The New Urbanism: Critiques and Rebuttals

CLIFF ELLIS

ABSTRACT *Over the past two decades, the New Urbanism has emerged as a controversial alternative to conventional patterns of urban development. Although growing in popularity, it has received a sceptical reception in journals of planning, architecture and geography. This paper reviews criticisms of the New Urbanism and examines evidence and arguments on both sides of each issue. Critiques may be roughly divided into those involving empirical performance, ideological and cultural affinities, and aesthetic quality. While insufficient evidence exists in some cases to make final judgments, it is argued that the critical attack on the New Urbanism remains unconvincing. Much of the critical literature is flawed by the use of caricature, inadequate sampling of projects, deficient understanding of New Urbanist principles and practices, premature judgments, unrealistic expectations and ideological bias. While New Urbanists can learn from the critiques of their work, and research gaps need to be filled, the New Urbanism remains a resilient, practical and well-founded alternative to conventional land development practices.*

Introduction

In the US, the movement known as the New Urbanism or 'neotraditional planning' has emerged as an important alternative to prevailing patterns of low-density, auto-dependent land development. While there has been much support for New Urbanist ideas within the design and planning professions, a considerable amount of scepticism and even hostility remains. This paper reviews criticisms of the New Urbanism and argues that many of these criticisms are premature, exaggerated or inconclusive. The New Urbanism synthesizes a whole range of spatial patterns that are not only good urban design, but also fit in well with many other important planning goals including growth management, environmental protection and urban revitalization. This article is based on an extensive review of books and articles on the New Urbanism, along with site visits to New Urbanist projects. The opinions are my own, and are not the official positions of any New Urbanist organizations.

Terms of the Debate

In the US, the movement now known as the New Urbanism began to coalesce in the 1970s and 1980s, building on currents in urban design that aimed to emulate and modernize historic urban patterns (Ellin, 1996). The New Urbanism

Cliff Ellis, Graduate Program in Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Urban Design, University of Kansas, 1465 Jayhawk Blvd., 317 Marvin Hall, Lawrence, KA 66045-7614, USA. E-mail: cellis@ku.edu

is not a monolithic movement, and although it has acknowledged leaders, none are anointed with the power to cut off debate. The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) has produced a charter of principles (CNU, 1996, 2000), but the principles can be achieved in many different ways. There is a growing list of exemplary projects. A New Urbanist 'Lexicon' has been prepared and is being continually updated by Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company (DPZ). DPZ has also created the 'transect,' which organizes design standards into six zones ranging from rural to high-density urban (Duany & Talen, 2000). The newsletter *New Urban News* covers emerging trends and events. Lively arguments over specific design strategies characterize the movement, and members debate the merits of alternative solutions vigorously. The CNU has a number of task forces working on issues such as the environment, education, community and social equity, implementation, transportation and inner cities.

New Urbanists subscribe to definite principles which are clearly stated in the CNU Charter. By now, the list is familiar: metropolitan regions that are composed of well-structured cities, towns, and neighbourhoods with identifiable centres and edges; compact development that preserves farmland and environmentally sensitive areas; infill development to revitalize city centres; interconnected streets, friendly to pedestrians and cyclists, often in modified grid or web-like patterns; mixed land uses rather than single-use pods; discreet placement of garages and parking spaces to avoid auto-dominated landscapes; transit-oriented development (TOD); well-designed and sited civic buildings and public gathering places; the use of building and street and building typologies to create coherent urban form; high-quality parks and conservation lands used to define and connect neighbourhoods and districts; and architectural design that shows respect for local history and regional character (Katz, 1994; CNU, 2000). A recent inventory by *New Urban News* lists 252 traditional neighbourhood developments (TNDs) in the US, 124 of which were in the groundbreaking or construction phase (Steuteville, 1999a). In June 1999, *New Urban News* listed 156 New Urbanist projects as infill projects, with 'infill' defined as "located on urban sites or previously developed suburban sites" (Steuteville, 1999c, p. 1).

The debate over the New Urbanism can be broken down into three main areas: empirical performance, ideological and cultural issues, and aesthetic quality. These categories are not hermetically sealed from one another; they are interrelated. Empirical claims about the superiority of New Urbanist design with respect to trip reduction, infrastructure costs, environmental protection and housing affordability continue to be vigorously discussed. The New Urbanism has also been swept up into ideological and cultural debates about the proper role of historical patterns in city planning, the importance of a public realm that reinforces social interaction and civic virtue, the political implications of different urban forms, and the difference between false and authentic landscapes. These issues are contentious and not resolvable by statistical studies. Aesthetic controversies also evade any simple empirical tests.

The Critique of Sprawl

Controversies over the New Urbanism form one component of the current debate over growth management, compact development or 'smart growth', but the debates are not coterminous. New Urbanist projects will continue to be built whether smart growth becomes a widespread state policy or not. The debate

over urban sprawl has generated a huge literature (Myers & Kitsuse, 1999). Critiques of sprawl are found in Krieger (1991), Solomon (1992), Calthorpe (1993), Kelly (1993), Kunstler (1993, 1996), Langdon (1994), Bank of America (1995), Barnett (1995) Nelson & Duncan (1995), Ewing (1996, 1997a), Yaro & Hiss (1996); Moe & Wilkie (1997) Benfield *et al.* (1999), Daniels (1999), Rusk (1999), and Duany *et al.* (2000). Defences of conventional suburban development may be found in Gordon & Richardson (1996, 1997, 1998), Wells Fargo Bank (1996), Cox (1999), Staley (1999), and a host of articles and editorials in the popular press. The contentious debate over 'the compact city' has been reviewed in an edited collection by Jenks *et al.* (1996).

The defence of sprawl has been spearheaded by a cohort of 'free-market' analysts working for conservative or libertarian think tanks, along with some academics (Conte, 2000). The ideology underlying this position is open to theoretical challenge. As Sternberg (2000) has effectively argued, *laissez faire* cannot provide an adequate foundation for urban design, which is inherently public and integrative. Free-market enthusiasts reject meaningful urban and regional planning. Their arguments are characterized by an endemic short-term economic logic, a historical analyses of urban problems, blindness to the distortions caused by concentrations of private power, and excessive faith in the virtues of markets without a corresponding sense of their limits (Feldman, 1987; Kuttner, 1997). Neoclassical economics is presented as a neutral methodology, when it actually prescribes a political theory favouring individual self-interest and consumerism over public-spirited behaviour and deliberative political choices (Waligorski, 1990; Haworth, 1994). Free marketeers describe a world consisting only of consumers and taxpayers, not citizens concerned with the common good and the long-term public interest (Sagoff, 1981; Beiner, 1992; Sandel, 1996). They offer few criteria to distinguish transitory objects of popular consumption from artefacts of enduring, intrinsic worth. As a substitute for a sustained exploration of standards of beauty and fitness in urban design, these critics offer an uncritical ratification of whatever today's consumers happen to be buying, within the current array of incentives and social beliefs, however distorted.

Advocates of sprawl defend extreme automobile dependency in questionable ways. The role that 70 years of distorted public policies have played in creating and subsidizing automobile infrastructure is frequently ignored (Yago, 1984; St. Clair, 1986; Pucher, 1988). Estimates of total subsidies for the automobile in the US range from 500 billion dollars to one trillion dollars per year (Bernick & Cervero, 1997, p. 64). The attack on transit uses aggregate statistics to argue that the share of trips on transit is so small that we do not need to take transit seriously as a structuring element in urban design. Data from areas that have no transit or a low-quality transit service make transit's fortunes look hopeless. However, transit can be successful when located properly, managed well, and supported by favourable land-use patterns (Jones, 1985; Cervero, 1998; Weyrich & Lind, 1999). Misguided policies can gradually be changed and a more reasonable modal split achieved (Newman & Kenworthy, 1999).

Transit investments are long-term, intergenerational, city-shaping investments that may not produce quick results (Bernick & Cervero, 1997). Merely building transit lines will not catalyse high-density mixed-use development around stations (Landis & Cervero, 1999; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 2000). However, when properly planned, they can form the armature for more efficient,
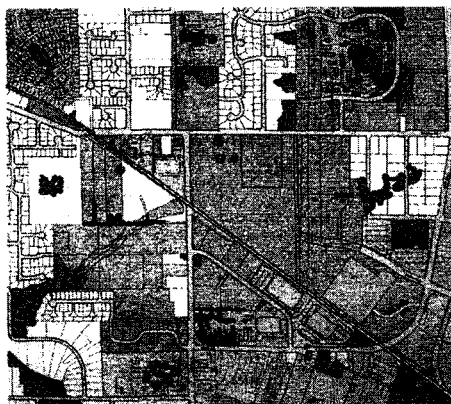
Figure 1. Auto-dependent, suburban sprawl landscape. *Source*: Calthorpe Associates.
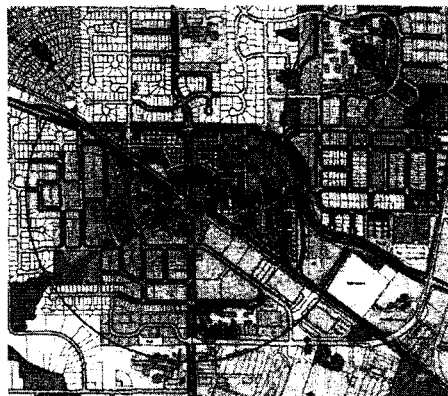
Figure 2. Transit-oriented development (TOD). *Source:* Calthorpe Associates.

equitable and sustainable urban regions. Cervero (1998) provides numerous examples of this from around the world. Calthorpe (1993) has provided the template for a more transit-oriented metropolis based on New Urbanist principles (Figures 1 and 2), and even a sceptic like Downs states that Calthorpe's "TODs could certainly be used to accommodate a significant share of suburban growth—much more than is being similarly handled now" (Downs, 1994, p. 227). Efforts to achieve a more balanced transportation system based on New Urbanist principles are currently blocked by a lack of political will and the inertia of existing policies, building practices and built form. Land-use separation and low densities are locked into zoning ordinances, mortgage financing requirements and professional design standards. Travel behaviour could gradually change if: auto subsidies were reduced; public policies and investments were shifted toward transit, bicycle and pedestrian modes; and positive land-use/transportation synergies were pursued (Schaeffer & Sclar, 1980). A wider range of transportation and housing choices could be offered (Levine, 1999).

At the scale of street design within districts and neighbourhoods, there is considerable evidence that New Urbanist street patterns and land-use mixtures offer many advantages, especially for pedestrians and cyclists (Figures 3 and 4). Walter Kulash has argued persuasively that traditional neighbourhood development traffic systems perform better than the sparse branched patterns of suburbia, both as traffic systems and with respect to the quality of the travel experience (Kulash, 1990). McNally & Ryan (1995) and Morris & Kaufman (1988) also found that New Urbanist designs can improve system performance. The virtues of interconnected pathways for pedestrians have long been established (Southworth & Ben-Joseph, 1997; Salingaros, 1998). Recent work by John Holtzclaw indicates that higher densities and mixed uses can produce significantly lower vehicle miles travelled (VMT) (Holtzdaw, 1997). It is true that some studies on this topic have produced rather inconclusive results (Handy, 1992; Berman, 1996; Crane, 1996a, b). Also, as Cervero & Gorham point out, the benefits of New Urbanist street patterns for the reduction of automobile commuting can be overwhelmed if the New Urbanist communities are just islands

Figure 3. A wide suburban street with no sidewalks, designed on the assumption that little or no walking will occur. Saratoga Country, New York.

