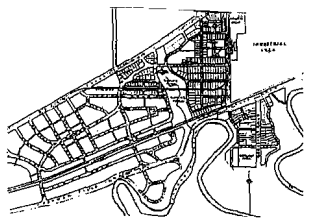
Increasing reliance on automobiles has resulted in troubling changes to the design of houses, whose appearance and plan are dominated by garages.

industrial town designed by Werner Hegemann and the Olmsted brothers, is an example of early 20th century town planning efforts.



boosted the economy more than efficient streetcars ever could.

As auto ownership skyrocketed, government eagerly built networks of boulevards, parkways and expressways that served as armatures for dispersing development ever more widely and thinly. Car owners found the single-family detached house especially convenient because it offered easy possibilities for storing autos. When cars were novelties, garages appeared as backyard outbuildings; as cars became household fixtures, they attached themselves to the sides of houses; and as families acquired whole fleets of vehicles, garages moved to the front. Along the way, garages doubled or tripled in size; now they can be the most dominant visual element of a house's facade or an entire streetscape.

By the 1920s the profession of city planning was becoming institutionalized. Planners sought to remake cities from within through administrative reforms, such as building codes, and aggressive actions like clearing and rebuilding blighted areas. They also sought to foster orderly suburban growth by devising plans for efficient metropolitan regions in which residential districts were safely segregated from commercial and manufacturing activities but easily accessible to them via highway networks.

The boldest attempts at restructuring cities dated from Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, which demonstrated how a combination of Baroque planning and Neoclassical architecture could impose a sense of order, civility and purpose on chaotic industrial cities. These efforts, which borrowed heavily from France's Beaux Arts school of architecture, were christened "City Beautiful" here. City Beautiful plans typically sought to establish formal civic centers, in which architecture and public space were conceived as a unified whole, and efficient networks of arterial streets to speed traffic through traditional street grids.

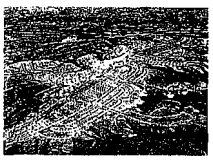
The most ambitious planners, inspired by British Garden City projects and their experience designing new communities for war industry workers, sought commissions for the design of entirely new towns. They, too, found inspiration in the architecture and planning of historic European towns, meticulously documented in books such as Camillo Sitte's *Town Planning According to Artistic Principles* and Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets' *The American Vitruvius*. But few of their proposals, outside of industrial or resort towns, attracted backers of sufficient wherewithal; the most notable surviving examples are Venice, Florida; Mariemont, Ohio; and Kingsport, Tennessee.

A concept that had more impact on suburban planning was architect Clarence A. Perry's "neighborhood unit." This idea reinforced the Victorian notion that a neighborhood was a protective domestic enclave requiring insulation from commerce, work and traffic, and held that the functional and literal center of a neighborhood should be an elementary school. Each neighborhood would be surrounded by arterial streets wide enough to handle through traffic; internal streets would be designed to facilitate circulation within the neighborhood. Local shops would be located along the arterials, preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to similar districts.[2]

Planners found it easiest to establish regulatory frameworks in which private developers could make their own decisions about neighborhood design. Subdivision regulations governed the process by which buildable lots could be created out of undeveloped tracts of land–typically dictating lot sizes and shapes, street widths and block lengths, and open-space set-asides. Zoning prescribed the activities that could take place on a lot; the size of a building that could be developed; dimensions for front, back and side yards; and requirements for functional matters like parking.

Agencies such as the U.S. Commerce Department and New York's Regional Plan Association promulgated model subdivision and zoning laws that were replicated in countless communities, often with little modification for local conditions. These mechanisms did not presume any one type of design, but they imposed a new level of uniformity on suburban development

Defense housing projects, such as Linda Vista outside San Diego, set the tone for postwar mass production in the home-building industry.



As more Americans moved to the suburbs in the 1950s, shopping and workplaces followed. Southdale (left), near Minneapolis, the first enclosed, climate-controlled shopping mall in the U.S. (Victor Gruen Associates, architects; constructed 1957). Connecticut General Life Insurance Company headquarters (bottom) in Bloomfield, Connecticut (Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, architects; constructed 1954-7).

by creating classification systems that treated hundreds or thousands of properties alike. Usually, their underlying purpose was to protect land values, foster family environments and maintain a degree of economic and social exclusion. In practice, zoning often separated commercial and residential uses, sanctified single-family homes by isolating them from apartments and imposed liberal setback rules that required large lots, thereby driving up housing costs.

