Towards the Reinvention of Public Space: Implications of the Recent Work of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

by

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ABSTRACT:

Recently, the town plans of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk have attracted great attention and publicity as the latest potential design solution to the increasingly widely felt problems of our evolving suburban environments. In this paper I attempt to assess the implications for the suburbs of the ideas and work of these planners by examining one plan , Kentlands in Gaithersburg, Maryland. In particular, I examine the claims that Duany and Plater-Zyberk's planning approach can help solve the problems of suburban sprawl and of the lack of public places in the suburban environment.

In chapter 2, I discuss the major influences on Duany and Plater-Zyberk, including leading town planners of the early years of this century such as Raymond Unwin, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, as well as the recent critic and architect Leon Krier. Then I survey Duany and Plater-Zyberk's career up to the point of Kentlands. Chapter 3 is an examination of Kentlands as a case study of Duany and Plater-Zyberk's approach as applied in a suburban setting. Chapter 4 evaluates the Kentlands plan and Duany and Plater-Zyberk's broader claims in the light of a review of other opinions in the areas of suburban sprawl and public space. I end the paper with a brief consideration of the place of Duany and Plater-Zyberk's work in the context of the times.

Thesis supervisor: Gary Hack
Title: Professor of City Planning

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Few urban designers' projects have received as much attention recently as those of the team of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. The attention of the media and the public has been captured by the broad claims the designers and others have made for their approach: the rescue of the suburbs from the dilemmas of sprawl and traffic, the restoration of a lost tradition of American city building, and the reinvention of public space, among others. More impressive, however, has been the designers' ability to back up their rhetoric with a built prototype, the town of Seaside in western Florida. Armed with attractive photographs of that development and figures on its extraordinary early financial success, Duany and Plater-Zyberk have pursued an almost evangelical campaign of lectures, articles, university instruction, and model zoning texts. They have also developed an increasingly well-systemized planning approach that promises developers to produce the preliminary plans for a new town in a week.

The combination of a timely critique, unusual publicity skills, and a system that seems not only to work but to be profitable, has resulted in a flood of projects for the firm of Duany and Plater-Zyberk (DPZ). This seeming success will be tested shortly, though, as some of the firm's first post-Seaside projects reach the market. Seaside is, in many respects a special case because of its remote location, its nature as a resort town, and the almost regulation-free context of its location. Thus the next generation of DPZ projects will be the firm's proving ground. Most significant among these, perhaps, is the "Town of Kentlands," a large mixed-used development in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. The fate of Kentlands is important to the firm because it is their first project under construction in a suburban context, and the first major project in a major metropolitan area. It will therefore also be the first to attempt to apply DPZ's planning ideals to the sort of day-to-day setting in which most Americans live. It is also noteworthy because with Kentlands the firm faced some of their toughest regulatory constraints, as well as the challenge of integrating into their plans a regional shopping center and a large office building.

The proof of even Kentland's short-term success will not come for several years, as the development is completed and occupied. It is

worthwhile, however, to reflect in advance on the project and its prospects for bearing the burden that has been placed on it.

An enterprise as complex as DPZ's work can be evaluated from a number of different perspectives. It would be possible, for example, to discuss the firm's novel technique of regulating architectural form within the development, or their historicist design vocabulary. This thesis, however, will focus on the most far-reaching of DPZ's claims: that their approach can serve as the basis for solving many of the commonly recognized problems of the suburbs, and in particular bring a "public realm" to the fragmented suburban landscape.

This study will begin with an overview of DPZ, the major influences on their work, their critique of the suburbs and the public realm, and the scope of their work. Then we will examine Kentlands as a case study. An analysis and critique will follow including an examination of their ideas and work in the context of other ideas in the field, and an assessment of Kentlands as an approach for fulfilling DPZ's goals. The paper will end with a reflection on the DPZ phenomenon in the context of its time.

Chapter 2: Duany/Plater-Zyberk

Duany and Plater-Zyberk view their work as an attempt to reestablish older ways of planning in place of the post-war methods which they see as a failure. To understand a project like Kentlands, then, we must first look at some of the major influences on their work. Then, we will discuss DPZ's critique of the suburbs and their planning goals in light of those key influences. Finally, since Kentlands is in some senses only part of an ongoing campaign, we shall briefly review their work up to this point.

Influences: Unwin, Hegemann and Peets, Krier

The challenge of reviving old ways of town building in a new era involved finding appropriate precedents and models. In this regard, Duany and Plater-Zyberk turn not only to charming, old, "vernacular" areas of American cities and towns, but to the work of previous practitioners of the art of town design. Their major influences include a group of architect/planners of the early twentieth-century who also confronted the problem of appropriate town form in the era of the expanding regional metropolis: Raymond Unwin, and Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets. Perhaps more influential still is Leon Krier, an iconoclastic advocate of "traditional" and "timeless" ways of city building as a reaction to what he views as the horrors of the present state of the city.

Both Unwin, and Hegemann and Peets's claim to DPZ's attention is less their built works than the comprehensive manuals on new town design that they authored. Unwin's New Town Planning in Practice was published in 1909, Hegemann and Peets's The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art, in 1922. Both volumes were the work of men dedicated to promoting the new, scientific discipline of city planning. Yet these men lived in an age when the pursuit of the rational and technological had not so thoroughly divorced itself from the pursuit of beauty and harmony in physical design. Hegemann stands as the best example of this: a transplanted German trained as an economist at the University of Pennsylvania, he was a dedicated promoter of city planning as *Wissenschaft*,

a scientific pursuit. Yet he is perhaps best remembered for his work on The American Vitruvius where he argues that beauty is an essential part of the work of the planner: "Indeed, the authors feel that the young profession of city planning is drifting too strongly in the directions of engineering and applied sociology. This is perhaps natural, for there are problems of such tremendous importance in these fields . . . But, unless our efficient civilization is to produce nothing but its own efficiency, our cities must not be shaped solely by engineers. No city planning project should be undertaken nor report issued without the sanction of at least one trained man whose primary interest is the dignity and beauty of form and color." (Hegemann and Peets, 1922, p. 4) The authors of both volumes begin with a similar appraisal of the problems the modern city planner confronts: the rapid, haphazard, chaotic growth of industrial cities. In these conditions, the architect's art is extremely difficult and often of little real consequence: "Only under rare circumstances will a fine piece of work be seen to advantage if thrown into a chaos, and dignity, charm and unassuming manner are preposterous when the neighbors are wantonly different or even obnoxious." (Hegemann and Peets, 1922, p. 1) While both authors praise the work done in the engineering aspects of city planning, they view the architectural side as an unfinished task. Their efforts, then, are attempts to lay a basis for city form similar to the advances made in drainage, transport, and other areas. Although Hegemann and Peets's proposals resemble those of the City Beautiful Movement, they should be distinguished from the commonly held image of the Beaux-Artes school and the City Beautiful movement as concerned solely with external ornament and purposeless formalism: "While the mass of the people live in hovels and slums and our children grow up far from the sight and pleasure of green fields and flowers; while our land is laid out solely to serve the interests of individual owners, without regard to the common needs, this is no time to think of the crowning beauty of ornament. We need to begin at the other end. Our immediate business is to lay a firm foundation." (Unwin, 1909, p. 10) Unwin distinguishes his view from the merely ornamental by reference to "Mr. Lethaby's saying that 'Art is the well doing of what needs doing.' Does the town need a market-place, our rule would teach us to build the best, most convenient, and comely market-place we can design . . . . First, let our markets be well built and our cottage areas well laid out; then there will soon grow up such a full civic life, such a joy and pride in the city as will seek

expression in adornment." Hegemann and Peets sound a similar note when they claim that "the fundamental unit of design in architecture is not the separate building but the whole city." (Hegemann and Peets, 1922, p. 2) Their description of the task of their book on civic art could serve as a description of Unwin's also:

> One of the foremost aims of this book on civic art is to bring out the necessity of extending the architect's sphere of influence, to emphasize the essential relation between a building and its setting, the necessity of protecting the aspect of the approaches, the desirability of grouping buildings into harmonious ensemble, of securing dominance of some buildings over others, so that by willing submission of the less to the greater there may be created a larger, more monumental unity . . . (Hegemann and Peets, 1922, p. 1)

In confronting the fit of form to function, and seeking a way of building where art is the elevation of the practical elements, Unwin, Hegemann and Peets are not so different from their modernist contemporaries. Robert Fishman has noted Le Corbusier's admiration of Unwin's work with Barry Parker at Ebenezer Howard's first garden city Letchworth as an attempt to find an appropriate form for a modern cooperative society (Fishman, 1977, p. 178-179). Fishman reminds us that "In the context of their time, the design for Letchworth stood for cleanliness, simplicity, and the honest use of materials," in contrast to the eclectic borrowing of the Victorians "in which a suburban villa tricked out with classical porticoes might be sandwiched between a Gothic extravaganza on the right and a Renaissance palazzo on the left . . . [to Unwin and Parker] a horrible symptom of the chaotic individualism of their time." (Fishman, 1977, p. 68-69) But while Le Corbusier sought his solution to the dilemma by turning to the future and embracing the machine, Unwin, Hegemann and Peets looked backwards, beyond the chaotic city of the 19th century, to the enduring forms of previous periods. In history one would find the timeless successes that should serve as a rational foundation for modern city forms. But here there is a divergence between the two approaches. For while Hegemann and Peets scan architectural history to find examples of designs that demonstrate "their allegiance to the classical ideals associated with the Vitruvian tradition"

(Hegemann and Peets, 1922, p. 1), Unwin looks more to the medieval village of the 14th century, which he believed "was the truest community that England had ever known, and its beauty . . . the expression of a unique balance of order and uniformity" (Fishman, 1977, p. 69). Thus, Unwin's approach was both more openly nostalgic and perhaps more socially radical, even if such a social critique plays little part in his design manual Town Planning in Practice. In seeking the ideal of a harmonious, corporate existence in the 14th century, he voiced a deep antipathy to the social conditions whose results were manifest in the aesthetic chaos of the modern city. Before his work at Letchworth and his Town Planning in Practice, Unwin produced a scheme for cooperative housing where buildings would be arranged in quadrangles and services shared among a number of families. In thus challenging basic notions of family life and introducing cooperation into daily living, this early effort shows a side of the architect that sought a deeper restructuring of society. Hegemann, a socialist, also looked for social change, yet the approach which is evident in The American Vitruvius lacks the nostalgic caste of Unwin's vision, and accepts many of the innovations that have defined the mainstream of city planning to this day. In embracing the skyscraper and functional zoning as valuable contributions to the city builder's art, Hegemann was struggling "to reconcile a rational city plan, based on social scientific theory, with a three dimensional, artistic arrangement of buildings and spaces" based on his obviously deep-felt love for the great achievements of past ages. (Collins, 1988, p. xviii) In favoring a classical over a medieval model, Hegemann and Peets also made an appeal to the tradition, going back to the ancient Greeks, of viewing these forms as timeless, rational constructs.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk have taken much from these earlier planners. They look to the two old books on town planning for their exhaustive expositions on the principles of urban design in such areas as "architectural street design," "the garden as civic art" (Hegemann and Peets), and "boundaries and approaches," and "centers and enclosed places" (Unwin). In particular, DPZ adopt the books' formal treatment of the town center, celebration of the public realm, and emphasis on achieving harmony among the disparate buildings of different architects. They reject the planning principles formed, in their opinion, by Modernism, which have given shape to our suburbs over the past 45 years, and turn to a previous tradition that

confronted many of the same problems in very different ways. DPZ's insistence that in planning architecture must guide engineering, and their assertion that past forms be the model for current development, echo the earlier generation of planners quite clearly.

Yet to understand DPZ's approach we much also look to more recent architect and critic whose work confronts these same problems, Leon Krier. Duany credits Krier as the direct impetus to the firm's neo-traditional approach. Seaside is the site of Krier's first built design, a tower topped by a portico so familiar from his drawings. DPZ, in turn, have worked with Krier in designing the regulatory system for his town plan for Poundbury, a new town development in Dorset for Prince Charles. Krier's work grows out of the same root of discontent with the industrial city as that of the earlier generation of town planners, but his critique is focused directly on the metropolis of the 1990s.

Echoes of Unwin, Hegemann and Peets can be heard in the following description of Krier's approach:

> Krier's buildings grow out of his towns, and not vice versa, which is one of the reasons he is a non-building architect. Unless he can conceptualise and control (at least to some extent) some larger order, constructing some disembodied part, except the private *folie* in the country, is of no interest. . . . No anti-social, hero-buildings standing alone for him. The *city* is the focus and purpose of design, the giver of meaning; individual buildings are born out of *its* order and requirement. They are never isolated works of art in and of themselves. The city is the work of art. (Robertson, 1984, p. 12-13)

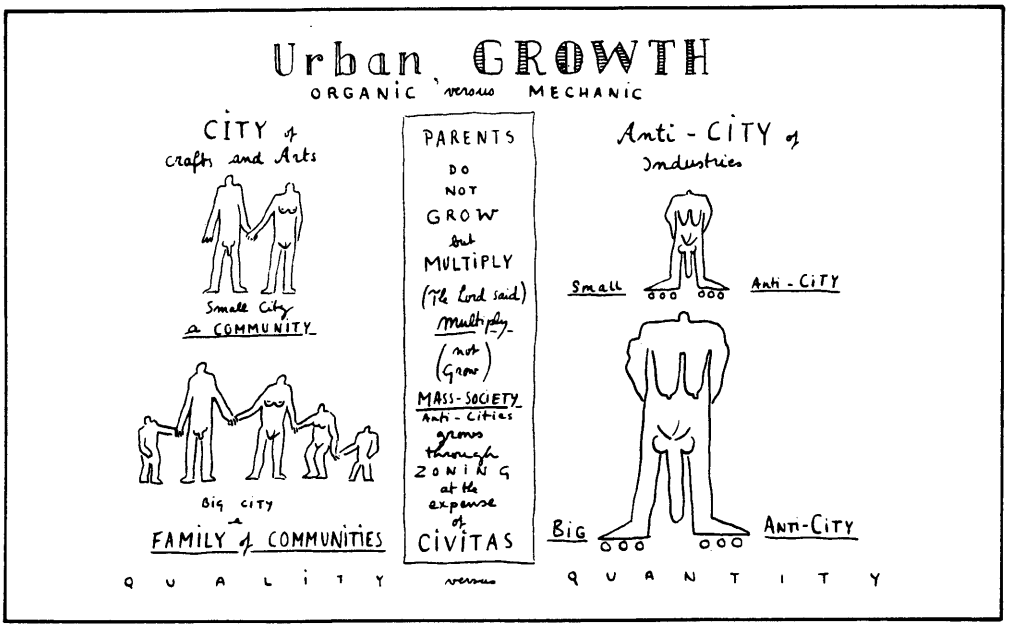
Krier's method of popularizing his ideas through sketches, cartoons, and aphorisms is highly controversial. Even many of his admirers point to the oversimplification and inflexibility of his rhetoric, which they justify as a necessity in order to reach a broad public audience (Rowe, 1984, p. 7). Yet others see more in his work: "During the last decade or so, Leon Krier, both through his projects and his writings alike, has sought to explain the rational foundations of architecture and the city. His *Critiques* of the industrial city, zoning, Modernism and of building and architecture are not independent

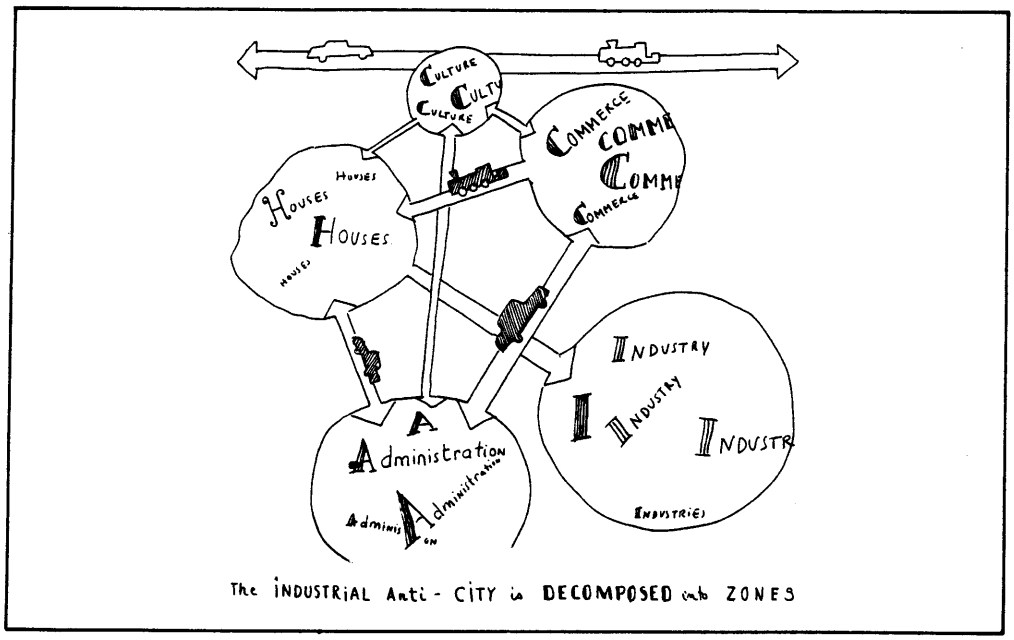
aphorisms but stages of a comprehensive critical inquiry" (Porphyrios, 1984, p. 16).

