs development decisions to this day. These were done without the aid of zoning or other more familiar municipal regulations.

Another city that benefited from a grand architectural vision was Barcelona. Possibly only one person was responsible for the overall development of that city, Ildefons Cerdà (1815-1876). While the United States was decades away from its exercises in the Garden City and the City Beautiful, Cerdà was influencing this great Spanish metropolis.

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An engineer by training, Cerdà displayed a rare talent for architecture, city planning, and regional planning as Barcelona was developing its plans to expand. The city had become a congested and unhealthy place to live, as it was constrained by its defensive wall system built in the 18th century. (Barcelona was originally founded by the Romans as a camp town. Unlike the UK, it didn't end in "ester.") One hundred years later, that fortification constrained Barcelona's growth and ultimately came down to allow for its expansion.

Cerdà brought a holistic view to city design that allowed all of his talents to bear on creating a new Barcelona. One cannot help but think that he may have also been inspired by the reconstruction efforts of Napoleon III in Paris, for one of his designs for Barcelona was to create large boulevards with wide sidewalks to encourage walking. Streets such as La Rambla and Passeig de Gracia, lined with landscaping and trees, created irresistible people spaces that are still evident today.

Cerdà's plan for the expansion of Barcelona incorporated the desire of the populace to walk these gorgeous boulevards. Of course, in his time, streets were considered a thoroughfare for numerous modes, horses and pedestrians chief among them. By looking at streets as a means of conveyance for all modes, it did not cede design over to any single mode. That cannot be said of street design today in most countries.

Development continued by connecting Cerdà's wide boulevards with narrow streets, also creating desirable places for socializing. Lined with small cafés, these quickly became social hubs for the city. Cerdà completely understood the social nature of the built environment and accommodated it in clever and unique ways. One was to require buildings at street corners to chamfer or clip their corners at a 45-degree angle.

This created a more open plaza at each corner. When combined with all four corners of an intersection, it created a more breathable urban space without requiring the builder to sacrifice considerable ground space for a park. Some American cities have copied Cerdà's idea and you can see it in full view on some corners in Boston's Back Bay.

Now, more than 150 years after Cerdà's plan for Barcelona, cities are beginning to rediscover his revolutionary and creative approach to holistic place-making, more than 70 years before zoning was even conceived. About the time of Cerdà's death, the United States was in the grips of the Long Depression, but was beginning to express concerns about its own built environment. However, it took the development of one single building to push a city over the edge and mandate a system of developmental control that remains prevalent throughout our country.

The 1916 New York City Zoning Ordinance

Maybe it was the Gilded Age or maybe it was "irrational exuberance" (as former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan might have said), but the United States began to experience an unprecedented boom in the early 1900s.

Las Ramblas - Barcelona, Spain

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The country finally began to emerge from decades of economic instability. The banks, insurance companies, and corporations that survived wanted to demonstrate their resilience and strength. At that time, they did it through architecture.

Chicago, of course, was defining the new urban architecture of the period through its citywide reconstruction efforts. There is most decidedly a Chicago school or style that is recognizable even to the untrained eye. Many of Chicago's finest designers found work not only throughout their great city, but across the country. One of these, Eugene Graham, inadvertently set the stage for a showdown in Lower Manhattan. His building at 120 Broadway stands to this day, just 750 feet from Ground Zero, the site of the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York City.

By the early 1900s, New York City was already the largest city in the country. At 3.5 million people, New York City was larger than the combined populations of Chicago (1.7 million) and Philadelphia (1.5 million). The nation's population was a little under 100 million at the time and the nation as a whole still largely consisted of small towns and rural villages.

The Equitable Life Assurance Society (the Equitable for short) was established in New York City in 1875, with its headquarters in Lower Manhattan near Wall Street. Its original headquarters building burned to the ground in 1912 (not a good sign for a life insurance firm). Now known as Bankers Trust & Equitable, the Equitable sought to rebuild on the same block.

An available lot at 120 Broadway was to house a 62-story office building designed by Chicago architect (and father of city planning) Daniel Hudson Burnham. Burnham's project was postponed for a variety of reasons and his plans sat unrealized.

After the fire, Equitable commissioned Ernest Graham, Burnham's former employee and co-founder of the firm that was Burnham's successor, to build their new headquarters. Graham, too, proposed a 60-story tower for the site, but budgetary constraints forced the plan to be "value engineered". Graham came back with a 40-story alternative, which was eventually reduced to 38 stories to accommodate the limits of contemporary elevator systems.

Even at this reduced height, the new Equitable Building would still be the world's largest office building by square footage - 1.2 million square feet for its 13,000 employees, including two women's restrooms. The block containing this tower measured less than an acre. While the building was H-shaped in the classic Chicago style, the new edifice rose almost straight up from the sidewalk.

The Equitable wasn't the only high-rise to be designed in the fashion, but it was the straw that broke the camel's back. It was so tall that it cast a perpetual shadow on the neighboring Singer Building (47 stories) and the City Investing Building (33 stories). Both of those buildings were built in 1908 and eventually razed in 1968 (to make room for the new 1 Liberty Plaza). To say that there was outrage over this 7-acre perpetual shadow was an understatement. The Real Estate Record & Guide, one of NYC's most pro-business publications at the time, called the Equitable's shadow a "wholesale theft of daylight".



Something had to be done. To address this issue, the City of New York developed a new resolution to prevent such further incidents. A set of simple guidelines, by today's standards, were drawn up to make sure that New Yorkers were not deprived of access to light and air circulation. Adopted in 1916, the Zoning Resolution required buildings to be set back the higher they rose to ensure that light could reach the street level. This is evident in the now-classic "wedding-cake" tiered style of the buildings designed in the 1920s and 1930s. Uniformly referred to as the 1916 New York City Zoning Ordinance, it was the basis for development and a core of almost every city zoning guideline in the United States.

Equitable's initial building still stands, although the business itself moved to Midtown Manhattan decades later. Even though they have been out of the building for decades, AXA (Equitable) still maintains a historical archivist that provides information about this landmark structure.

What the 1916 ordinance did, in essence, is control the building's envelope, its outside measurements. It did not, however, regulate the use inside the building, nor did it regulate architectural style or finish materials. The basis for American zoning was a form-based code - a guideline that regulates how a structure relates to its environment.

That would all change 6 years later and 500 miles west in a small suburb of Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Village of Euclid.

The 1926 Euclid Zoning Ordinance

Looking at a map of Cleveland, one can see that the city is crescent shaped, confined by Lake Erie on one side. Its growth is also confined by a series of adjacent cities rimming its edges to the east, south, and west. Among this collection of cities is the city of Euclid (the Village), located immediately northeast of Cleveland. A small village in the early 1920s, Euclid was dwarfed by its neighbor to the southwest.

The idea of zoning was considered new and innovative at the time, with the 1916 New York City Zoning Ordinance serving as an example for cities to control the quality of their built environment. Because of its strategic location close to Lake Erie, the Village was concerned about becoming overly developed, especially by industrial uses. It was, in fact, determined not to become like Cleveland. Their fears were confirmed when a local developer, Ambler Realty, proposed a new industrial development on 68 acress of vacant land, which happened to abut the Euclid/Cleveland border.

Ambler's property shared almost all of the same characteristics with the neighboring industrial development in Cleveland, most significantly being served by an industrial rail line. To Ambler, it was obvious – the 68 acres should be developed for industrial use.

In 1922, the Village had passed a new zoning ordinance, one that separated development by its type of use. In addition to regulating building height and land area like the 1916 New York City code, Euclid's approach also regulated



the use of the land. It separated sensitive uses like residential from more intense uses like industrial. The concern was that noise, odor, and noxious fumes from industrial operations were incompatible with homes and apartments.

Euclid's code looked like a pyramid, with the most sensitive uses on top, and the most intense

uses below. This came to be known as cumulative or Euclidean zoning.

The Village's ordinance had designated the tract Ambler wanted to develop into three lower-intensity zones, none of which allowed industrial uses. Euclid simply did not want to "become" Cleveland and felt it was their right to regulate development in this manner. Ambler obviously disagreed and sued the Village on the grounds that the code had greatly diminished the value of their 68 acres.

Ambler's case was heard in the US District Court, based on the assertion that the Village's code violated their Fourteenth Amendment right of due process, taking his property without just and fair compensation. The Village countered that Ambler had failed to go through the proper local procedures to appeal the zoning designation by never requesting a hearing before the local Village Zoning Board.

Regardless, the US District Court found the Village's code to be an illegal taking of Ambler's property, since it devalued it beyond his intended use, certainly a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Village's decision was overturned, allowing Ambler to build his proposed development. Ambler was thrilled, but the Village decided to appeal the case to the next court, the U.S. Supreme Court.

The U.S. District Court also had another option. It could have dismissed the case and sent the dispute back to the Village. Why Ambler did not initially appeal the Village's decision to the Village Zoning Board is known only to him. Perhaps he felt it would be a waste of time. More likely, since this type of development regulation was new, he or his legal advisers may have felt it was appropriate to challenge its validity in a legal setting. We'll never know what may have happened had Ambler followed the Village's appeal process.

The Village's appeal of the Ambler case made its way to the Supreme Court by 1926. In a 6-to-3 motion, the Court overturned the lower court's decision and held that the Village's code was constitutional, a legal use of its police power. The Court also cited the fact that Ambler did not actually suffer any financial "taking", since Ambler's valuation of the land use as industrial was speculative. The Village of Euclid zoning code was upheld.

The 1926 Supreme Court was composed of some very well-known justices, including Chief Justice William Howard Taft (former President, 1909-1913), and Associate Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis, both of whom joined with Taft in the majority ruling. Taft, a native Ohioan, could have

excused himself from the case to remove any question of his impartiality, but it is not known if that issue was ever brought up by the Court in private discussions. Even if Taft had excused himself, the decision would have still passed at 5-to-3. Holmes voted with the majority to uphold the Euclid code.

The majority vote was enough to validate this new concept of zoning. Had only two Justices switched their votes to support Ambler, our development regulatory system might look very different today. Sometimes, precedentsetting decisions boil down to one or two individuals. The five Justices in Euclid and the city leaders in the 1916 New York City Zoning Code represent a very small number of people whose actions impacted our built environment for almost 100 years.

The story doesn't end with the 1926 Supreme Court decision. The Ambler tract sat vacant until 1939 when it was acquired by General Motors to build an aircraft assembly plant, as the United States began its run-up to World War II. The aircraft plant operated until 1950, when GM converted it into a Fisher Body Plant, which operated until 1973 when GM closed it and relocated the plant elsewhere. The tract sat unused for the next 27 years until 2000, when it was converted into a light industrial/office park called Water Tower Park.

Despite being upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, and despite the fact that Euclid's own code did not allow industrial uses, market forces ultimately prevailed. While Ambler was long out of the picture, his vision for the 68-acre parcel was absolutely correct - to eventually be developed as an industrial use. So while Euclidean zoning is the basis for almost every American city zoning code, the Village, while successful at the highest court in the land, failed to prevent industrial development from happening.

The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act

About the time the Village of Euclid was going through its lower court proceedings, the United States Department of Commerce had taken notice of the practice of zoning. The Federal government has no control in local development regulatory matters. Yet, after the New York City code was established in 1916, the Commerce Department saw a benefit to make sure similar codes across the country were similar and followed the same rule-of-law. An advisory group was named to study the issue and propose a solution.

The commission relied heavily on the State of New York's Standard Enabling Act, developed in 1916 after the adoption of the then-new zoning code in New York City. The New York State act empowered other cities in New York to adopt similar measures, provided those measures were to "protect and preserve the general life, health, safety and welfare of the public". In 1924, the Commerce Department prepared similar recommended guidelines that all states could adopt, with a second revision in 1926.

The 1926 Act allowed states to grant zoning powers to those municipalities that desired it, including a requirement that its area could be divided into districts for the purpose of zoning. New local zoning ordinances were required

to include a statement of purpose for their new regulations, as well as establish procedures to amend the regulations as needed. To accompany the new zoning ordinance, a municipality also named a local board to enforce the regulations and hear cases for amendments or changes. Almost 100 years later, these practices remain the basis of how zoning is implemented in almost every city.

Since there is a close relationship between planning (the vision) and zoning (the implementation), the Commerce Department created a similar act in 1927 to guide the practice of city planning. Published in 1928, the Standard City Planning Enabling Act provided guidance for states in developing their accompanying master plans, in the following 6 sections:

- 1) The organization and power of the planning commission, which was directed to prepare and adopt a "master plan"
- 2) The content of the master plan for the physical development of the territory
- 3) The provision for adoption of a master street plan by the governing body
- 4) The provision for approval of all public improvements by the planning commission
- 5) The control of private subdivision of land
- 6) The provision for the establishment of a regional planning commission and a regional plan

For the first time, zoning and planning were linked. The Federal government provided guidance to individual states through these enabling acts, but there was no Federal planning authority overseeing local development. Planning and zoning decisions remain under state and local control.

The important distinction is that there is no Federal oversight of local zoning and planning, with the exception, of course, that these local rules do not violate constitutional rights. Many of the ensuing challenges to zoning, and there have been quite a few heard by the Supreme Court since 1926, are based on whether a local regulation has violated an individual's constitutional rights. Planning is and always has been a local matter.

The enabling acts did seek to give the same basis for zoning to all states. Remember "protect and preserve the life, health, safety and welfare of the general public"? To this day, this is the principal reason behind zoning. The fact that this came out of the U.S. Department of Commerce indicates there was likely a concern with making sure these new regulations were consistent across the country, so they would not impede business. As expected, zoning ordinances vary from city to city and state to state, although there is usually a similarity in form and language.