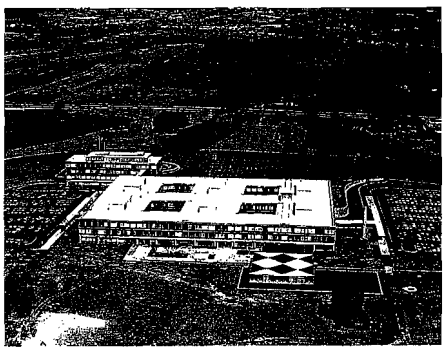
As traffic volume increased, these standards were modified to make auto travel more safe and efficient while protecting the character of residential areas. Eventually, they called for streets wide enough to accommodate both parking and traffic, turning radii so generous that service and emergency vehicles could negotiate any cul-de-sac, and T-configured intersections that minimized traffic conflicts. Planners distributed traffic through hierarchical networks of arterial, collector and local streets. Grid systems fell out of favor because they allowed through traffic on residential streets, and culs-de-sac were enshrined in the standards because they prevented through traffic.[3]

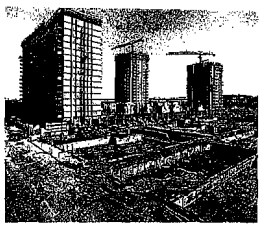
New Deal reforms that promoted home ownership and stimulated the housing industry encoded these design principles more than local planners could ever have. These reforms required unprecedented standardization–of the terms under which money would be lent, methods by which property was appraised and criteria used to determine whether a loan could be insured. In essence, a set of national criteria determined the worth and bankability of a house; these evolved into standards for house design, lot and yard configurations and street layouts that became patterns for the home building industry. Again, single-family detached homes had a special advantage–the mechanics of lending for them were much simpler than creating ownership opportunities within multi-family buildings.[4]

This standardization was complemented by changes in the home-building industry, which learned mass production techniques while building housing for war workers and had a large pool of demobilized GIs eager to step up to suburban living (thanks to New Deal and veterans housing programs). Before 1945, the typical contractor put up 5 or fewer houses a year; by 1959 the average was 22.[5] Today, developers typically bring more than 100 acres through the approval process at a time and spin off sections to different builders, who rarely undertake projects with fewer than 150 houses or 100 apartments because of the economics of planning, building and marketing. To simplify production, most builders offer only a handful of models, and regional or national builders might repeat the same models in several places.[6]

Since World War II suburbs have taken on a more diverse character; functions once unique to center cities began to follow their customers and labor pools outward. Industrial activities were lured by the ability to spread out in low-slung buildings on large pieces of land and the easy access to the rapidly expanding network of interstate highways. Regional shopping centers began to flourish in the suburbs in the early 1950s. In the 1970s, white-collar "back-office" functions found new homes in the suburbs as companies tapped into a new labor market: Suburbs were full of underemployed women, many of whom were well-educated, not union members and eager for a paying job.

Nevertheless, this development occurred piecemeal at best. Bankers, builders and plan-





projects like San Francisco's Golden Gateway tore out historic urban fabric (foundations of demolished buildings in foreground) and replaced it with superblocks designed in the "International style." *Emmons, architect; constructed 1965.)*

ners evolved standards that extended the framework of separated uses and hierarchical, auto-friendly traffic networks to these new types of development. Efficient land-use approval processes encouraged each commercial and residential project to be considered on its own, with little regard to the development that surrounded it. As a result, malls, offices and housing tracts simply leapfrogged to less congested areas near arterials or freeway interchanges and demonstrated little visual or spatial connection with their surroundings.

Urban renewal programs provided federal funds and legal tools for injecting these suburban approaches into cities, where architects and planners advocated tearing out "blighted" housing and industrial buildings and replacing them with modern apartment and office towers. While the ostensible rationale of these efforts was to improve urban social and economic conditions, they also cleared the way for massive infusions of capital investment by wiping out complex street, ownership and leasing patterns.

Following the ideas of architect-planners like Le Corbusier, urban renewal buildings disdained traditional urban forms and stood as isolated objects surrounded by plazas, park-like open spaces or parking lots. Cities also were reconfigured to accommodate auto traffic: Side streets and alleys were closed to create large "superblock" compounds free of cars; other streets were widened and straightened to serve as high-speed arterials. Loop and spur freeways were wrestled through central cities to pump even larger volumes of cars in and out.

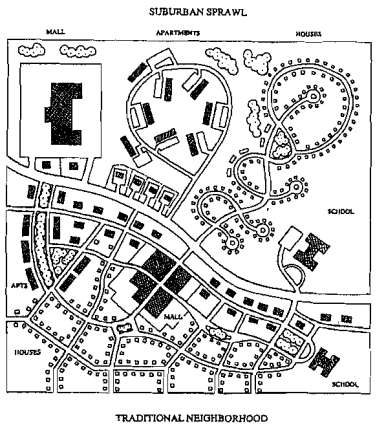
What has the last century of suburb building and city planning wrought? By and large, these efforts have accomplished what they set out to do. They have liberated many people from crowded, unhealthy living conditions. They have established a social, economic and regulatory framework that unleashed enormous amounts of metropolitan development. But the land-use and transportation patterns that emerged have created problems of their own—many of which seem even more intractable than those posed by industrial cities.