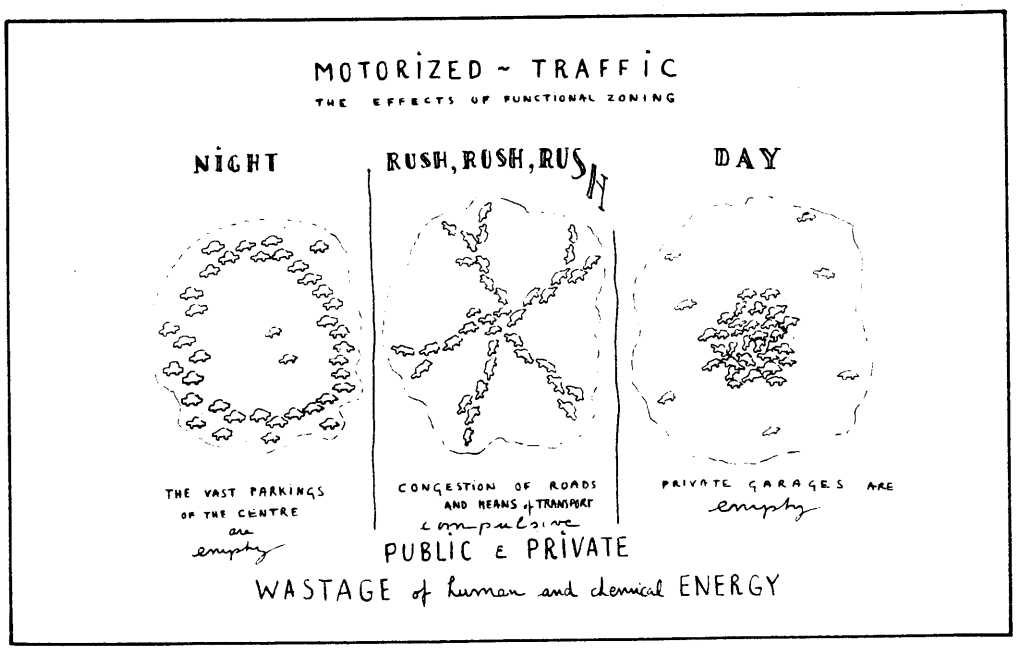
Certainly, Krier has been engaged in an attempt "to demonstrate that there is a rational certainty that informs both architecture and the city." (Porphyrios, 1984, p. 16) He is therefore concerned with the "ought," not the "is" of city planning. In his search for such a proper basis for city building, Krier looks to "the well-trodden and known forms of the European City [which] have proven successful from the time of the ancients down to the present day." (Porphyrios, 1984, p. 17) But he distinguishes the principles he is in search of from mere historical borrowing: "We don't have to look to history, but the harder we search the more we find that the fundamental types of spaces and construction have been know for a long while. They remain relevant exactly because they are timeless." (Krier, 1989, p. 13)

Since for Krier there are appropriate urban forms that are rational and timeless, the logical next step of his hypothesis is that at least something of the nature of the city is to be found in these formal elements: ". . . the social and cultural complexity of a city has necessarily to do with its physical and structural complexity and density." (Krier, 1984, p. 43) In his study of Urban Components, he looks to the city block as the unit of analysis for appropriate urban form: "Though the rural block need not be of any specific size, I want to stress that urban blocks ought to have well defined qualities of *size, volume, orientation, typology, order and complexity* in order to become *urban.* Although the size and nature of urban blocks vary enormously, I want to define a very limited range of principles not only for analysis but as a basis of urban design philosophy." (Krier, 1984, p. 44)

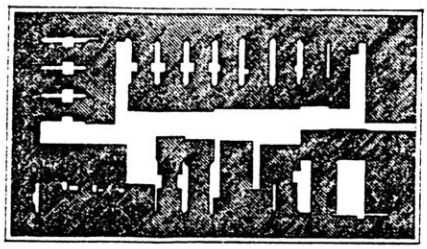
From identifying physical principles which must be present in order for a place to be urban, it is a short step to rejecting places that do not meet these criteria as un-urban or anti-urban. This is precisely what Krier does, in rhetoric at least, to the current modern city, which he labels as "Anti-City" or "Sub-Urb." Krier is virulent in his attacks on the suburbs, which he sees as destructive to city and countryside alike. He places much of the blame on functional zoning, which is viewed as an agent destructive of the complex fabrics that define urban communities. Zoning is authoritarian by its nature, for in any place it allows only a single task and prohibits all others. The separation of functions inevitably entails a slavish dependency on transportation to move between the city's dispersed functions, wasting the

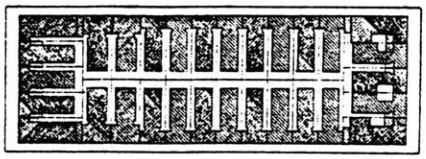


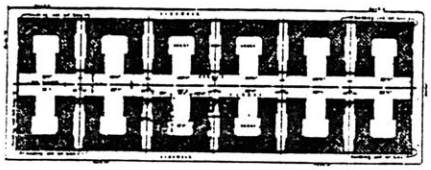


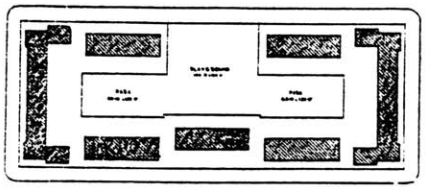


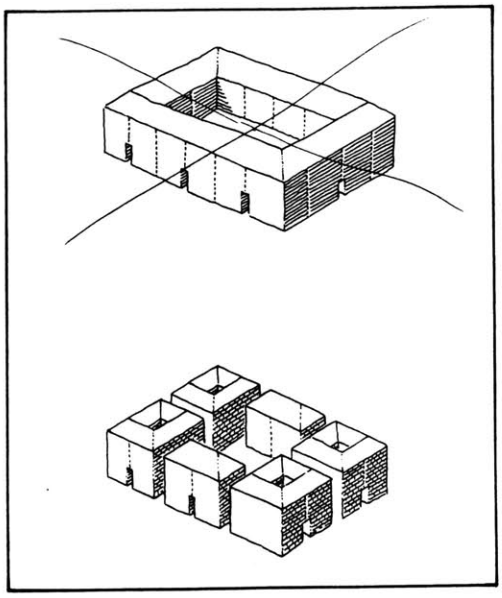
Leon Krier's critique of the contemporary "anti-city." The organic conception of the city is represented in terms of the human body. The critique of the contemporary urban situation is shown as violent distortion of the body (Source: Krier, 1984).



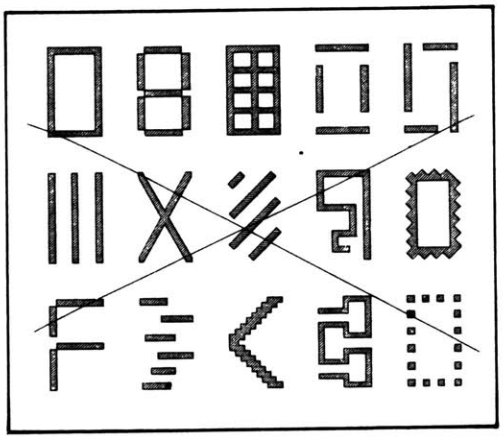








INSULA TEGELIENSIS

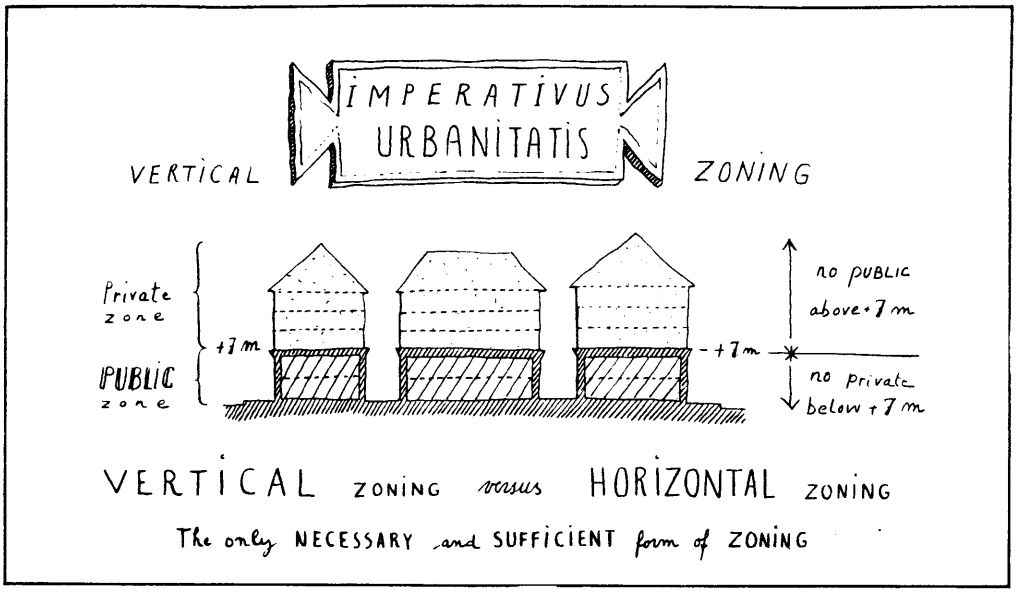


Two generations of critics. Left: Clarence Stein criticizes the dense urban blocks of New York (top three diagrams) and advocates the open, communal proto-superblock of Sunnyside Gardens (bottom diagram). Right: Leon Krier rejects large slab- and superblocks of the modern and proto-modern city in favor of small blocks maximizing public frontage (Sources: Stein, 1957; Krier, 1984).

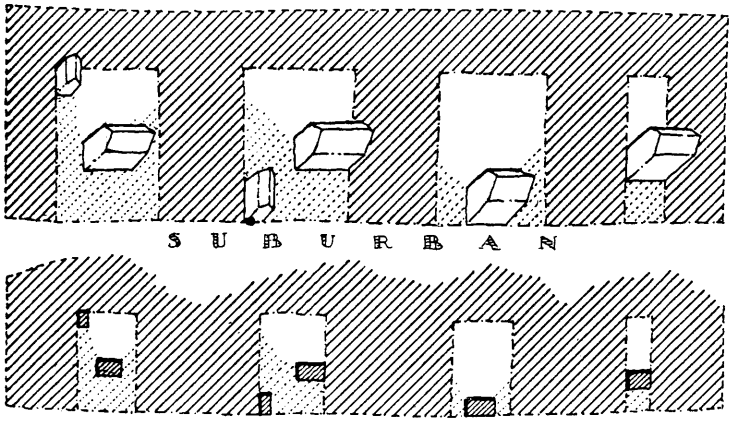
time and energy of the individual, as well as forcing the waste of irreplaceable fuels. Krier's critique of the physical form of cities is tied to a deeper critique of industrialization itself, which is viewed as authoritarian in nature because it promotes centralization, whether of a capitalist or socialist nature. While his critique of industrialism is a broad condemnation of a system that he sees based only on short term profit and exploitation, he sees this system as particularly destructive in the area of building, which is Krier's main concern: "Industrialisation of building must be considered a total failure. . . . [It] has not brought any significant technical improvement in building. . . . It has on the contrary destroyed a millenary and highly sophisticated craft." (Krier, 1984, p. 37) Krier's Industrial Anti-City, then, is a grotesque, which produces much of a material nature, but little of substance except the alienation of people who live in it. Moreover, Krier argues, the unchecked productive powers of industrialism have in a short period of time destroyed many of the rich environments that it had taken mankind millenia of intelligence and labor to produce (Krier, 1984, p. 32 - 37).

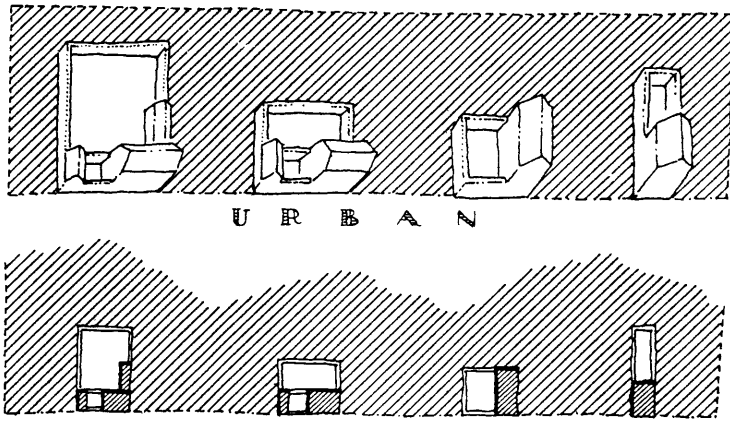
What, then, does Krier propose in place of this grotesque? His vision is of a compact urban unit or Urban Quarter, defined by a short (ten-minute) walking radius. "Each quarter must have its own centre, periphery and limit. Each quarter must be A CITY WITHIN A CITY. The *Quarter* must integrate all daily functions of urban life (dwelling, working, leisure) within a territory dimensioned on the basis of the comfort of a walking man; not exceeding 35 hectares in surface and 15,000 inhabitants." (Krier, 1984, p. 70) The city should grow not by the expansion of these units but by their multiplication, which would together form a federation of autonomous quarters. In this respect, his vision resembles Ebenezer Howard's conception of the "Social City," a constellation of separate towns which was to tie together the smaller garden cities into a larger unit capable of supporting specialized urban functions. Krier's drawings of a multitude of smaller independent urban units as the model of urban growth resembles Howard's scheme, but the scale of the units is smaller, and their relation to each other less clear.