However, they are different enough that developers would contend that the myriad of regulations are an arcane and sometimes confusing delay in the development process. Zoning has lived up to its initial mission of protecting the public.

Those familiar with zoning history may ask, at this point, "What about Houston?" True, Houston (Texas) remains the largest city that does not use zoning to control development. In the place of zoning, Houston uses a system of deed restrictions and covenants to control development.

This is not to say that Houston hasn't considered zoning. Every time it has been on the ballot, in 1948, 1962, and most recently in 1993, it has been roundly defeated by voters.

Houston's independent spirit, coupled with its rise as automobile use increased in the early to mid-1900s, may partially explain this stance. Houston revels in its lack of zoning, and points to the variety of uses in a small area, which would be discouraged under "standard" zoning practices. Some other smaller American cities have also eschewed the practice of zoning. In most cases, zoning is required in communities large and small, from coast to coast.

Is Zoning Still Relevant?

As zoning approaches its 100th anniversary, it is time to ask the questions, "Does this still matter? Does this still work?" After all, zoning was initially developed to govern form, not function. It was then, subsequently, modified to become the land use regulation we still recognize today. Along the way, some zoning ordinances became so cumbersome and ponderous that they unintentionally veered away from their original intent.

For instance, many contemporary zoning ordinances attempt to regulate taste and personal preference such as window treatment colors and architectural finish materials. There has been an explosion of land use types fostered by technological innovations that no ordinance could ever hope to identify or predict.

An important criticism of Euclidean-based zoning is its tendency to push uses away from each other. It takes a monolithic approach, clumping all identical uses together in a similar district, and avoiding mixed-use. Many of those uses, retail, for example, make perfect sense to be close to residential areas. It is not necessarily the use that is of concern, but how it is designed.

Form-Based Codes (FBC) were developed as a way to deal with the myriad of physical design questions while promoting diversity for compatible land uses, rather than separating them. There is even an organization, the Form-Based Codes Institute (FBCI), that provides free sample codes and training in how to use them. The FBCI was formed in 2001 as the City of Chicago set out to update its existing code which had been adopted in 1957.

A basic FBC includes the following 5 elements:

- 1) **Regulating Plan** a map that shows the location of where each different building form applies
- 2) **Building Form Standards** design guidelines for the shape and form of the various buildings identified in the Regulating Plan

- 3) **Public Space Standards** design guidelines for the public realm, including roadways, sidewalks, landscaping, and other items
- 4) Administration how the FBC will be implemented and how each proposed project will be reviewed
- 5) **Definitions** the precise meaning of various technical terms

An FBC may also include standards for architecture, landscape architecture, signage, and environmental resources, with appropriate illustrations.

FBCs are also a type of SmartCode, an approach developed by Miami-based architecture firm DPZ. These are also designed to be made available free-of-charge to cities through various web sites. SmartCodes are a bit more wide-ranging than basic FBCs and include such items as a Unified Development Code, which is basically a rewrite of a local city's development codes into a single document to make sure there are no conflicting guidance or policies. SmartCodes paralleled the development of FBCs and were first deployed in the City of Petaluma, California, in 2003. Other cities have followed this lead and are looking to enhance zoning with SmartCode and FBC approaches.



The 6 Transect zones - Flagstaff, AZ

To help guide the location of various developments and their relative densities, DPZ developed a visual aid known as the Transect - a transverse section of development from the least dense (rural) to the densest (city core). The Transect is essentially the antithesis of Euclidean zoning approach.

In addition to these updated approaches, zoning also remains relevant as it has a tangible financial value. Referred to as an entitlement, zoning assigns various uses to specific parcels, and some of those parcels are as yet undeveloped. In those cases, zoning may anticipate future uses and market needs, essentially a speculative venture. This was the basis of Ambler's complaint against Euclid when it changed his zoning and he felt that value had been unfairly taken away from him.

With all of these updates and options, many cities still rely on their old cumulative Euclidean zoning ordinances. Changing zoning citywide is not an easy task, since many property owners view such an exercise

with fear and skepticism. Yet, one by one, cities are beginning to turn the tide and move away from older-style zoning. Zoning is not the only policy that guides growth and development. Many other factors play a role, all of them beyond the control of local officials. The following are some examples:

1) Mortgage Banks (Residential Development)

Residential house size is often influenced by how much a bank will loan a homeowner, in relation to the value of the property it sits on. This is best demonstrated by a practice called Tear-Downs, often occurring in older established communities with an existing stock of older homes.

As the land value increases, because of proximity to other areas or a general increase in value in the community, people often buy older and larger lots for the express purpose of tearing down the existing home and building something significantly larger.

This can result in homes that appear disproportionally large for their lots and blocks. Inevitably, this decreases the amount of grass and landscaped areas (also called permeable cover), resulting in measurable increases in storm water runoff. Before, the lot may have had 25% impermeable cover (house, driveway, patio, etc.). After the tear-down and remodeling, the amount of impermeable cover may be double or more.

In some cases, the community-wide cumulative impact of these tear-downs is the need to make extensive (and often expensive) improvements to the community's storm drainage system to avoid flooding. Should a bank (when loaning money for a home) dictate the size of a house without regard for design or context? No, but it happens every day across the country.

2) Investment Banks (Commercial Development)

In a similar fashion, financial institutions loaning money to developers often do so with additional conditions of their own. As an example, a typical office building is usually required to provide around 4 off-street parking spaces for every 1,000 square feet of rental space. It is not uncommon for a lender to require that ratio be increased to 5 to 7 spaces per 1,000 square feet, or higher. The reasons vary, but it is usually to afford the project the maximum flexibility to accept a wide variety of tenants. The effect of this is easy to determine and measure.

A typical 3-story 60,000 square foot office building (20,000 square feet per floor) would require 240 parking spaces ($60 \ge 4$), which is about two acres of parking. More square footage is dedicated to parking than to leasable space. A lender may require as many as 420 spaces ($60 \ge 7$), or more than 3.3 acres of surface parking. Few cities could enforce such a high ratio without complaints from the developers.

3) Insurance Companies

For both residential and commercial property insurance, insurers are risk averse. They are not comfortable providing property insurance in what they deem "non-standard" developments. They also do not want to promote development in certain areas that may be susceptible to typical problems, such as weather, crime, etc.

While every insurance company may deny it, they have routinely, in the past, engaged in a practice called redlining - delineating areas on maps where coverage is either denied or made so expensive as to be unaffordable. Allegations have been made against certain companies where this practice was engaged in for the purpose of artificially depressing neighborhood values or to deny coverage to specific ethnic or income groups. No city in the United States could ever hope to get away with such a Draconian practice, yet it occurred with alarming frequency across the country.

4) Homeowner Associations

If you live in a subdivision or a master-planned community, chances are you've also been required to join its homeowners' association (HOA). These associations are prevalent across the United States. The HOAs own industry association (the Community Association Institute) estimates that about 20 percent of the U.S. population live in an HOA (that also includes condominium associations for attached and vertical dwellings). HOAs provide maintenance and assure that development in the subdivision adhere to a strict code of guidelines. These guidelines can be much stricter and controlling than any municipal zoning code, regulating such seemingly benign things as the type of vehicle parked in your driver, the location and placement of your garden, or the height of your child's swing set.

The extent of HOA power was magnified during a horrible event. A house fire in a local subdivision sent burning embers flying, landing on neighboring and nearby homes, setting their wooden shingle roofs on fire. The design guidelines in the HOA required wooden shingle roofs. When an affected homeowner rebuilt his roof, he did so with fireproof aluminum shingles that from the ground looked exactly like wooden shingles. Undeterred, the HOA sued this homeowner, demanding the new fireproof roof be replaced with the required wooden shingles, and fined him for each day he was in noncompliance. The homeowner counter-sued and won. The common-sense approach would have been to allow such a product if it had no visible difference and if it prevented future damage.

For all the good they do, HOAs exact a level of compliance no city could hope to achieve through conventional regulations. Increasingly, HOAs are part of regional and national holding companies that have a vested interest in the financial well-being of the development, even if those holding companies are hundreds or thousands of miles away. Compliance for compliance sake, however, does not always result in an interesting and desirable neighborhood.

5) Utility Providers

Until it is practical for each home to run "off the grid", infrastructure has to be supplied to each area of a community. Public infrastructure usually consists of water distribution, sanitary sewer collection, and storm drainage collection systems. Private companies provide telecommunications, electrical, and natural gas service (although some cities provide these services as well).

The location of major transmission, distribution, and collection lines (either underground pipes or above-ground cables) often dictate the location, orientation, and density of development. (The cost of burying all utilities is sometimes prohibitively high, although it does minimize events like power outages due to downed trees.) Some may think of this as a chicken-and-egg argument, as development requires infrastructure and vice versa. Suffice it to say that the locations of these services greatly influence development form and location at least as effectively as do a city's master plan and zoning ordinance.

6) County/State/Federal Highway Agencies

In a similar fashion, the provision of roadways by county, state, and federal agencies also influences the location and density of development. For example, development is often clustered around highway interchanges and along frontage roads. Landowners often "generously" donate their land to the transportation agency for the facility's right-of-way, knowing full well that the presence of a major new roadway can increase the value of their land many, many times over. In fact, in some cases, it also makes the approval process for a new zoning change that much easier, as the local city may also see this as potential for new growth.

Highway and roadway alignments are often subject to public input and scrutiny, but the ultimate decision is made by a commission or a district engineer. The presence of a roadway network undoubtedly affects an area's ability to grow. It can even be viewed as one of the ways a city's master plan or zoning ordinance gets implemented.

7) Fire Departments

There is undeniable and incalculable value to the service provided by fire departments. Their primary mission is the protection of life and property. Without them, no community is truly safe. In quite an unintended way, fire departments also shape our built environment.

Local fire departments have a direct influence on street widths, especially in newly-constructed developments. Their requirements result in wider streets, sometimes 36 to 40 feet wide for a local residential street. This is in opposition to many New Urbanists as traffic engineers, who both see the advantage of a so-called skinny street that can significantly reduce traffic speeds. Fire departments, on the other hand, require a street wide enough for a fire truck (or hook-and-ladder) to deploy its outriggers (stabilizing arms) and still have enough room for another emergency vehicle to drive around it. This is a constant argument between local fire officials, engineers, building officials, and developers. Many cities that have smaller streets have purchased smaller fire trucks. They are large enough to serve subdivision structures, but not so large that they require very wide streets. Fire regulations also affect a home's interior design, specifically the placement of windows on the home's side elevation. A tall home (3 levels usually) with a window facing the side yard may be hard to access by ladder if the side yard is narrow – there simply isn't enough room to angle the ladder. The response by builders isn't to build a smaller house – it is to eliminate windows on the upper floors on the side of the house. This usually results in upstairs interiors with a closet or a windowless media room on the side.

Herein lies one of the biggest problems faced by American development. **There is no effective coordination between the aforementioned entities when it comes to our built environment.** Yes, some cities try to coordinate with these entities, such as fire departments and utility providers, but banks, insurance companies, and HOAs often demonstrate little interest in such collaboration. Zoning may be a convenient scapegoat to blame for the state of our built environment, but it is not alone.

Part Three

Trending 2100: The Urban Planet

Chapter 6

Trending 2100: The Urban Planet

Global Urbanization

I t should come as no surprise that the United States and global populations continue to increase. In less than 100 years, the U.S. population has more than tripled - from 100 million in 1915 to more than 317 million in early 2014. During this same time, the global population has increased from 1.8 billion (in 1915) to 7.1 billion (in 2014), representing a nearly 400% growth. For the first time, both the U.S. and the planet are becoming more urban. In 2008, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that America had surpassed the 50 percent mark in urbanized population.

In simpler terms, more than half of us now live in cities or "urbanized areas" (places with more than 50,000 people). That is astounding, since when we passed the 100 million mark in 1915, less than 15 percent of Americans lived in cities.

This trend is not limited, of course, to the U.S. The global population also surpassed the 50 percent urban mark in 2008. Global urbanization is clearly evident in Asia, where new cities in China seem to appear every day. A popular saying is somewhat like this: "the largest city in the world in 2050 will be in China, and it hasn't even been built yet." While there is no evidence to support this, it may not be too far from the truth. The Chinese government has been embarking on a long-term policy of "urban resettlement", building massive new cities and relocating the previously agricultural population. Social engineering criticisms aside, there is almost no precedent for this in human history and no indication of the long-term impact it will have on both the Chinese and the world populations.

It was thought that China's population might peak at roughly 1.7 billion sometime before 2020, then begin to decrease slightly to approximately 1 billion. This was predicated on China's One-Child Policy; but that policy was being amended in 2013 to allow families to have 2 children if either parent was an only child. It is possible that this policy may be further relaxed as China continues its economic expansion and aspirations.

Population growth is not constant or universal. While Asia grows, other parts of the world are actually shrinking. Germany, Italy and Japan are projecting population decreases over the next two decades, while the rest of Europe and the UK are projecting only modest growth (10 percent) over the same period. In the European continent, only Turkey stands out with dramatic population growth (22 percent and higher).

We cannot minimize the impact that global population growth will have on all of us. How will the growth in the United States affect us, especially in the near future?

By 2030

As we continue to recover from the 2007 Great Recession, it seems inconceivable to talk about how we handle rapid growth and expansion. The United States has continually shown its ability to bounce back from economic setbacks. We did it after the Long Recession in the 19th century, resulting in the development of many of the great libraries and universities that contributed to our overall quality of life. We did it after the Great Depression and World War II, resulting in one of the longest periods of economic expansion we've ever experienced (some argue that the industrial run-up to World War II was a significant contributor). There is no reason to think we cannot recover from the Great Recession in a similar fashion.