Home ownership, a cornerstone of suburban life, is out of reach for an increasing number of households. Most do not fit the archetype of working husband, housewife and two children, rendering the traditional single-family, large-lot house increasingly irrelevant. The infrastructure costs for low-density, single-family development are staggering; in northern California, where such costs can add almost $30,000 to the cost of a new house,[7] even two-income households cannot afford the ideal three-bedroom, two-bathroom, three-car-garage house on a quarter-acre lot. Compounding this is the steep cost of automobility: keeping two cars can cost upwards of $10,000 a year.[8]

Sprawled, low-density suburban development is compromising the quality of life suburbs often promise. First, more and more leisure time is being spent on commuting. A one-hour commute consumes ten hours a week; congestion and mismatched housing and job locations force some people to commute two or more hours each way. Second, reliance on cars has a devastating impact on people who cannot drive or afford them: Children cannot travel to school or organized activities unless driven by somebody; teenagers, who need cars to have independent social lives, take after-school jobs to pay for their cars, cutting into studying and social time; elderly people who lose their drivers' licenses can no longer shop, visit or see doctors. Third, while suburbs might have once offered a healthy antidote to grimy industrial cities, cars are now generating tremendous air pollution, particularly in suburban metropolises like Denver, Los Angeles and Houston. Finally, attractive rural landscapes are being lost in region after region; even John Steinbeck's storied Salinas Valley is threatened.

Most problematic is the effect suburban dispersal and urban renewal have had on civic life. Social scientists debate the extent to which physical design creates or reflects social conditions. But current metropolitan settlement patterns have clearly exacerbated social, class and racial segregation and diminished the

How low-density sprawl compares to traditional development. Diagram by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk.



importance of common ground on which people of different backgrounds and outlooks might encounter each other. They have heightened, not ameliorated, urban social and economic decline and created vivid new symbols of urban distress. By isolating people in houses and cars and by segregating households into homogeneous enclaves, the late 20th century suburban metropolis has done little to replace the urban vitality it so aggressively replaced, and little to foster desperately needed civic responsibility in our increasingly diverse society.

The New Urbanism at Work

The deceptively simple responses the New Urbanists propose to these problems are based on one, equally simple principle: Community planning and design must assert the importance of public over private values. This principle serves as a reference for making the layers of decisions involved in creating a new community–from how the design of buildings relates to the streets they face to how land-use and density patterns are coordinated with regional transit routes. These planning and design approaches are being applied with equal vigor to new communities on the suburban edge, exurban towns and inner-city infill sites:

The center of each neighborhood should be defined by a public space and activated by locally oriented civic and commercial facilities. These places should not be relegated to leftover sites at the edge of neighborhoods, and their form and image should be strengthened by surrounding building form, architecture and street patterns.

Each neighborhood should accommodate a range of household types and land uses. A neighborhood is a place for living, shopping and working. It should include building types varied enough to accommodate this range of activities and flexible enough to be easily adapted as different uses for them emerge.

Cars should be kept in perspective. Land-use patterns, street layouts and densities should make walking, bicycling and public transit viable alternatives to driving, especially for routine, everyday trips. Streets should be safe, interesting and comfortable for pedestrians. Improving traffic flow should be only one of many considerations in platting streets and designing neighborhoods.

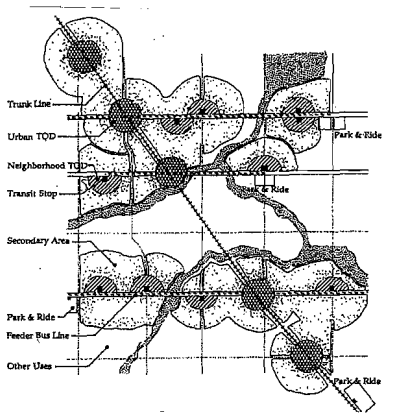
Architecture should respond to the surrounding fabric of buildings and spaces and to local traditions. Buildings should not be conceived as objects isolated from their surroundings; they should contribute to the spatial definition of streets, parks, greens, yards and other open spaces.

The New Urbanists draw upon a range of design traditions for inspiration. Their ideas about the relationships between planning and architecture reach back to the City Beautiful and Town Planning movements, which in turn reach back to Renaissance and Classical cities. Their ideas about connections between land use and transit draw on practices that shaped the development of streetcar suburbs and ideas that were advocated by regional planners in the early decades of the century.