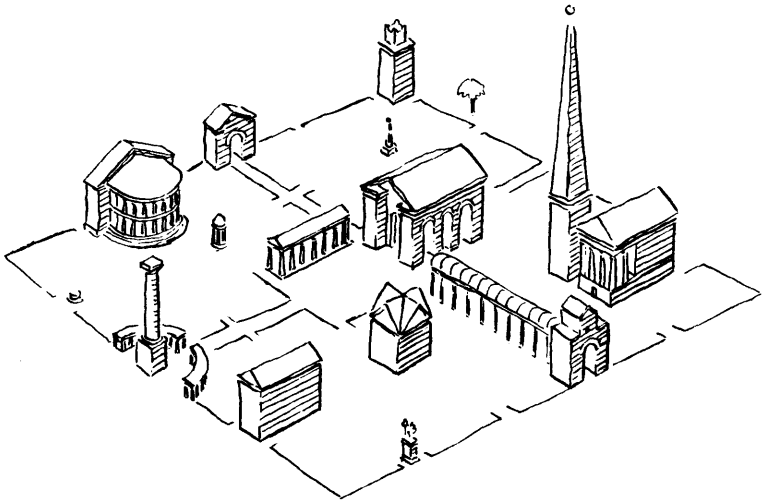
What is to be the form of these quarters? "Simplicity must be the goal of the urban plan, however complex the urban geography and topography. The city must be articulated into public and domestic spaces, monuments and urban fabric, classical architecture and vernacular buildings, squares and streets, and in that hierarchy." (Krier, 1984, p. 71) The urban space is



Principles of order in Leon Krier's city.
(Source: Krier, 1984)







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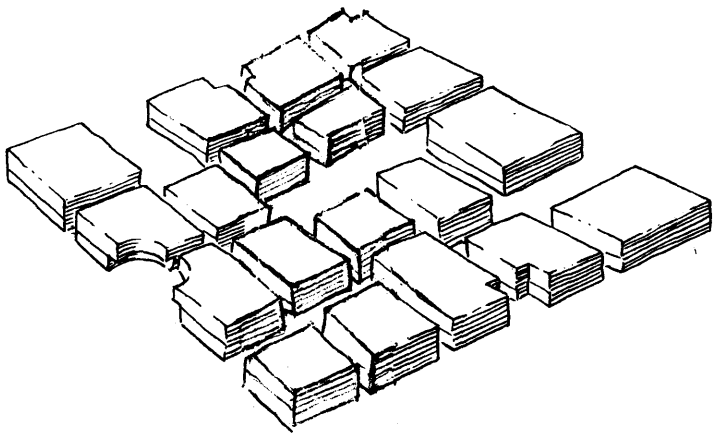

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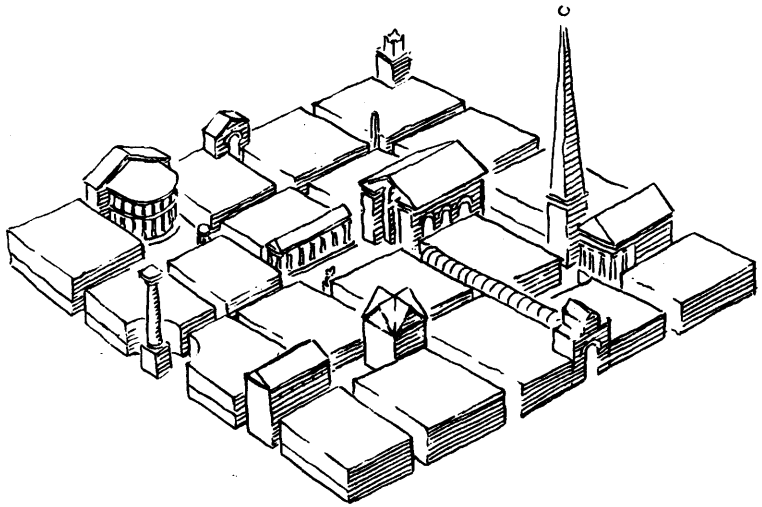

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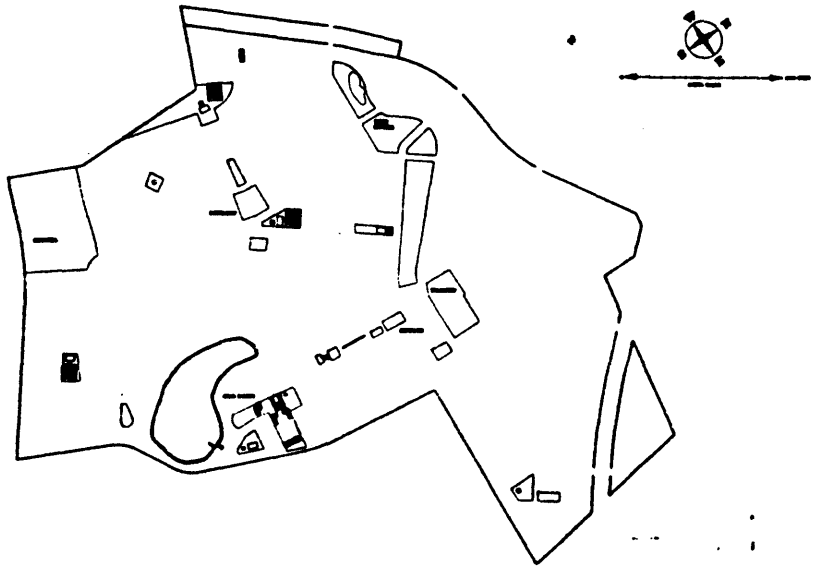


Above: Krier's diagram of the city as composed of public and private realms (Source: Krier, 1984). Right: Diagram of civic buildings and space for Kentlands from charrette plan.

divided into many small blocks, providing a maximum of public frontage and freedom of mobility. Buildings are of a modest height, not exceeding four stories. The division of public and private is accomplished in two ways, first, through "vertical zoning," which establishes the base of the building as the public area, and the top as the private; second, through two complementary horizontal realms, that of "res publica," and that of "res privata." The latter, vernacular realm, is to be subordinate to the former, monumental realm.

DPZ have taken much from Krier's vision: his emphasis on walking scale; the concept of maximum penetration of the public pedestrian network; the importance of the center; the division of the city into complementary realms of *res publica* and *res privata*. Perhaps more fundamental is the belief that physical form is a major determinant of whether a place is truly urban. Yet transplanting Krier's ideas to the American context raised some obvious problems. Most obvious is Krier's idolizing of the European City as the model of good city form, and his condemnation of the American City as its antithesis. Are Krier's views simply alien and therefore inapplicable to the American context? Duany and Plater-Zyberk apparently don't think so, and they put the "traditional American town" in place of the European City as their model of urban form. Still, it is perhaps this basis in Krier that leads to the frequent criticism of their work as non-American in nature.

Krier's influence can be heard perhaps even more strongly in DPZ's suburban critique, to which we now turn.

DPZ's Critique and Goals

Perhaps half of DPZ's success lies in salesmanship. What they are selling, however, is not only their design services, but a wholesale critique of today's suburban environment and the planning system that produces it. They communicate their message in a variety of ways: through Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk's program in suburban design at the University of Miami; a model zoning code to permit their design goals in municipalities where they are prevented through regulation; articles in newspapers and magazines; and, perhaps most important, a set of lectures including a popular talk that Duany has delivered in many different locales, and which is currently also in circulation on video tape.

Their message incorporates a number of elements from previous generations of new town planners and critics of the suburbs in a presentation

style that is halfway between serious debate and seductive salesmanship. Their polemics are perhaps intended more for the purpose of persuasion than academic exchange. Whatever its disadvantages in other areas, the approach has been highly successful in attracting the attention of planners, engineers, the media, and the general public. Perhaps more importantly, it has had a good track record of converting developers, many of whom become DPZ clients. For the purposes of this paper, this material will serve to provide at least an outline of the team's views and aims, bearing in mind the risk of transplanting material not originally intended for academic debate. It will be supplemented by interviews with several DPZ architects.

While few elements of DPZ's message are original to them, they combine elements of previous critiques in a novel way. Unlike many urbanist critics of the suburbs, they do not use center city neighborhoods like Greenwich Village as a contrast to a sterile suburban environment. Instead, their models are mostly the grand old suburbs of the early 20th century, places like Roland Park in Baltimore and Forest Hills Gardens in New York. Duany is explicit that in re-creating a public realm he does not seek to challenge the privacy of the suburb. Rather, the goal is to build a better suburb by looking to the form's best examples. Moreover, they concentrate not on the scale of the large city, but offer instead the image of the small town. Their approach is more purely revivalist than that of most recent critics, many of whom favor the scale or the sociability of the small town, but few of whom propose to emulate it as thoroughly as DPZ. In addition, they explicitly distance themselves from those who take a slow-growth, anti-development approach to suburban problems. They frequently talk of themselves as developers' architects, and level much of their critique against the public sector, not the private, an attitude that has perhaps grown out of conflicts with public authorities over the implementation of their plans. While they obviously desire good public sector leadership, they view the developer as an effective agent for the building of public places, and their efforts so far have relied on the market as the means of implementation. They state that the solution should not be to prevent bad growth, but to promote good growth. In this way, they present themselves as the answer to the deadlock of pro- and anti-growth forces.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk center their critique of the suburbs on issues of physical planning, but they emphasize that the "problem is not aesthetic, it

is social." (Duany, 1989, p. 60). In this sense, they follow in the tradition of early 20th century new town planners whose work revolved around the interrelation of the physical and social in the modern city, people such as Ebenezer Howard, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. Their critique of the suburbs echoes Howard's famous Town-Country Magnet diagram. Howard illustrates the opposing advantages and disadvantages of urban and rural life brought on by the form of the modern city, and proposes the Garden City as the means of combining the advantages of both with the disadvantages of neither. In similar terms, Duany has described the suburb as a place with "the culture of a rural town and the congestion of a metropolis," and offers his plans as a way of reversing this situation (Duany, 1989, p. 61) But although DPZ's critique of the suburban condition follows the basic lines of previous generations, it is more squarely focused on physical design, and their solutions are also offered in design terms.

The critique begins with the planning and engineering professions themselves, which receive much of the blame: today's suburbs "are thoroughly planned to be as they are: the direct results of zoning and subdivision ordinances zealously administered by thousands of planning departments." (Duany, 1989, p. 60) Some blame is also reserved for the professions of architecture and landscape architecture, the former for the follies of the Modern movement, the latter for allowing landscape to be treated as mere decoration instead of a structuring element in the plan. DPZ's basic critique of the suburbs is stated in terms of the misguided priorities of the groups currently shaping development: "Today's ordinances dictate only four criteria for urbanism: the free and rapid flow of traffic; parking in quantity; the rigorous separations of uses; and a relatively low density of building." (Duany et al., 1989) All of these parameters concern aspects of physical development. These problems are compounded by problems within the professions themselves, which are hampered by specialization without communication, agendas oriented toward marketing, and the lack of a holistic view (Plater-Zyberk, 1990).

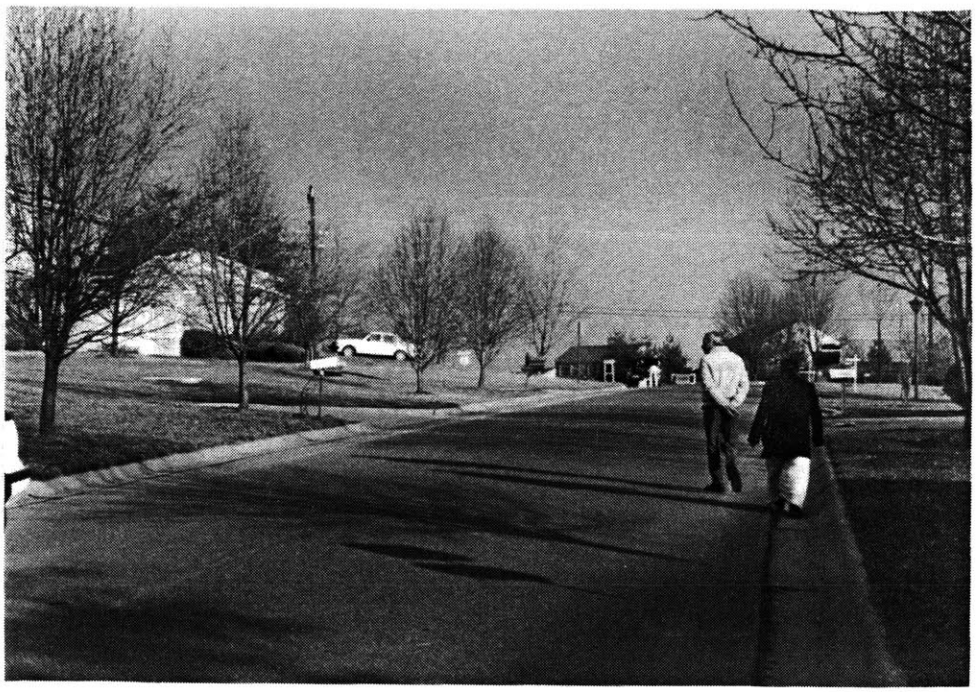
The result of these misguided planning policies is manifested in a fragmented physical environment that DPZ belief is increasingly unworkable and unpleasant. The centerpiece of Duany's lecture is a slide he uses to illustrate his critique of the rigid separation of land uses that makes walking between places discouraging if not impossible. The image is an aerial view of

a typical section of suburbia laid out along the lines of the Continental Survey of the 1790s. In this square-mile area bounded by arterials, a variety of uses are located in close proximity but all are completely inaccessible to each other without use of a car. Other slides show examples of site and roadway designs that act as virtual barriers to pedestrian movement, or at least a insurmountable disincentives. Duany illustrates a number of such barriers: Different uses are physically separated by walls or berms. Pedestrians can be discouraged from crossing streets by excessive curb radii and turning lanes which widen the distance from sidewalk to sidewalk. Placement of parking lots in front of buildings presents a bleak landscape for the pedestrian, and removes the interest of building fronts from the street. The elimination of curbside parking removes an important buffer between the sidewalk and the traffic of the street and and helps deaden the sidewalk environment by eliminating curbside activity generated by parking and people leaving and entering cars. Neighborhoods street forms that Duany describes as "curvilinear mazes" are confusing and difficult to navigate because there "is nothing memorable, no landmarks, and that's why one is constantly lost in the new suburbs." (Duany, 1989, p. 63)

The separation of functions and other deterrents to walking lead to a reliance on the automobile as the means of travel, generating auto trips that could be accommodated on foot. Long commutes on crowded roads waste time that could be spent more productively: "The travel between destinations -- the time we spend in the public realm -- becomes mere void, without pleasure, instruction or social value. For most of us, the portion of the day we spend in automobiles is a waste." (Duany, 1988) And: "If only a part of those hours could be spent walking and meeting our fellow citizens, or going to bookstores, going to cafes, meeting, discussing, reading, wandering." (Duany, 1989, p. 60) Reliance on the automobile is compounded, in their view, by a hierarchical street design which delivers all trips to collector streets whose capacity thus becomes severely burdened, causing congestion, while other streets are underutilized. "This is why all the new suburbs from California to Florida have the densities of towns but the traffic of a metropolis." (Duany, 1989, p. 61) The excess width of underused neighborhoods streets also wastes money that could be used for parks or other public amenities.

Pedestrian environments:

Top: A typical suburban subdivision near Kentlands.
Bottom: A street in Seaside.