In 2007, a study was published by the American Planning Association projecting domestic growth trends as the United States reached 400 million. In *The Next 100 Million*, Arthur Nelson and Robert Lang project dramatic impacts on the United States. The United States could reach the 400 million mark by 2030. (For some unknown reason, it was reported that both the 200 millionth and 300 millionth Americans were both born in Atlanta, in 1967 and 2006, respectively.)

Despite the chilling effect of the 2007 Great Recession, ongoing demands on our economy and built environment will continue, many of which are not related to the economy. While our domestic birth-rate dipped slightly over the

A new residential home under construction

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past five years, it can quickly regain ground and even surpass our previous average. If Nelson and Lang are right, if we do reach 400 million by 2030, what impact would that have? For one, there will be an increasing need for new construction nationwide - an estimated 30 billion square feet to be precise. Every aspect of our daily lives will require additional development - schools, homes, hospitals, offices, retail, banks, houses of worship, everything!

As the population increases, there will be a demand for roughly 70 million new "dwelling units", not just single family homes, but apartments, condos, duplexes, etc. This includes both new units and those built to replace existing homes. More than 35 million of these units will be for childless couples. Some will be for what demographers call DINKs (double income, no kids), but many will be for retired couples, since retirees will make up an increasingly larger percentage of the population.

Another key metric is the location of jobs in 2030. Nelson and Lang project two-thirds (66 percent) of all jobs will be located in cities that were built after 1950. Our workforce, like our population, is exhibiting a trend toward the suburbs, which also accounts for those who telecommute or work from home.

Cities old and new will experience growth by 2030. While the U.S. urban population hit the 50 percent mark in 2008, it could be as high as 75 percent by 2030. That means three trends:

- 1) A population re-migration to existing cities, a trend already taking place
- 2) The ongoing growth of suburbs (some of which are now experiencing their first wave of redevelopment)
- The potential for additional development of further-out new towns and suburbs, also called exurbs (a term presented in 1955 by author Auguste Comte Spectorsky, describing "extra-urban" developments mostly inhabited by commuters)

Urban growth seems especially strong for the next few decades, a continuation of its trend since 1950. Then, only 83 cities worldwide had a population of 1 million or more. By 2000, that number had dramatically increased to 468 such cities. By 2030, there may be as many as 750 cities with 1 million people or more; a little less than one-third of those (220 cities) are projected to be in China. Maybe that mythical "2050 city" in China isn't so far off after all.

Globally, by 2030, the total population is projected to be 9.8 billion people, of which 75% may be living in cities – that's around 7.4 billion urban dwellers, a little more than today's total worldwide population.

By 2100

Most of you reading this book will likely see the results of our growth to 400 million by 2030. Only the youngest of you may witness what happens as we reach the 22nd century, the Year 2100.

Barring any worldwide calamity or global war, chances are growth will continue to 2100, when the worldwide population may be close to 11 billion – the U.S. population only a little less than 500 million! Even if the world population patterns stabilize at 75 percent urban, that would result in 8.1 billion city-dwellers - far above today's total world population. In the U.S., that could mean 358 million urbanites, more than today's total domestic population.

It seems that for the remainder of this century, the planet will be growing both in absolute numbers and in urban population. Density seems inevitable for our future.

Measuring Density

Density isn't just a concept; it can actually be measured. Planners, designers, and city officials generally do this two ways: dwelling units (DUs) per acre and floor-to-area ratio, or FAR. DUs per acre is a common way of measuring residential density. A dwelling unit is any residential type, from the largest single-family estate home to the smallest apartment. Ownership doesn't enter into it. Price doesn't enter into it. Quality doesn't enter into it. A typical range of residential densities based on DU is shown below.

	Development Type	Density Range
Detached Residential	Single-family – estate Single-family – large lot Single-family – low density Single-family – medium density Single-family – high density	Less than 1DU/acre 1 DU/acre 2-4 DUs/acre 5-10 DUs/acre Over 10 DUs/acre
Attached Residential	Townhome Garden apartment/condo Apartment/condo community Apartment/condo tower - mid-rise Apartment/condo tower - high-rise	10-15 DUs/acre 15-20 DUs/acre 20-25 DUs/acre 25-40 DUs/acre Over 40 DUs/acre

Figure 6.1 – Residential Density

Over 40 DUs/acre

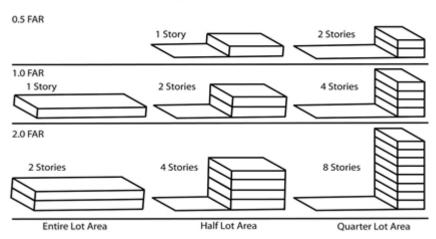
Another measure of density is floor-to-area ratio (FAR). FAR is simply the ratio of built space to overall area of the lot. Unlike the DU measurement, FAR can be interpreted several ways, leading to a bit of confusion.

For example, you own an average-sized suburban residential lot, 80 feet wide by 100 feet deep. That's a total of 8,000 square feet you own, roughly one-fifth of an acre. Let's also say your town allows you to build to an FAR of 0.50. That means the total area of your home cannot exceed 50 percent of the lot's area – a total of 4,000 square feet (8,000 x 0.50). FAR, with no other development regulations applied, allows you to do this in several ways.

You could build a 1-story house that occupies 50 percent of the lot - a 4,000 square foot house on an 8,000 square foot lot (0.50). You could also build a 2-story house, with each level being 2,000 square feet, which also equals the allowed 0.50 ratio. If you were so inclined, you could also build a 10-story house, with each floor being 400 square feet. All of these would be the same - a 0.50 FAR.

FAR by itself is insufficient to govern density. It is partnered with other requirements that regulate the building's "envelope", principally setbacks for the front, rear, and side yards. These, combined with FAR, regulate most of our build environment.

FAR tends to vary from suburban to urban development. It is common to see low FARs in the suburbs (less than 1.0) and very high or even unlimited FARs in the urban core. Although an unlimited FAR really has no value as a regulating device, or does it?



Floor Area Ratio

Directing Density

We can either chose to react to trends after the fact or prepare for them. Given the enormous cost of preparing infrastructure to accept massive growth, most American cities have been unwilling to commit financial resources until they can be sure the growth will be there. That becomes either a chicken-andegg argument or a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Do cities grow because they provide the framework to accept it, or are there other factors beyond their control? The answer may be a little of both, thrown in with some alchemy and the elusive "X" factor. There is no easy answer to this dilemma, because it is not an either/or situation.

The choice isn't between urban or suburban. If we look at our growth pattern around the country and historically, it has been more evolutionary and organic, growing through a variety of stages from small to large. Taking a page from the New Urbanists, one may even think of this as a sort of population transect where there's a variety of living choices along a continuum.

Туре	Zone	Development	Contains
Urban	D1	Urban core	Dense, mixed-use high-rise development
	D2	Urban residential – high	High-rise residential development
	D3	Urban residential – mid	Mid-rise residential development
	D4	Urban residential – low	Low-rise or detached residential development
Enclave	D5	Enclave city	Separate entity completely surrounded by a larger city
Inner	D6	Inner ring suburb – high	Mixed-use with office, retail and/or high-density residential
Ring	$\mathbf{D7}$	Inner ring suburb – mid	Garden apartments, small lot homes, office parks, retail
Suburb	D8	Inner ring suburb - low	Small-to-large lot detached homes
Suburb	D9	Suburb – high	Mixed-use center with office, small and large retail
	D10	Suburb – mid	Apartment complexes, office parks, retail, small subdivisions
	D11	Suburb – low	Medium to large lot homes
Exurb	D12	Exurb – high	"Lifestyle" mixed-use centers, office parks, regional malls
	D13	Exurb – mid	Small-to-medium lot homes
	D14	Exurb – low	Large lot homes
Rural	D15	Rural residential	Very low density residential on large lots
	D16	Rural farmstead	Agricultural land, mostly undeveloped
	D17	Undeveloped	Uninhabited, undeveloped open land

Figure 6.2 – Population Density Zones

For the United States and the global populations to be served, both today and into the future, a variety of densities is demanded. As history has shown, our development patterns are not monolithic - they fall along a continuum or population transect. Our development policies should begin to reflect this also.

For the last few decades, there has often been an unfair stigma associated the word density. To homeowners, it conjures up all the perceived evils of society, especially of those associated with the city in which they live. These fears are largely predicated on the notion that density somehow threatens property values and quality of life.

Take a look at any American suburban community that is in the process of updating their master plan, or even hearing a zoning case. When it comes to things such as apartments or even small-lot homes, you'll probably hear a great outcry of "Not in my backyard!" These knee-jerk reactions of "not here" keep many communities in a monolithic development form. Yet, little in our historical background indicates that a monolithic approach is natural or even healthy for a community in the long term.

What happens when a community is based predominantly on a single landuse type became front and center the last few years during the Great Recession. We experienced an unprecedented number of residential foreclosures across the United States, many in suburban communities. If single-family residential is the predominant land-use in your community, and the financial system supporting those uses begins to suffer, then so does your community. An important lesson to be learned from the Great Recession is the financial danger of relying on only The Lost Village | 105 a very few land-use types to support a community. We must be ready to proactively direct future growth in a responsible fashion - one that responds to our historical development patterns and local context.

Chapter 7

Looking for Mayberry

Life Imitates Art

In preparing a new master (or comprehensive) plan for a community, planners often conduct surveys asking people their opinion on the future of their community. Occasionally, a question is asked like this: "Which city or community do you feel is a good role model for our city?" The answers usually go something like this:

"Our community shouldn't be like any other." "Include small parks like other communities." "I want to be able to walk my kids to school." "Be more like Mayberry."

Mayberry? That's not even a real place. It's a fictitious small town that was the center of a popular television series. To understand the answer, you have to understand Mayberry itself.

Actor/producer Danny Thomas (1914-1991), with producer Sheldon Leonard (1907-1997), and writer Arthur Stander (1917-1963), sought to create a showcase for the talents and rural upbringing of then-rising star Andy Griffith.

Scene from the Andy Griffith Show in the fictional town of Mayberry

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In one of the first spin-offs on American television, Andy Griffith and Mayberry were introduced to the American viewing public as an episode of The Danny Thomas Show (originally aired in February 1960). The spin-off was The Andy Griffith Show, broadcast on CBS from 1960 through 1968. Even after Griffith left, the show was re-tooled as Mayberry RFD and continued to run from 1968 through 1971.

The show went into perpetual syndicated reruns afterwards, generating a whole new generation of fans. Even 15 years after production stopped, rival network NBC produced a reunion movie (Return to Mayberry, 1986) with many of the original cast members. In one version or another, this vision of small-town America has been a staple of American television for more than five decades.

Many people would argue that Mayberry itself was the true star of the show. Notice that the show's producers - Thomas, Leonard and Stander - all grew up in the early 20th century, living through World War I, the Roaring Twenties, the Great Depression, World War II, and the Baby Boom. Their vision of smalltown America was shaped by their life experiences. It is a decidedly homage to a simpler time. No surprise, then, that the concept of Mayberry has resonated with millions of Americans for more than 50 years. Type the word "Mayberry" into Google, and you will get more than 15 million results.

Naturally, people wanted to believe that there really was a Mayberry, or at least a town that inspired it. Griffith has consistently denied that Mayberry was based on his hometown of Mount Airy, North Carolina, but numerous other sources and legions of dedicated viewers have claimed otherwise. The show was filmed in California, but, that has not deterred fans of the show to travel to Mount Airy as the "spiritual home" of Mayberry.

Mount Airy, a small community in northwestern North Carolina, was founded in 1889, about 34 miles northwest of Winston-Salem. While Mount Airy is small (approximately 8,500 people), its association with the long-running show has created a cottage industry for the City. A family-oriented festival (Mayberry Days) has been held annually since 1989 (the City's centennial). There is an Andy Griffith Museum, and much of the City's development favors the hometown ambience embodied by the show (even though the show was filmed in California).

If you ask people what they love about Mayberry, they'll note the congenial nature of the town (everyone knows everyone), the small locally owned shops, the walkable downtown, the pace of life, and the overall safe and secure feeling of small-town ambiance. What they are also describing is a village.

Veering Away from Monolithic Thinking

Since the end of World War II, American development has been pushing further outward. Rural developments existed before, but nothing like what we've experienced the past 60 years or so. A combination of accessible highways, relatively low interest mortgages, and increasing automobile ownership impelled developers to build millions of new homes and communities further from the urban core.

While the attraction of these new suburbs proved irresistible to millions of Americans, they ultimately were not the cure for all our problems. Indeed, most of those problems - traffic, crime, and a sense of isolation - followed us to the suburbs. After 60 years or so, the suburbs are beginning to "grow up," facing many similar development pressures their nearby cities also faced. This is a natural cycle in our built evolution. It is seen all over the world.

Our suburbs must learn to operate like small communities again, as villages, to remain desirable places to live. We must slowly change the policies and regulations that have caused us to be locked in our cars for two or more hours each day. For existing suburbs, this will be a lengthy process as it is simply impractical to change these policies overnight. In fact, the time factor is a natural aspect, allowing these communities to embrace an organic natural evolution pattern, identical to the way our communities have historically developed.

If our suburbs need an example of how this may happen, they need look no further than the inner-ring suburbs that came before them. These were the original suburbs, most built before the arrival of the interstate or loop highway. Many have been around for more than 50 years and are beginning to experience their first wave of redevelopment pressures. This may happen when a previously existing development like a shopping center or an apartment complex is purchased by a new owner who envisions something different. Redevelopment also occurs as the small downtowns of the inner-ring suburbs are repopulated for different uses.