One can even find a trace of 1920s "city efficient" and "city functional" influence in the New Urbanists' thinking. Peter Calthorpe and Andres Duany/Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, whose projects and ideas have received the most attention, implicitly acknowledge that there should be some standard increment of suburban growth and that the proper focal point of any new community should be a public space that provides a locus for civic activities, local commercial uses and a transit stop connecting the neighborhood to the region. This underlying structure, they believe, gives a perceptible sense of order and identity at a range of scales.

The basic template of Peter Calthorpe's regional plans is the "transit-oriented development" or TOD, which channels growth into

Calthorpe Associates' TOD (transit-oriented development) concept combines regional transportation and land-use strategies with detailed plans for proposed transit-oriented communities (bottom and right).



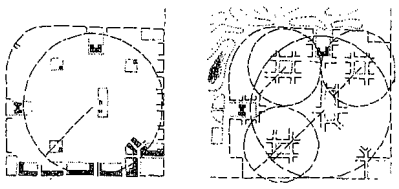
discrete nodes along light-rail and bus networks. A TOD, which is like a streetcar suburb-meets-edge city, exploits a basic relationship between transportation and land use: Put more origin and destination points within an easy walk of a transit stop and more people will use transit. Each TOD would be a dense, tightly woven community that mixes stores, housing and offices in a compact, walkable area surrounding a transit station. Calthorpe has written that in theory 2,000 homes, a million square feet of commercial space, parks, schools and day care could fit within a quarter-mile walk of the station, or about 120 acres.[9] In the same space a typical suburban developer might build just 720 single-family homes.

Closest to the station would be space for retail and service businesses, professional offices, restaurants, health clubs, cultural facilities and public uses–making jobs, goods, entertainment and services easily accessible to TOD residents and transit riders without requiring auto usage. Buildings near the center could have large floorplates to accommodate back-office and bulk retail uses. They could rise several stories, enabling a mix of commercial, office and even residential uses. And they could require less parking because of their location near transit and housing and because businesses with different peak periods (such as movie theaters and offices) can share parking.

Near the commercial area would be a mix of small-lot single-family houses, duplexes, townhouses and apartments–suitable and affordable for families, singles, empty-nesters, students and the elderly. Housing would be clustered around courtyards or parks that would link with larger public spaces, day care and recreation facilities. A final ring of development, in the quarter mile surrounding the core, would consist of single-family detached homes or larger-scale commercial enterprises. Although this sounds like typical suburban development, Calthorpe would encourage minimum average densities of 10 to 15 units per net acre (enough to support a bus line) and focus neighborhoods around shops, day-care facilities and parks.

Calthorpe's plans for Portland, Sacramento and San Diego propose a range of TODs: An "urban TOD" is located directly on a main transit route and is suitable for job-generating and high-intensity uses like offices, retail centers and high-density housing. A "neighborhood TOD," located on a feeder bus line, would have a residential and local-serving shopping focus. TODs could be located not only in new growth areas but also in infill or redevelopment sites, which could evolve from auto-oriented to pedestrian-oriented places. Rio Vista West, a TOD proposed for San Diego, incorporates a 120,000-square-foot discount retail operation.[10]

The "traditional neighborhood development" (TND) approach conceived by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (their firm is known as DPZ) and others operates at a smaller scale, includes more fine-grained regulation and varies more in response to local conditions than Calthorpe's TOD approach, but it is rooted less strongly in convictions about regional planning and the importance of transit. TND-like master plans have been proposed in a range of scenarios, from resort communities (Seaside and Windsor, Florida) to redeveloping shopping centers (Mashpee, Massachusetts) to mobile home parks (Rosa Vista, in Mesa, Arizona) to traditional suburban settings (Kentlands, in Gaithersburg, Maryland).



Architects Duany and Plater-Zyberk's TND model proposes a five-minute walk (no more than one-quarter mile) for one's daily needs and a three-minute maximum walk to neighborhood parks.

The basic building block of DPZ's community plans is the neighborhood, which is sized (from 40 to 200 acres) and configured (a radius of no more than one-quarter mile) so that most of its homes are within a three-minute walk of neighborhood parks and a five-minute walk of a central square or common. There, a meeting hall, child-care center, bus stop and convenience store are located. Each neighborhood would include a variety of housing types suitable for different household types and income groups.

In most DPZ projects, neighborhoods are nested and layered into larger units called villages or towns; what makes each community unique is that the patterns of overlapping and connection never repeat from one place to the next. Groups of neighborhoods form villages, which generally are separated from each other by greenbelts but connected by major streets. A village school might be located in a place where several neighborhoods come together. Civic and commercial uses that serve the village (such as recreational facilities or a cinema) or a broader area (such as a fire station, conference center or retirement home) often are located along main streets and next to public spaces.