Duany and Plater-Zyberk aim their criticism not only at the time wasted through long commutes to places of work, but also the reliance on cars for other trips, such as to school or shopping. Thus their critique goes beyond the traffic congestion caused by peak hour volumes to other issues: the problems of the young and elderly whose mobility is limited because of lack of access to a car or inability to drive; the problems of women who are often forced to spend time chauffeuring others; the money wasted on automobile purchases and insurance as a prerequisite for mobility in the suburban environment; and the nature of the car as "a completely hermetic, antisocial device" (Duany, 1989, p. 60) which eliminates contact with others. They lament that "car traffic has become the central, unavoidable experience of the public realm." (Duany, et al., 1989)

Although Duany and Plater-Zyberk have spent much time publicly criticizing the inequities and inefficiencies of the current suburban environment, the thrust of their criticism is clearly that we have lost the ability to build *places* and *spaces* of the quality built in the past. Another set of slides from Duany's lecture offers contrasts between the sort of environment produced by today's planning and a traditional American town. On the one hand is a typical scene from the contemporary suburbs, the intersection of two ten-lane arterials with a large mall parking lot at the corner; on the other, a Main Street filled with people at an outdoor festival. Part of Duany's success lies in his ability to make us laugh in recognition at the absurdities we experience daily in our environment, but he also communicates very effectively his idea that through our regulations we have inadvertently separated ourselves from our heritage, and can no longer build the sorts of places most people really want to live in: "Marketing studies have concluded that Americans prefer to live in towns, and that they value community as much as security. . . . Inadvertently, over the years, codes have been modified to the point that we can no longer build traditional American towns. We can no longer build Williamsburg, or Winter Park, or Nantucket, or Annapolis. We can no longer build the places that are among the great collective memories of America." (Duany, 1989, p. 61) Their critique of the suburbs is thus at root a conservative one: "To recover the lost richness of our suburban lives, must we change radically? To regain genuine public places, must we give up the freedom and privacy of suburbia? The answer is no. We need only look at our older suburbs to see that. . . . [These] early suburbs are still the preferred

places to live. . . . Suburbs designed in this way, in the early decades of this century, have become some of the great addresses of America -- places like Newton and Winchester, as well as Palm Beach, Roland Park, Lake Forest, Shaker Heights, Beverly Hills and a hundred others." (Duany, 1988) In seeking to address the functional problems of today, we are ignoring the "timeless qualities" that good places share (Plater-Zyberk, 1990).

In advocating a "traditional" pattern of town building, Duany and Plater-Zyberk appeal to the sense shared by many people that a traditional physical order is an important factor in what constitutes the nature of a city or town, that the formless suburbs of today are an aberration, a departure from timeless forms of city building. They present an idea of the town as a place that is bounded, centered, and unified. The idea of boundary is explicitly stated in DPZ's model Traditional Neighborhood Development ordinance, which calls for a narrow greenbelt around each "town," even if it is just a park of golf course. The centered quality can be seen in plans such as Seaside, Belmont, and, to a lesser degree Kentlands, which all have a clear town center area to serve as a focal point for the community. The unified character is evident in the insistence on the use of words such as "town" and "neighborhood" for the sorts of places they advocate. In the complex urban fabric of today, the meaning of these words is far from clear and nor is the relation of DPZ's projects to previous uses of these terms. But these words appeal to our notions of the place as a coherent entity, and DPZ deploy them as a rhetorical device that contrasts with lack of such a perceptible order in the suburbs of today. As entities that are to manifest their order in physical terms, DPZ's plans can be easily represented in maps and pictures that refer to place. These are the visual devices that DPZ use to illustrate their schemes: maps of the development to display its clear physical structure, drawings of street views that illustrate a strongly coherent character, photographs of the highly imageable Seaside. The images are often accompanied by a brief text that explains the character of the area in view: a neighborhood's identity is described, the feel of a public space is evoked. The plan comes to life because its physical order can be conceptualized as a place that makes sense in familiar terms. The ability to identify with the plan as a place is reinforced by an appeal to people's knowledge of already existing places, such as old towns and neighborhoods in the area of the development. The ability for people to share a coherent vision of the plan as place is apparently a powerful device in

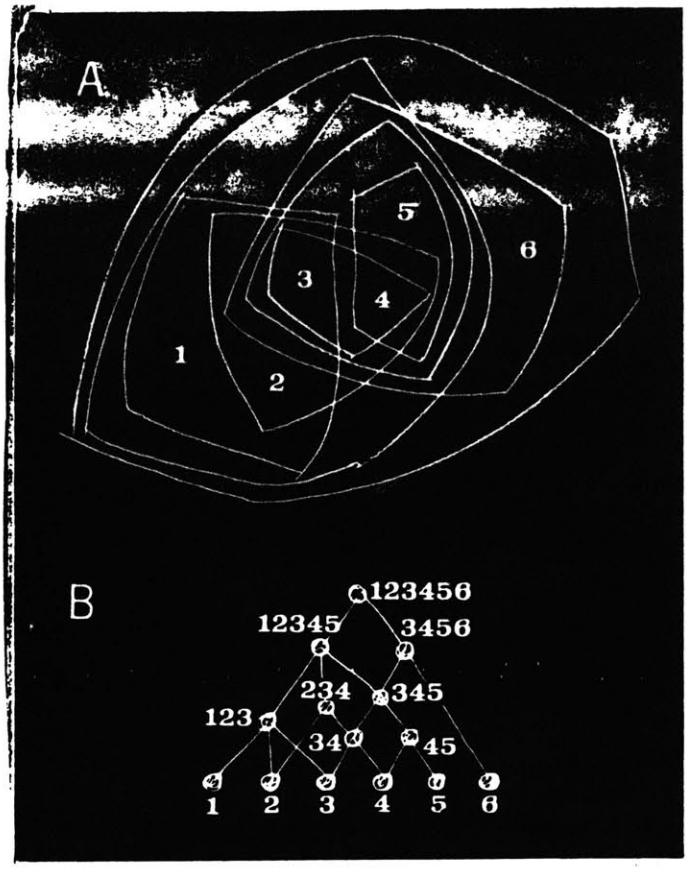
building consensus in favor of the development strategy. Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk has said that it is much easier to communicate the firm's approach in places like New England where people are familiar with "traditional" towns, than in places like Florida where a large percentage of the population has grown up with no experience of such traditional urban physical models.

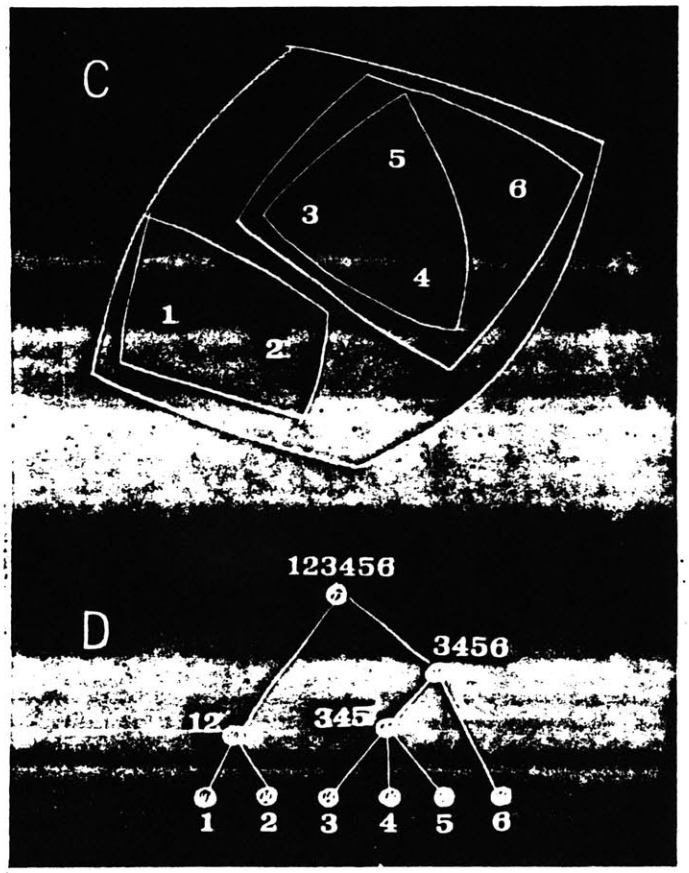
The urban unit DPZ advocate should be distinguished from a similar concept that has enjoyed considerable currency in the planning profession during much of this century, that of the "neighborhood unit." The term "neighborhood" itself has been subject to a number of definitions and uses, and although these may conclict with each other or describe different concepts, the word itself is a comfortable part of most people's vocabulary and is usually not subject to misunderstanding. The term "neighborhood unit," however, refers to a specific model of physical planning that has been developed across the middle years of this century. According to Banerjee and Baer, while this model was in fact in operation in early 20th century community plans such as Sunnyside Gardens and Forest Hills Garden, it was first given a clear articulation by Clarence Perry at the end of the 1920s (Banerjee and Baer, 1984, p. 19). This articulation in planning thought was a reaction to the breakdown of older structures of urban order that came with the transformations cities underwent during the industrial revolution (Gallion and Eisner, 1986, p. 296 - 297). Under Perry's influential scheme, the neighborhood was to be a geographic unit, "a closed system to be used in building-block fashion for the development of urban areas." (Banerjee and Baer, 1984, p. 19) The size of the neighborhood was to be large enough to support an elementary school (in the range of 3,000 to 12,000 people) as well as small parks and playgrounds, and small stores. Each unit was to be centered on the school and other community facilities, and bounded by arterial streets which would carry through-traffic around, not through, the neighborhood. Shopping and apartments were to be located on these arteries. The internal street system, likewise, was to be designed to circulate traffic within the unit, and to discourage traffic through it. (Banerjee and Baer, 1984). The purposes of the neighborhood unit were to provide a safe environment for the raising of children, and to promote the values of security and community by providing an arena for social contact with others living nearby. The "neighborhood unit" concept has been influential in the planning

profession, and has served as the basis for planned communities and new towns such as Radburn, Reston, and Columbia.

The concept, however, has been subject to criticism on a number of grounds. Perhaps the most seminal critique is that of Christoper Alexander in his article, "The City is Not a Tree." According to Alexander, the neighborhood unit concept is an example of an organizational structure, called the "tree," which is fundamentally inappropriate as a model for urban organization even though it has emerged as perhaps the most influential such model in the field of urban planning in this century. The tree is the wrong model for urban organization because it lacks the city's complexity, subtlety and flexibility. Alexander proposes another organizational structure, the semi-lattice, as a more appropriate means of conceptualizing urban organization, and describes the difference betwen the two structures. In the tree, an element of the city can be related to other elements in only one of two ways: it must be wholly contained in the other, or completely disjoint. The resulting hierarchical organization resembles the branching structure of a tree, and thus the derviation of the name. The semi-lattice, on the other hand is defined by the principle that when any two elements of a set overlap, the union of the two elements must also be present. These two structures are perhaps more easily conceptualized with the help of Alexander's diagrams (see following page). Alexander claims that the semi-lattice corresponds much more closely to the requirements of the city for different sorts of contact and interdependencies between elements than does the tree structure. The tree structure, however, is popular in planning because it is inherently more easy to conceptualize than the semi-lattice, since it is based on the basic human capability to separate and classify things. When the city is conceptually separated into different functions such as work, home, and recreation, it is easy to take the next step to mirror the coneptual distinction in physical organization, ignoring in the process the rich and complicated latticework of connections that actually exists between different elements. The tree-conception of the city is thus associated with functional zoning, both in terms of the sterility that it seems to create and in terms of the seemingly obvious and compelling nature of the principle. Thus, for Alexander the implications of the two structures lie in the fact that a system with a semi-lattice structure offers a number of possibilities for organizing the elements of the system many orders of magnitude greater than is possible with the tree system. The distinction between tree and semi-lattice

Christopher Alexander's diagrams illustrating the semi-lattice (top) and tree (bottom) structures. (Source: Alexander, 1965)





is of great relevance to the form of the city, he says, for the social organization of the city depends on just the variety and multiplicity created by the latter structure. It is a falsehood to believe, for example, that there is any reason the neighborhood unit should form an important boundary in the closeness of one's social relationships. Nor does the neighborhood unit necessarily fit the pattern of relationships demanded by other activities, such as stores or recreational activities. Each of these activities will have its own catchment area based on its individual logic. For Alexander, the city depends on the complex intersections of these different relationships, and on the smaller systems that develop when a number of different elements come together in a mutually supportive way. He gives the example of a newstand located on a sidewalk by a traffic light, where people stop and browse, and sometimes even buy, while the light is red. A number of elements of the larger city come together to form a mutually supportive system: traffic light, sidewalk, newstand (of a more fixed type) and people and newspapers (of a mobile type) among others. The mutually supporting nature of these elements depends on the capability for these different elements to be brought together. For the urban designer, it is particularly the more fixed ones that are of interest. The critique of the tree organization, then, is that on the one hand it destroys the potential for many such systems by drastically reducing the ways that different elements of the city can be brought together, and on the other hand it imposes a rigid and largely irrelevant physical structure as the setting for the many and complex interactions that in fact make up the city. Others have noted that even in the case of the activity for which the neighborhood unit is in fact designed as a perfect fit, the elementary school, that changes in the demographics of the neighborhood usually render this arrangement irrelevant, too, as the residents of the neighborhood tend to pass together beyond the child-rearing years of the life-cycle. According to Banerjee and Baer (1984) the irrelevance of the neighborhood unit as an organizing principle in the social lives of most people has been demonstrated in a number of empirical studies.

It is the rejection of the neighborhood unit, and the tree-system of organization of which it is a part, that distinguishes town planners of DPZ's persuasion from those who planned such new towns of the previous generation as Columbia and Reston. Duany has said that the plan for Kentlands "is going to stand as a criticism of Columbia and Reston,"

Scenes of Reston, Virginia:
Duany has criticized this 60s-era new town for replicating many of the problems of the suburbs.

Pedestrian paths provide pleasant access to the rear of houses, but lack the qualities of public spaces advocated by Duany and Plater-Zyberk.

Roads and parking follow standards similar to those of ordinary suburban subdivisions.

(Rosenthal and Gunts, 1988), and DPZ's urban unit can be seen as a criticique of the older idea of neighborhood unit in a number of ways. DPZ reject the idea of the neighborhood as a physically self-enclosed unit. The streets of one neighborhood should connect with those of the next in DPZ's view, and they reject the practice of street designs that discourage outsiders through illegiblility in favor of a clearly articulated network that is comprehensible to all. While the earlier neighborhood unit concept was domestic in nature, DPZ advocate also including places of work, which represents a rejection of the separation of work and home life embodied in the neighborhood unit as a part of a larger tree system. Their concept, then, is more inclusive of all urban activities. Their vision is also perhaps more socially inclusive. In Perry's model, the neighborhood unit was explicit in its orientation towards families of child-rearing age. The school was the center of the community. Apartment units, to house those who for whatever reason did not fit this family norm, and shopping were both placed at the community's perhiphery. In DPZ's scheme, in contrast, apartment units and shopping are placed at the center. The inclusion of people who do not fit the familial norm is an explicit part of DPZ's program, and the placement of commercial areas at the center indicates a more important place for an activity that is inherently less exclusionary than the more private residential realm.