As our suburbs evolve, they can become more like a collection of villages. This will naturally entail a more diverse collection of land uses. What if there were a small market and a locally owned Italian restaurant at the entrance to your subdivision? What if your HOA now required sidewalks on both sides of the street, including benches, landscaping, and other amenities? What if school zoning was rethought to encourage attendance by students within a 5 to 10-minute walking radius? What if your community purchased smaller fire trucks to provide improved access to newer mixed-use neighborhoods? All of this is happening today, but we can do even more.

We must change the way we think about how we build our subdivisions. We can no longer afford a monolithic approach, where everyone lives in a variation of the same house plan, served by a collection of streets that provide preferential treatment to cars and trucks. We must change the very nature about the way we design our communities.

This does not have to be a heavy-handed exercise. Remember Ildefons Cerdà (the guy who created such beauty in Barcelona)? He designed streets such as La Rambla to make them irresistible to pedestrians. You simply *had* to be there. No one felt they were forced to walk this new street. We can take that same approach. One way to do this is to use the same elements used by Daniel Hudson Burnham - scale, ensemble, and harmony. Instead of trying to develop the City Beautiful, we can apply those to a more achievable and more affordable form.

Even Ebenezer Howard's notion of the Garden City can be tailored to the needs of today's residents. Recall that Howard's notion of a Garden City was approximately 32,000 people over 6,000 acres. If we use an average of 2.5 people per DU (not an uncommon occupancy in many suburbs), that means Howard's Garden City would have about 2,400 homes (or dwelling units), giving him a gross average density of 2.5 DU per acre.

The average home would have a lot of approximately 17,424 square feet probably 100 0 feet wide and 174 feet deep. That's not a very dense mix. Even if you doubled that number, accounting for plenty of open space and nonresidential areas, you'd still arrive at the average suburban lot size of one-fifth acre (roughly 80 feet x 100 feet). Howard's Garden City concept was appropriate in its time, but now it can be evolved.

The Formula for a Village

In the next chapter, we'll get into the specifics of the elements that a village should include. There is even a formula for creating a village:

[(U x 3) + (M x 3) + Pr + Pe + Pv] / D

Т

where:

U =	land uses
M =	travel modes
Pr =	residents
Pe =	employees
Pv =	visitors
D =	density
T =	time

The land uses (U) in a village require diversity; it cannot simply be 100 percent of a single development type. This applies to residential, retail, office, etc. In looking at existing villages across the United States and internationally, most have a minimum of three uses in close proximity to encourage walking. At a minimum, this could be residential, retail, and office. However, it could also be another combination of uses.

For many, this may also be the definition of a neighborhood (which carries the presumption of a residential component). However, it is also possible to think in terms of non-residential "neighborhoods", such as a downtown financial district or a college campus.

Regardless of the uses, a village always includes a multiple of complementary uses in a compact form. In a similar fashion, the number of



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Red Roof Houses On A Lush Green Hillside - Dubrovnik, Croatia

THE REPORT OF LAND

available travel modes (M) in a village goes beyond the standard car. A minimum of three modes is suggested as a desirable metric; more modes are better. For instance, a basic village may have roads (for cars), sidewalks (for pedestrians), and paths (for bicycles). It could also easily include access to light rail or bus transit. For some areas, such as Bainbridge Island and Friday Harbor in Washington state, reliance on ferries is also an important mode. By diminishing auto-centric access, a village becomes more accessible to a variety of users.

The people component is critical. Without people, there is no village. The equation identifies a minimum of three different users - residents (Pr), employees (Pe), and visitors (Pv). A village has people who live and work there, as well as those who visit and shop there. The percentage of each will vary in parallel to the diversity of land uses (U).

Density (D) helps create the compact environment necessary to support village design and encourage non-auto travel modes such as walking or biking. Remember Stonebridge Ranch in McKinney, Texas? It's a 5,000-acre development (7.8 square miles), almost the size of a small city, and close to Ebenezer Howard's concept for a Garden City. Stonebridge is not a city; it is a master-planned community. While it does provide the facilities for walking and cycling, almost everyone drives to get from place to place. In fact, Stonebridge Ranch should be considered a collection of villages.

To encourage walking, a compact form of development is required. The New Urbanists promote a 5-minute walking radius as a reasonable measure of walkability. An average person can walk about a quarter mile (1,320 feet) in five minutes. Terrain, weather, age, and physical ability all affect this distance, resulting in a shorter walking radius for some.

A village built on a 5-minute walking radius is approximately 125 acres (roughly 5.4 million square feet). That calculation is based on a circular-shaped village, calculating the area as $\pi \ge r2$ (r = radius). More asymmetric shapes would have different 5-minute walking radius times. Using the 125-acre number, if we were re-thinking development in Stonebridge Ranch, it may be a collection of 40 or so small villages.

The last component in the equation is time (T). Development historically had the relative luxury of growing organically over time. As needs and priorities changed, so too did the village. Today, banks and financial institutions have pretty much eroded the ability to allow an area to grow in a more controlled fashion. Instead, development is expressed in phases, and sometimes all phases are built concurrently because of attractive loans rates. That is not how a village should develop.

Take a look at any downtown in America and you are likely to see buildings that have been converted from their original uses. An old office tower may now be a combination of condos and apartments, with retail and dining at the street level. A former factory may have been repurposed for office or educational uses. This is a look into the future of our suburbs; they must be allowed to evolve as land use and resident needs change.

Downtown buildings being repurposed via New Urbanism - Flint, MI

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A recent example was the closing of the last Blockbuster video store in the United States. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, video stores were ubiquitous, with Blockbuster being one of the largest. They grew nationwide and it became a national trend to stop by the video store to pick up a movie one the way home. Technology didn't stop there; it eventually became disruptive enough to kill the very notion of a video store. We must allow the village, as well as our suburbs and cities, to change as conditions, trends, and technologies change.

The office building is another example. Technology has traditionally influenced office trends, with space allocation usually being a financial or real estate decision. In the early post-World War II period, most offices consisted of a series of private offices (with doors) with a "pool" of support workers in the middle. Of course, this varied greatly depending on the type of office it was. As cubicles became popular, the walled office gave way to these openoffice furniture systems. The cubicle size was significantly smaller than the previous generation of individual walled offices. The result was that an employer could get more workers in the same space.

In essence, the company did not have to build or rent as much space as before - certainly a dollar-based decision that benefited the company. Today, some industries talk of collaborative spaces that put employees with their laptops at long common tables (not quite shoulder to shoulder, but close). This allows for more workers in the same space, saving real estate costs.

Where it gets really disruptive is when you consider the impacts that telecommuting has had - where employees do not even have to come to the office at all. Or if they do, they do so only a short time each week, working from common shared spaces, something called "hoteling". This was found to be less than ideal for productivity, so much so that Internet giant Yahoo in 2013 banned its practice and recalled all employees to the office.

So what may a typical office look like if autonomous cars are commonplace? The technology is in its infancy, but every major automaker has expressed a desire to develop it further. If it is popular with the public, development of self-driving cars may be common before local and national policies can be adopted. The scenario might play out like this: Your car drives you to your office and drops you off at a designated spot (the front door, Starbucks, wherever).

At the end of the work day, your car either meets you at the pre-designated pick-up location or you summon it with your smartphone. This is not science fiction; the technology for this exists and may soon be part of our daily lives.

So if you didn't have to develop more space for a parking lot than for leasable floor space, what would that 60,000-square-foot office building discussed earlier look like? It wouldn't need the two to four acres of parking and access roads. More likely, it would supply just a handful of on-site parking spaces, probably at the street. The space that was previously dedicated to employee parking could be developed with other complementary uses, such as a small retail center, dining, or even residential - a spatial relationship that starts to sound more and more like a village. Can you imagine the modern suburban subdivision changing in the same way? One barrier is that its basic design presumes that only residential uses will be viable, desired, or even financially feasible. The village takes this evolutionary component into account from its basic design and allows for such change to occur. In fact, one could say it welcomes change as it constantly refreshes the nature of the village.

Chapter 8

NeoRetroism

D p to this point, we have discussed what has happened in the past and why our current development pattern is no longer desirable (and in some cases, no longer functional). We hold up the village as the preferred model for development, based on its long history of adoption and success across the globe. So what are the elements that go into the modern-day village? How do we define this new aspect of an old idea? Each component of a village is described below, with a set of guiding principles.

Guiding Principles – Village Form

Guiding Principle #1 – Compact Design A village shall be compact by nature. Ideally, it should be no larger than 125 acres so it is entirely accessible by non-motorized travel (foot, bicycle).

The basic tenet of village design is proximity and compactness. By reducing reliance on the automobile, a more diverse set of land-uses may be placed closer together. There is no set standard size, but using an average 5-minute walking radius as a guide, the maximum recommended village size is 125 acres. Within the total village, smaller areas (neighborhoods) will evolve over time. Neighborhood boundaries shall be self-defined, and in some cases, may overlap each other.

Guiding Principle #2 – Village Boundaries A village's edge shall be defined by natural or man-made features. It should not cross or be penetrated by a highway or a major thoroughfare.

A village traditionally is located at an important natural feature, such as a valley, harbor, river bank, forest edge, etc. Also, a village may be adjacent to a highway or major thoroughfare, but in no instance should such a major road go through the village's interior. This would divide the village and make it inaccessible for a variety of modes. Light rail tracks would be encouraged to go through the village provided they are at-grade and permit pedestrian crossings safely.

Guiding Principle #3 – Adjacent Development A village shall respect the integrity of any existing adjacent development. It shall be designed with respect to the scale of the adjacent development.

Where a village is built adjacent to an existing development, such as a residential subdivision, it shall be designed to maximize compatibility with its neighbor. That may include such things as making sure building height is compatible with its neighbors, encouraging the continuation of adjacent streets through the village, and no perimeter fence to separate the two neighbors. Land uses shall also be distributed to be compatible with adjacent neighbors.

Guiding Principles – Land Use

Villages, by definition, are not monolithic. A variety of compatible and diverse land uses shall be encouraged, including horizontally and vertically mixed. This can be easily accommodated when the architectural design of residential and non-residential uses is developed with this in mind. Single-level and horizontally separated uses will be discouraged, in favor of vertically mixed uses and compact traditional neighborhood design.

Guiding Principle #4 – Diverse Residential

A village shall be a mix of residential types, from homes to apartments, mixed both horizontally and vertically (such as the apartment above the shop).

Monolithic residential development is the antithesis of a village. Diverse residential types shall be included, from apartments and condominiums to townhomes and single-family detached homes. This copies traditional and historic residential patterns and gives all village residents the same opportunities to get to know each other. Guiding Principle #5 – Diverse Non-Residential A village shall include a mix of compatible non-residential uses, including office, retail, hotel, agricultural, school, park, and other similar uses. As a general rule, at least 2 non-residential uses should be included in a village. More are better.

A village should be designed to accept and encourage a variety of nonresidential uses. Whenever possible, these structures should be designed to incorporate vertically mixed uses, such as street-level retail with apartments and offices on the upper floors. Agriculture is an equally important component for a village. While not a requirement, there should be an opportunity to integrate local agricultural uses whenever possible - from a community garden to an active local farm. In addition, some European cities are currently developing progressive "high-rise agricultural" use. Green roofs and other opportunities to provide locally-grown and sourced food to the village should be viewed as an important use of land.

Guiding Principle #6 – Open Space & Public Areas Open space and public areas shall be one of the principle design elements in a village. Whenever possible, existing natural features shall be incorporated into the village's basic design.

In too many instances, open space and public areas are "left over" parcels in a subdivision. While suburbs are getting better at providing open space, they are overcoming decades of over-development that has eliminated many natural areas. In the initial design of a village, these natural areas will be principal "form-givers" to help shape the village. If none are present, the designers shall incorporate plazas and green spaces to help define these public areas.

Guiding Principle #7 – Retail

Retail development shall be scaled proportionally to the village, and be located in the village center or along streets that lead to the center. "Out parcels" retail development along the village edge is discouraged, unless it is on streets that lead to the village center.

New retail development tends to think in terms of "100 percent corners", maximum visibility, and large convenient parking lots. In a village, retail development can be visible from major adjacent streets, but it should be designed with encouraging shoppers to come into the heart of the village. As mentioned, retail buildings shall encourage upper-level office and residential use whenever possible.

Guiding Principle #8 – Office

Office development shall be scaled proportionally to the village and be located in the village center or along streets leading to the center. "Out

parcel" office development along the village edge is discouraged.

As above, office development should be integrated into the village center when possible. Both office and retail development shall be designed so that they are compatible with the village and with adjacent existing developments.

Guiding Principle #9 – Schools A village may include public and private schools, ideally located adjacent to a park or open space area.

A neighborhood or village school is a compatible use, provided it is designed to minimize noise and outdoor activities from existing and new residential areas. Using a park to separate a school from a residential area is one way to accomplish this. Some larger school types (regional high schools, for example) may be incompatible with village design.

Guiding Principle #10 – Other Non-Residential Uses A village may include other non-residential uses provided they are compatible with the village and its neighbors.

There may be other uses that work well in a village context - houses of worship, hotels, entertainment/theaters, meeting/assembly facilities, healthcare, and other similar developments. Each should be considered on a case-by-case basis and allowed if its operation is compatible with the village and its neighbors. For instance, a healthcare facility would be a desirable use, but a large hospital with a 24-hour emergency room may not be the best fit for the village center. Even some small clean industrial uses, provided they do not generate any traffic, odor, noise, or anything objectionable, could be considered appropriate.

Guiding Principles – Mobility

As you may expect, a village is decidedly not auto centric. The associated guiding principles support this approach.