A town, which might comprise several villages and neighborhoods, can include an even larger variety of commercial or institutional uses. Avalon Park, in Orlando, includes several towns that are specialized according to the regional services they provide. One contains a university campus and cultural facilities; another features a large component of office space and related services; others incorporate the retail activity associated with a regional mall and with a typical commercial strip.

An equally important characteristic of the New Urbanists' proposals is the way neighborhoods and communities are knit together. DPZ is a forceful advocate of platting neighborhoods with grid-like street patterns, as was common practice through the 1920s. Street networks with frequent connections, they argue, ease traffic congestion by providing a choice of paths for any trip, yet tame cars by requiring frequent stops. Such networks make pedestrian and bicycle movement easier by slowing auto traffic and making trips shorter than in places with hierarchical street systems; combined with requirements for mixing land uses, they could produce communities in which walking is a realistic choice for most everyday trips. Moreover, networks with intersections at regular intervals create a sense of scale and order not evident in typical subdivisions, improving one's sense of orientation.

The imagery of the grid does not imply that all streets will be designed similarly. DPZ's codes sometimes call for a dozen different types of streets–boulevards, streets, courts, roads, lanes, alleys and others–each with its own dimensions and specifications for street and sidewalk width, tree planting, on-street parking, traffic speed and pedestrian crossing time. Consequently, each street's character reflects more precisely its location and use, as opposed to the uniform, overscaled local and collector streets found in typical suburbs. Calthorpe's TOD plans often include a layer of radial streets emanating from the core. Radial streets, he argues, are efficient for pedestrians because they make the trip to the center of the community shorter. They serve as a powerful contrast to local streets, adding a civic presence and grandeur rarely found in suburbs, and they reinforce the clarity and identity of the center.

Just as important in Calthorpe's plans is the way TODs are connected to the region–each neighborhood is accessible to others and to existing communities through a network of light-rail and bus routes. No matter how walkable each neighborhood is, no matter how many shopping and job opportunities it provides, people in this highly mobile society will not live their entire lives within the confines of one community. Nowadays, suburban travel patterns resemble a tangled web, not a hub-and-spoke pattern with all trips leading to central cities and back. But when these diffuse travel patterns are spread over low-density areas, transit is impossible. By directing development

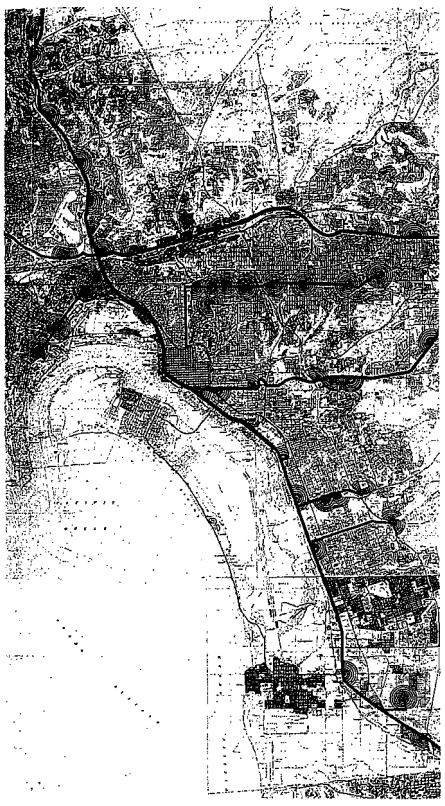
Calthorpe Associates' plan for the city of San Diego demonstrates how the TOD concept operates on several scales at once.

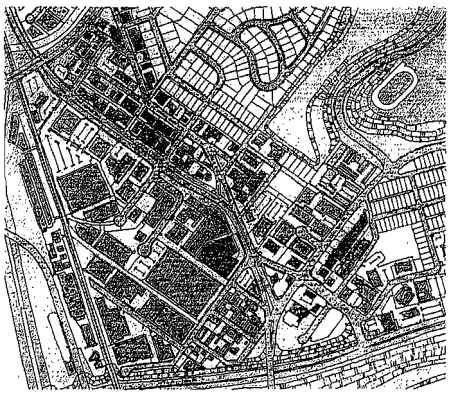
The plan starts by recognizing a proposal to expand San Diego's immensely popular light-rail line throughout the city and demonstrating how nodes of transit-oriented development can be dispersed along the network (below left).