Thus DPZ's critique is both of the apparent chaos of the suburban environment resulting from a lack of coordinated planning, and of planning models that have grown up as a response to this situation. For all the intervening years, DPZ's cry of alarm over the suburbs is not so different from the note sounded by Raymond Unwin, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets. For all of them, the problem is the chaotic environment created by the fragmentation of the modern city. But what was perhaps largely a problem of visual chaos for the earlier generation, exemplified for Hegemann and Peets by the cacaphony of styles along New York City's Fifth Avenue, has developed into a more widespread balkanization in the late twentieth-century, due largely perhaps to the relatively recent technological ability to achieve this condition, but also in part to planning concepts that DPZ reject such as the neighborhood unit. This condition has been institutionalized in most places in this country through the planning profession and other government regulators, such as highway departments. It is probably their encounters with this bureaucratic structure that has lead to DPZ's crusade against the planning

framework of this country. But it is important to note that many of these standards are not independent inventions of professional planners, but respond to the concerns of interested parties, such as security-minded residents or retailers seeking parking access for customers. Whether or not it was originally a misguided planning concept, the separation of residences from other functions enjoys the support of many homeowners. Banerjee and Baer (1984) report that many residents of older new towns such as Columbia and Reston in fact feel that even in this older neighborhood unit model there is too little such separation. In this respect, Duany and Plater-Zyberk would agree on the importance of creating alternative models for successful development in order to sway public opinion in their direction (Miami Herald Tropic Magazine, February 21, 1988). Their careers have pursued this effort on a number of fronts. Kentlands, for example, is not just a large contract, but an opportunity to validate their ideas. But it should be seen as only part of a broader effort that the team has been carrying on for over a decade. So before proceeding to a closer examination of Kentlands, we will first turn to a brief examination of DPZ's previous work.

DPZ Background

Both Duany and Plater-Zyberk studied architecture at Princeton and then Yale. In the seventies Duany moved to Miami, where he taught architecture at the University of Miami. A year later Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk joined him and the two married. With Bernardo Fort-Brescia and Herwin Romney the couple founded the architecture firm Arquitectonica.

Arquitectonica's signature was the bold, sculptural, modern high rise style so much identified with the Miami skyline through the opening music of the television show "Miami Vice." Yet a stylistic split was developing within the firm, with Duany and Plater-Zyberk rejecting modernism in favor of a "neoclassical" approach, a conversion that has been credited to the influence of Krier. In 1978, young developer Robert Davis approached Arquitectonica about designing a development in a vernacular style for an 80-acre tract on the Gulf Coast of the Florida panhandle. The other partners displayed no interest, but Duany and Plater-Zyberk took on the project as a possibility to explore their developing architectural inclinations. They took the project, which was

to become Seaside, with them when they split from Arquitectonica to establish their own firm.

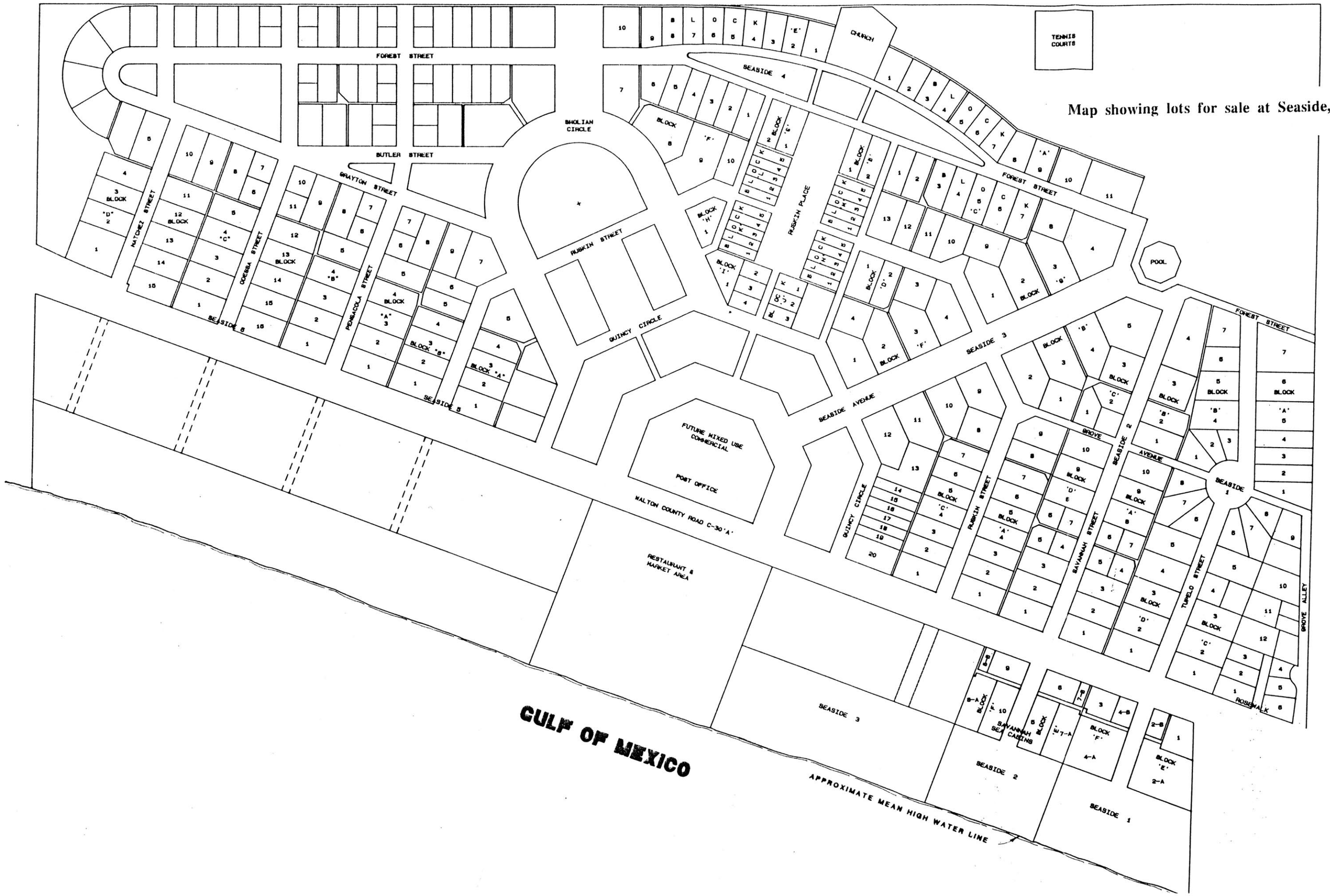
Seaside represented an unusual opportunity for the team. Not only did they have in Davis an idealistic developer who shared their vision of building in a traditional manner, but Davis owned the property outright, a family inheritance. The site, in remote Walton County, was the subject of few planning regulations, and located adjacent to a spectacular amenity, the pristine Gulf Coast, with its clear blue waters and white sands. Moreover, it was just beyond an area of increasing resort development, a few miles to the east of the emerging high rises, subdivisions, and strip developments of Destin.

With Davis, Duany and Plater-Zyberk devised the idea of building the property as a new town based on old models. The master plan that was developed included approximately 350 dwelling units, and 100-200 lodging units. A centralized retail core was to include conventional stores in arcaded buildings around a town square, as well as mini-bazaar of smaller shops. Also located in the town center were to be a conference center conceived as a town hall; a band stand; and office space to house the developer's offices. Recreation facilities were to include a small club located at the north-east edge of the site, in addition to smaller facilities located throughout the town (Abrams, 1989, p.8).

The project was conceived during a downturn in the development market, and the architects and developer took advantage of the time to spend several years researching historical styles of admired prototypes in places throughout the American South and Gulf Coast, including Charleston, New Orleans and Key West. They "determined that a single firm could not generate the range of architectural expression necessary to imbue Seaside with a sense of authenticity. So, rather than designing all of the town themselves, they spent the years from 1978 to 1983 researching, developing and testing an urban code which would create the desired variety while maintaining overall stylistic and urbanistic consistency." (Abrams, 1989, p. 8) Designed to be comprehensible to the layman, the jargon-free code fits one page, and governs the placement and form of such elements as porches, yards, and parking. Eight different building types are specified.

In addition to devising the code, the planners designed the development's innovative street plan. The pattern is a concentric grid,

THE TOWN OF SEASIDE



Map showing lots for sale at Seaside, Florida.

focused on a semi-circular town center facing on county road 30A, which runs parallel to the shore. A number of diagonals radiate from the town center, one to an area projected for public structures, another to the town's main recreation facilities. Most streets meet the county road, and thus the beach, perpendicularly, maximizing the number of properties with good beach access. Instead of walling off the beach front with a few high-priced properties and relegating the inland areas to a substantially lesser value, the plan creates a number of points of access to the beach through pavilions which also terminate the vista down each road. According to this concept, if fairly good access to the beach was provided throughout the town through a pleasant walking environment, then inland property values would be elevated to near-beach-front levels. At Krier's suggestion, pedestrian access is supplemented through a network of public paths running to the rear of houses. Architectural focal points are created at several squares and circles throughout the development, based in part on the idea that such places would elevate the property values in areas remote from the shore

Both street plan and urban code are designed to maximize the opportunities for social interaction -- the former by encouraging walking instead of driving and providing a maximum opportunity for encounter through the town's loose grid of streets, the latter by encouraging activity at the front of the house through the mandating of porches and of a comfortable relation of building to street.

In order to test their code as a method for guiding the development's growth, Duany and Plater-Zyberk have distanced themselves from the development of the site. They have refused to design any buildings there for fear of creating a model that would be duplicated throughout the town. Build-out has been overseen by the developer, a project engineer, a director of construction, and a "town architect," the last rotated occasionally to avoid leaving the imprint of any individual too strongly. The four together form a review committee for all designs. Although the code forms the basis of the requirements, the committee has full discretion and negotiations over specific proposals can go beyond the letter of the code. "Variances" are granted on the basis of architectural merit, not hardship. The active involvement of the developer in day to day decisions has been an important element in maintaining the integrity of the plan.

Seaside: Narrow streets, closed vistas, white picket fences, vernacular architecture.

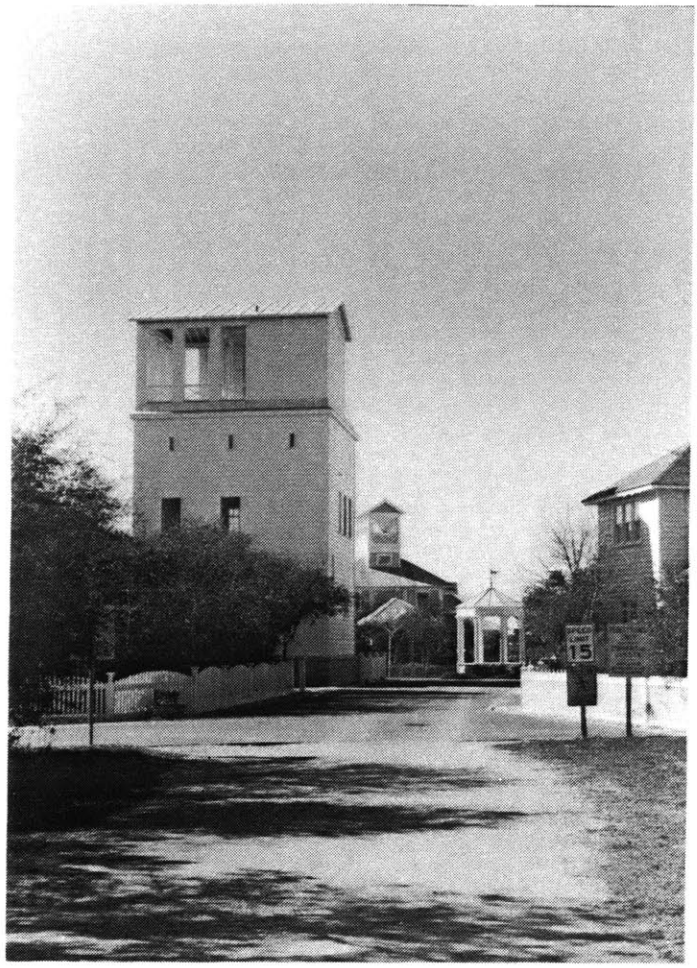
Public Spaces at Seaside.
Top: A civic circle.
Bottom: A small neighborhood park.

Most of the development has been sold in individual lots, and buildings have varied from individuals' self-designed houses employing local engineers to prize-winning works by nationally-known architects. Although it is not mandated in the code, most buildings have been in the rather elaborate neo-Victorian style which has been popular throughout the period during which the project has been under construction. Nevertheless, a number of buildings have been simpler, and perhaps more elegant, conventional houses. Historical revivalism is not mandated in the code, and an award-winning house by Walter Chatham demonstrates the possibilities of the code interpreted in a contemporary style. Leon Krier's house, in the form of a tower topped by a temple, is his first built work and echoes strongly his drawings.

As the project developed across the 1980s, it came to be surrounded by a growing storm of publicity, and by the end of the decade the development had achieved the status of a phenomenon. It received publicity in virtually every major magazine in the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and building, as well as numerous appearances in major newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post, and Boston Globe. Mentions in travel and leisure magazines were widespread, and the project was featured in a cover article in Atlantic magazine. Celebration of the town culminated at the end of the decade with a citation in Time magazine as one of the ten most important designs of the decade. Publicity was followed by financial success, and by the end of the decade, lots at Seaside had were selling at prices several times those of surrounding communities. Early Seaside lots had multiplied to several times their original sale priceand at a conference early in 1990, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk reported that lot prices at Seaside were as high as those of the most expensive comparable properties in the Miami area (Plater-Zyberk, 1990).

In spite of its remarkable success, Seaside is not without its problems and detractors. The flip side of financial success is that the development has become too expensive for all but the highest of incomes, making problematic the planners' original vision of a town where people of different social strata could meet. The planners have criticized the town's architecture as excessively pretty and seem to prefer the simpler, more modest buildings to the neo-Victorian extravaganzas that have come to dominate the site. They have also had to contend with the growing number of Seaside look-alikes that

Seaside houses by prominent architects. Above: Leon Krier's first built design. Below: Walter Chatham's prize-winning contemporary interpretation of the Seaside code.



have grown up near by, and the project's contribution to the proliferation of small town imagery that has come to accompany the marketing of even the most mundane developments.

In spite of its success, Seaside can only be considered a partial test of the firm's ideals of traditional town planning. The publicity accompanying the development generated a nation-wide market for what was after all a fairly small development of only approximately 350 lots. Soaring lot prices, while encouraging, thus can't be taken as a final validation of widespread demand for the neo-traditional type of development. Seaside's widespread applicability is also brought into question by the project's de facto nature as a resort community. The development's special qualities might seem more acceptable, or even charming, as a vacation spot for a couple of weeks a year than as a place of year-round residence. The town's remote location and the limited daily round of the vacationer means that Seaside's goal of small town life was more easily achievable. The concept, however, has yet to meet its ultimate challenge in the vastly more complicated land use and mobility patterns of a major metropolitan region. Seaside, while a success in its own right, was thus only a starting point in DPZ's campaign to change the patterns of American city building.

DPZ have pursued this campaign in a number of ways. Most important are planning projects that have taken the methods of Seaside to other regions and contexts. Another early work of the Seaside era is Charleston Place, a subdivision in Palm Beach County, Florida. At only 110 housing units, and with none of the mix of uses of Seaside, Charleston Place is, in Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk's phrase, a part of suburban sprawl. For the project, the team pursued a "subversive design strategy," intended to contend with zoning codes and the perceived limitations of the market. The development adapts the Charleston townhouse that the architects favor, with four different unit types representing slight variations on this model. The clean lines and smooth surfaces of these buildings, which DPZ designed, perhaps say more about Duany and Plater-Zyberk's architectural tastes than the heavily adorned Victoriana of Seaside. Roads are in the form of a tiny grid, with an irregular site edge resolved in a formal manner through a crescent. A mini-street hierarchy is created a wider entrance boulevard, with narrower streets to the side. The regular alignment of buildings define the street edge and creates an approximation of the form of a traditional urban rowhouse district.

Landscaping is designed to reinforce the formal quality of the street. Each of the development's four main blocks has a central pool facility. An alternative means of access is provided through a trellised pedestrian way to the rear.