Figure 4. Pedestrian pathway in Kentlands, Gaithersburg, Maryland. *Source*: Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company.

in a "sea of freeway-oriented suburbs" (1995, p. 222). Thus, regional approaches to land-use and transportation planning will be required to fully reap the advantages of New Urbanist designs. In his comprehensive review of literature on the link between land use and transportation, Kelly (1994, p. 143) correctly concludes that planners are justified in pursuing "a reduction of the automobile dependence of cities" using an array of growth management, land-use planning, and urban design strategies. Ewing (1996, 1997b) provides a useful catalogue of such techniques.

The issue of traffic congestion must be placed in proper perspective. There are no simple solutions (Downs, 1992, 1994, 1999), and New Urbanism will not abolish traffic congestion. But all congestion is not equal. San Francisco and Paris have congestion, but the streets are alive, the quality of life is high, and alternatives to driving are plentiful. As many New Urbanists have pointed out, the worst-case scenario is really congestion in the suburbs, where the landscape is openly hostile to pedestrians and transit service is minimal. Crowded suburban arterials awash in strip malls, collector streets framed by blank privacy walls, and cul-de-sacs lined with garage doors are the current alternatives to New Urbanism in the real world of suburban land development (Solomon, 1992; Langdon, 1994). Such places are universally recognized as examples of poor urban design (Moudon, 1987), and New Urbanism is on solid ground in advocating alternatives.

Critics of compact development cite national statistics on the conversion of rural land to urban uses to argue that we do not need to worry about the preservation of farmland and open space since only 5% of the US land mass is urbanized (Gordon & Richardson, 1997). This argument is quite misleading. A major goal of growth management and farmland protection efforts is to preserve productive farmlands and sensitive environmental areas that are in close proximity to metropolitan areas, in order to shape a preferred regional landscape, one that includes well-defined towns embedded within working farms and conservation areas. If citizens of Maryland, Pennsylvania or New Jersey want to preserve such landscapes in proximity to their cities, that is a wise choice. The open spaces of Montana, Nevada and Nebraska are of no use in this regard.

Figure 5. Belle Hall Study: Sprawl Scenario, showing consumption of environmentally sensitive land by large lots. *Source*: Dover Kohl.

Figure 6. Belle Hall Study: Town Scenario, showing open space preserved by compact town design. *Source*: Dover Kohl.

Convincing and well-documented arguments for farmland and open-space protection are plentiful (Steiner & Theilacker, 1984; Nelson, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995; Daniels & Bowers, 1997; Daniels, 1999).

The New Urbanism also holds the potential for significant environmental benefits, although more research on this topic is needed. More compact development patterns, combined with infill strategies, make it easier to conserve sensitive environmental areas (Figures 5 and 6) (Arendt, 1994; Hough, 1995; South Carolina Coastal Conservation League, 1995; Dramstad *et al.*, 1996; Beatley & Manning, 1997; Allen, 1999). With respect to some environmental variables, such as stormwater runoff, it is true that New Urbanist designs do not automatically produce large environmental benefits. They must incorporate 'green engineering' techniques to do so. But this is feasible, and the encouraging results have been documented in a series of studies by Patrick Condon and his colleagues at the University of British Columbia (Condon, 1996; Condon & Teed, 1998; Condon & Proft, 1999). While the environmental claims for compact development have been challenged (Audirac *et al.*, 1990; Jenks *et al.*, 1996), the preponderance of the evidence indicates that New Urbanist designs can play a role in reducing wasteful land consumption and the negative environmental impacts of auto-dependent sprawl.

An Exercise in Nostalgia?

The term 'nostalgia' appears in almost every discussion of the New Urbanism (Ingersoll, 1989; Rybczynski, 1995; Landecker, 1996; Huxtable, 1997). It has become a preferred term of derision, suggesting an escapist desire to return to a less complex state in an imaginary past, a falsification of history, a failure to confront reality (Davis, 1979; Stewart, 1988). Unfortunately, this critique is rarely developed in any detail. It is a label rather than a coherent argument.

One could defend nostalgia directly along the lines pursued by Lears (1998), who suggests that it is legitimate to feel distress and alienation when attachments to valued places are severed. Jencks (1990, p. 213) points out that
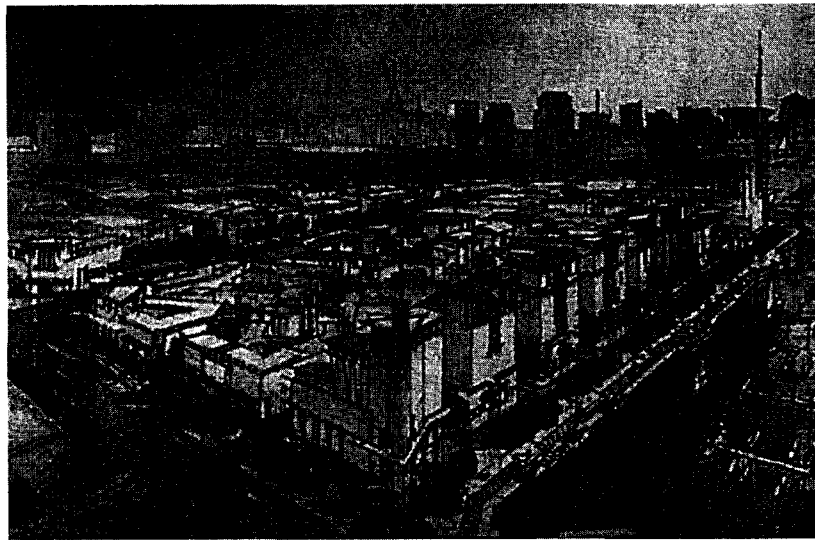
Figure 7. Plan for Liberty Harbor North, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Source: Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company.

nostalgia can serve transformative as well as conservative impulses. Remembrance can provide a reservoir of ideas, images and alternatives that keeps our belief in a better future alive (Harper, 1966; Lears, 1981; Wilson, 1997). Jon Caulfield has argued that "affection for old urban forms may be rooted in longing, not for a flight into the past, but for a subjectively effective present, in a desire, not for routine, but to escape routine—a routine of placeless sprawl and monofunctional instrumentality" (1994, p. 139). Baum (1999) argues that community planning processes must balance respect for the past with realistic assessments of what is possible in the future. This is precisely the issue. Critics claim that New Urbanists want to return to a fantasy of small-town life, a false past purged of all its unpleasant elements and patterns of domination and exclusion, an illusory world of the imagination.

This is undoubtedly a caricature of the New Urbanism. Useful as a polemical tactic, it bears little relation to the reality of New Urbanist theory and practice. New Urbanism is applicable at all scales, from high-density Manhattan neighbourhoods to hamlets in the countryside. This is fully elaborated in the New Urbanist Transect. DPZ's Liberty Harbor North project in Jersey City, New Jersey is designed to have densities ranging from 100 to 160 gross dwellings per acre, with buildings of 16 and 32 stories, and two light rail stations (Figure 7) (Steuteville, 1999b). In New Urbanist theory, urban neighbourhoods, districts and corridors are just as important as the small-town model. The New Urbanism has long since moved beyond its first greenfield projects into a wide range of inner-city infill developments at unmistakably urban densities. Dan Solomon is one of the founding New Urbanists; his reflections in *Rebuilding* (Solomon, 1992) are based on urban models, and he designs urban projects in San Francisco.

'Nostalgia' has become a compromised term that obscures rather than illuminates. A more appropriate concept would be *'respect for traditional urbanism and civic life'*. This does not involve any quixotic attempt to recapture an imaginary past (Lowenthal, 1985). Rather, New Urbanism emulates—and modernizes,

where necessary—selected historical patterns that are consistent with life in the world of today. New Urbanist projects use the latest construction methods, accommodate automobiles, incorporate advanced communications technologies, provide live-work dwellings, and actually match better with emerging demographic and economic trends (an ageing population, smaller households, home businesses) than monofunctional sprawl sub-divisions (Henton & Walesh, 1998). As Margaret Soltan has observed, "There are reasons why cities like Rome and Paris sit squarely in the middle of a nearly universal fantasy of American suburbanites, and they have little to do with ignorant nostalgia and a great deal to do with the glorious reality of daily life in richly textured, humanly alive, walkable cities" (Soltan, 1996, p. 254).

Extracting the lessons of great urban places and adapting them to modern contexts is a respected and well-tested practice in urban design (Gombrich, 1965; Alexander *et al.*, 1977; Jacobs, 1993; Hale, 1994; Kunstler, 1996). While this can be taken to extremes, it is far from clear that New Urbanists have done so. New Urbanists do not support the return of the racial, economic, or gender inequalities of earlier times. Nor is there praise for the *insularity* of 19th-century small towns or neighbourhoods. New Urbanists fully expect the residents of their developments to live ungated, cosmopolitan lives, accessing cultural resources and social networks throughout the metropolis and the world. In short, the claim that New Urbanism is 'nostalgic' remains a debating manoeuvre rather than a serious argument.

## The New Urbanism and the Modern World

Critics frequently argue that the New Urbanism ignores the social and economic realities of the modern world. In this view, the automobile, cheap energy, computers, telecommunications, new building technologies, multi-national corporations, and globalized trading spheres have rendered the city-building practices of the past irrelevant. People have become irreversibly mobile, footloose and individualistic. They prefer privacy over community, spatial separation over contiguity, convenience over craftsmanship, and dispersed social networks over traditional neighbourhoods. In short, the very constitution of 'urban space' has changed. Supposedly, sprawling conurbations can match these preferences, but New Urbanist landscapes cannot. According to these critics, the New Urbanism uses a template more suitable for a "Mediterranean fishing village social organization" than for our "increasingly solitary, fractured and private way of life" (Sudjic, 1992, pp. 282–284). New Urbanists are said to "completely ignore contemporary conditions of population, commerce, and transportation" (Safdie, 1997, p. 89).