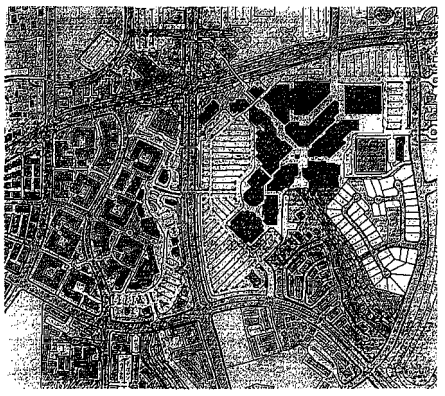
However, such development will encourage transit ridership only if there are a variety of land uses (housing, retail and employment centers) with easy pedestrian connections to transit.

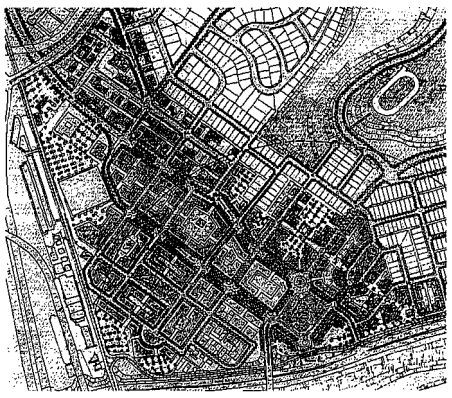
Comparative plans contrast conventional development with TOD proposals. Near Tecolote Road (center, below and bottom), parking areas, arterials and culs-de-sac would be replaced with a fine-grained street network that converges on a transit stop and an adjacent park.

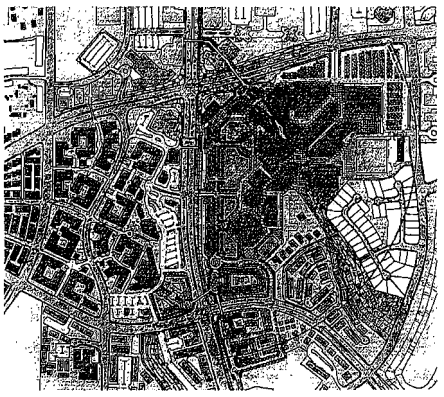
(right, below and bottom), a shopping mall parking lot is filled in to create a pedestrian environment between a transit stop and the mall.

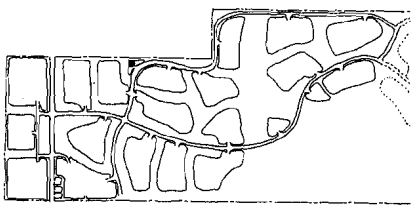


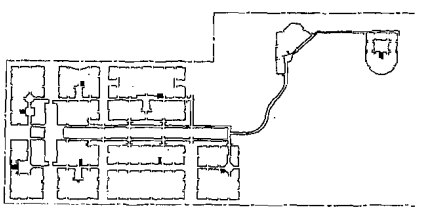






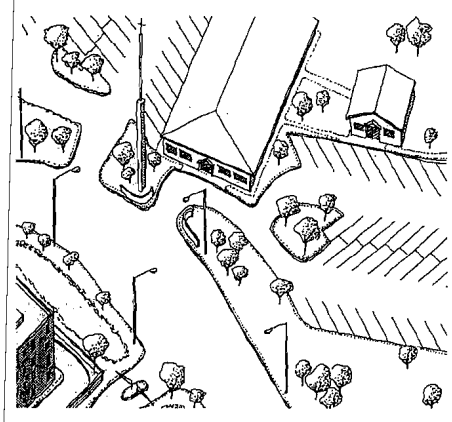


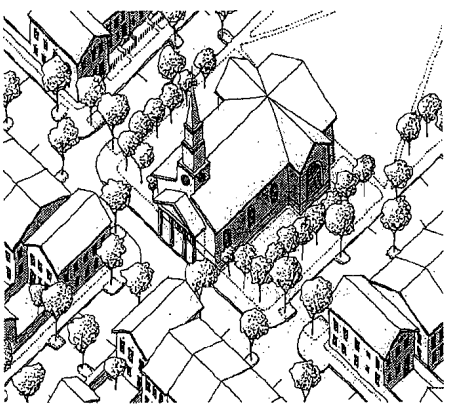




Typical suburban sprawl (left) contrasted with a New Urbanist proposal (right). The street system organizes a collection of defined neighborhoods. Churches and other civic buildings anchor community open spaces rather than float in parking lots.

Studies by Dover, Correa, Kohl, Cockshutt, Valle for Florida's Treasure Coast Regional Planning Council.





into denser nodes, the New Urbanists channel more trips into discrete corridors that could be served by transit.