Although Charleston Place does not represent nearly as fundamental a departure from suburban norms as Seaside, the architects nevertheless found themselves at odds with the city's codes. Street setback requirements "virtually mandated garden apartments in parking lots if seven units per acre are desired . . . " (Doublilet, 1984, p. 74). In places, creative interpretations were made of requirements in order to circumvent the restrictions. Thus the rear pedestrian routes were labelled "jogging tracks" to fulfill one requirement, and a rule forbidding automobiles to back out of driveways directly onto streets was bypassed by labelling the streets themselves as parking lots.

Acceptance for the plan has come in the form of imitation by nearby developments, which have adopted its traditional look, and an AIA chapter award. For Duany and Plater-Zyberk the plan represented a chance to test their design principles against local regulations as well as a confirmation of the notion that diversity is best created by leaving the design of buildings to a variety of different architects.

Since Seaside and Charleston Place, DPZ have worked on a number of projects of intermediate size. Two recent examples include Tannin and Friday Mountain.

At Tannin, in Alabama, the plan included approximately 150 housing units, a hotel and marina, and a small retail center off of a main highway, arranged around a formal square. Sandwiched between a highway strip and a lake, the retail center formed the junction between the site and the main road. The name Tannin refers to the black lakes characteristic of the region, whose color comes from the seepage of natural tannin into the water table. The architects convinced the owners that the black lakes were an asset that should be reflected in the development's name. The project employed DPZ's urban code system, with four building types. (Architectural Record, July 1987)

A larger opportunity came with a plan for Friday Mountain, south of Austin in Texas Hill Country, a project of Whitehawk Development Corporation. Here, an eight-day charrette process, which involved clients, consultants, historians, and experts on local architecture, produced a plan for a 500-acre site. The street plan follows closely the clear, regular pattern of Seaside's mix of radials and grid. A semicircular town center is again the

focal point, connected to a formal axis which forms the town's Main Street. The town will be subdivided into several neighborhoods of distinct character. A number of different scales of public spaces are included, from grand squares to small alleys and paths. The whole is surrounded by a greenbelt, which takes up over a quarter of the site's area, occupied in part by a golf-course following a winding stream. The project will be marketed largely to "younger seniors," but will go beyond conventional retirement communities, which Whitehawk Chairman Walter Reifslager feels overemphasize leisure and health care. The Friday Mountain plan includes a conference center, country club, nature preserve, office, retail and service space, as well as a wide range of housing types, from single family detached homes to multifamily to congregate extended-care facilities. Programming is to include "Institutes" dedicated to the study of business management, the environment, and other subjects.

DPZ's coding method was used for 12 building types, which drew not only from Texas precedents, but from other favorite models. (The latter types are given comical names, with a modified Charleston side-yard house labelled "Chuck-Tex" and a Georgetown rowhouse called "George-Tex.") Buildings range in size from the 1,200 square-foot Fred-Tex to the 38,440 square-foot Farmette. Each building type is matched with a different street configuration. (Fuller, 1987)

In addition to the planning of original towns, DPZ's work has also included the adaptation of existing sites to create or enhance the urban qualities the planners advocate. At Mashpee Commons in Mashpee, Massachusetts, the firm produced a plan to retrofit a 1960s shopping center as a traditional downtown, with retail at the ground level and apartments above. Facades were renovated, internal driveways were added to function as streets, and parking was placed behind buildings. The town of Mashpee has followed up on the new center by planning a new town hall adjacent to the development, and new residential neighborhoods are planned within walking distance under an open space zoning code that allows transfer of development rights to promote high-density, mixed use development and conserve open space. The difficulties of retrofitting such a suburban site have included drainage and traffic problems on the project's narrow streets, which were technically considered driveways and thus did not have to conform to the town's street engineering standards. In addition some residents objected to the district's

Urban Project List, May 1990
Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Architects and Town Planners

Avalon Park
Orlando, Florida
Flag Development Company, Inc.
9,400 Acre Master Plan
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: November, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 20 years

St. Lucie West
Port St. Lucie, Florida
Thomas White Corporation
4,500 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Planning, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: April, 1988
Estimated Buildout: 15 years

Blount Springs
Blount Springs, Alabama
Blount Springs Recolonization Partners, Inc.
3,500 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Planning, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Building Design, Construction Documents, Supervision
Designed: February, 1988
Under Construction
Estimated Buildout: 30 years

Rancho Del Sol
Martin County, Florida
Divosta and Company
2,700 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan and Design Regulations
Designed: January, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

The Disney Prototypical Town
Osceola County, Florida
Disney Development Corporation
2,500 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: November, 1987 - January, 1988
Project on Hold

Haymount
Caroline County, Virginia
Haymount Ltd. Partnership/Robertson & Clark Development
1,800 Acre New Town Design on Rappahonick River
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Buildout: 15 years

Wellington
Palm Beach County, Florida

Corepoint Corporation
1,600 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: September, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 15 years

Playa Vista
(with Moore, Ruble, Yudell; Ricardo Legoretta; de Brettville and Polyzoides; Hanna and Olin)
Los Angeles, California
Maguire Thomas Partners
900 Acre Urban Development
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
In Design
Estimated Buildout: 20 years

Trenton
(with Liebman-Melting Partnership)
Trenton, New Jersey
Capitol City Redevelopment Corporation
640 Acre Downtown Redevelopment
Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: December, 1988 - April, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

Friday Mountain
Austin, Texas
Whitehawk Development Corporation
500 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: August, 1987
Project on Hold

Kentlands
Gaithersburg, Maryland
Joseph Alfandre & Co.
352 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Building Design, Supervision
Designed: June, 1988
Under Construction
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

Mashpee Commons
Cape Cod, Massachusetts
Field Point Corporation
450 Acre Master Plan for Transformation of Existing Shopping Center into a New England Town with Commercial and Residential Uses
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: August, 1988
Under Construction
Estimated Buildout: 20 years

Sandy Spring
Sandy Spring, Maryland

Joseph Alfandre & Co.
300 Acre New Town Design
Site Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: January, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 15 years

Windsor
Vero Beach, Florida
Westnor Limited and Abercrombie & Kent International, Inc.
400 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: May, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

Poundbury
Dorchester, Dorset, England
Duchy of Cornwall
400 Acre Village
Zoning Code, Design Regulations for Town Plan Designed by Leon Krier
Designed: July, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

South Hill
Ithaca, New York
Auble Metropolis Group
235 Acre Master Plan
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: May, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 20 years

Belmont
Loudon County, Virginia
Joseph Alfandre & Co.
240 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: August, 1988
Estimated Buildout: 15 years

Sailboat Bend
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida
Sailboat Bend Homeowners Association
180 Acre Existing Urban Community Growth Plan
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: July, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

Marineland
Flagler County, Florida
Marineland of Florida, Inc.
140 Acre New Town Design including Existing Tourist Attraction
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, D.R.I. Statement
Designed: September, 1988
Estimated Buildout: 10 years

Bedford Three Corners
Bedford, New Hampshire
HABS Company
120 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: September, 1987
Estimated Buildout: 1992

Riverlands
Bedford, New Hampshire
HABS Company
100 Acre New Town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: July, 1989
Estimated buildout: 1995

Ingraham Corner
West Rockport, Maine
Rockport TND, Inc.
100 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning code, Design Regulations
Designed: July, 1989
Estimated Buildout: 1995

Seaside
Florida Panhandle
Robert Davis
80 Acre New town Design
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Supervision
Designed: February, 1979 - January, 1982
Under Construction, 40% Completed (150 buildings)
Estimated Buildout: 1995

Tannin
Orange County, Alabama
George Gounares & Associates, Inc.
60 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations, Building Design, Supervision
Designed: December, 1986
Under Construction
Estimated Buildout: 1995

Sturbridge
Rochester, New York
GMA Development
58 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: February, 1988
Estimated Buildout: 1990

Crab Creek
Annapolis, Maryland
Lienbach Development Company
40 Acre Residential Company

Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: February, 1988
Project abandoned client

Deerfield
Merrillville, Indiana
Executive Park Limited
40 Acre Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: February, 1988
Project on Hold.

Nicholson Quarter
Williamsburg, Virginia
Nicholson Quarter Company
28 Acre, 125 Unit Affordable, Mixed Income Residential Community
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Designed: July, 1989
Project on Hold

Bowman Green
Bedford, New Hampshire
HABS Company
14 Acre Residential Neighborhood
Site Master Plan, Zoning Code, Design Regulations
Estimated Buildout: 1995

parallel parking, which was unfamiliar in the suburban environment. (Zoning News June 1989) In a downtown redevelopment project for the city of Trenton, New Jersey, the firm has turned its attention to the problem of reconstructing the decayed center of an old urban downtown. Parking lots interrupt the city's fabric, and separate a center of government buildings from the downtown's commercial core. DPZ's plan is intended to turn the parking areas into a regular grid of streets (Plater-Zyberk, 1990).

The firm's work over the years has brought revisions of their techniques and a streamlining of their methods. The problem of maintaining an overall coordination of the architecture while allowing freedom for diversity has required experimentation and refinement. The initial goal of the urban code was to create a system that allowed great flexibility of interpretation while providing a framework that ensured harmony among buildings and preserved the integrity of the overall town design. The vision was of a one-page document that would "let housewives design" their own homes (Interview, Kit Krankel, 1990). At Carambola, a project in the Virgin Islands, a weak code became a problem as it led to products that the planners considered unacceptable. As a result, the coding system has gotten stricter and more comprehensive than the original Seaside version, and the one-page document has expanded to two. The first page, called the Urban Code, covers matters such as height, placement, and shape of buildings. The second, called the Architectural Code, governs materials, placement of windows, doors, etc. Regulations have come to specify intended products in much greater detail, such as the size of pickets in fences, the size of siding, and specific building envelopes. At Windsor, a project north of Miami, the first phase of the project is to be spec housing designed by architects hand-picked by DPZ. This will give the planners greater control, and provide a built model for other builders.

The planners continue to experiment with methods through which their projects can find a place in the contemporary suburban environment. In contrast to Leon Krier's publicized unwillingness to compromise his ideas in the field, DPZ have displayed a greater willingness to adapt their methods to the conditions prevailing in the contemporary American suburbs. Particularly problematic have been the commercial components, because of factors such as the broad catchment area necessary for many types of retail businesses, the desirability in some cases of good automobile access, and the floor plate

requirements of modern office organizations. A number of prototypes have been proposed for configurations that combine DPZ's goal of direct pedestrian access between residences and stores with the necessity for some businesses of direct auto access. One example presented at a recent conference is labelled "Strip Town," a hybrid of a conventional highway strip and a traditional pedestrian main street. Businesses that depend on easy accessibility between car and store are given a conventional arrangement with parking in a lot in front. Other stores that are less auto-dependent are located on a Main Street that extends from the strip shopping into the residential neighborhood (see diagram).

DPZ has phased out all its architectural work to devote the firm's time fully to town planning. The firm has adopted and streamlined a charrette method of producing initial plans for a site in roughly a week through intense work sessions bringing a broad range of relevant parties together on the site. The process has been routinized into an efficient system. All necessary equipment is transported to the site; CAD templates for the Urban and Architectural codes are prepared in advance to be modified on the basis of local architectural traditions. More information about the Kentlands charrette appears in chapter three.

To eliminate conflicts with local regulations, Duany and Plater-Zyberk, along with engineer Chester Chellman, are engaged in writing a model zoning text, called the Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) ordinance, that puts their planning precepts into law. To support the TND ordinance, the three have formed the Foundation for Traditional Neighborhoods along with several other architects and developers. The Foundation holds the copyright on the ordinance and is engaged in promoting it in a manner that assures that specific local ordinances based on it will not destroy the spirit of the model through ill-considered changes. The TND and an associated questionnaire have been sent to over 250 individuals and governments, and the Foundation is in the process of developing workshops and symposia to spread an understanding of the ordinance among professionals throughout the country. Adapted forms of the model have been adopted by the town of Bedford, New Hampshire, and Dade and West Palm Beach Counties in Florida, and the TND is under consideration in Loudon County, Virginia, and several other jurisdictions. Elsewhere, as at Kentlands, new zoning text has been written for the local

T.N.D. ORDINANCE

TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

1. INTENT

This ordinance is designed to ensure the development of open land along the lines of traditional neighborhoods. Its provisions adopt the urban conventions which were normal in the United States from colonial times until the 1940's.

Traditional neighborhoods share the following conventions:

- Dwellings, shops and workplaces, all limited in size, are located in close proximity to each other.

- A variety of streets serve equitably the needs of the pedestrian and the automobile.

- Well-defined squares and parks provide places for informal social activity and recreation.

- Well-placed civic buildings provide places of purposeful assembly for social, cultural and religious activities, becoming symbols of community identity.

- Private buildings are located along streets and squares forming a disciplined edge unbroken by parking lots.

Traditional neighborhoods achieve certain social objectives:

- By reducing the number and length of necessary automobile trips, traffic congestion is minimized and commuters are granted increased personal time.

- By bringing most of the needs of daily living within walking distance, the elderly and the young gain independence of movement.

- By walking in defined public spaces, citizens come to know each other and to watch over their collective security.

- By providing a full range of housing types and workplaces, age and economic class are integrated and the bonds of an authentic community are formed.

- By promoting suitable civic buildings, democratic initiatives are encouraged and the organic evolution of the society is secured.

Until the advent of postwar zoning ordinances, traditional neighborhoods were commonplace in the United States. Many survive as examples of communities which continue to be practical and desirable today.

Early version of the Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) ordinance shows the scope and intent of the ordinance. Changes have subsequently been made to many specific provisions. (Reproduced with permission of the Foundation for Traditional Neighborhoods.)