Once again, a closer examination of New Urbanist theory and practice reveals this to be a caricature. The connection between urban design and emerging demographic, economic and technological changes is discussed frequently on New Urbanist e-mail lists, at conferences, and in recent books (Duany *et al.*, 2000). New Urbanists are aware of global restructuring, social transformations, and the dynamics of the land development process under late capitalism, but they are not in a position to single-handedly rearrange those structural variables. However, it is possible to build better rather than worse urban fabric at the present time. The vocabulary of Seaside is not an adequate response to the
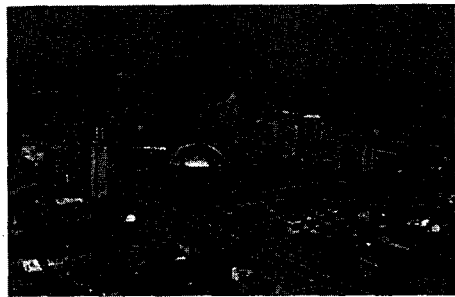
Figure 8. The Hill District, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, before the construction of Crawford Square. *Source*: Urban Design Associates.
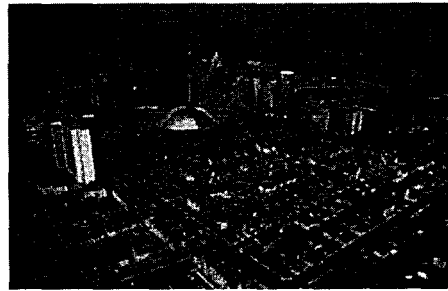
Figure 9. Crawford Square: mixed-income, affordable housing in the inner city. *Source*: Urban Design Associates.

problems of Manhattan, Hong Kong or Mexico City, but New Urbanists do not claim that it is. They understand context, and design accordingly.

The typology of neighbourhood, district and corridor allows for the full range of urban functions. 'The District' is included specifically to accommodate land uses such as airports, heavy industry and other activities requiring highly specialized planning. From the critical literature, you would never guess that many leading New Urbanists live in large cities such as San Francisco, Miami, Los Angeles and New York City, and study their urban structure on a daily basis. New Urbanists are not naïve about the complexity of large cities. Biddulph (2000, p. 77) repeats Southworth's (1997, p. 43) remark that "there is little urbanity in the New Urbanism", a judgment based on an analysis of two early developments, Kentlands and Laguna West. But these two places *are* moderate-density projects embedded within a suburban landscape. It makes no sense to pass judgment on the 'urbanity' of the New Urbanism using this small sample. Other New Urbanist projects are more 'urban' in nature (Figures 8 and 9) (e.g. Liberty Harbor North, Crawford Square, Downcity Providence, Anton Nelessen's downtown plan for Milwaukee), and more are on the way.

There are significant questions about the compatibility of large-scale commercial land uses and employment centres with New Urbanist communities (Ehrenhalt, 1996). In particular, big-box retail enterprises and megastores are usually out of scale with pedestrian-oriented neighbourhoods. The issue of megastore monopolization transcends the scope of any design theory (Shils, 1997), but in typically pragmatic fashion, New Urbanists have already produced strategies for handling large stores and locating them where their damage can be minimized (*New Urban News*, 2000). Similarly, innovative concepts for mixed-use regional shopping centres have been devised, as in DPZ's plan for Avalon Park (Barnett, 1995, p. 30) and the shopping-mall redevelopment plans produced by Dover Kohl (Figures 10, 11 and 12). The implications of e-commerce and other emerging developments are frequent topics of discussion among New Urbanists. Robbins (1998) argues that small stores within New Urbanist neighbourhoods are unlikely to survive. But while the commercial components of New Urbanist projects have been the most difficult elements to complete, this may be just a time lag rather than an insoluble problem. New Urbanists are tracking the fate
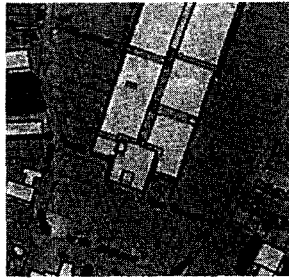
Figure 10. Eastgate Mall Redevelopment Plan: existing conditions. *Source:* Dover Kohl.

Figure 11. Changes feasible within two or three decades. *Source:* Dover Kohl.

Figure 12. Long-term transformation of the mall into a town centre. *Source:* Dover Kohl.

of 'Main Street retail', learning from experience, and modifying designs as required (*New Urban News*, 2000).

Market Acceptance and the Popularity of Sprawl

Critics have asked: If the spatial patterns advocated by the New Urbanism are so good, then why didn't they triumph long ago in the marketplace? Developers are smart people, and presumably they would have provided New Urbanism in response to demand. In theory, real-estate markets are exquisitely sensitive to consumer choice. The absence of traditional patterns in the post World War II landscape shows that New Urbanism is not what the customers want (Audirac *et al.*, 1990).

This superficially persuasive argument obscures a more complicated story. Since World War II, low-density auto-dependent urban form has been heavily subsidized by the US government (Jackson, 1985), aggressively marketed as the highest rung on the ladder of life (Perin, 1977), and endorsed as the only modern alternative by professional land planners, transportation planners and developers (Fishman, 1987; Rowe, 1991; Albrecht, 1995; Hise, 1997; Southworth & Ben-Joseph, 1997). In contrast, New Urbanist development patterns have been illegal for more than half a century.

Central cities were neglected during the Depression and World War II. After the war, government resources were directed toward the thorough 'motorization' of American cities (St Clair, 1986; Kay, 1997), which accelerated the auto-dependent suburbanization which had begun decades before. Modernist architects and planners discarded traditional models, and portrayed a future city that seemed to be all benefits and no costs (Meickle, 1979; Holston, 1989; Ellis, 1996; Gold, 1997). The advertising of private corporations amplified these images and romanticized the car, the freeway and all of the commodities that trailed in their wake. This assault on traditional urban form was quite successful (Relph, 1987).

Understandably, those able to move fled the bad schools, sinking property values, overcrowded tenements, street crime, traffic jams and declining urban services of the central city. Racial tension and White flight provided an additional push (Massey & Denton, 1993; Thomas, 1997; Suarez, 1999). But this kind

of exodus is hardly a blanket justification for sprawl development patterns (Bourne, 1992; Shore, 1995). First, a better suburban model could have been used, one that *also* would have provided large numbers of single-family homes, but organized into a coherent urbanism with walkable streets and a good transit service. The New Urbanism provides that model. Second, the abandonment of the inner city was exacerbated by both public policies (freeway construction, urban renewal, public housing, anti-annexation laws, property taxation formulas) and private actions (e.g. red-lining by banks, blockbusting, neglect of properties by absentee landlords). Subsequently, suburbanites have dissociated themselves from the plight of the inner city. They are unwilling to make any short-term sacrifices in order to solve stubborn, long-term urban problems (Downs, 1994).

As a nation, the US could have chosen to deal with its urban problems rather then just fleeing from them (Wolfe, 1981). If we had, then the terms of debate would be different today, and the polarization between suburb and city less intense (Orfield, 1997; Rusk, 1999). Now, at least two generations of Americans have a tenuous grasp of what a high-quality urban life might be. Even *moderate* densities of 10–15 dwelling units per acre are viewed as an invitation to social pathology, in spite of all evidence to the contrary. It is extremely difficult to introduce new modes of urban design in the face of such powerful social currents. However, this is not an argument that we should not try.

It is not true that all Americans prefer the suburban sprawl model. In a 1995 survey of American homebuyers, discussed in Bookout (1997), two-thirds of the respondents were critical of the suburbs as they now exist, although only 20.8% were clearly in favour of New Urbanist alternatives. Another 48.4% liked the basic New Urbanist concept, but had reservations about the higher densities. Even Audirac (1999), a critic of New Urbanism, recently found that about 30% of the participants in a Florida state-wide consumer survey were favourably inclined to trade-off living on a smaller lot for pedestrian proximity to amenities such as open space and parks, shopping, jobs or employment, and community centres. Anton Nelessen's Visual Preference Surveys consistently reveal strong preferences for well-designed traditional neighborhoods (Nelessen, 1994), and Nasar's work on the evaluative image of the city also documents affinities for many patterns typical of New Urbanism (Nasar, 1998). In some instances, conventional market analysis has seriously underestimated the demand for New Urbanist projects, as in the case of Park DuValle in Louisville, Kentucky (*New Urban News*, 2000, p. 2). In short, there is considerable demand for the New Urbanist option—probably somewhere between 25 and 40% of the market—which is not being met by conventional suburban development. However, supply continues to be constrained by obstructive zoning codes, 'not-in-my-backyard, (NIMBY) opposition, developers' unfamiliarity with New Urbanist designs, and the conservatism of financial institutions. Gradually, as these obstacles are rolled back, the New Urbanism's true market potential will be tested. It promises to be far larger than the 'niche 'market' predicted by critics (Gordon & Richardson, 1998).

Political Affinities of the New Urbanism

The very fact that the New Urbanism has reached back into the past for urban patterns suggests an inherent conservatism. The link between some New

Urbanists and the aesthetic crusades of the Prince of Wales has reinforced this association (Jencks, 1988; HRH The Prince of Wales, 1989; Papadakis, 1989). For some architects, the original emancipatory promises of the Modern Movement still resonate and, by inference, those who value traditional forms are seen as purveyors of reaction or, at best, a complacent bourgeois quietism (Foster, 1984; Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996).

A number of critics, most located in academic geography departments, have associated the New Urbanism with reactionary politics, social exclusion, and the invention of new varieties of Foucauldian panopticism, 'totalization' and disciplinary space (Till, 1993; McCann, 1995; Falconer Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997; Dowling, 1998). David Harvey (1997) has warned New Urbanists about falling into 'the communitarian trap' of complicity with the current capitalist order, and Marcuse (2000) claims that New Urbanism will be harmful for disadvantaged groups in the inner city.

New Urbanists should certainly be self-reflective about the social and political implications of their work. But the postmodern critiques are quite exaggerated, if not slightly paranoid, and suffer from abstruse jargon, anecdotal evidence and a poor grasp of contemporary architectural and planning realities. In their attack on Seaside, Falconer Al-Hindi & Staddon write that "... under the guise of creating an emancipatory urban landscape, neotraditionalism functions as an expression of new and complex articulations between currently hegemonic class fractions and a rather chiliastic habitus of urban social practices ..." (1997, p. 350). Attractive design features, such as centrally located public buildings and pedestrian pathways surrounded by houses with porches, are construed as disturbing examples of panoptic surveillance and repressive control.

These analyses are driven by their own theoretical presuppositions far more than by any careful analysis of New Urbanist communities, and the underlying post-structuralist theories are themselves seriously flawed (Callinicos, 1989; MacIntyre, 1990; Argyros, 1991; Bhaskar, 1994; Eagleton, 1996; Beiner, 1997; Rapp, 1998). The critiques are not based upon a representative sample of New Urbanist projects (i.e. inner-city examples are usually ignored) or careful studies of how these communities actually function. They also overlook the possibility that modernism is the real 'architecture of domination', while movements that respect local context are actually *more* consistent with socially progressive urban policies (Ley & Mills, 1993; Dunham-Jones, 1997).

Political theorist Ronald Beiner has posed a fundamental question for postmodern political theorists, and it also applies to postmodern critics of the New Urbanism:

> Given the conditions of modern social life, one wonders whether philosophers should be opting for a radical-sounding rhetoric that, as it were, spins the dials all the more; one wonders whether it doesn't make more sense, instead, to opt for a rhetoric that accentuates patterns of coherence in what is already a highly fragmented, precarious, and easily destabilized mode of existence. Living as we do a postmodern *life*, it might be thought that we need least of all a postmodern *philosophy* that can only help to destabilize further the often chaotic jumble of contemporary social relations. (Beiner, 1997, p. 61, original emphasis)

Similarly, critics offer no convincing arguments for embracing a postmodern urbanism that heightens the fragmentation that already pervades our urban landscapes. Urban designers do not need to discard all codes just because some of them can be used improperly. All codes are not repressive, and some codes are better than others (Beiner, 1997, p. 67). The task is to find the best codes, the right balance of constraint and freedom, not to dispense with codes altogether. Andrés Duany has captured the New Urbanism's dilemma quite accurately in the following statement: "... the architectural world thinks that all of this is conservative; the development industry thinks it is radical to the danger point, courting the bankruptcy of the developer, and even endangering the entire industry. These are the two worlds and the two critiques that we are straddling" (*Harvard Design Magazine*, 1997, p. 52).