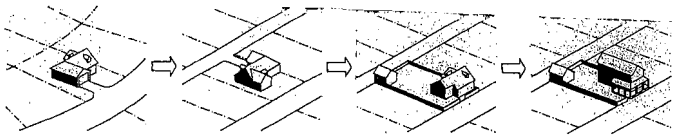
What most distinguishes the neighborhoods proposed by the New Urbanists is the importance accorded to public spaces like greens, plazas and parks. Like traditional town commons or courthouse squares, these spaces are regarded as the civic focus for neighborhoods. They are located in central, prominent places, feature local commercial uses and are often connected to major streets. Community facilities (such as day care, churches, schools or meeting rooms) are assigned special positions adjacent to these spaces, underscoring the importance both the institution and public space play in community life.

Many design strategies are used to reinforce the identity and stature of these spaces. They might be treated as figural elements; their location, shape and volume made distinct and identifiable. Buildings surrounding the space might be subject to special urban design guidelines, particularly streetwall and setback requirements that ensure they help define the volume of the space. The green in Kentlands' Old Farm neighborhood has several distinctive characteristics: adjacent to it are renovated farm buildings that convey a sense of history; lines of rowhouses and tightly arranged detached houses create enclosure on two sides; it sits at a high point in the neighborhood; and it incorporates a dramatic pre-existing stand of mature trees.

The same principles apply to street design. The New Urbanists reposition the detached house to better define the space of both the public street and private yard: A row of houses with regular setbacks can turn the street into a positive space. DPZ's codes dictate the proportion of building heights to street width, ensuring that each type of street has a distinct spatial character. In commercial and multi-family areas, buildings face public spaces such as streets and parks; parking lots are tucked behind or, if that is not possible, to the side–but not between the street and the building.

Streets also are designed to be comfortable, safe and interesting for pedestrians. At Laguna West, the main street runs perpendicular to a pre-existing six-lane regional artery so traffic, noise and pollution do not invade the central shopping and office area. Residential streets, narrower than those in most typical suburbs, slow traffic and allow for wider walkways. Trees planted in parking lanes also slow traffic and convey the sense that the street is a succession of smaller, human-scaled spaces.

The New Urbanists also pay close attention to architecture–particularly to a building's siting on its lot, massing and exterior detail–arguing that only certain types of buildings and spaces



Single-family houses are reconfigured so that they are better connected to the public life of the street and private spaces are more useable. Diagram by Dover, Correa, Kohl, Cockshutt, Valle.

can create the range of public and private spaces that successful communities require. Most suburban zoning, for example, generates houses that are suited only for nuclear families and configures open space to surround houses and isolate them from other houses and the street. These Victorian-era legacies leave few of the well-defined neighborhood gathering places that can be found throughout traditional towns and cities, and they provide housing for a decreasing proportion of American households.

The neighborhoods proposed by the New Urbanists generally include a richer mix of building types than can be found in conventional suburban neighborhoods–from sideyard houses, rowhouses, semi-detached houses, cottages, secondary units, courtyard apartments, mid-rise apartments to shopfronts and offices with apartments above. Development is controlled by designating for each lot the building type that might be put there, and setback regulations are used to create functional open spaces and a strong relationship between buildings and streets.

The most detailed level of planning found in the New Urbanists' work is architectural design guidelines. DPZ's codes are the most elaborate and tightly drawn–sometimes dictating the thickness of mortar bands between bricks. The codes, which vary from town to town and often are based on historic styles and local vernacular, can cover the design and placement of elements such as windows, garage doors, balconies and decorative columns; the selection and combination of materials; the massing and pitch of roofs; and more. These rules seem to exert an extraordinary level of control (particularly for mass-market housing) and generally reveal a tilt toward romantic and picturesque townscapes. But their purpose is to force greater attention to detail, thereby invigorating suburban architecture and imparting a greater level of civility to the streetscape.