Guiding Principle #11 – Pedestrian Oriented A village shall be designed to favor pedestrian connections as a primary travel mode equal with the car.

The village is designed in a compact form, based on a 5-minute walking radius. Therefore, pedestrian access shall be considered to be equally important as automobile access. Every street shall have sidewalks on both sides, at least 6 feet wide. Sidewalks in front of retail buildings shall be wider to accommodate outdoor dining areas for restaurants and cafes. Sidewalks will also include amenities, commonly known as "street furniture" (benches, planters, street trees, coordinated signage, small seating areas at corners, etc.). By providing irresistible walking areas, increased pedestrian activity will be naturally encouraged.

Guiding Principle #12 – Minimize Parking

Large parking lots are prohibited in a village. Small-scale shared parking lots may be distributed throughout the village as an alternative to encourage park-and-walk patterns. If a parking structure is provided (such as for a hotel), it shall also be available for general public parking.

Few things disturb the integrity of a village more than a "sea" of parking lots. While provision of parking is a necessary reality, it doesn't have to overwhelm the development. A typical shopping center is a large structure in the center of a parcel, surrounded by more square footage dedicated to surface parking (and sometimes structured parking). Instead, the village encourages a "park once" design, where multiple destinations are within easy walking distance. For residents, they may simply choose to leave their cars at home and walk the short distance anywhere within the village.

Guiding Principle #13 – Diffused Local Traffic To diffuse traffic, all village streets will be designed with the same "functional classification." All local streets will be a maximum of 24 feet, not including sidewalks and pedestrian areas.

To prevent congested village traffic, interior roadways will all be the same width and design. Whenever possible, they will also connect to existing or future roadways from adjacent developments. In no case will a major roadway or intersection be in the interior of a village. Designers often describe this as "A" and "B" streets.

An "A" street is a major thoroughfare (usually more than 2 lanes) designed to convey larger volumes of traffic at higher speeds. A "B" street is a 2-lane street designed to serve local traffic at slower speeds and lower volumes. There are also more "B" streets to equally diffuse traffic through an area, rather than collecting it and dumping it onto a single larger roadway.

Guiding Principle #14 – Streets as Public Realm All village streets are treated as public realm, with equal opportunities for access by cars, pedestrians, bicycles, and other appropriate modes.

By treating streets as public open space, not just high-speed motorized conveyance, the village returns to its roots as a true community. Traffic will naturally slow down in these instances, proven by multiple studies by traffic engineers and New Urbanists promoting such concepts as skinny streets and naked streets (streets where there is no physical delineation between travel lanes, parking, and sidewalk, other than pavement texture, plantings, or other designs). The village will incorporate the notion of the complete and livable street.

Guiding Principles – Diversity

All villages provide a diverse environment, from buildings to residents to employees to visitors.

Guiding Principle #15 – Diverse Population A village shall include a diverse population pattern in a compact form.

Village development shall not be monolithic in either development types or users. This includes residents. For a village to operate, it must attract a diverse array of residents and income levels. It is not a natural organic evolution to create wealthy gated communities that separate residents from the rest of the area. Nothing says STAY OUT more effectively than this, yet we have allowed this pattern to develop across the country.

In most cases, there is no real security reason for these gated enclaves. Rather, it is an added "amenity" to support the development's claims of exclusivity. In many ways, it also represents voluntary minimum-security selfincarceration.

It wasn't always this way.

Take a walk through parts of London, New York City, or any great city. You will easily see the more affluent neighborhoods, perhaps rows of brownstones or townhouses facing a side street, just off the main thoroughfare. These areas aren't gated, yet they may have housed families much more prominent - Carnegies, Rockefellers, etc. These homes are also in close proximity to areas where the people that work for them live. That makes sense, yet we've somehow forgotten these patterns.

In Vancouver, British Columbia, one of its wealthiest neighborhoods is located across the bay from downtown, with spectacular views of the city skyline. In this neighborhood, you will not find gated enclave communities. In fact, some of lots with the most prominent skyline views have been developed as small public parks.

Adjacent to these may be small rental properties (4-plex and 8-plex units), on the same block with multi-millionaires. At one corner, there may be a favorite little restaurant (locally owned) where neighborhood residents and others get a chance to mingle. This is a true diverse neighborhood that is strong and cohesive.

The village pattern works in much the same way. Let's take a look at an average 125-acre village. For discussion purposes, let's say that 25 acres (20%) remain undeveloped as open space (public realm, streets, parks, etc.), leaving 100 acres for development. Of this, 70 acres (70%) are developed as residential.

To encourage diversity, that 70 acres could be developed as follows:

Residential Type	Acres	Density (DUs/acre)	Total DUs	Avg Occupancy (per/DU)	Proj Pop
Single-family (SF) homes	20	3	60	3.5	210
SF townhomes/villas	25	10	250	3.2	800
Condominiums	10	18	270	2.5	675
Apartments	10	20	200	1.8	360
Mixed-use residential	5	15	100	1.8	180
Total	70 acres		880 DUs		2225

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Clearly, there is a mix of owner-occupied single-family detached, owneroccupied multi-family attached and tenant-occupied multi-family attached options available in this example. Of the 880 DUs in this village, 580 (66%) are projected to be owner-occupied, with the remainder, 300 DUs (34%), a mix of attached apartment units:

60 DUs (6.8%)	Upper-end single-family detached homes
250 DUs (28.5%)	Attached townhomes/villas*
270 DUs (30.7%)	Condominiums
200 DUs (22.7%)	Apartments in non-mixed-use buildings
100 DUs (11.3%)	Apartments in mixed-use buildings

*possible luxury properties

This breakdown is just one example; there are many variations, based on local market opportunities. This is not to be considered the only way to diversify residential products in a village.

Guiding Principle #16 – Land Uses A village shall include a diverse collection of land uses in a compact form.

In a similar fashion, a village encourages the development of multiple land use types. There is no alchemy to this; the composition will vary from village to village. Let us continue with the example shown above, where 70 acres of the 125-acre village were developed as residential. Here is an expansion of that same village, now by land use:

Land Use	Development Type	Acres	Percent
	Single-family homes	20	16.0 %
Residential – Owner-Occupied	Single-family townhomes/villas	25	20.0%
	Condominiums	10	8.0%
Residential – Tenant-Occupied	Apartments	10	8.0%
	Retail with upper-level residential	5	4.0%
	Retail with upper-level office	5	4.0%
Commercial & Mixed-Use	Retail	5	4.0%
	Office	2	1.6%
	Hotel	5	4.0%
Public	Elementary school	10	8.0%
Fubic	Chapel	3	2.4%
Open Span	Park	15	12.0%
Open Space	Other public realm (right-of-way)	10	8.0%
Total		125 acres	100%

There is some discrepancy between the residential percentages between the two charts. The first is based on total DUs; the second is based on acreage dedicated to land-use type. They both still demonstrate the potential for a diverse village environment in a compact 125-acre footprint. Again, these numbers are an example of how a village may be developed. There will be variations in land use distribution based on a variety of factors, including overall design. This illustration gives an idea of how this may be accomplished.

Guiding Principles - Design

One of the most obvious and visible aspects of a village is its cohesive design. A village's various buildings must have a common palette or design language that controls materials, building massing, signage, landscaping – all the aspects of the village's built and natural environments.

Guiding Principle #17 – Cohesive Design A village shall be designed in an ensemble, so that its built and natural environments are in harmony and scale within itself and its neighbors.

This requires a level of care and attention to detail prior to the first shovel of dirt being turned in the village. A specific set of plans and renderings, along with village-specific guidelines, are required to realize this vision. Occasionally, a village may allow something slightly out-of-sync to be developed (what designers sometimes call "happy accidents") to emulate the organic and linear nature of the way villages grow over time. However, careful attention should be paid to ensure that these anomalies are compatible with the overall theme of the village's design.

It is certainly not necessary that all villages mimic European archetypes. Not every village has to look as if it is in Tuscany, a Greek island, a French valley, or the English countryside. American archetypes are also possible, including New England-style townhomes, Southern villages, urban Victorian neighborhoods, even California mid-century modern. Whatever style is chosen, however, it is imperative that it be as uniform as possible throughout the village.

The inclusion of "franchise architecture" can present a challenge. Should the village attract a national franchise retail use, the village may be subject to requirements that typically include specific signage or architecture synonymous with franchise's brand.

However, every national franchise business has exhibited its ability to adapt their corporate designs into the required local context. (No company names or logos are being shown here, but you can pretty much guess which retailers these may be.) Simply stated, franchise architecture must be discouraged in almost all instances in a village.

Guiding Principle #18 – Maintain the Natural Environment A village shall respect the natural environment and site topography within reason. Site grading shall be minimized to assist drainage and infrastructure.

For many developers, the standard approach to site development is to grade the land until it is as flat as possible. This best accommodates a large-footprint building and an efficient parking lot layout. In doing so, often the most interesting features of the site are obliterated.

Village development is informed by the existing site - from its contours and topography, to its natural features (creeks, streams, trees, native landscaping, etc.). In accordance with Guiding Principle #6, designing within the framework of the natural environment and open space shall influence the village layout from streets to buildings.

Guiding Principle #19 – When to Grow a Village

A village shall respect its overall plan. Should future growth need to be accommodated, an adjacent compatible village may be developed (provided there is land to do so).

A temptation in most developments is to continually add new things, many of which are far removed from the original design intent. Should a village grow to meet its ultimate capacity, development of an adjacent and compatible village should be considered as a means to accept this growth.

Where the old and newer villages abut, there is an opportunity for the development of new "self-identifying" neighborhoods. Think of this as petals of a flower, overlapping each other. It is a natural growth pattern of traditional

neighborhoods. If there is available adjacent land to accommodate expansion, this growth can be emulated with village design principles.

Should land not be available, market forces may justify the need to begin the process of redevelopment. While this may not happen for many decades, it should only be accommodated if the newer development is designed in a compatible fashion.

For instance, a 2-story mixed-use building may be replaced with a 4-to-5 story mixed-use building (designed in a similar architectural style), but a 10-story midrise building would likely seem out of place. This brings us back to the importance of scale, ensemble, and harmony. Care must be taken to ensure that these are closely maintained over time. A set of thought-out design guidelines will serve the village well for many decades.

Many of the new village principles may be applied in suburban greenfield sites, where there is little or no previous development. What about an urban infill neighborhood? These are opportunities for a new type of urban village design, one which should be more cognizant of its surroundings and history.

Guiding Principle #20 – Historic and Cultural Context A village developed in an urban, suburban, or rural area shall respect its historic and cultural context.

It would be out-of-place to develop a suburban style lifestyle retail center in a redeveloping urban neighborhood. Just as our Italian Mid-Towners, Gia and Carlo, discovered, their new neighborhood could be successfully and carefully integrated into an existing developed area.

The mixture of old and new need not be jarring. Using existing historical information and photographs of previously-removed buildings, a new urban village can be developed that respects the context of its surroundings. Land use distribution and traffic patterns will also be significantly different, responding to urban concerns such as increased density and access to transit.

Summary

By following these recommended guiding principles, a village may be developed that responds to a variety of conditions and locations. Not every village should look the same; quite the opposite. There should be a variety of styles, densities, land-uses, homes, and apartments to ensure that adjacent villages are compatible with each other.

When designed with care, village development can avoid the faux design criticism so common in many similar attempts. Design must be sincere, rooted in context and vernacular, and respectful of the natural environment and surroundings.

Chapter 9

Reclaiming the Village: Why It Makes Sense

ow that we have outlined why we should avoid replicating our standard suburban development style and how a village can be designed using the philosophy of NeoRetroism, you may ask, "Does this even make sense?" In fact, not only does it makes sense, but for numerous reasons which we will outline, it makes perfect sense.

Sustainable

The village form is one of the most sustainable designs and has been a proven successful model since mankind's earliest communities. It is an all-inclusive environment where everyone has a stake in some part of the growth and viability of the village. By maintaining a compact form that is irresistible to walking, the village naturally reduces the number of vehicle-trips within its borders. As an example, let's take a look at our American suburbanite family (Jim, Melanie, Madison, and Mark).

Assuming they were predominantly reliant on their cars, they could average as many of 118 trips per week, nearly 4,800 trips per year (not counting holidays and vacations). That's just one family. If an average subdivision had 200 homes, the yearly total trips would be 960,000 trips, nearly a million trips totally reliant on a vehicle. Here's how our American suburbanite family's weekly schedule created this demand:

Trips	Jim	Melanie	Madison	Mark			
1 rips	MTWTFSS	MTWTFSS	MTWTFSS	MTWTFSS			
Home to office	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Office to lunch	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Lunch to office	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Office to meeting	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Meeting to office	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Office to store	1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1					
Store to home	1 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1					
Home to school			1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1			
School to home			1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1			
Home to band practice			1 1 1 1 1				
Band practice to home			1 1 1 1 1				
Home to soccer practice				1 1 1 1 1			
Soccer practice to home				1 1 1 1 1			
Home to store	1	1					
Home to church	1						
Church to home	1						
Home to restaurant	1						
Restaurant to home	1						
Daily vehicle trips per person	7777724	7777720	4 4 4 4 4 0 0	4 4 4 4 4 0 0			
Weekly vehicle trips per person	41 trips	37 trips	20 trips	20 trips			
Family vehicle trips per week	118 vehicle trips per week						

Figure 9.1 – Sample Weekly Vehicle Trips (Suburban Example)

Now that we have one set of data to work from, let's change the variables and create a slightly different scenario. Let's take the same family and put them in a village environment. Jim's office is within walking distance, Melanie's office by the nearby light rail. Jim still opts to drive two days a week, as he has regular Tuesday and Thursday meetings to attend.