New Urbanism is practice based, not a purely theoretical or academic enterprise. The focus is on building exemplars and changing obstructive policies. Academics may wish to argue for structural changes in the capitalist system, or conversely for even more unleashing of the market's creative destruction, but as practising urban designers New Urbanists must tack more toward the political centre, where at least some high-quality projects can be completed. The alternative is to become mired in the swamp of unbuildable paper architecture and theorizing unconnected with implementation.

The foundations of the New Urbanism in political theory remain to be fully articulated. There are clearly some affinities for theories that argue for a civic ethos to counterbalance the rootless consumerism and 'hyperlibertarianism' of modern society. Philip Bess has produced a string of notable essays articulating the importance of civic life and the public realm that sustains communal bonds (Bess, 1996/1997, 2000). Both theories of communitarianism (Etzioni, 1995, 1996; Mulhall & Swift, 1996) and of what might more properly be called theories of 'republican community' (Arendt, 1958; MacIntyre, 1984; Lasch, 1991, 1995; Beiner, 1992; Howell, 1993; Sandel, 1996) mirror the New Urbanism's attempt to balance individual choice with public responsibilities. The politics of the New Urbanism is a topic that awaits further study, but currently the movement seems to be a kind of eclectic meeting ground for people of varied political persuasions. It will continue to embrace people who differ on many issues of public policy, but who as planners and designers share a desire to create landscapes where a more public-spirited life is at least possible.

Architectural Mediocrity

Evaluations of the New Urbanism in the architectural press have been harsh. As one critic put it, "for most architects, this increasingly popular movement remains either an enigma or a public relations coup" (Kaliski, 1996/97, p. 69). New Urbanism is frequently dismissed as 'kitsch'. New Urbanist codes are viewed as a kind of aesthetic quicksand, pulling architects back into the past, denying both historical change and individual inspiration (Huxtable, 1997). Peter Rowe suggests that New Urbanist designs may prove to be "potentially culturally calcifying and class-bound", and that they "run a rather high risk of being historicist, in the sense of not belonging to this day and age" (Rowe, 1997, p. 224).

It is true that New Urbanist architects have not produced a stream of dramatic individual buildings, and the architectural quality of New Urbanist communities has been uneven. Certainly, some New Urbanists would welcome more experimentation with modern or postmodern architectural styles. But the use of the 'kitsch' label is an epithet, not an argument. Clearly, academic schools of architecture are hostile to virtually all traditional building, and find the various permutations of modernism, neomodernism, postmodernism and deconstructionism to be the only suitable styles for our age. But this visceral antipathy for tradition has only had the effect of separating architecture more and more from the public it is supposed to serve, and cutting off the avant-garde almost completely from the vast domain of production building in the US. This is an unfortunate deflection of design talent away from the most pressing issues of the day (Larson, 1983, 1993; Clarke, 1984, 1994).

In general, New Urbanists do draw upon traditional local vernaculars in search of an authentic, not merely manufactured, sense of place (Hough, 1990; Kelbaugh, 1997). Serious accurate historical research into vernacular and regional forms is often conducted, leading to the preparation of codes, pattern books and building typologies. This bears some resemblance to Frampton's (1983) notion of 'critical regionalism'. Only from the perspective of what Vincent Scully called "the *Zeitgeist* cant of the German modernists" (Portoghesi, 1980, p. viii) is this an illicit move. It is often the only *possible* move in the real world of land development, where homebuyers expect houses to look like houses, not mathematical puzzles. Urban design is different from painting and sculpture. It is thoroughly entangled with both practical functions and social meanings (Lang, 1994; Harries, 1997). Therefore, it is legitimate for the polity to set some ground rules for urban design. While there are appropriate times for rule-breaking and virtuoso performances, a decent urban landscape cannot be assembled entirely from transgressions, stabs at novelty and personal whims (Mann, 1985; Kolb, 1990; Jackson, 1995).

In any case, the central focus of New Urbanism is not 'style', but rather the spatial structure of beautiful cities and towns. As Dan Solomon has emphasized, "the biggest and most important, most thoroughly lost and forgotten lesson about town building" is that *"buildings alone don't matter; it is only the ensemble of streets, lots, and buildings, and the way they fit together that comprise the basis of town making"* (Solomon, 1992, p. 46, original emphasis). New Urbanism is not itself an architectural style, and can make use of virtually all extant architectural styles, depending on the context. Buildings designed in a modern idiom can be placed within a traditional pattern of streets and public spaces, as is occurring in the rebuilding of Berlin (Ladd, 1997; *INFO BOX*, 1998).

Modernism failed most egregiously in the domain of *urbanism*, the arrangement of buildings, streets and public spaces (Brolin, 1976; Blake, 1977; Porphyrios, 1984; Colquhoun, 1985; Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987; Krier, 1998). In Jonathan Hale's apt assessment, "The architects who created Modernism had continued to produce one masterpiece after another, but Modernism had not been able to produce an average street that came alive" (Hale, 1994, p. 136). New Urbanists acknowledge that there is a place for the great, free-standing, sculptural object: the architectural masterpiece. These are frequently museums, churches, libraries, cultural centres and other commissions of special civic importance. Places for such 'front-page architecture' (Danes, 1999) can be reserved in New Urbanist projects. In fact, it is a principle of the New Urbanism

ıtic
ies
er-
he
of
us
ıc-
or
ım
ıst
an
he

in
·0;
e-
·n
's
ıt
0,
d
ıt
ə.
;s
ıt
ır
e
s

e
·,
ı
f
ı
ı

,
ı
ə

·

·

·

Figure 13. Background buildings frame a beautiful public space. *Source*: Dover Kohl.

that such buildings should be given the most important sites. But this leaves us with the task of shaping the rest of the city, the background formed by the vast majority of everyday buildings (Figure 13) (Scruton, 1999). As David Clarke put it: "People don't want the *best* architecture, existing in some Platonic noösphere; they want *good* architecture, everywhere" (Clarke, 1994, p. 169, original emphasis).

Andrés Duany has trenchantly argued that it makes no sense to throw away all of our town-planning traditions in the vain hope that a few architectural masterpieces will result. This has produced "an appalling win-loss ratio", with hundreds of disasters littering the landscape for every masterpiece produced. Emulation of well-tested traditional forms is much more likely to generate consistent success. This is the purpose of the urban codes and architectural codes that characterize all New Urbanist developments.

The architectural code for a New Urbanist project can be either loose or tight, depending on the context. The urban codes leave room for a considerable range of architectural expression while preserving the essential elements of civic design. If a particular community wants more 'everyday urbanism' (Chase *et al.*, 1999), then regulations can be relaxed. New Urbanist projects have been and will continue to be planned so that the individual buildings that fill in the urban pattern are designed by many different architects, creating exactly the kind of interesting variations characteristic of older neighbourhoods from the era when building was done in small increments.

A well-designed architectural code can actually be a spur to creativity. For example, prohibiting façades composed of garage doors forces designers to find a different way to integrate the garage into the house, without showing disrespect for the public realm. *Boston Globe* architectural critic Robert Campbell put this best when he said, apropos of architects who resent New Urbanist codes: "Of course you need to have rules. It's like saying, I'd have a great shot in tennis, if it weren't for that net and those lines" (Comitta, 1999, p. 13)

The debate over the New Urbanism would benefit from less obsession with architectural styles and more attention to the New Urbanism's contributions at the scale of block, neighborhood, district, city and region. As William Morrish has remarked, the typical critique of the New Urbanism by architects "sounds like a discussion of a work of architecture" (Morrish, 1997, p 57). This misses the New Urbanism's role as "an economic, social, and environmental education system, a public policy exploration, and a community-building framework that

Figure 14. Conventional suburban development. A house hidden behind a garage and a huge asphalt driveway.

Figure 15. New Urbanism. Houses address the street; garages are placed in the back.

shifts architecture from its status as 'object' into a system encompassing more than buildings" (Morrish, 1997, p. 57).

The New Urbanism: Community, Urbanity and Complexity

New Urbanist communities have been portrayed as hopelessly contrived landscapes which will never possess the qualities of true urbanity (Dutton, 1989; Marshall, 1996; Upton 1998). Critics allege that real communities simply cannot be created by any set of formal rules (Landecker, 1996), that New Urbanists cannot duplicate the actual historical processes that created the fine-grained diversity of traditional cities (Southworth, 1997), and that their codes do not leave enough space for novelty, the unexpected, and the unfamiliar (Lightner, 1992; Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996). Shibley (1998, p. 81) describes New Urbanism as "a utopian vision of 'small town' America' " which is likely to suppress cultural differences.

Here, as in so much of the critical literature, the actual variety and complexity of New Urbanist practice has been suppressed. Willis (1999) for example, conflates Disney Corporation paraphernalia (Ross, 1999) with New Urbanism in his analysis of Celebration, Florida. Shibley (1998) makes the mistake of reducing New Urbanism to the small-town model. Biddulph (2000, p. 65) argues that "villages don't make a city" and suggests that New Urbanism's concern with the careful definition of neighbourhood structure is misplaced. While admiration for the design of traditional small towns does have its place within New Urbanist theory (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992), New Urbanists do not believe that large, cosmopolitan cities can be made by gluing together 'villages'. They use the neighbourhood as a building block, but it is understood that these sub-units must be interconnected, with porous, traversible seams—boulevards, major commercial streets, parks, plazas—which knit neighbourhoods together.

New Urbanists have studied large, cosmopolitan cities and are aware of their structure. Great urban neighbourhoods serve as a New Urbanist models just as much as towns and villages. Dan Solomon, for example, has drawn lessons from the context of San Francisco, and Urban Design Associates makes

Figure 16. Plan for Downtown Kendall, Florida. Conversion of sprawl into a mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly town centre. *Source*: Dover Kohl.

good use of the historic street and block patterns of Pittsburgh. With regard to social interaction, New Urbanism provides for both localized, place-based and "non-place" social networks. Well-designed streets and public spaces provide a supportive environment for place-based socializing for residents who find this important (Figure 16). But New Urbanist plans do not obstruct those who wish to pursue a more spatially expansive social life from doing so. There are no gates or walls. No one is forced to lead a life constrained by neighbourhood boundaries. Provision is made for both cars and transit, and there is no presumption that all socializing and shopping will be limited to walking distance from the home. Here, the New Urbanism is once again an expansion of choice, not its limitation.