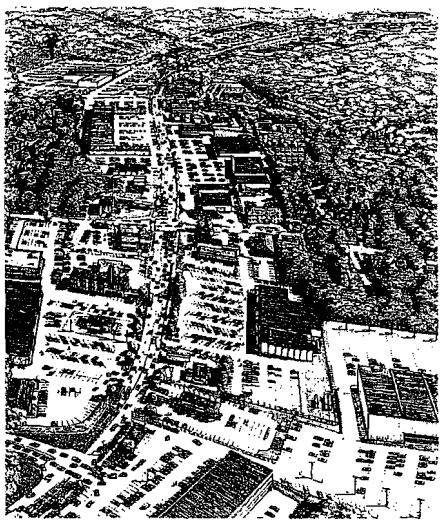
Building the New American Dream

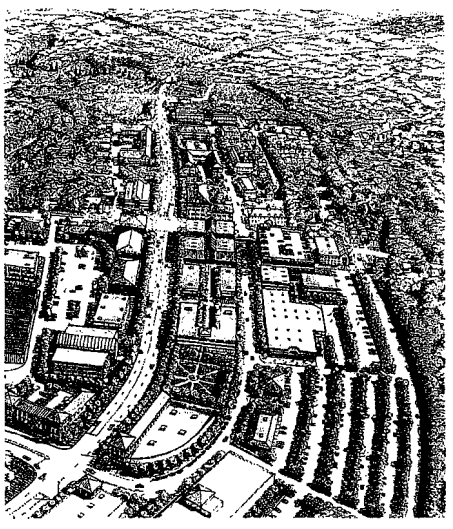
Given the enormous power that financial institutions, state highway agencies (one of them, Caltrans, has been nicknamed "the California Pentagon"), landowners and developers wield over local planning decisions, how influential will the New Urbanists be?

Remarkably, significant public sentiment is gathering behind them. In 1989, when a Gallup poll asked people what kind of place they would like to live in, 34 percent chose a small town, 24 percent a suburb, 22 percent a farm and 19 percent a city.[11] Dissatisfaction with suburban life surely contributes to this sentiment: Polls of San Francisco area residents routinely find traffic congestion and the lack of affordable housing are the most significant quality of life concerns.[12]

As unhappiness with congestion, development of sensitive lands, housing costs and air quality mounts, public agencies are being strong-armed into action. One outcome has been the unraveling of the political consensus that growth is good. Citizens routinely vote against development proposals because they expect growth will only worsen their quality of life; many communities are implementing growth controls or outright moratoria. Ironically, new development consequently occurs in ever more haphazard patterns, exacerbating these problems.

At the same time, a number of statewide and regional planning initiatives are lending credence to the New Urbanists' ideas. Air quality boards in Los Angeles and Sacramento are forcing local governments to reconsider land-use patterns that generate excessive automobile use. Washington State's tough growth management law has Seattle studying how to accommodate growth in TOD-like "urban villages" along its proposed light-rail system. Virginia's Loudoun County, responding to residents' fears that its rolling farmland would be converted into the next ring of Washington, D.C. suburbs, approved TND-style zoning that encourages traditional hamlets and villages. Recent California legislation requires localities to accommodate secondary units in some form. That state's voters have approved several local





The Regional Plan Association uses images like these to show alternative growth scenarios for the New York City metropolitan region. A commercial strip (far left) is contrasted with more compact, clustered development (left).

Duany and Plater-Zyberk relies on carefully drawn and colored renderings to convey a romantic, historicist impression of its proposals. This drawing of a proposed community in northern California (bottom) evokes the character of an Italian hill town.

tax increases to pay for building new mass transit systems, and there is talk of lining some of them with TOD-like development.

Advocacy groups are pressuring for development policies that echo New Urbanist ideas. California's Local Government Commission published a primer, *Land Use Planning for More Livable Places*, that incorporates many of these suggestions. The Regional Plan Association, a business-sponsored research and advocacy group, is urging municipalities in the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut metropolitan region to plan TOD-like "compact clusters" along regional commuter lines; one rail agency, New Jersey Transit, is studying how to promote transit-friendly development near its stations. The citizens' group 1,000 Friends of Oregon commissioned Calthorpe to develop a regional TOD plan along Portland's MAX light-rail system; similarly, The Treasure Coast Regional Planning Council asked Dover, Correa, Kohl, Cockshutt, Valle (DCKCV), a Miami-based design and planning firm, to create a regional plan based on TND principles.

The New Urbanists believe the best way to change suburban development patterns is to change the rules of the game. They have concentrated on crafting subdivision regulations, zoning codes and regional plans–and on building the consensus necessary to win grassroots and political approval for their proposals. Their success has resulted from several factors: an inclusive approach to preparing plans, unusually powerful and carefully targeted presentations, a well-honed ability to advance their proposals as straightforward solutions to difficult problems, a persistence derived from their conviction and commitment toward their ideas and a pragmatism that enables compromise.

DPZ's on-site charettes, which concentrate most of the work for a project into several days of intense activity, have proven invaluable in building community support. During a charette, the firm confers with local officials, community leaders and interest groups; stages public meetings and presentations; and calls in local architects, planners and citizens to collaborate. The focused program becomes an event, capturing attention in ways that typical planning activities never do.

The New Urbanists place an enormous importance on communicating their proposals in terms that decision makers and everyday citizens can easily grasp, and their presentations are as strong on style as on substance. Calthorpe and Duany can be charismatic and compelling public speakers. DPZ's proposals are often accompanied by captivating if overly romantic perspectives (drawn by Charles Barrett and