Melanie now takes light rail every day, and uses a ZipCar if she needs to go out during the middle of the work day. Madison and Mark's schools are both in the village, a 5-minute walk. Each can walk to school, band, and soccer practice. Let's see how they do:

Tuin-	Jim				Melanie					Madison					Mark						
Trips	ΜТ	W	ΤF	S S	M	гw	Т	F	s s	Μ	Т	WТ	F	S	s	МÏ	ΓV	Ϋ́Τ	F	s	s
Home to office	1		1																		
Office to lunch																					
Lunch to office																					
Office to meeting	1		1			1	1	1													
Meeting to office	1		1			1	1	1													
Office to store	1		1																		
Store to home	1		1	1					1												
Home to school																					
School to home																					
Home to band practice																					
Band practice to home																					
Home to soccer practice																					
Soccer practice to home																					
Home to store				1					1												
Home to church																					
Church to home																					
Home to restaurant																					
Restaurant to home																					
Daily vehicle trips per person	0 5	0	50	2 0	0 () 2	2	2	2 0	0	0 () ()	0	0	0	0 () ()	0	0	0	0
Weekly vehicle trips per person	12 trips 8 trips				0 trips 0 trips																
Family vehicle trips per week		20 vehicle trips per week																			

Figure 9.2 – Sample Weekly Vehicle Trips (Village Example)

In a village, our family has reduced its weekly vehicle trips from 118 to 20; a little less than 1,000 vehicle trips per year (not counting holidays and vacations). That's approximately an 80 percent decrease in vehicle trips. That's just one family. If we applied the same number to 200 families in a village, the yearly total trips would be 200,000 trips, representing nearly 800,000 fewer trips.

Of course, these numbers are averages for this comparison and can vary by family type and size. It remains an undeniable fact that when destinations are located closer to home, walking becomes a more feasible option. Even if our suburbanite family only walked every other day, they could still reduce their dependence on vehicles by 50 percent. On air pollution emissions alone, switching to a village form can have immediate dramatic reductions in both CO (carbon monoxide) and HC (hydrocarbon) emissions, the two most prominent air pollutants in urban areas.

Villages are also a more efficient use of land, allowing natural areas to be preserved. By increasing residential density (within market-acceptable ranges), access and travel times can be minimized. Living in a village does not mean you have to give up driving altogether. Rather, it provides an attractive alternative that may be an option for many people a few times a week, if not more.

Affordable

A village provides a range of residential, office, retail, and entertainment options in close proximity. Increased density promotes a wider choice of affordable residential options - from apartments to condominiums to home styles (attached and detached). While a certain percentage of these units may be aimed at upper-income buyers, by design there will be equal opportunities for residential units that appeal to most income ranges.

Leaving the car at home a certain number of days each week also has a direct correlation to reduced expenses. Using our suburbanite family example from above, for comparison purposes, let's say that their weekly 118 vehicle trips average 10 miles each way - a total of 1,180 miles per week.

If their average vehicle mileage is 25 mpg, that means they consume around 47.2 gallons of gasoline each week. Since some of this is by school bus and car pool, let's reduce that amount by 15 percent and make it 40 gallons per week. At \$3.25 per gallon, our family spends approximately \$130 each week in fuel; approximately \$5,200 each year, excluding tolls and parking expenses. By comparison, if they lived in a village and reduced their dependency on vehicle trips by 80 percent as shown above, they could reduce that amount to a little over \$1,000 each year, a savings of more than \$4,000.

Equitable

Villages provide a more equitable lifestyle choice, with easy access to a variety of uses - retail, office, social, parks, schools, houses of worship, entertainment, etc. Having a car is not a requirement to access these uses; the village is designed in a compact form to allow access by foot by almost everyone.

Of course, there may be portions of the population that do not drive. For those with physical impairments, walking or cycling may not be an option. In those cases, vehicular access via other means may be necessary. This could involve a pay-per-trip service (taxi, local transit, or private shuttle) but since most destinations are close by, the costs for these would be kept low. Some areas operate their own free local shuttle service as an alternative. Many churches often offer free shuttle service for those who need it.

Villages are equitable because they give increased residential opportunities for a variety of income levels. As described previously, it is not just the upperincome family living in the higher-end townhouse or home. A school teacher, a young professional couple, or a single parent also has affordable options that allow them to be part of the village.

Villages also promote multi-generational living, either in the same structure or nearby. Recall that the Italian mid-towners, Carlo and Gia lived not far from Carlo's parents, who provided an afterschool part-time job for Sofia. With family living close by, it is likely that Carlo's parents will be able to remain in their apartment, living independently for as long as their health allows.

This was commonplace throughout the United States prior to the Baby Boom expansion. There were fewer nursing homes and almost no "active senior" developments. Families were able to care for elderly relatives until ongoing medical care was required. Having a nearby relative also provided some options for child-care, so working families did not have to pay for day care. The village allowed for multi-generational family connection and saved time and money for all involved.

Social

Villages are inherently social places. They are designed to create public spaces, third places, open areas, parks, and pedestrian connections that foster social interaction. A common criticism of the suburbs is how isolated one can feel, even in a subdivision. Villages trade a portion of that privatization in the subdivision (large fenced backyards, large front yard setbacks) for public spaces.

Social also means villages have the tendency to be safer than other development types. Make no mistake: short of a maximum security detention facility, no design approach can completely deter crime, but when people feel "ownership" in the place where they live, work, or shop, they tend to be much more protective of it.

Oscar Newman talked about this concept in his classic work *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design* (1973). Many of Newman's concepts were misinterpreted and created spaces that actually made people feel uncomfortable. A village, instead, practices more of a CPTED approach (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design). When residents have a stake in the success and stability of an area, open and social spaces tend to be safer. Author and activist planner Jane Jacobs noted this in her early work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

One way this ownership is achieved is through what designers like to call "eyes on the street". It's just another way of saying that homes with front porches located close to the street and apartments with balconies overlooking sidewalks and public areas naturally encourage social activity and interaction. Those survey respondents that chose Mayberry as their ideal model may recall Sheriff Andy Taylor sitting on the front porch playing his guitar, or talking with folks walking by.

Somehow, our suburban design decided that being close to the street was not a good thing and pushed homes further away with larger front yard setbacks. There are varying theories behind why American homes have adopted the big front yard. Some think it refers back to large British manor houses, where a large yard was a sign of wealth.

Others cite a less romantic but more practical reason. Before municipal water and sanitary sewer service was available, homes had to rely on private

wells and septic systems. For obvious engineering purposes, you really wanted to keep these things as far away from each other as possible. When city utility service started to become common, the homes were left in place with large green spaces that did not need these on-site systems. The front and rear yard setback was born. While there is a fire safety reason for keeping structures apart, it is not a requirement. After all, many homes in the U.S. are built to zero lot lines, or are attached to their neighbor's structure.

In the village, there may be a front yard setback for some single-family homes, but it is generally much less than what is found in an average suburban subdivision. The home's design can be modified to ensure sound-proofing and private space if street proximity is a concern (remember that in a village, traffic tends to be low volume and slow speed). While we may still yearn for a big front yard as a sign of affluence, consider that in urban areas some of the wealthiest homes are townhouses or co-ops with almost no setback. (Of course, in some instances horizontal setback has been replaced with vertical separation, with the most expensive units being located on the upper floors of a building.)

One doesn't need to be a homeowner or resident to have an interest in the village. Business tenants and their employees and customers have a stake in the safety and success of a village as well. They take ownership in the overall wellbeing of the village by looking out for each other and making sure that their primary investment (their business) is in the best possible setting to succeed. If an incident should occur, chances are very good the perpetrator is either an outsider or already known by village residents and workers.

Villages also are designed to provide public spaces for people to come together for celebrations, performances, holidays, and other public gatherings. Even something as simple as a farmer's market brings people together in a way few suburban grocery stores can. If those survey respondents are looking for Mayberry, they are also looking for a social environment where they feel part of a community.

The village provides that, and has done so for a very long time. It is the place where men, women, children, youth, young, middle-aged and old from all nations can share in the beauty of life. In this environment a transfer takes place. Wisdom, knowledge, and shared dreams are the common commodities.

Scalable

Villages can and do exist in varying sizes. Earlier, we said that a 125-acre village was an appropriate size to accommodate a 5-minute walking radius. This size is not an absolute, however. Some are one-third to one-fourth this size, while others are quite larger. Fortunately, the basic guiding principles and design tenets of a village can be scaled up or down as needed to meet each individual case.

As a hybrid of other approaches, the village borrows on proven relationships and adjacencies that can work in urban, redeveloping, suburban, rural, and greenfield environments. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept was much larger (6,000 acres), but may be thought of as a collection of villages that make up the city. The various subsequent communities that were developed on Garden City principles did exactly that. New Urbanists have borrowed heavily from Howard's Garden City concepts, applying them on much smaller scales.

At 690 acres, Daniel Hudson Burnham's design for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair was larger than a standard village, but much of his development was compatible with village design. Even Walt Disney borrowed heavily on the idea of walkability when designing the original Disneyland and subsequent theme parks. One basic component of many of these parks is to design around a specifically-themed area, a "gate," which is approximately 50 acres.

An urban village is likely to be much smaller in overall acreage than its rural or suburban counterpart. Part of this may be out of necessity; per square foot costs of urban land are usually far more expensive than in rural and suburban areas. Hudson Yards, the massive mixed-use project on New York City's west side, takes place on only 26 acres. While it will be populated with as many as 16 high-rises (more than 12.7 million square feet of built space), it will also include 14 acres of new parks - more than half the ground area. Hudson Yards is a village on an urban scale.

Achievable

Villages are eminently achievable development forms and have been a staple of communities for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. With the exception of some new cities being built throughout Asia, the core of any city, great and small, is a village. It is where it's most important cultural and historic buildings are often located. It is where the village evolved into a city.

Villages are a natural evolutionary development form, one that is immediately recognizable to people regardless of culture or nationality. Many Americans take vacations to Europe, Mexico, South America, and other international destinations just to experience a village and its surroundings. We may not realize it, but these types of vacations may be one means of replicating this lost aspect of our daily lives. Humans may be hard-wired to want to live in a village environment.

Before the post-World War II expansion and Baby Boom years, urban development was largely based on village-scale archetypes. There were suburbs prior to World War II, to be sure, but they did not attract the large scale development and migration they do today.

Somewhere along the way, we were lured by the attraction of the car, the freeway, and the brand-new suburb, with its promise of a better life. There is nothing inherently wrong with suburbs, but they are not the only option. As the Population Transect showed, there are many options available. The village is as viable today as it ever was.







Elderly men biking in Kim Lan Village

Making Sense Makes Money

This book has promoted village design from the user's perspective residents, business owners, and visitors. What about developers? Does building a village make more sense financially than building a standard residential subdivision or retail shopping center?

Right or wrong, developers tend to do what is already familiar to them, what is perceived to be "easy" (though it is often quite complex). Time truly is money to a developer, so the longer the pre-construction phase – such as getting entitlements, zoning approval, and construction permits - the longer it takes to get paid (by either selling land or attracting tenants).

As an industry, developers tend to be risk averse. Many specialize in a single market, such as residential, retail, etc. Many further specialize within those markets; for example, a developer may only build single-family detached homes of a certain size, but not other types of residential use.

Village development promotes an efficient design in a compact form, with densities not found in standard residential subdivisions. If a developer has the chance to build at three to four times the density and at the same price per unit, the potential for profit is considerably greater.

Developers may say, "It still takes too long." That may be true of early generation villages, but American cities are becoming aware of this development type and are actively seeking it out for portions of their communities. In some cases, cities have streamlined development review procedures to attract more mixed-use developments. Some will even offer financial incentives, say in the form of infrastructure improvements, further lowering a developer's upfront expenses.

Where it really becomes attractive is when the general public starts to expect this as an option. One need not look any further than the overwhelming acceptance of "lifestyle retail" centers that have proliferated across the country since approximately 2001. Many of these can be tied to the development of CityPlace (West Palm Beach, Florida).

Arguably also a village (since it includes residential and office), CityPlace defined this new generation of "lifestyle" centers, although it was not a greenfield site - it was on a strategic parcel immediately west of downtown West Palm Beach.

Although it opened to critical acclaim in August 2001, CityPlace was not an immediate success. Six weeks later, the September 11th attacks occurred and few people were thinking about shopping. Eventually, CityPlace became popular as a shopping and entertainment destination and has remained one of the most successful examples of this type of mixed-use development.

Shoppers expected versions of CityPlace in their regions and developers found a way to supply it. Whether it is a greenfield suburban site such as Southlake Town Center (Southlake, Texas), or an urban location such as New York City's Hudson Yards, developers overcame their "fear of the unknown" because the market demanded this new type of development. Over time, with the successful deployment of village developments, consumers will be increasingly expecting this to be an option offered by developers. Developers will have no choice but to comply.

A Village Takes Care of its Own

As noted previously, the social nature of a village, combined with its design, creates an environment that is both welcoming and nurturing. People are not artificially isolated by income group, age, housing type, or social standing. The village provides everyone an equal opportunity to be part of the community.

Providing an opportunity for multi-generational housing allows families to handle their own child care and, when needed, senior care. The need for specialized centers to provide these services is not eliminated, but can certainly be reduced. Again, this is really not new. It is the way most of the United States developed up until the post-World War II boom era.

Part of the reason we veered away from this pattern of development was the rise of the "developer class". Of course, there were developers prior to World War II. Ohio developer Ambler was inadvertently one of the principle reasons we have cumulative zoning across the country. Today, development corporations are larger and more regional (and national) in scope. Too many of these have chosen to adopt a similarity of style and design in the name of "brand identity".