Audirac & Shermyen (1994), Robbins (1997, 1998), Biddulph (2000) and others fault the New Urbanism for connecting the sense of community with particular spatial arrangements. This subject deserves more research, but much of this critical attack is overstated. New Urbanist theory does not maintain that community can be 'designed' in any simplistic way. The built environment is only one part of the equation. It can always be overridden by social, economic or cultural variables. But this does not mean that there is no connection between urban design and the sense of community. Plas and Lewis, in their study of Seaside, concluded that "The data strongly suggest a relationship between a variable set that may define sense of community—membership, need fulfillment, shared emotional connections, loyalty—and the environmental variables of town design, architecture, and urban planning philosophies" (Plas & Lewis, 1996, p. 109). As Talen (1999) points out in her extensive review of this issue, what the New Urbanism can do successfully is increase one critical *aspect* of community: social interaction in public and semi-public spaces. While this is not sufficient *by itself* to generate a sense of community, since community depends on other

variables as well, many of them non-spatial (e.g. shared interests, beliefs, origins or histories), it is important.

An impressive volume of urban design research, extending forward from the seminal work of Jane Jacobs, emphasizes the importance of maintaining extensive networks of public pathways, spaces and activity nodes in cities (Gehl, 1987; Salingaros, 1998; Whyte, 1988). Rofé correctly argues that "Neighborhoods are important because they provide one of the gateways to the social life of cities ... Spatial proximity and civilized, shared use of public space can help weave the fabric of an otherwise fragmented society" (Rofé, 1995, p. 120). The New Urbanism endorses these types of 'deformed grids', interconnected streets, and fine-grained block-and-lot patterns. Clearly, good design can *support and encourage* social interaction. The porches (Brown *et al.*, 1998) and alleys (Martin, 1996) advocated by New Urbanists appear to do just that. One does not need to be an environmental determinist to acknowledge that design has important influences on behaviour. The concept of 'affordances' is well established in the urban design literature (Lang, 1987).

The alleged 'inauthenticity' of New Urbanist communities is often just 'newness', and will gradually diminish with time. It is not possible for New Urbanists to compress historical evolution into a single episode of design. No design process can do that. New projects are always 'manufactured spaces' lacking the patina of time (Brand, 1994). If anything, New Urbanist communities stand a *higher* chance of evolving in interesting ways through time than conventional projects, because they mix uses and blend different housing types together. Most importantly, by using building typologies rather than conventional Euclidian zoning, New Urbanist design allows ahead of time for a succession of different uses as buildings age. The building form is coded, but the uses may vary. This is exactly what so many people find delightful about old urban neighbourhoods (Alexander *et al.*, 1987).

As Andrés Duany has repeatedly pointed out, great efforts have been made in many New Urbanist projects to introduce as much variety, complexity and quirkiness as is possible within the limitations of current land development practices:

> ... consider the context of postwar suburban development: typically one office or one developer designed an area of a great size. There's less variety than there would be if every building were designed by a different architect, which is what we propose as an ideal. There's infinitely more variety in the towns we design than in conventional suburbia. We divide the entire site into lots, and do not permit the same builder to build whole sectors, which, by the way, is a tremendous pain. You have to look at all this in the context of current practice, and, in that context, the variety of the New Urbanism is radical. (*Harvard Design Magazine*, 1997, p. 53)

Robbins (1998) accuses the New Urbanism of something called the 'fallacy of singularity'. However, the sample size that he uses is far too small to pass judgment on the entire movement, and his conclusions are premature since they do not allow for the historical evolution of New Urbanist communities, which is certain to increase their visual and functional intricacy. Even when brand new, New Urbanist communities are far more spatially complex than the typical American suburb, and that is an achievement that has been won in the face of

stiff resistance. Of course, one can always compare any particular New Urbanist project with some famous historic neighbourhood and find deficiencies. But when compared with the typical project today, New Urbanism has far more of the elements of urbanity defined by Greenberg (1995), Montgomery (1998) and Salingaros (1998) than the alternatives.

An Equitable Landscape?

A number of critics, many from the political left, have argued that the New Urbanism is intrinsically oriented to the upper middle class and just perpetuates segregation by class, race and ethnicity (Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996). The New Urbanism is also accused of denying cultural difference (Landecker, 1996; Sandercock, 1998), of not allowing residents to participate in the creation of their own communities (Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996), and of locking in rigid patterns that may not accommodate future residents.

Much of this seems to derive from resentment of early suburban projects which were targeted at a more affluent market. But, almost invariably, critics have ignored other types of New Urbanist development that directly address the issue of affordable housing. Urban Design Associates has been doing inner-city redevelopment since the 1970s, specializing in both small-scale 'patching and stitching' (Gindroz, 1999) and larger projects involving infill and rehabilitation (Bothwell *et al.*, 1998; Deitrick & Ellis, 2000). These projects did not receive the attention accorded to Seaside and Kentlands, but they are part of the New Urbanist story all the same. The New Urbanism has always advocated infill development, mixing people of different income groups within the same communities, and providing dignified affordable housing that looks like normal housing. This approach draws upon a substantial body of research and experience (Marcus & Sarkissian, 1986; Ley, 1993). The US Department of Housing and Urban Development's HOPE VI programme explicitly uses New Urbanist principles to weave public housing into inner-city neighbourhoods without the stigmatizing design features that have characterized such housing for more than half a century (Congress for the New Urbanism & US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999). Housing at a wide range of prices is being offered in New Urbanist projects, as any serious research effort would show.

Pyatok (2000) criticizes the New Urbanism for its income-mixing, 'middle-class' or 'Martha Stewart' architecture, and alleged misunderstanding of the live–work housing needs of the working class. However, there is nothing in New Urbanism that rules out the types of design that he advocates, as long as they really do fit the particular urban context at hand. New Urbanism has pioneered the concept of live–work housing. Marcuse (2000) sees sinister intent in the HOPE VI programme, especially its reduction of densities when compared with high-rise buildings. But he offers no convincing evidence that the replacement of high-rise towers and low-rise barracks with well-designed medium-density neighbourhoods is a bad trade-off, or that there is any significant support for returning to older public housing models. It is true that all the woes of public housing cannot be blamed on the high-rise model (Montgomery, 1985). Perhaps in Manhattan some variant of the high-rise is still appropriate, but that cannot be generalized to other places. Finally, if replacement housing is not being provided in sufficient quantities, then the problem is not really New

Figure 17. Holmes Place, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A New Urbanist design using prefabricated materials to build affordable housing in the inner city. Architects: Stefanie Danes and Steve Quick.

Figure 18. Manchester neighbourhood, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. HOPE VI scattered site infill units are shown on the left—public housing that fits into a historic neighbourhood.

Urbanist layouts, but rather inadequate funding for the construction of replacement units. As Bohl (2000) has effectively argued, New Urbanism shows great promise as a component of strategies for the revitalization of distressed inner-city neighbourhoods.

New Urbanists have been criticized for building new communities on the urban fringe (Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996; Marcuse, 2000). Presumably, they should not build there, instead focusing their efforts on stopping all new suburban construction. But this would be futile. While New Urbanists explicitly favour infill development, they have no power to stop growth on the fringe or force a draconian recentralization of housing investment back into the cities. Nor do their critics. About 95% of current building activity is occurring in the suburbs. In this context, the constructive route is to make sure that new suburban growth mixes uses, provides a wide range of housing types, contains walkable streets and is more transit friendly. As Mayor John Norquist of Milwaukee has observed:

> The urban form being revived in suburban New Urbanist design revalidates existing urban development … Genuine traditional neighborhood development, built on the metro edge, awakens consumer taste for urban forms already existing in cities. As a mayor of a 150-year-old city, I prefer suburban development that mirrors the design of my city to suburban development that is alien to what we have in Milwaukee. (*Harvard Design Magazine*, 1997, p. 56)

While this is occurring, New Urbanists are, of course, making common cause with growth management and environmental groups to encourage more compact forms of development. New Urbanists are fully aware that the regional location of projects, and not only their internal design, is crucial.

The importance of accommodating 'difference' in the built environment is a worthy concern (Young, 1990; Sandercock, 1998). Large cities, in particular, are the meeting grounds of diverse cultures. But New Urbanism does not deny this

or try to suppress it through the construction of exclusionary forms of community. If anything, New Urbanism offers just those design principles that support tolerance and cosmopolitanism, precisely by striving to achieve income mixing, a rich network of public and semi-public spaces, and local 'third places' where people can meet (Oldenburg, 1997). Of course, this is hard to achieve within the constraints of today's real-estate market, and much remains to be done, but along this dimension New Urbanism is far ahead of conventional suburban development. As Lofland has written in a book-length analysis of the public realm: "Limited, segmental, episodic, distanced links between self and other may constitute the social situations that both allow and teach civility and urbanity in the face of significant differences" (1998, p. 242). These are exactly the types of encounters that are eliminated in sprawl designs but supported by New Urbanism, which puts the pedestrian first. If researchers want to find exclusion and intolerance, it would be much easier to locate in the proliferating gated communities and homogeneous sprawl sub-divisions that make up the vast majority of new residential development in the US (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

No movements in architecture and planning have solved the problem of racial and class segregation in the American city (Massey & Denton, 1993; Thomas, 1997). Its roots extend far beyond urban design and physical planning. Yet design can play a role in improving the prospects for a just city (Pyatok, 1996). The promises of the Modern Movement were certainly vocal in this regard, but their proposals for public housing and clean-sweep urban planning have come to a bad end. Deconstructionism has no serious answers. Analytical texts by geographers and urbanists on the spatial inequities of the modern city have illuminated these issues, but they offer few buildable alternatives, and tend to operate at a high level of abstraction (Harvey, 1997). In the light of this, the New Urbanism is doing a decent job of using urban design strategies to break down barriers between social groups. To her credit, Fainstein (2000), an advocate of 'Just City' planning theory, has recently acknowledged that New Urbanism has much to offer by way of specific design alternatives, and that planning theory cannot subsist on process alone. But there are limits to what physical planning can do, and the New Urbanism does not claim to have a comprehensive solution to problems of class, race and gender.

New Urbanism and Citizen Participation

The CNU Charter explicitly endorses a participatory approach to urban design and planning, and New Urbanists conduct spirited discussions about methods for improved public involvement. Different approaches have been applied. Charrettes have frequently been used both to solicit community input and to educate residents about design alternatives (Kelbaugh, 1997). The charrette method may not be perfect, but when executed properly and followed up with other citizen participation methods it can produce outcomes that are both fair and of high quality. The goal is a proper balance of professional expertise and community input.

In the field of urban community development, Urban Design Associates has been a pioneer in community-based design, engaging in long-term community

revitalization processes and working closely with local groups (Deitrick & Ellis, 2000). As Ray Gindroz of Urban Design Associates has said, "The fundamental principle of our work comes from opening up design to public process. What you get when you do that is more information, but you also get contact with real places and real people. It becomes impossible to impose artificial and abstract ideas unless they make sense" (Gindroz, 1999). Anton Nelessen pioneered the Visual Preference Survey technique, and specializes in working closely with communities to produce plans that accurately reflect local preferences. If any-thing, the New Urbanism has advocated far more openness to public partici-pation than is typical in the conventional, developer-managed land development process.