This document developed in part with a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

	2. LAND USE	3. LAND ALLOCATION	4. LOTS BUILDINGS	5. STREETS ALLEYS	6. PARKING
GENERAL	2.1 The TND Option shall constitute an overlay district available by right where current zoning allows any use except industrial. 2.2 The TND Option requires a minimum contiguous parcel of 40 acres and a maximum of 200 acres. Larger parcels shall be developed as multiples, individually subject to the TND provisions below. 2.3 The Developer of the TND shall demonstrate the availability and adequacy of access roads and utilities.	3.1 The entire land area of a TND shall be subdivided into Public Tracts and Lots. 3.2 Similar Lot types shall generally enfront across Street Tracts. Dissimilar Lot types may enfront across Square and Park Tracts or abut at rear lot lines.	4.1 All Lots shall share a Frontage Line no less than 16 ft. long with a Street or Park Tract. 4.2 All buildings shall have their main entrance opening to a Street or Park Tract. 4.3 Stoops, open colonnades and open porches may encroach up to 10 ft. into the front setbacks. 4.4 Portions of buildings having a footprint of not more than 150 sq. ft. shall be exempted from height limitations. 4.5 Building walls placed less than 5 feet from a side or rear lot line shall remain windowless and doors shall be fire rated.	5.1 Streets shall provide access to all Public Tracts and Private Lots. 5.2 All streets shall terminate at other streets within the TND and connect to existing and projected streets outside the TND. 5.3 The average perimeter of all Blocks within the TND shall not exceed 2000 ft. 5.4 Utilities shall run along Alley Tracts wherever possible. 5.5 Streetlamps shall be installed on both sides of Street Tracts at no more than 75 ft. intervals measured diagonally across the streets. 5.6 Streetrees shall be installed on both sides of Street Tracts at no more than 75 ft. intervals measured diagonally across the street.	6.1 On-street parking directly enfronting a lot shall count toward fulfilling the parking requirement of that lot. 6.2 Parking lots shall generally be located at the rear or at the side of buildings and shall be screened from the sidewalk by Streetwalls. 6.3 Parking lots and parking garages shall not be located at street intersections. 6.4 Adjacent parking lots shall have internal vehicular connections. 6.5 Parking lots shall be landscaped with one Shade Tree per six parking spaces.
PUBLIC	2.4 Public Tracts contain publicly owned Parks, Squares, Greenbelts, streets and alleys.	3.3 A minimum of 15% of the land area of a TND shall be permanently allocated to Park or Square Tracts. 3.4 Natural vistas such as waterfronts and promontories shall have 50% of their perimeter allocated to Street Tracts. 3.5 Golf courses shall be located within Greenbelt Tracts.	4.6 Balconies and open colonnades shall be permitted to encroach up to 10 ft. into a Public Tract. Such encroachments shall be protected by easements.	5.7 Public Tracts containing Squares shall provide a street along their perimeter which conforms to the specifications corresponding to the efronting lot types. 5.8 Streets forming part of the State highway systems shall conform to State highway standards.	6.6 The Developer shall demonstrate the provision of adequate parking for Public Tracts containing Squares and Parks. 6.7 Parking lots on Public Tracts, shall be graded, compacted and landscaped, but may be left unpaved.
CIVIC	2.5 Civic Lots contain publicly or privately owned buildings of communal use such as Neighborhood Halls, libraries, post offices, schools, day care centers, clubhouses, religious buildings, recreational facilities and the like.	3.6 A minimum of 5% of the land area of a TND shall be dedicated to Civic Lots. 3.7 Civic Lots shall be located within or adjacent to Square or Park Tracts or on a Street Vista. 3.8 The Developer shall covenant to construct a Neighborhood Hall on a Civic Lot upon the sale of 75% of the lots. 3.9 The construction of buildings on Civic Lots shall be supported by an ongoing assessment through the Homeowners' Association. 3.10 For each increment of 50 dwellings, there shall be a Civic Lot of 5000 sq. ft. reserved for day-care use and dedicated to public ownership.	4.7 Buildings located on Civic Lots shall be subject to no height or setback limitations. 4.8 Buildings located on Civic Lots shall be painted a consistent color throughout the TND.	5.9 Civic lots shall enfront on tracts containing streets which conform to the street specifications of the adjacent Lot Types.	6.8 The Developer shall demonstrate the provision of adequate parking for the various types of Civic buildings. Shared parking shall be permitted where day/night and workday/holiday schedules do not overlap (i.e. Neighborhood Halls). 6.9 Parking lots for Civic buildings used principally on holidays must be graded, compacted and planted, but may be left unpaved (i.e. religious buildings). 6.10 No less than 75 % of the off-street parking places shall be to the rear of the building. Access may be through the Frontage.
SHOPFRONT	2.6 Shopfront Lots contain privately owned buildings for retail, restaurant, office, entertainment, Lodging, Artisanal and residential uses. 2.7 No less than 25 % of the building area must be maintained for residential use.	3.11 A minimum of 5% and a maximum of 50% of the total land area of a TND shall be permanently dedicated to Shopfront Lots.	4.9 Buildings on Shopfront Lots shall have the Facade built directly on the Frontage Line along 60% of its length. 4.10 Buildings on Shopfront Lots shall have no required setbacks from the side lot lines. 4.11 Buildings on Shopfront Lots shall cover no more than 70% of the lot area. 4.12 Buildings on Shopfront Lots shall not exceed 4 stories in height.	5.10 Shopfront Lots shall enfront on Tracts containing streets consisting of two 12 ft. travel lanes, one 10 ft. central turning lane and diagonal parking on both sides. Sidewalks shall be no less than 12 ft. wide and the Curb Radius shall not exceed 15 ft. 5.11 Shopfront Lots shall have their rear lot lines coinciding with an alley tract 24 ft. wide containing a vehicular pavement width of 8 ft.	6.11 There shall be one parking space per 250 sq. ft. of building available for restaurant, office, entertainment and artisanal uses; one per room of lodging and one per two bedrooms of residential use. 6.12 No less than 75 % of the parking places shall be to the rear of the building. Access may be through the Frontage.
ROWHOUSE	2.8 Rowhouse Lots contain privately owned buildings for residential, Limited Office, and Limited Lodging uses.	3.12 A maximum of 8 Rowhouse lots may be consolidated for the purpose of constructing a single apartment building containing dwellings equal in number to the lots consolidated. 3.13 Setbacks on consolidated Rowhouse lots shall apply as in a single lot.	4.13 Buildings on Rowhouse Lots shall be setback between 5 and 15 ft. from the Frontage Line. Buildings at street intersections must be setback 5 ft. from both Frontage Lines. 4.14 Buildings on Rowhouse Lots shall have no required setbacks from the side lot lines. 4.15 Buildings on Rowhouse Lots shall cover no more than 70% of the lot area. 4.16 Buildings on Rowhouse Lots shall not exceed 3 stories plus Raised Basement in height.	5.12 Rowhouse Lots shall enfront on Tracts containing streets consisting of two 11 ft. travel lanes and parallel parking on both sides. Sidewalks shall be no less than 6 ft. wide and the Curb Radius shall not exceed 15 ft. 5.13 Rowhouse Lots shall have their rear lot lines coinciding with an alley tract 24 ft. wide containing a vehicular pavement width of 8 ft.	6.13 There shall be one parking place per 250 sq. ft. of office, one per room of lodging and one per two bedrooms of residential use. 6.14 All off-street parking places shall be to the rear of the building. Access shall be through a vehicular alley only.
HOUSE	2.9 House Lots contain privately owned buildings for residential, Limited Office, and Limited Lodging uses.	3.14 A maximum of three House Lots may be consolidated for the purpose of constructing a single building. 3.15 Setbacks on consolidated House Lots shall apply as in a single lot.	4.17 Buildings on House Lots shall be setback between 15 and 35 ft. from the Frontage Line. 4.18 Buildings on House Lots shall be setback from side lot lines equivalent to no less than 20% of the width of the lot. The entire setback may be allocated to one side. 4.19 Buildings on House Lots shall be setback no less than 20 ft. from the rear lot line. 4.20 Buildings on House Lots shall cover no more than 50% of the lot area. 4.21 Buildings on House Lots shall not exceed 2 stories plus Attic in height. 4.22 Buildings on House Lots with front setbacks exceeding 20 ft. shall have a Streetwall built along 30% of its Frontage Line.	5.14 House Lots shall enfront on tracts containing streets consisting of two 10 ft. travel lanes and parallel parking on one side. Sidewalks shall be no less than 4 ft. wide and the Curb Radius shall not exceed 25 ft. 5.15 House Lots shall have their rear lot lines coinciding with an alley tract 10 ft. wide containing a pedestrian pavement width of 4 ft.	6.15 There shall be one parking place per 250 sq. ft. of office, per room of lodging and one per two bedrooms of residential use. 6.16 All off-street parking places shall be to the side or the rear of the building. Garages or carports shall be located a minimum of 20 feet behind the Facade. Access may be through the Frontage.
WORKSHOP	2.10 Workshop Lots contain privately owned buildings for Automotive and Light Manufacturing.	3.16 A minimum of 5% and a maximum of 25% of the total land area of a TND shall be permanently dedicated to Workshop Lots.	4.23 Buildings on Workshop Lots shall not require setbacks from any lot line. 4.24 Buildings on Workshop Lots shall cover no more than 50% of the lot area. 4.25 Buildings on Workshop Lots shall not exceed 2 stories in height. 4.26 Workshop Lots shall be separated from other lot areas at the side and rear lot lines by a continuous masonry wall no less than 10 ft. in height.	5.16 Workshop Lots shall enfront on tracts containing streets consisting of two 12 ft. travel lanes, one 10 ft. central turning lane and parallel parking on both sides. Sidewalks shall be no less than 4 ft. wide and the Curb Radius shall not exceed 35 ft. 5.17 Workshop Lots shall have their rear lot lines coinciding with an alley tract 24 ft. wide containing a vehicular pavement width of 8 ft.	6.17 There shall be one parking place per 250 sq. ft. of building. 6.18 Off-street parking places may be to the front, the side or the rear of the building.

7. DEFINITIONS

Terms in general use throughout this ordinance shall take their common accepted meaning. Terms requiring interpretation specific to this ordinance are defined as follows:

Artisanal Use: Premises for the manufacture and sale of artifacts employing only handwork and/or table mounted electrical machinery emitting no odors or noise beyond the immediate premises.

Attic: The habitable area within the pitch of a roof.

Automotive Use: Premises for the selling, servicing and/or repairing of motorized wheeled vehicles.

Block: The aggregate of lots and Alley Tracts circumscribed by a continuous set of Street Tracts

Curb Radius: The curved edge of the street at an intersection measured at the inner edge of the parking lane.

Facade: The wall of a building which corresponds to a lot Frontage

Frontage Line: The lot line which coincides with a Street Tract.

Greenbelt: An open area surrounding the built-up area of a TND along 75% of its perimeter, being no less than 50% of the total area of the TND and no less than 200 ft. wide at any place. The area shall be preserved in perpetuity in its natural condition, or used for farming, animal husbandry, golf courses, or subdivided into House lots no smaller than 5 acres.

Homeowner's Association: The owners of lots and buildings within the TND, incorporated under the auspices of articles which safeguard the rights of the owners in compliance with the laws of the State. The document shall institute a system or representative government by the assembly of the owners maintaining prerogatives for the developer greater than that of the owners only during the period of sales. The document shall set: standards for construction and maintenance on private lots; provisions for maintenance on public tracts; and support for the construction of new buildings on civic lots by an ongoing special assessment equivalent to no less than 10% of the total yearly assessment of the Association.

Light Manufacturing Use: Buildings for the repair, assembly or fabrication of artifacts emitting no atmospheric pollution, no noxious smells beyond the lot lines and noise for a period no longer than 8 daytime hours.

Limited Lodging Use: Buildings providing no more than 8 rooms for short-term letting and food service before noon only.

Limited Office Use: Buildings for the transaction of business or the supply of professional services, employing no more than 8 persons.

Lodging Use: Buildings providing food service and rooms for short-term letting

Neighborhood Hall: A public assembly building containing at least one room having an area equivalent to 20 sq. ft. per dwelling.

Neighborhood Proper: The built-up area of a TND, including lots, Parks and Squares but excluding Greenbelt areas.

Park: An open space, paved no more than 10% of its area, naturalistically landscaped, and surrounded by building lots on 75% of its perimeter.

Raised Basement: A semi-underground story serving to raise the principal floor level no more than 5 ft. above the sidewalk.

Shade Tree: A deciduous tree of wide canopy, resistant to root pressure and sodium, no less than 4" caliper and 8 ft. clear trunk at the time of planting.

Square: An open space paved not less than 35% of its area surrounded by building lots on 90% of its perimeter

Streetwall: A masonry wall or wood fence built along the Frontage Line between 3 and 5 ft. in height

Story: a habitable level within a building no more than 14 ft in height from finished floor to finished ceiling.

Street Lamps: A light standard between 8 and 14 ft. in height equipped with an incandescent or metal halide light source.

Street Tree: A deciduous tree or palm resistant to root pressure and sodium, no less than 4 in caliper and 8 ft. clear trunk at the time of planting.

Street Vista: A building site located to terminate the view down the axis of a Street Tract.

THE TRADITIONAL NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT ORDINANCE, 1989, DRAWN UP BY ANDRES DUANY, ELIZABETH PLATER-ZYBERK & CHESTER E CHELLMAN

jurisdiction through negotiations involving the developer, local city planners, and DPZ.

To spread their approach to planning, Duany and Plater-Zyberk rely not only on the example of their work, but also engage in a vigorous campaign of lecturing and education. To educate the next generation of architects in their approach, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk has taken on the directorship of a masters program in suburban design at the University of Miami. The two also lecture frequently at schools throughout the country, and an exhibition of their work is scheduled for the fall of 1990 at Harvard's Graduate School of Design.

The lecture circuit extends beyond academia to speeches delivered at industry conferences, local community meetings, and cultural institutions. Several versions of Duany's popular talk outlining the firm's critique of the suburbs are in circulation on video tape, including one delivered at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. The lecture is also one of several routinely delivered during the firm's charrette process. Although the lecture is not uncontroversial among planners, Duany's charismatic style and ability to make his audience laugh at the daily absurdities of the suburban environment have made the talk an effective platform for the firm's planning approach.

The planners also spread their message through occasional articles in publications, including a recent editorial of Duany's in the Boston Globe, and an adaptation of his speech in Architectural Design. Most of their print publicity, however, comes from a willingness to grant interviews widely; the firm's list of press articles numbers in the dozens, in popular and professional magazines around the world.

The large number of projects the firm has undertaken has produced alterations and refinements in DPZ's approach through interaction with the many different sites, programs, and constraints it has faced. As an example of this process, we now turn to the case of Kentlands.

Chapter 3: Kentlands

Developer and Program

Kentlands is a development of Joseph Alfandre & Co. in Gaithersburg, Maryland, a suburb of Washington D.C. approximately fifteen miles from the district. It is a sizable project: on a site of 352 acres, the developer plans to build over 1,400 housing units with approximately 5,000 residents, approximately 1.2 million square feet of retail space, and 1 million square feet of office space, along with an elementary school, a fire station, two churches, a library, a recreation center, and a city-operated cultural center.

Regional Context

Kentlands is located on the rapidly suburbanizing fringe of a major metropolitan area. The Washington region is one of the ten largest metropolitan areas in the country, and one of the fastest growing. From a center of government and administration, the region is diversifying into rapidly growing industries such as services and technology. The region as a whole is wealthy compared to other comparable areas, and unusually well-educated.

As defined by an ongoing study of the National Capitol Planning Commission, the Washington region consists of the district and six counties: Fairfax, Arlington, Loudon, and Prince William in Virginia, and Montgomery and Prince George's in Maryland. In practical terms, the region extends further into the north and east in Maryland, where the edges of the Washington and Baltimore Metropolitan areas merge.

This area is site of several important historic centers, including the city of Washington itself, with its earliest development in the early 19th century near the mall and current downtown, and later expansion representing all periods through the early post-war years, including a large volume of late-19th century and early 20th century housing stock; Georgetown, a town that predated the establishment of the national capitol, and which has now been absorbed as part of the city of Washington; and Alexandria, Virginia, another early city directly across the Potomac River from the district, dating from the 18th century.

The Washington region shares many of the characteristics of other older American urban centers: a downtown that has declined as a shopping center but seen recent rapid growth as an office district; an old, denser core with large areas of decay and poverty; a high center city crime rate; and a band of sprawling suburbs connected by a beltway, which are the location of a growing number of office developments and shopping malls, some in the large nodes sometimes referred to as "urban villages."

Several attributes distinguish Washington from other large, older cities. The region as a whole is characterized by unusually high incomes and educational levels, reflecting the city's traditional employment base in administration and recent growth in services and technology. The population of the city itself, however, is over 70% black, the highest of any of the largest American cities. While black neighborhoods of every income level can be found, there are extensive areas of poverty and drug activity and the city's crime rates are among the highest in the nation. Unlike most old east coast cities, Washington has no history as an important commercial or industrial center. The important presence of the federal government is reflected in a monumental core, but also in large governmental facilities located throughout the region. The grand, baroque physical form of the city proper is based on the 18th century plan of Pierre L'Enfant, and is patterned on a system of broad boulevards radiating from formal circles and squares. Washington is the only major American city whose physical planning tradition is guided foremost by the expression of the state through monumental grandeur. The federal government's interest in the physical planning of the city is implemented in the form of a city-wide height limit to preserve the supremacy of scale for the city's monumental core, as well as federal ownership of large areas of the city's land, and review powers over local planning decisions affecting the federal interest. The city is the location of an usually large number of well-preserved historical neighborhoods from the 18th through early 20th centuries and gentrification has been an important phenomenon in the city; some trace gentrification's origins back to the 1930s in Georgetown.