This homogenous design - call it franchise architecture if you like - has reduced or eliminated many of the regional vernacular designs that distinguished various parts of the country. Today, it is possible to find a home or store in Atlanta that is virtually indistinguishable from those in Dallas, Kansas City, or San Diego. While not all developers are like this, too many have taken this approach, promoting rapid delivery of products devoid of regard for local culture. The good news is that some developers are starting to realize that they have to be more comprehensive in their designs and approaches.

Chapter 10

Return of the Village

Reclaiming Communities Old and New

Because of its scalability, attention to local context, and emphasis on compact development, the village can be easily applied in both old and new communities, including the existing developed urban core, innerring suburbs, and exurbs. The same, however, cannot be said of other types of development – specifically, big-box retail.

A staple of suburban development, the big-box retail center (or "power center") seems to be in every suburb in America. The tenants are familiar - Best Buy, Wal-Mart, Target, Home Depot - and many other familiar names. Nothing is at all wrong with these businesses. They see a need and they wouldn't remain if they were losing money. However, their basic business model, even their store plans, are difficult to modify to denser urban neighborhoods. They aren't easily scalable. That's not to say they aren't trying. Target has unrolled a smaller urban model (Target Express) designed for downtown areas. Home Depot has modified its store design for their New York City stores. Even Walmart, the retailer many cities love to hate, has developed a smaller model with a highly-articulated architecture that responds to local style and vernacular. Retailers are learning out of necessity what village designers have known for centuries. The same phenomenon is happening to office space, hotels, even convention centers. The ability to reclaim existing forgotten markets, as well as expand into new exurb areas, is bringing village sensibility into the mainstream.

From a purely practical standpoint, cities welcome village developments as they are a more efficient use of an existing infrastructure. Traditional municipal services - water, wastewater, storm drainage, and transportation - are already in place in areas that may now be underutilized. Revitalizing an urban neighborhood through the application of village design principles relieves the pressure on all of these systems, often avoiding expensive expansions and updates. The current challenges the city of Detroit faces would seem to be an ideal application of village development principles as the city attempts to redefine and remake itself.

One area where we can realize real and quantifiable savings is in how we address our seemingly never-ending traffic congestion. Today, the answer is to build new highways and expand existing ones. Yet, the traffic still keeps coming. While the construction and replacement of these facilities is often long overdue, it is only half the equation. Think of how much money we could save if we could reduce traffic simply by offering a realistic alternative to longdistance commuting - an alternative people would select willingly, not because they were forced to.

The previous discussion of how the American suburbanites could significantly reduce the number of times they drove each week is just one example of how this might be accomplished. Combined with technology and telecommuting alternatives, there are realistic, achievable, and affordable alternatives to endless highway construction. Even simple changes in our lifestyles and development patterns can make incremental improvements that lengthen the service life of highways and transportation systems.

Suburbs can also benefit from village development. Inner-ring suburbs, now 50 years old or more, are beginning to experience their first wave of redevelopment pressures. Previously, they may have allowed a developer to come in and assemble numerous parcels to build a power center. Now, these inner-ring suburbs have the opportunity to redevelop at the finer grain that was common before World War II.

Newer suburbs and far away exurbs, too, can benefit from village development. Aside from the obvious efficiencies and sustainable ethos, a village development in a horizontally separated suburb can bring a new found sense of community identity. Many of these suburbs grew without a core, many represent a merger of older smaller communities. The new village can offer the sense of "community center" lacking in these auto-centric areas.

We've shown the propensity to develop in "booms". There was the urban building boom in the early 1900s, the Baby Boom and suburban expansion after World War II, and the housing bubble which burst, contributing to the 2007 Great Recession. Could we overbuild with a village boom? If developers and communities follow the guiding principles, this is not likely to happen. Recall that villages are planned with a compact form and a cohesive architectural design. Built-in organic flexibility accommodates some future growth. At some point, a village will be at its saturation point. The answer is not to keep building. It is to start an adjacent village. The villages and their neighborhoods may begin to overlap, like the petals of a flower, creating new self-identifying "sub-neighborhoods". This is exactly the way small villages traditionally grew into larger communities, eventually becoming cities.

This is a natural urban evolutionary process, which is also based in biomimicry (copying a natural system). Before the advent of the suburban subdivision, residential areas were built in the context of the neighborhood atlarge. There were no perimeter fences, gate houses, or amenity centers.

Over time, these neighborhoods continued to grow, evolve, and change with the needs of the residents, similar to the way a flower seeks sunlight. By applying this form of bio-mimicry to allow neighborhoods to develop and overlap, we strengthen the city as a whole. If your city has an older enclave city, you can see evidence of this in those established neighborhoods.

How Village Development Spans Affiliations

Property ownership and the freedom to enjoy our homes as we see fit is viewed as a fundamental American right. This is often expressed with political or religious overtones. While it is certainly understandable that certain cities or regions are labeled conservative, liberal, or Christian, a village should be free of all of these labels and be open to all.

The guiding principles listed in Chapter 10 are not partisan. Villages are designed as total communities, and should welcome a variety of political views. Indeed, one of the third places in a village may be for the lively exchange of views and ideas, but the village itself is not inherently partisan. The village is not Republican or Democrat, liberal or conservative. It is simply the village.

The guiding principles listed earlier are not associated with any particular religion or denomination. A village may be a spiritual and inspirational place to numerous faiths. It is the reason that these village components were defined as a house of worship, rather than a church, synagogue, temple, or mosque. In fact, in most parts of the United States, from older cities to newer suburbs, these various houses of worship often easily co-exist next to one another. While, traditionally, the prominent faith-based building in older American downtowns is often a church, it is not exclusively one denomination.

Some villages, however, were built for religious or even partisan purposes. From the late 1800s to the early 1920s, the proliferation of Chautauqua communities was promoted by the Methodist church to encourage lifelong learning. These villages were often in the form of encampments where families could go to escape the oppressive summer heat in the city (this is many decades before the invention of air conditioning). The Chautauqua initially promoted the training of summer school teachers and grew into a comprehensive educational opportunity to learn languages, crafts, music, and share various views and opinions. Many Chautauqua encampments, or portions of them, still exist today, the largest of these being the original - the Mother Chautauqua - located, not surprisingly, at Chautauqua Lake in western New York State. These are open to all, regardless of religious affiliation.

A more recent example is the development of the New Urban community called Ave Maria. Located in far southwestern Florida, Ave Maria was established in 2005 by Tom Monaghan, founder of Domino's Pizza. A devout Catholic, Monaghan desired to build a place that not only embraced his religious values but also provided an opportunity for a Catholic-based education. Ave Maria, the town, is also home to Ave Maria University, previously founded by Monaghan in 1998. At the town center is the Ave Maria Oratory, which is the primary church for both the community and the University.

Chautauqua and Ave Maria are examples of village development that were initially based on religious values, but have opened themselves to all who are interested.

Overcoming Obstacles to Village Development

People feel very strongly about where they live. Many are passionate about their community. So when you start talking about doing something that may be perceived as different, there may be an initial resistance. Additionally, some communities may be reluctant to change their zoning for something that may seem so foreign to them.

The good news is that there is a growing interest in building villages nationwide. Some of the resistance and skepticism is beginning to fall away as communities update their older Euclidean-based zoning ordinances in favor of newer FBCs and SmartCodes. If the host community is still working with an older style set of development regulations, there are ways to work within these parameters.

Rather than pursue individual zoning throughout the proposed village, developers can request designation as a Planned Unit Development (PUD, it may be called something different in other cities). The benefit to the PUD is that it recognizes the entire village as a single mixed-use district, rather than a collection of site-specific zones. A PUD will usually require a fairly specific and detailed set of allowed (and prohibited) uses, which are approved as part of this zoning designation. Should the village desire to change any of this in the future, a variance, waiver, or change can be requested to its PUD ordinance.

The process for this is usually similar to that for a standard zoning change. In some cities, staff have the ability to grant administrative approval for certain changes or adjustments, without the need for a public hearing or Council approval.

PUDs are not new to cities. Many suburban developments and master planned communities have used this instrument to get their approvals. So if your community has this process available to you, it may save you some time. Another way to streamline approval is to ask if the host community offers staff-level administrative approval for the entire village. Some cities have found that they save time and money by granting staff the power to approve developments that do not exceed a certain size. That size could be 25 acres in one city, 50 acres in another. The best way to find out is to look at your city's website to see if the process is identified. If not, a quick call to the local Planning or Community Development Department should provide the answer.

As part of the preliminary process of presenting the village concept, it will be important to include illustrative examples of how this will look. An overall plan map is a start, but rendered sketches of the various village components will go a long way in presenting the concept. Photographs of other projects or villages may also be helpful. Many developers find it helpful to hire a planning and design consultant at this stage to help them manage the approval process.

In developing the village, it is critically important to understand the views and concerns of any neighboring property owners. Take the time to meet with them to make sure their opinions are heard and that they are part of the design process. If an existing development is adjacent to the proposed village, make sure the village's edges are compatible with that development. For example, it may make more sense to concentrate the denser uses at the center of the village, as far away from surrounding sensitive areas as possible.

Where possible, the village design should attempt to incorporate the city's existing transportation network, provided it does not bring a major thoroughfare through the interior of the village. Providing other linkages, including to existing or planned regional bike and pedestrian paths, makes integration of the village into the community much smoother.

Financing may also be challenging for village developers. Banks and financial investors may be wary of doing anything new, but that risk aversion is slowly eroding as the village becomes a more accepted concept. Fortunately, village-style development is finding favor across the country as an alternative to ordinary mixed-use developments. Resistance to this old idea of developing is fading as cities and suburbs see village design as a way to grow responsibly.

Case Studies: Established Developments

As we've learned, the idea of villages is not new. It is a traditional development form found throughout the United States and internationally. Villages may stay small or grow into larger cities over time. Let's look at three case studies of established developments that had their roots in village design – Princeton (New Jersey), New York City, and Celebration (Florida).

Case Study #1 - Princeton: The Quintessential Town

Princeton is often held up as the model most copied by New Urbanists. That may or not be true, but since two of the movement's co-founders, Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (founders of DPZ), are graduates of Princeton University's architecture and urban planning program, one can't help but speculate how much the town also influenced their thinking.

The University actually predates the incorporation of the town. Princeton University was originally founded in 1746, but moved to its current location in 1756. The surrounding area incorporated as Princeton Borough 57 years later (1813). On its 200th anniversary, the Borough and the surrounding Princeton Township combined into a single entity now known simply as Princeton. Princeton is a collection of villages, beginning with the 500-acre code of the campus of Princeton University. Eminently walkable, the campus is one of the most recognizable college environments in the United States.

Princeton's predominant roadway is Nassau Street, literally the dividing line between "town" and "gown." Originally known as King's Highway, Nassau Street remains relatively small - four lanes with on-street parking, sometimes on both sides. It includes very wide sidewalks on the town side, accommodating a variety of locally owned shops and restaurants, with some regional and national brands. The buildings in Princeton (especially in the former Borough) are strictly controlled to assure a cohesive appearance. Even the fonts and signage are controlled in some areas.

Princeton's core is Palmer Square – a small park that is home to the iconic Princeton Tiger bronze statue, the symbol of both the town and the University. Palmer Square is the heart of Princeton and is a village unto itself. It includes street-level retail with upper-level residential and office, hotel and dining, healthcare, library, and many other compatible uses. Palmer Square, though, is a relatively new addition to Princeton, built in 1936 and continued in phases for the next 30 years. At roughly 100 acres, it is the ideal village size.

Despite its Ivy League status, Princeton remains a very diverse community. This is due, partially, to attraction of students and faculty from all over the world. Princeton has residents of many ethnicities, cultures, and family types and sizes that are not associated with the University.

Princeton is an example of a collection of villages that have grown together over more than 200 years, with its principal "resident" Princeton University. While traffic is always something to complain about, Princeton is also easily travelled by foot - so much so that it was given a 95 percent rating by the website Walkscore.com. Princeton's compact form, architectural integrity, emphasis on walking, and generally high quality of life are all models for village development.

Case Study #2 - New York City: A City of Neighborhoods

At first glance, one might wonder why New York City would be included in a book about villages. One of the planet's premiere cities, it has a resident population of approximately 8.3 million people. Isn't that a little big to be considered a village? Well, yes, if you just look at the whole.

A closer look reveals that New York City is, at its core, a collection of neighborhoods. Few of these neighborhoods were actually designed; rather, they are self-actualized and self-identifying areas, which is one of the aspects that also makes villages great. Originally Native-American land (Algonquians), the city was settled in 1624 by European immigrants. Initially called New Netherland, it became New Amsterdam named after the military outpost Fort Amsterdam in an area now known as the Battery in Lower Manhattan. In its early years, New Amsterdam was small, less than 5,000 people.

New York City's origin was as a harbor and strategic military outpost, not a great metropolitan center. As the principal arrival point for immigrants from Europe and the United Kingdom, millions arrived at Ellis Island. Their first view of the New World was New York City. New York's population has been famously diverse, but recent concerns have been raised with the relative unaffordability of residential properties in Manhattan. The other four Boroughs, however, are very diverse in ethnicity, age, and family type and size.

New York's neighborhoods quickly grew, based on the basic grid street framework built throughout most of Manhattan. That grid gets interrupted by the original street pattern in Lower Manhattan, and by one of the City's principal features, Central Park. Central Park was established in 1857 and remains one of the world's great urban parks. Not unlike London's Hyde Park, some of the most prime real estate in New York is adjacent to Central Park.