At the organizational level, the New Urbanism has been an very open movement in planning and design, with many Web sites and lively e-mail lists. Leading practitioners lecture frequently all over the country. New Urbanist principles are expressed in clear language with a minimum of specialist jargon. There is nothing hermetic or secretive about the New Urbanism as an organiza-tion or a body of thought.

Historical Patterns and Professional Legitimacy

Underneath, many planners may feel uncomfortable with the use of traditional patterns in the planning of the modern city. After all, professions in the modern world are validated primarily by science, and legitimate fields of study are expected to display a vector of advancement in which less adequate theories are discarded and successful ones are carried forward (Larson, 1977). Similarly, new technologies supplant old ones, as in the classic example of aircraft design. For the most part, the arrow of progress points in one direction. Therefore, to stop and retrieve ideas from the past seems anomalous, a departure from the normal path of scientific advance. Any field that draws too heavily on the past runs the risk of appearing to be regressive and unscientific.

Urban design and city planning, however, are not pure experimental sciences or 'technologies' devoted to a narrow, utilitarian purpose. They are not aircraft design. They must fuse functional efficiency, as revealed by various modes of analysis in the social and natural sciences, with the design of beautiful and significant places, which requires the generation of physical forms with powerful aesthetic impacts and cultural meanings (Lynch, 1981).

New Urbanists are aware of the vector of technological progress, and plan for it, but excellence in city planning is not a simple linear advance in which the new automatically supersedes the old. History provides the depth that is lacking in ephemeral stylistic controversies (Watkin, 1977; Lampugnani, 1991). Historical change and cultural differences in urban design must be acknowledged (Rapo-port, 1977). But some spatial patterns seem to be very durable and securely anchored in the human condition (Mumford, 1938, p. 445; Alexander, 1979). Many traditional spatial patterns correspond to our biological, perceptual and psychological structure, which is not completely malleable and maintains con-siderable continuity through time (Turner, 1991, 1995). Chaos theory, complexity theory and the science of self-organizing systems suggest that progress is made not by overthrowing all hierarchies and previous forms, but by 'transcending and including' them in emergent new forms (Argyros, 1991; Wilber, 1995). Similarly, the New Urbanism may be seen as an attempt to set the process of city

design back on course after the over-reaction of modernism, while also avoiding the deconstructionists' misguided embrace of disorder and alienation.

Conclusion

The New Urbanism has received a vast amount of criticism. Some of this has certainly been useful and thought provoking. Areas where empirical support is weak have been identified. Exaggerated promises and predictions have been flagged. Directions for future research have been charted (Fulton, 1995; Southworth & Parthasarathy, 1996, 1997; Ford, 1999; Moudon, 2000). New Urbanists should welcome more precise and thorough research on issues such as traffic reduction, the conditions for successful TOD, environmental impacts, the viability of Main Street retail, techniques for retrofitting conventional suburbs, the connection between New Urbanism and regional planning, the morphology of public space, and an array of other issues. We can also hope for steady improvement in the quality and variety of architecture in New Urbanist communities.

But this article argues that, upon close review, many critiques of the New Urbanism display characteristic flaws. Chief among these are the use of caricature, inadequate sampling of projects, deficient understanding of New Urbanist principles and practices, premature judgments, unrealistic expectations and ideological bias. In the end, the New Urbanism cannot satisfy all of its critics, because they demand contradictory changes. The left faults New Urbanism for not producing a radical critique of capitalism, while right-wing economists attack its support for regional planning. Architects and planners criticize New Urbanism for not being sufficiently 'urban', while devotees of sprawl oppose New Urbanist projects because the densities are too high. Perhaps New Urbanists have found a reasonable and principled middle ground between these extremes, and one that makes actual building possible.

By the standards of academic social science, New Urbanists have made claims that are in need of more evidence. This is a gauntlet that will have to be run. But it must always be remembered that the current default setting for urban development in the US is auto-dependent sprawl (residential pods strictly sorted by income, shopping malls and big-box stores surrounded by seas of asphalt, strip commercial zones, fortress-like office parks)—a truly draconian cellular structure based on Euclidean zoning. This model has never been 'proven' to be an optimal urban form. Conventional builders are certainly not putting their projects on hold until sufficient research evidence arrives. They are building as fast as they can, wherever they can. Consequently, as a society we are building ourselves deeper and deeper into a vast landscape of *mandatory auto ownership* and *mandatory maximum auto usage*, with all the consequences thereof. This process will not slow down while the New Urbanism is vetted by academic researchers.

The critical literature is weakened by the critics' frequent failure to suggest implementable alternatives. If New Urbanism is "a dangerous diversion from the search for genuine resolutions to real urban problems" (Falconer-Al Hindi & Staddon, 1997, p. 369), then presumably this could be exposed by a rigorous, side-by-side comparison of proffered alternatives. Too often, the critiques terminate in lofty abstractions with no connection to the day-to-day realities of land development, finance and local politics (Talen, 2000).

In conclusion, New Urbanists are justified in holding to their principles, continuing to build, and paying close attention to results on the ground. We await further research that may bring a more definitive resolution to the contested questions. More projects will provide increased opportunities to see what works. In the end, that is the only definitive way to sort the critical wheat from the chaff, and New Urbanists have made it clear that they welcome the challenge.

References

Albrecht, D. (Ed.) (1995) *World War II and the American Dream* (Washington, DC, National Building Museum & Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

Alexander, C. (1979) *The Timeless Way of Building* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Alexander, C. et al. (1977) *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Alexander, C., Neis, H., Anninou, A. & King, I. (1987) *A New Theory of Urban Design* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Allen, E. (1999) Measuring the environmental footprint of the New Urbanism, *New Urban News*, May/June, pp. 16–18.

Arendt, H. (1958) *The Human Condition* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press).

Arendt, R. (1994) *Rural by Design: Maintaining Small Town Character* (Chicago, IL, American Planning Association).

Argyros, A. (1991) *A Blessed Rage for Order: Deconstruction, Evolution, and Chaos* (Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press).

Audirac, I. (1999) Stated preference for pedestrian proximity: an assessment of New Urbanist sense of community, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19(1), pp. 53–66.

Audirac, I. & Shermyen, A. (1994) An evaluation of neotraditional design's social prescription: postmodern placebo or remedy for suburban malaise?, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 13(3), pp. 161–173.

Audirac, I., Shermyen, A. & Smith, M. (1990) Ideal urban form and visions of the good life: Florida's growth management dilemma, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 56(4), pp. 470–482.

Bank of America (1995) *Beyond Sprawl: New Patterns of Growth of Fit the New California* (San Francisco, Bank of America).

Barnett, J. (1995) *The Fractured Metropolis* (New York, Icon, HarperCollins).

Baum, H. (1999) Forgetting to plan, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19(1), pp. 2–14.

Beatley, T. & Manning, K. (1997) *The Ecology of Place* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Beiner, R. (1992) *What's the Matter with Liberalism?* (Berkeley, University of California Press).

Beiner, R. (1997) *Philosophy in a Time of Lost Spirit: Essays on Contemporary Theory* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press).

Benfield, F.K., Raimi, M. & Chen, D. (1999) *Once There Were Greenfields: How Urban Sprawl Is Undermining America's Environment, Economy, and Social Farbric* (New York, Natural Resources Defense Council Washington, DC, Surface Transportation Policy Project).

Berman, M.A. (1996) The transportation effects of neo-traditional development, *Journal of Planning Literature*, 10(4), pp. 347–363.

Bernick, M. & Cervero, R. (1997) *Transit Villages in the 21st Century* (New York, McGraw-Hill).

Bess, P. (1996/1997) Virtuous reality: Aristotle, critical realism, and the reconstruction of architectural and urban theory, *The Classicist*, 3, pp. 6–18.

Bess, P. (2000) *Inland Architecture: Subterranean Essays on Moral Order and Formal Order in Chicago* (Oxford, OH, Interalia/Design Books).

Bhaskar, R. (1994) *Plato Etc.: The Problems of Philosophy and Their Resolution* (London, Verso).

Biddulph, M. (2000) Villages don't make a city, *Journal of Urban Design*, 5(1), pp. 65–82.

Blake, P. (1977) *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked* (Boston, MA, Little, Brown).

Blakely, E. & Snyder, M. (1997) *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press).

Bohl, C. (2000) New urbanism and the city: potential applications and implications for distressed inner-city neighbourhoods, *Housing Policy Debate*, 11(4), pp. 761–801.

Bookout, L. (1997) Building community in america's suburbs, in: Urban Land Institute (Ed.) *ULI on the Future: Creating More Livable Metropolitan Areas*, pp. 4–11 (Washington, DC, Urban Land Institute).

Bothwell, S., Gindroz, R. & Lang, R. (1998) Restoring community through traditional neighborhood design: a case study of Diggs Town public housing, *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(1), pp. 89–114.

Bourne, L. (1992) Self-fulfilling prophecies? Decentralization, inner city decline, and the quality of urban life, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 58(4), pp. 509–513.

Brand, S. (1994) *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (New York, Viking Penguin).

Brolin, B. (1976) *The Failure of Modern Architecture* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).

Brown, B., Burton, J. & Sweaney, A. (1998) Neighbors, households, and front porches: New Urbanist community tool or mere nostalgia?, *Environment and Behavior*, 30(6), pp. 579–600.

Callinicos, A. (1989) *Against Postmodernism: A Marxist Critique* (New York, St. Martin's Press).

Calthorpe, P. (1993) *The Next American Metropolis* (New York, Princeton Architectural Press).

Caulfield, J. (1994) *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press).

Cervero, R. (1998) *The Transit Metropolis* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Cervero, R. & Gorham, R. (1995) Commuting in transit versus versus automobile neighborhoods, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61(2), pp. 210–225.

Chase, J., Crawford, M. & Kaliski, J. (Eds) (1999) *Everyday Urbanism* (New York, Monacelli Press).

Clarke, D. (1984) *Arguments in Favor of Sharpshooting* (Portland, OR, Timber Press).

Clarke, D. (1994) *The Architecture of Alienation* (New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers).

Colquhoun, A. (1985) On modern and postmodern space, in: J. Ockman (Ed.) *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*, pp. 103–117 (Princeton, NJ, Princeton Architectural Press).

Comitta, T. (1999) Contentious meeting at Harvard, *New Urban News*, May/June, p. 13.

Condon, P. (Ed.) (1996) *Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Surrey Design Charrette* (James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, University of British Columbia Press).

Condon, P. & Proft, J. (Eds) (1999) *Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Brentwood Design Charrette* (James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, University of British Columbia Press).

Condon, P. & Teed, J. (1998) *Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities: Design Workbook* (James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC).

Congress for the New Urbanism (1996) *CNU Charter*, 3–5 May (Charleston, SC, CNU).

Congress for the New Urbanism (2000) *Charter of the New Urbanism* (New York, McGraw-Hill).

Congress for the New Urbanism & US Department of Housing and Urban Development (1999) *Principles for Inner City Neighborhood Design* (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office).

Conte, C. (2000) The boys of sprawl, *Governing*, May, pp. 28–33.

Cox, W. (1999) *The President's New Sprawl Initiative: A Program in Search of a Problem*, Heritage Foundation Backgrounder, Executive Summary, no. 1263 (Washington, DC, The Heritage Foundation).