With the exception of a few notable streets - Broadway, Fifth Avenue, Park Avenue, etc. - many of New York's roadways are similar in size. This allows traffic to be more evenly distributed and diffused through its various neighborhoods. Many of the streets have been turned into one-way roads, defeating this purpose, but New York remains a very easy city to navigate, either by car or on foot (sometimes faster on foot).

New York's neighborhoods are all unique, an amazing feat since they are often so close to each other. There is great diversity between Chinatown, the East Village, Chelsea, SoHo (South of Houston Street), Gramercy Park, TriBeCa (Triangle Below Canal Street), Midtown, and many others. In all, Manhattan consists of approximately 17 distinct neighborhoods. It is hard to put a number on it because where neighborhoods overlap, new neighborhoods begin to arise over time. (In addition to being a reference to the similarlynamed London neighborhood, SoHo was an abbreviation given by planner and Princeton University professor Chester Rapkin in 1962.)

New York holds many examples for village development - mixed-use, compact development, preservation of parks and public plazas, reliance on walkable neighborhoods, and a collection of strong-knit neighborhoods. New York has influenced almost every city in the United States at some point, from zoning to skyscrapers. It remains a model from which villages may continue to learn and adapt. It also has 400 years of growth, evolution, and change that make the city what it is today.

Case Study #3 – Celebration: The Town Re-Imagined

Located in Central Florida, not far from Orlando, lies Celebration, a master-planned community developed by the Disney Development Company. One of its main avenues (World Drive) connects directly with Disney World. Although not as old as our other two case studies, it is often cited as a major influence on town planning.

Celebration is a complete community, not a collection of residential subdivisions. It was developed in the 1990s, designed as a New Urban community with walkable neighborhoods and a compact downtown, to and from which the vast majority of residents (more than 90 percent) reported driving for work in the 2010 Census. Celebration has been simultaneously lauded as a model community and criticized for its apparent artificiality, a criticism often aimed at New Urban developments. (It is difficult to distinguish if this criticism is for Celebration or aimed at Disney Development Corporation, the Town's creator.)

Celebration is also a close approximation of a modern reinterpretation of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept. It is close to the same size - 6,848 acres compared with Howard's 6,000-acre Garden City model, although its population (7,400 people) is far below Howard's proposed 32,000. Celebration also attempts to bring developed and open spaces closer together; much of the adjacent open space is either a golf course or a town lake (complete with alligators!).

The architecture in Celebration can be somewhat confusing. The Town Center was designed by a group of famous architects, many of whom usually compete with each other for projects. Well-known names include Robert Stern, the late Phillip Johnson, Michael Graves, Cesar Pelli, and others. Villages should mix buildings and architects, but the collection of styles in the Celebration Town Center is not as cohesive as village principles would dictate.

The Town boasts a diverse population, but more in family and income types than ethnicity. More than 90 percent of Celebration's residents were reported as white in the 2010 Census. Its neighborhoods are called villages, but are almost completely residential. Each village promotes a different architectural style, which are not necessarily representative of Florida vernacular or compatible with each other.

For sure, there are lessons to be learned from the development of Celebration. Architectural character must be carefully thought through. For even if residents and visitors do not notice the symmetry of design, they will most certainly be aware of it if it is executed without considering scale, harmony, and ensemble. Celebration does an excellent job of creating a walkable community with lush landscaped public areas. As it continues to grow, hopefully it will begin to diminish its reliance on cars and electric carts.

Case Studies: New Developments

Numerous examples exist of older communities, towns, villages, and cities from which we can learn - not just in the United States, but across the globe. Interest in town-making has resulted in new examples of village development, both in existing urban neighborhoods and in greenfield sites. The following case studies examine three such developments: CityPlace (West Palm Beach, Florida), Southlake Town Square (Southlake, Texas), and Adriatica (McKinney, Texas).

Case Study #4 - CityPlace: First of the New Generation of Villages

CityPlace was developed by the development firm Palladium (now the Related Companies), as a new type of mixed-use center. Predominantly retail, it also includes residential units, office space, a hotel, and a 500-seat performance hall in a restored historic church.

West Palm Beach has a very urbanized downtown, located between U.S. Highway 1 (the Dixie Highway) and the Intracoastal Waterway that separates the West Palm from neighboring Palm Beach Island. City Place was developed on 72 acres of under-utilized urban land tucked in between downtown and the Kravis Center for the Performing Arts (developed in 1992), adjacent to Interstate Highway 95.

Opened in August 2001, CityPlace is a mixture of various European architectural influences - Venetian, Mediterranean, and Spanish Colonial Revival. Oddly enough, these seem to fit with similar architectural styles found throughout Palm Beach County, rather than a more historical and vernacular Florida style. Initially, there was concern that CityPlace would cannibalize retail traffic from West Palm's nearby principal commercial area – Clematis Street. Those fears were not realized as Clematis Street and its adjoining areas have also benefited in the long-run from the popularity of CityPlace. Recently, a few CityPlace tenants have even relocated their shops to Clematis Street.

CityPlace allows traffic through the heart of the development along South Rosemary Avenue, a north/south street that connects to West Palm's two principal east/west roadways - Okeechobee Boulevard and Banyan Boulevard. "Teaser" parking (limited on-street parking) along Rosemary gives the street the appearance of even more activity, although the bulk of visitor parking is in two garages on the east side of CityPlace, providing over 3,300 free parking spaces.

CityPlace has had its ups and downs, along with the general economy. Penning just six weeks before 9/11 didn't help it much, but it has survived and grown over the ensuing years.

The resident population of CityPlace is a bit more diverse than Palm Beach Island, but is not as diverse as areas of West Palm Beach further west of Interstate 95. It does, however, attract a highly diverse array of shoppers and visitors.

CityPlace is also located within a 10-minuite walk from the region's commuter rail service, TriRail, which provides rail connections between Palm Beach County, Broward County, and Miami-Dade County. With TriRail on one end and CityPlace on the other, the acreage between the two (just north of the Kravis Center) has now begun to redevelop as well.

CityPlace, as many of the "lifestyle retail" centers, has its critics, but it is one of the more successful examples of this development type because it has adopted basic village principles. It is a compact development with a diverse collection of land uses. Access to CityPlace is available from multiple modes (walking, driving, and rail) and its architecture is representative of similar local styles. In many ways, CityPlace is a third place for its residents and those of West Palm Beach.

One of the interesting features of CityPlace was the inclusion of a grocery store, a use often absent from such centers. The inclusion of an urban-scale Publix grocery store in CityPlace distinguished it from other similar centers. Some, like Atlanta's Atlantic Station, have also included a small urban grocery as part of the center.

Case Study #5 - Southlake Town Square: The Suburban Downtown

The Southlake Town Square was developed by a local developer Cooper-Stebbins and occupies approximately 175 acres in Southlake (Texas), a suburban community less than five miles west of DFW International Airport. Southlake is part of the Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area (7 million persons) and is one of its most affluent communities. (In December 2008, Forbes named Southlake the country's most affluent community.)

Opened in 1999, Town Square filled a much-needed void for Southlake. Although Southlake was an upscale collection of planned subdivisions and gated communities, it lacked a center. While Southlake's roots can be traced back to the mid-1800s, it did not incorporate as a city until 1956. At that time, it was a small community, just a collection of farms and homesteads. Southlake's population didn't rise above 2,000 until 1970.

Since then, it has exploded as an affluent suburb, with a total population of approximately 27,000 (with a potential build-out of 34,000). In the absence of a Main Street or historic downtown (like those found in neighboring Grapevine), Southlake sought to create its own.

Town Square was built in two phases, the first in 1999, and the second, which doubled the center by 2006. Town Square is a collection of upscale retail and dining destinations, a movie theater, hotel, some upper-level offices (most in Phase 1), and its most prominent building, Southlake Town Hall, which anchors the terminated vista of a formal central esplanade.

Southlake Town Square is easily walkable, but most users tend to drive there, given the relative lack of pedestrian connections to other surrounding areas. Town Square lies between two major regional highways (SH 114 to the north and FM 1709/Southlake Boulevard to the south). An access-controlled highway, SH 114 is not safe for pedestrian use. Southlake Boulevard is a local principal roadway, but few people would feel safe walking along it.

What Town Square lacked, initially, was a residential component. There was local resistance to building compact and dense residential units, even though they would sell in a comparable price-range to other area homes.

Eventually, three blocks of attached townhomes were built, although off to the east side of Town Square, not integrated into the center of the community (as in CityPlace). With a population that is almost 95 percent white, Southlake is not exactly diverse, but Town Square does attract a highly diverse group of shoppers, diners, and visitors. It is one of the most popular destinations in the region.

Town Square's architecture has very little connection to the area's historic and vernacular context. Phase I is a very formal Georgian style, more reminiscent of Dallas' Southern Methodist University. Phase II (executed by a different architect) contains a more varied collection of styles, but with the addition of covered walkways (just like CityPlace). However, most buildings in both phases are not completely finished on all four sides. The bask portion of many buildings are painted a simple gray. Taken together, the design of both phases is not cohesive, but remains somewhat complementary.

Like CityPlace, traffic is allowed to drive through the heart of the development, with a few "teaser" parking spaces available – a combination of parallel and angled head-in parking. The bulk of the parking is in large surface lots behind the main core of the Square and in two garages. All parking is free.

One of Town Square's most prominent features is the large esplanade in the center of Phase I. This is the location of many community celebrations, including the town Christmas tree. It is a formal space in two equal pieces, divided by an interior roadway. Each piece is roughly 250 feet square – about 1.4 acres each, for a total of a little less than three acres of open space. A second plaza is located in Phase II, but is much smaller (160 feet x 130 feet, less than one-half acre) and serves as a forecourt to a restaurant on the north end.

Town Square is not without its critics, citing its relatively low amount of residential and office space. However, Town Square seems poised to continue to grow and become denser, replacing existing surface parking lots with potential future garages. New development is occurring that occupies space currently used for surface parking. A grocery store will eventually be one of Town Square's tenants, providing a much needed nearby option for its residents.

Case Study #6 - Adriatica: The Modern NeoRetro Village

Our last modern case study is Adriatica, a modern interpretation of a European village, located in the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex. In the center of the Stonebridge Ranch master-planned community, Adriatica was developed on 48 acres that had previously been zoned for retail. The first phase of Adriatica was undertaken by Blackard Global in 2001 as an alternative to the proliferation of non-descript suburban development.

Adriatica is at the intersection of two of Stonebridge's major roadways – Stonebridge Drive and Virginia Parkway. It is surrounded on two sides by existing suburban subdivisions (Waterbury and Autumn Ridge), with a suburban retail center to the north and the Stonebridge Country Club to the west. There are no major roadways that penetrate Adriatica, only small local streets.

Blackard Global based the layout and architecture of Adriatica on the small Croatian island village of Supetar. While that may seem incongruous to the growth in North Texas, the architectural style is compatible. Adriatica's strict design guidelines require stone buildings with ceramic tile roofs. Many of the homes in Stonebridge are finished with a stone veneer, many with tile roofs.

At present, the defining structure in the development is the bell tower, or campanile. At around 10 stories, it is the singular iconic structure of Adriatica, one that attracts curious passersby for miles. On the weekends, Adriatica is filled with amateur photographers documenting this most unique village environment.

Adriatica is eminently walkable, with all segments of the site being within a 5-minute or less walk. A garage will serve a future hotel and small convention/meeting facility, anticipating and accommodating future parking demand.

Retail, at present, is limited to areas close to the Stonebridge/Virginia intersection, but that will eventually extend down into the heart of Adriatica, fronting a small lake with a chapel. Where a standard developer might put a gas station or fast food restaurant at the intersection of Stonebridge and Virginia, Adriatica heavily landscaped the corner, drawing the eye toward its planned center.

Adriatica mixes residential uses both horizontally and vertically. Retail buildings provide street-level shops and dining, with upper-levels for small offices and apartments. A collection of townhomes, connected villas, and custom single-family homes is located close to its border with Autumn Ridge and Waterbury.

Adriatica adheres to a strict set of design guidelines to assure that the development maintains its cohesive look. Any future tenant must abide by these regulations, whether it be a locally owned business or a nationally franchised restaurant. As is the case with Princeton, franchise architecture will simply not be allowed.

The master plan of Adriatica is to attract a diverse collection of tenants and residents - from millionaires to young professionals renting their first apartment. It is intended to be a walkable environment, where residents may choose to leave their cars at home as much as possible. Visitors are encouraged to park and walk, not because it is easy (it is), but because the views and neighborhoods within Adriatica are irresistible, just as Ildefons Cerdà understood in Barcelona.

Conclusion

Village development, which was commonplace across the United States in the past, became a forgotten option during the suburban expansion decades. Renewed concerns about quality of life, sustainability, environmental responsibility, and our built environment have given rise to a desire for a new development pattern.

We've attempted to fill this void with master-planned communities and town centers. Many of these have been decried as "faux" and "stage sets", but the ones that succeed have adopted the basic tenets and design principles found in villages. American development was based on the village model, and as cities grew, new villages were added, becoming strong and vibrant neighborhoods in their own right.

It is time to return to this village approach, as it is the most equitable, more sustainable, most affordable, and most achievable development form that can be equally applied to urban, suburban, and rural sites.

Villages such as Adriatica are proof that this new model can be visually interesting and a real place. People can live, work, and play completely within a village environment. Villages also work well as compatible development types along the spectrum of other options, from dense urban to low-density suburban.

As the United States grows to 400 million and beyond, the pressure for more efficient developments will increase. The village is positioned to be a prominent and desirable option for people of every age, every income level, every ethnicity, every political stripe, every faith, and every stage of life. Our future can indeed be found in our past.

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