Crane, R. (1996a) Cars and drivers in the new suburbs: linking access to travel in neotraditional planning, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 62(1), pp. 51–65.

Crane, R. (1996b) On form versus function: will the new urbanism reduce traffic, or increase it? *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 15(2), pp. 117–126.

Danes, S. (1999) Interview by C. Ellis & S. Deitrick, 15 January, Pittsburgh, PA.

Daniels, T. (1999) *When City and Country Collide* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Daniels, T. & Bowers, D. (1997) *Holding Our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Davis, F. (1979) *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York, The Free Press).

Deitrick, S. & Ellis, C. (2000) New Urbanism and inner-city neighborhood revitalization in Pittsburgh, paper presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, 4–8 April, Pittsburgh, PA.

Dowling, R. (1998) Neotraditionalism in the suburban landscape: Cultural geographies of exclusion in Vancouver, Canada, *Urban Geography*, 19(2), pp. 105–122.

Downs, A. (1992) *Stuck in Traffic: Coping with Peak-Hour Traffic Congestion* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution & Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy).

Downs, A. (1994) *New Visions for Metropolitan America* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution & Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy).

Downs, A. (1999) *Some Realities about Sprawl and Urban Decline* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution).

Dramstad, W., Olson, J. & Forman, R. (1996) *Landscape Ecology Principles in Landscape Architecture and Land-Use Planning* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Duany, A. & Talen, E. (2000) Transect planning, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 68(3), pp. 245–266.

Duany, A. & Plater-Zyberk, E. (1992) The second coming of the American small town, *Wilson Quarterly*, Winter, pp. 19–48.

Duany, A., Plater-Zyberk, E. & Speck, J. (2000) *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York, North Point Press).

Dunham-Jones, E. (1997) Real radicalism: Duany and Koolhaas, *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring, p. 51.

Dutton, T. (1989) Cities, cultures, and resistance: beyond Leon Krier and the postmodern condition, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 42(2), pp. 3–9.

Eagleton, T. (1996) *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford, Blackwell).

Ehrenhalt, A. (1996) Neotraditionalism and the corner store, *Governing*, December, pp. 6–7.

Ellin, N. (1996) *Postmodern Urbanism* (Cambridge, MA, Blackwell Publishers).

Ellis, C. (1996) Professional conflict over urban form: the case of urban freeways, 1930 to 1970, in: M.C. Sies & C. Silver (Eds) *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*, pp. 262–279 (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Etzioni, A. (Ed.) (1995) *New Communitarian Thinking: Persons, Virtues, Institutions, and Communities* (Charlottesville, VA, University Press of Virginia).

Etzioni, A. (1996) *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York, Basic Books).

Ewing, R. (1996) *Best Development Practices* (Chicago, IL, American Planning Association).

Ewing, R. (1997a) Is Los Angeles-style sprawl desirable?, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(1), pp. 107–126.

Ewing, R. (1997b) *Transportation and Land Use Innovations* (Chicago, IL, American Planning Association).

Fainstein, S. (2000) New directions in planning theory, *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(4), pp. 451–478.

Falconer Al-Hindi, K. & Staddon, C. (1997) The hidden histories and geographies of neotraditional town planning: the case of Seaside, Florida, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15, pp. 349–372.

Feldman, M. (1987) What kind of economics for what kind of planning, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53(4), pp. 427–429.

Fishman, R. (1987) *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, Basic Books).

Ford, L. (1999) Lynch revisited: New Urbanism and theories of good city form, *Cities*, 16(4), pp. 247–257.

Foster, H. (1984) (Post)Modern polemics, *New German Critique*, 33, pp. 67–78.

Frampton, K. (1983) Towards a critical regionalism: six points for an architecture of resistance, in: H. Foster (Ed.) *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, pp. 16–30 (Port Townsend, WA, Bay Press).

Fulton, W. (1995) *The New Urbanism: Hope or Hype for American Communities?* (Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy).

Gehl, J. (1987) *Life Between Buildings* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).

Gindroz, R. (1999) Interview by S. Deitrick, 2 February, Pittsburgh, PA.

Gold, J. (1997) *The Experience of Modernism: Modern Architects and the Future City, 1928–1953* (London, E & FN Spon).

Gombrich, E.H. (1965) The beauty of old towns, *Architectural Association Journal*, 80, pp. 293–297.

Gordon, P. & Richardson, H. (1996) *The Case for Suburban Development* (LosAngeles, CA, Lusk Center Research Institute, School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Southern California).

Gordon, P. & Richardson, H. (1997) Are compact cities a desirable planning goal?, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(1), pp. 95–106.

Gordon, P. & Richardson, H. (1998) A critique of New Urbanism, paper presented at the November Meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Pasadena, California.

Greenberg, M. (1995) *The Poetics of Cities: Designing Neighborhoods that Work* (Columbus, OH, Ohio State University Press).

Hale, J. (1994) *The Old Way of Seeing* (Boston, MA, Houghton Mifflin).

Handy, S. (1992) Regional versus local access: neo-traditional development and its implications for non-work travel, *Built Environment*, 18(4), pp. 253–267.

Harper, R. (1966) *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfilment in the Modern Age* (Cleveland, OH, The Press of Western Reserve University).

Harries, K. (1997) *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

Harvard Design Magazine (1997) New Urbanism: urban or suburban? A discussion, Winter/Spring, pp. 47–63.

Harvey, D. (1997) The New Urbanism and the communitarian trap, *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring, pp. 68–69.

Haworth, A. (1994) *Anti-Libertarianism: Markets, Philosophy and Myth* (London, Routledge).

Henton, D. & Walesh, K. (1998) *Linking the New Economy to the Livable Community* (San Francisco, CA, Collaborative Economics, James Irvine Foundation).

Hise, G. (1997) *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Holston, J. (1989) *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press).

Holtzclaw, J. (1997) Designing cities to reduce driving and pollution: new studies in Chicago, LA and San Francisco, paper presented at the Air & Waste Management Association's 90th Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Toronto, 8–13 June. Accessed at http:;dRwww.sierraclub.org/sprawl/transportation/designing.asp

Hough, M. (1990) *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press).

Hough, M. (1995) *Cities and Natural Process* (New York, Routledge).

Howell, P. (1993) Public space and the public sphere: political theory and the historical geography of modernity, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 11(3), pp. 303–322.

HRH The Prince of Wales (1989) *A Vision of Britain* (London, Doubleday).

Huxtable, A.L. (1997) *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (New York, New Press).

INFO BOX: The Catalogue (1998) (Berlin, Nishen Kommunikation).

Ingersoll, R. (1989) Postmodern urbanism: forward into the past, *Design Book Review*, 17, pp. 21–25.

Jacobs, A. (1993) *Great Streets* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

Jacobs, A. & Appleyard, D. (1987) Toward an urban design manifesto, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53(1), pp. 112–120.

Jackson, A. (1995) *Reconstructing Architecture for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press).

Jackson, K. (1985) *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Jencks, C. (1988) *The Prince, the Architects and New Wave Monarchy* (New York, Rizzoli).

Jencks, C. (1990) *The New Moderns* (New York, Rizzoli).

Jenks, M., Burton, E. & Williams, K. (Eds) (1996) *The Compact City: A Sustainable Urban Form?* (London, E & FN Spon).

Jones, D.W. Jr (1985) *Urban Transit Policy: An Economic and Political History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall).

Kaliski, J. (1996/97) Reading new urbanism, *Design Book Review*, 37/38, pp. 69–80.

Katz, P. (1994) *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (New York, McGraw-Hill).

Kay, J.H. (1997) *Asphalt Nation* (New York, Crown Publishers).

Kelbaugh, D. (1997) *Common Place: Toward Neighborhood and Regional Design* (Seattle, WA, University of Washington Press).

Kelly, E.D. (1993) *Managing Community Growth: Policies, Techniques, and Impacts* (Westport CT, Praeger).

Kelly, E.D. (1994) The transportation land-use link, *Journal of Planning Literature*, 9(2), pp. 128–145.

Kolb, D. (1990) *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture, and Tradition* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press).

Krieger, A. (Ed.) (1991) *Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: Towns and Town-Making Principles* (New York, Rizzoli).

Krier, L. (1998) *Architecture: Choice or Fate?* (Windsor, UK, Andreas Papadakis).

Kulash, W. (1990) Traditional neighborhood development: will the traffic work?, paper prepared for the 1990 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers, September.

Kunstler, J.H. (1993) *The Geography of Nowhere* (New York, Simon & Schuster).

Kunstler, J.H. (1996) *Home from Nowhere: Remaking Our Everyday World for the Twenty-First Century* (New York, Simon & Schuster).

Kuttner, R. (1997) *Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets* (New York, Knopf).

Ladd, B. (1997) *The Ghosts of Berlin* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press).

Lampugnani, V.M. (1991) The city of tolerance: notes on present day urban design, *The New City*, 1, pp. 106–116.

Landecker, H. (1996) Is new urbanism good for America? *Architecture*, 84(4), pp. 68–70.

Landis, J. & Cervero, R. (1999) Middle age sprawl: BART and urban development, *Access*, 14, pp. 2–15.

Lang, J. (1987) *Creating Architectural Theory: The Role of the Behavioral Sciences in Environmental Design* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).

Lang, J. (1994) *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).

Langdon, P. (1994) *A Better Place to Live: Reshaping the American Suburb* (Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press).

Larson, M.S. (1977) *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press).

Larson, M.S. (1983) Emblem and exception: the historical definition of the architect's professional role, in: J. Blau, M. La Gory & J. Pipkin (Eds) *Professional and Urban Form*, pp. 49–86 (Albany, NY, State University of New York Press).

Larson, M.S. (1993) *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press).

Lasch, C. (1991) *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York, WW Norton).

Lasch, C. (1995) *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (New York, WW Norton).

Lears, T.J. (1981) *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, Pantheon).

Lears, T.J. (1998) Looking backward: in defense of nostalgia, *Lingua Franca*, 7(10), pp. 59–66.

Lehrer, U. & Milgrom, R. (1996) New (sub)urbanism: countersprawl or repackaging the product, *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 7(2), pp. 49–64.

Levine, J. (1999) Access to choice, *Access*, 14, pp. 16–19.

Ley, D. (1993) Co-operative housing as a moral landscape, in: J. Duncan & D. Ley (Eds) *Place/Culture/Representation*, pp. 128–148 (London, Routledge).

Ley, D. & Mills, C. (1993) Can there be a postmodernism of resistance in the urban landscape?, in: P. Knox (Ed.) *The Restless Urban Landscape*, pp. 255–278 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall).

Lightner, B. (1992) Design review: a critical evaluation, *Cities*, 9(4), pp. 280–287.

Lofland, L. (1998) *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory* (New York, Aldine De Gruyter).

Loukaitou-Sideris, A. & Banerjee, T. (2000) The Blue Line blues: why the vision of transit village may not materialize despite impressive growth in transit ridership, *Journal of Urban Design*, 5(2), pp. 101–125.

Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Lynch, K. (1981) *Good City Form* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

MacIntyre, A. (1984) *After Virtue* (2d ed) (Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press).

MacIntyre, A. (1990) *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press).

Mann, D.A. (1985) Between traditionalism and modernism: approaches to vernacular architecture, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 39(2), pp. 10–16.

Marcus, C.C. & Sarkissian, W. (1986) *Housing as if People Mattered: Site Design Guidelines for Medium-Density Family Housing* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press).

Marcuse, P. (2000) The New Urbanism: the dangers so far, *DISP*, 140, pp. 4–6.

Marshall, A. (1996) Suburb in disguise, *Metropolis*, July/August, p. 70.

Martin, M. 1996. Back-alley as community landscape, *Landscape Journal*, 138–153.

Massey, D. & Denton, N. (1993) *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press).

McCann, E. (1995) Neotraditional developments: the anatomy of a new urban form, *Urban Geography*, 16(3), pp. 210–233.

McNally, M. & Ryan, S. (1993) Comparative assessment of travel characteristics for neotraditional designs, *Transportation Research Record*, 1400, pp. 67–77.

Meickle, J. (1979) *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925–1939* (Philadelphia, PA, Temple University Press).

Moe, R. & Wilkie, C. (1997) *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl* (New York, Henry Holt).

Montgomery, J. (1998) Making a city: urbanity, vitality and urban design, *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), pp. 93–116.

Montgomery, R. (1985) Pruitt-Igoe: policy failure or societal symptom, in: B. Checkoway & C. Patton (Eds) *The Metropolitan Midwest: Policy Problems and Prospects for Change*, pp. 229–243 (Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press).

Morris, W. & Kaufman, J.A. (1988) The New Urbanism: an introduction to the movement and its

potential impact on travel demand with an outline of its application in Western Australia, *Urban Design International*, 3(4), pp. 207–221.

Morrish, W. (1997) The success of the New Urbanism, *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring, p. 57.

Moudon, A.V. (Ed.) (1987) *Public Streets for Public Use* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).

Moudon, A.V. (2000) Proof of goodness: a substantive basis for New Urbanism?, *Places*, 13(2), pp. 38–43.

Mulhall, S. & Swift, A. (1996) *Liberals and Communitarians* (2nd edn.) (Oxford, Blackwell).

Mumford, L. (1938) *The Culture of Cities* (New York, Harcourt, Brace).

Myers, D. & Kitsuse, A. (1999) *The Debate over Future Density of Development: An Interpretive Review*, working paper (Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy).

Nasar, J. (1998) *The Evaluative Image of the City* (Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage).

Nelessen, A. (1994) *Visions for a New American Dream* (Chicago, IL, American Planning Association).

Nelson, A.C. (1992) Preserving prime farmland in the face of urbanization: lessons from Oregon, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 58(4), pp. 467–488.

Nelson, A. & Duncan, J. (1995) *Growth Management Principles and Practices* (Chicago, IL, American Planning Association).

New Urban News (2000) *New Urbanism and Traditional Neighborhood Development: Comprehensive Report & Best Practices Guide* (Ithaca, NY, New Urban News).

Newman, P. & Kenworthy, J. (1999) *Sustainability and Cities: Overcoming Automobile Dependence* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Oldenburg, R. (1997) *The Great Good Place* (New York, Marlowe).

Orfield, M. (1997) *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy).

Papadakis, A. (Ed.) (1989) *Prince Charles and the Architectural Debate* (New York, St. Martin's Press).

Perin, C. (1977) *Everything in Its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press).

Plas, J. & Lewis, S. (1996) Environmental factors and sense of community in a planned town, *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 24(1), pp. 109–143.

Porphyrios, D. (Ed.) (1984) *Leon Krier: Houses, Palaces, Cities*, Architectural Design Profile 54 (London, Architectural Design).

Portoghesi, P. (1980) *After Modern Architecture* (translated by M. Shore) (New York, Rizzoli).

Pucher, J. (1988) Urban travel behavior as the outcome of public policy: the example of modal split in Western Europe and North America, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 54(4), pp. 509–520.

Pyatok, M. (1996) Neighborhood development in a democratic city: toward a 'real' urbanism, *Arcade*, 15(2), p. 6.

Pyatok, M. (2000) Martha Stewart or Studs Terkel? New Urbanism and inner cities neighborhoods that work, *Places*, 13(1), pp. 40–43.

Rapoport, A. (1977) *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design* (Oxford, Pergamon).

Rapp, C. (1998) *Fleeing the Universal: The Critique of Post-Rational Criticism* (Albany, NY State University of New York Press).

Relph, E. (1987) *The Modern Urban Landscape* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Robbins, E. (1997) New urbanism's unkept promise, *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring, p. 61.

Robbins, E. (1998) The New Urbanism and the fallacy of singularity, *Urban Design International*, 3(1), pp. 33–42.

Rofé, Y. (1995) Space and community: the spatial foundations of urban neighborhoods, *Berkeley Planning Journal*, 10, pp. 107–125.

Ross, A. (1999) *The Celebration Chronicles* (New York, Ballantine).

Rowe, P. (1991) *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

Rowe, P. (1997) *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

Rusk, D. (1999) *Inside Game Outside Game: Winning Strategies for Saving Urban America* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press).

Ryan, S. & McNally, M.G. (1995) Accessibility of neotraditional neighborhoods: a review of design concepts, policies, and recent literature, *Transportation Research A: Policy and Practice*, 29A(2), pp. 87–105.

Rybczynski, W. (1995) This old house: the rise of family values architecture, *New Republic*, May, pp. 14–16.

Safdie, M. (1997) *The City After the Automobile* (New York, Basic Books).

Sagoff, M. (1981) Economic theory and environmental law, *Michigan Law Review*, 79, pp. 1393–1419.

St Clair, D. (1986) *The Motorization of American Cities* (New York, Praeger).

Salingaros, N. (1998) Theory of the urban web, *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), pp. 53–71.

Sandel, M. (1996) *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press Belknap Press).

Sandercock, L. (1998) *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities* (New York, John Wiley).

Schaeffer, K.H. & Sclar, E. (1980) *Access for All: Transportation and Urban Growth* (New York, Columbia University Press).

Scruton, R. (1999) Most architecture should be modest, *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring, pp. 59–61.

Shibley, R. (1998) The complete New Urbanism and the partial practices of placemaking, *Utopian Studies*, 9(1), pp. 80–102.

Shils, E. (1997) *Measuring the Economic and Sociological Impact of the Mega-Retail Discount Chains on Small Enterprise in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Communities* (Philadelphia, PA, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania).

Shore, W. (1995) Recentralization: the single answer to more than a dozen United States problems and a major answer to poverty, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61(4), pp. 496–503.

Solomon, D. (1992) *ReBuilding* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton Architectural Press).

Soltan, M. (1996) Deconstruction and architecture, in: T. Dutton & L. H. Mann (Eds) *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, pp. 234–258 (Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press).

South Carolina Coastal Conservation League (1995) Getting a rein on runoff: how sprawl and the traditional town compared, *SCCCL Land Development Bulletin*, 7, available at: www.doverkohl.com/scccl.html.

Southworth, M. (1997) Walkable suburbs? An evaluation of neotraditional communities at the urban edge, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(1), pp. 28–44.

Southworth, M. & Ben-Joseph, E. (1997) *Streets and the Shaping of Towns and Cities* (New York, McGraw-Hill).

Southworth, M. & Parthasarathy, B. (1996) The suburban public Realm I: its emergence, growth and transformation in the American metropolis, *Journal of Urban Design*, 1(3), pp. 245–264.

Southworth, M. & Parthasarathy, B. (1997) The suburban public realm II: Eurourbanism, New Urbanism and the implications for urban design in the American metropolis, *Journal of Urban Design*, 2(1), pp. 9–35.

Staley, S. (1999) *The Sprawling of America: In Defense of the Dynamic City*, Reason Public Policy Institute, Policy Study no. 251 (Los Angeles, CA, Reason Foundation).

Steiner, F. & Theilacker, J. (Eds) (1984) *Protecting Farmlands* (Westport, CT, AVI Publishing).

Sternberg, E. (2000) An integrative theory of urban design, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 66(3), pp. 265–278.

Steuteville, R. (1999a) Growth in TND steady, but slower; neotraditional home sales strong, *New Urban News*, September/October, p. 1.

Steuteville, R. (1999b) Liberty Harbor North based on Manhattan urbanism, *New Urban News*, May/June, p. 5.

Steuteville, R. (1999c) True urbanists, *New Urban News*, May/June, p. 1.

Steuteville, R. (2000) Transect applied to regional plans, *New Urban News*, September, pp. 1–5.

Stewart, K. (1988) Nostalgia—a polemic, *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(3), pp. 227–241.

Suarez, R. (1999) *The Old Neighborhood: What We Lost in the Great Suburban Migration, 1966–1999* (New York, Free Press).

Sudjic, D. (1992) *The 100 Mile City* (New York, Harcourt Brace).

Talen, E. (1999) Sense of community and neighborhood form: an assessment of the social doctrine of New Urbanism, *Urban Studies*, 36, pp. 1361–1379.

Talen, E. (2000) New Urbanism and the culture of criticism, *Urban Geography*, 21(4), pp. 318–341.

Thomas, J.M. (1997) *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Till, K. (1993) Neotraditional towns and urban villages: the cultural production of a geography of 'otherness', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 11(6), pp. 709–732.

Turner, F. (1991) *Beauty: The Value of Values* (Charlottesville, VA, University Press of Virginia).

Turner, F. (1995) *The Culture of Hope: A New Birth of the Classical Spirit* (New York, Free Press).

Upton, D. (1998) *Architecture in the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Waligorski, C. (1990) *The Political Theory of Conservative Economists* (Lawrence, KS, University of Kansas Press).

Watkin, D. (1977) *Morality and Architecture* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Wells Fargo Bank (1996) *Preserving the American Dream: The Truth About About Suburban Communities and Housing Choice* (San Francisco, CA, Wells Fargo Bank).

Weyrich, P.M. & Lind, W. (1999) *Does Transit Work? A Conservative Reappraisal* (Washington, DC, Free Congress Research and Education Foundation).

Whyte, W.H. (1988) *City: Discovering the Center* (New York, Anchor).

Wilber, K. (1995) *Sex, Ecology, Spirituality: The Spirit of Evolution* (Boston, MA, Shambhala).

Willis, D. (1999) *The Emerald City and Other Essays on the Architectural Imagination* (New York, Princeton Architectural Press).

Wilson, E. (1997) Looking backward: nostalgia and the city, in: S. Westwood & J. Williams (Eds) *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, pp. 127–139 (New York, Routledge).

Wolfe, A. (1981) *America's Impasse: The Rise and Fall of the Politics of Growth* (Boston, MA, South End Press).

Yago, G. (1984) *The Decline of Transit: Urban Transportation in German and U.S. Cities, 1900–1970* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Yaro, R. & Hiss, T. (1996) *A Region at Risk: The Third Regional Plan for the New York–New, Jersey–Connecticut Metropolitan Area* (Washington, DC, Island Press).

Young, I.M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press).