Also of relevance is the region's importance as the location for experiments in new town planning, including, Greenbelt, Maryland, built by the federal government during the 1930s as part the program in experimental greenbelt towns; Reston, Virginia, privately developed beginning in the 1960s; and Columbia, Maryland, also privately developed beginning in the

1960s, and with a projected population of over 100,000, the largest new town developed in the United States. In addition, the Washington region contains perhaps more experiments in "neo-traditional" town planning along the lines of DPZ than any other area in the country. These include, in Loudon County, Cascades, a 3,000 acre development; Brambleton, for which Sasaki Associates has prepared a plan along traditional lines for the 375-acre town core of a 1200 acre site; and Belmont, another DPZ plan for Alfandre & Co., of approximately 800 residences, 164,000 square feet of retail space, and 365,000 square feet of office space; in nearby Caroline County, Virginia, Haymount, a DPZ plan for developer Robertson & Clark with a net area of 773 acres; and Reston Town Center, a new downtown for an older new town, with a 20-acre first phase including 240,000 square feet of retail space, 550,000 square feet of office space, and a 550 room hotel on a 460 acre tract, planned by RTKL Associates, architects and planners, and Sasaki Associates, landscape architects.

Site Context

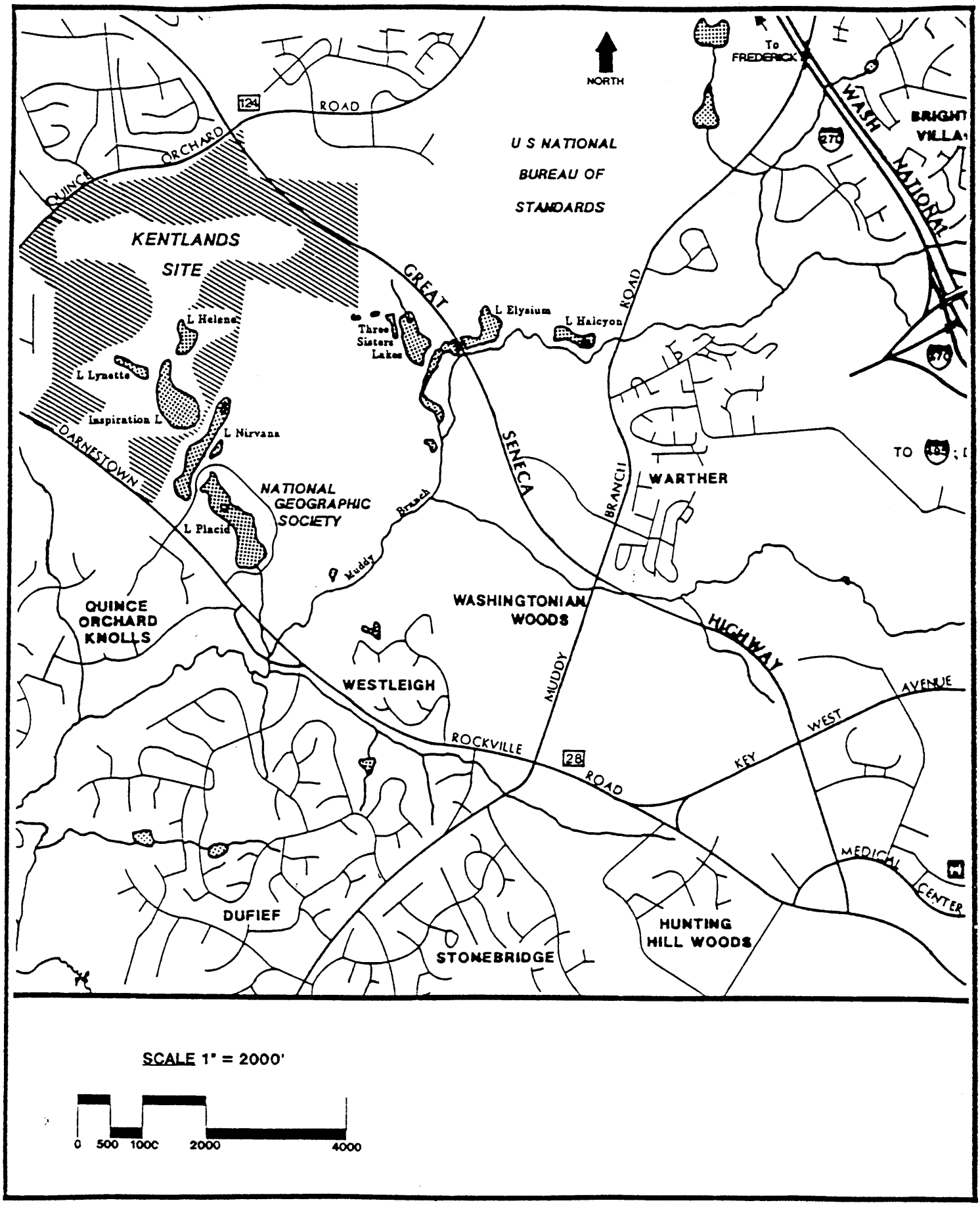
The area surrounding Kentlands is typical of suburban Washington. Located in the Gaithersburg, a rapidly growing city of about 30,000, at the edge of the expanding metropolitan area, it is "a suburban mosaic of residential and commercial areas interspersed with a few remaining farms and country estates, which, according to zoning and the Master Plan, are slated for future development." (Biohabitats, Incorporated, 1989) Surrounding residential developments include townhouses and detached dwellings, with road systems conforming to the modern standards of arterials, collectors, and cul-de-sacs. New residential development is occuring directly adjacent to Kentlands, and most of the surrounding subdivisions date from the 1980s. To the north and east are installations of the U.S. Bureau of Standards and the National Geographic Society's membership headquarters, containing offices and open space. The small city centres of both Gaithersburg and Rockville are within a few miles. In Rockville is the Shady Grove station of the city's regional Metrorail system. To the north runs a major highway, Interstate 270.

The site is bounded by Darnestown Rd. (Route 28) to the south; Quince Orchard Road (Route 124) to the north; Great Seneca Highway to the northeast; an existing housing development to the west; and the grounds of the National Geographic Society membership headquarters to the east. The

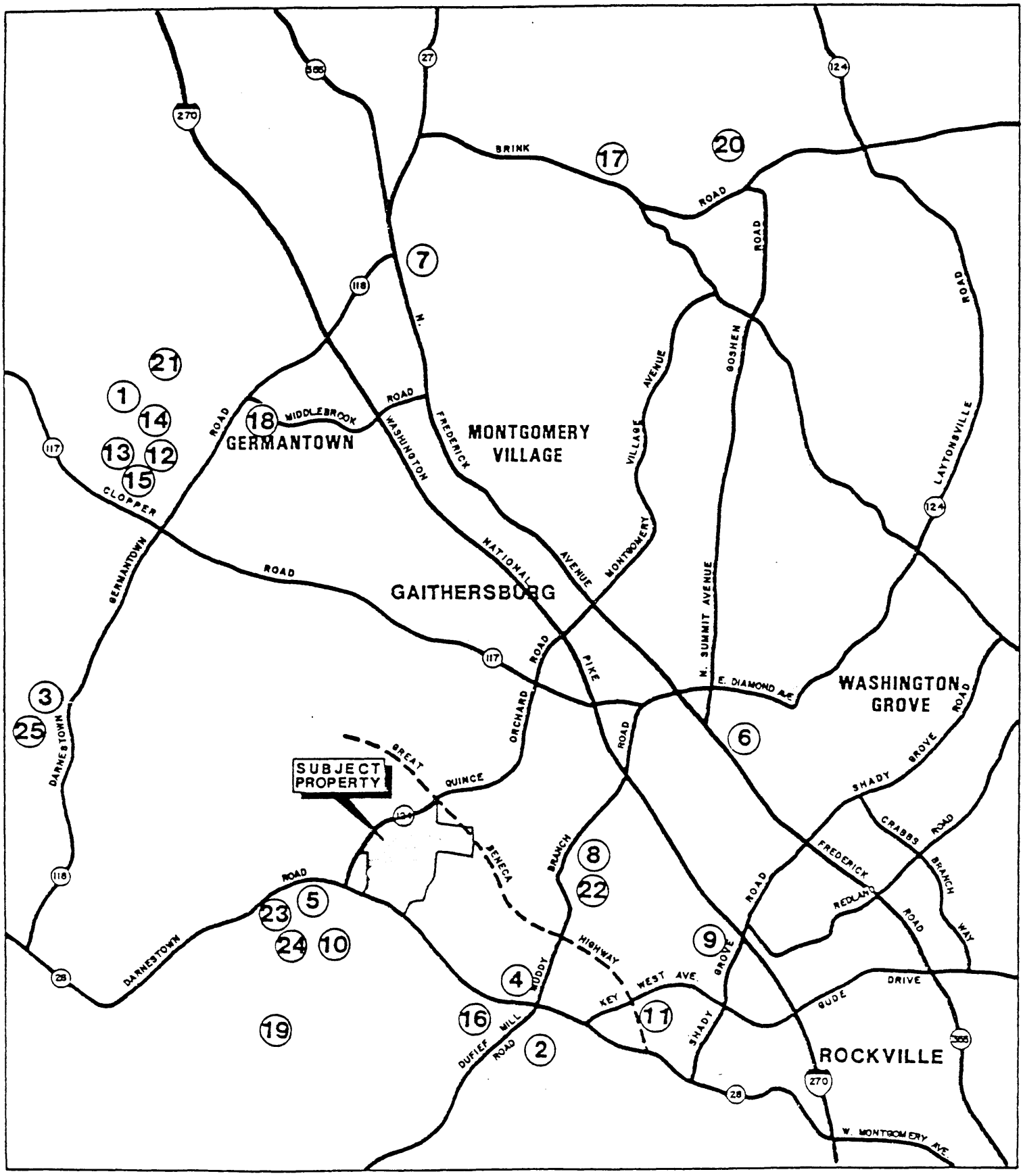
Site Context:

The corner of Great Seneca Highway and Quince Orchard Road.

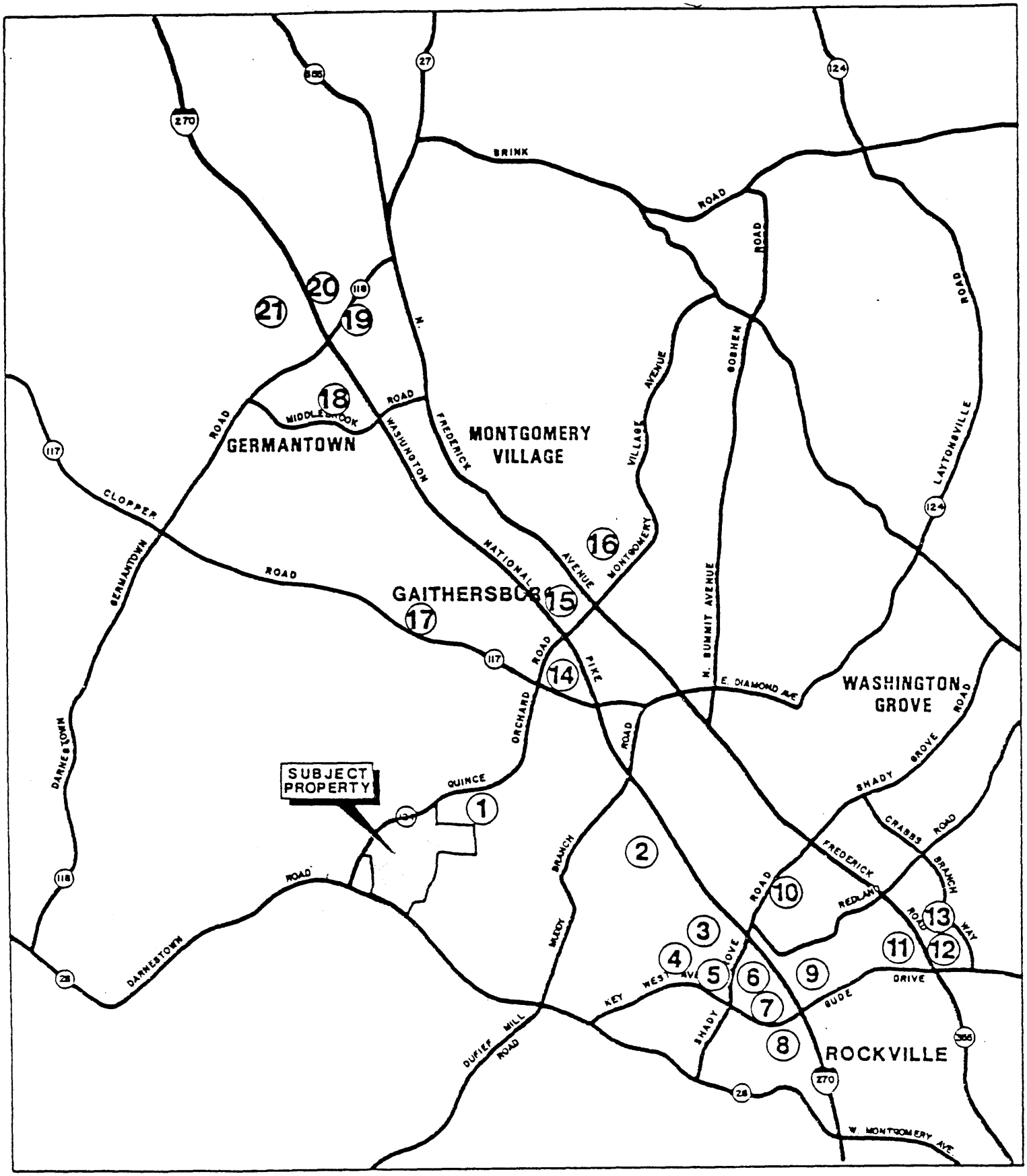
Nearby townhouse development.



Kentlands vicinity map
(Source: Biohabitats Incorporated, 1989)



Major residential developments under construction, planned and proposed, Montgomery County, Maryland, December, 1987 (Source: GA/Partners Incorporated, 1987)



Selected office/R&D developments, Gaithersburg, Maryland and vicinity, August, 1987
(Source: GA/Partners Incorporated, 1987)

surrounding area is the scene of intense recent development activity. Most nearby development dates from the last decade, and the few remaining farms and country estates are slated for development under the city's Master Plan and zoning code. The surrounding road network is in the process of a major upgrading program connected with the improvement the I-270 corridor to the north of the site, which will be expanded from 6 to 12 lanes. These improvements will greatly increase the area's development capacity and regional accessibility. In addition to the new construction of the four-lane Great Seneca Highway, major road building includes the new I-370, which will serve as a rapid connection between the site and I-270. Nearby development projects reported in an October 1988 Kentlands traffic impact analysis include 16 residential projects, none larger than 400 units, with a total of just under 4,000 units, mostly in single family homes. Retail and office development reported included 21 projects with a total of over 9 million square feet of space. "Open space within the immediate area includes Muddy Branch Park, a forested corridor along Muddy Branch to the south and east . . . , Seneca State Park approximately three miles to the northwest, and properties of the National Institute of Science and Technology (NIST, formerly National Bureau of Standards) and the Izaak Walton League (a conservation organization) a mile to the northeast." (Biohabitats, Incorporated,1989, p. 3)

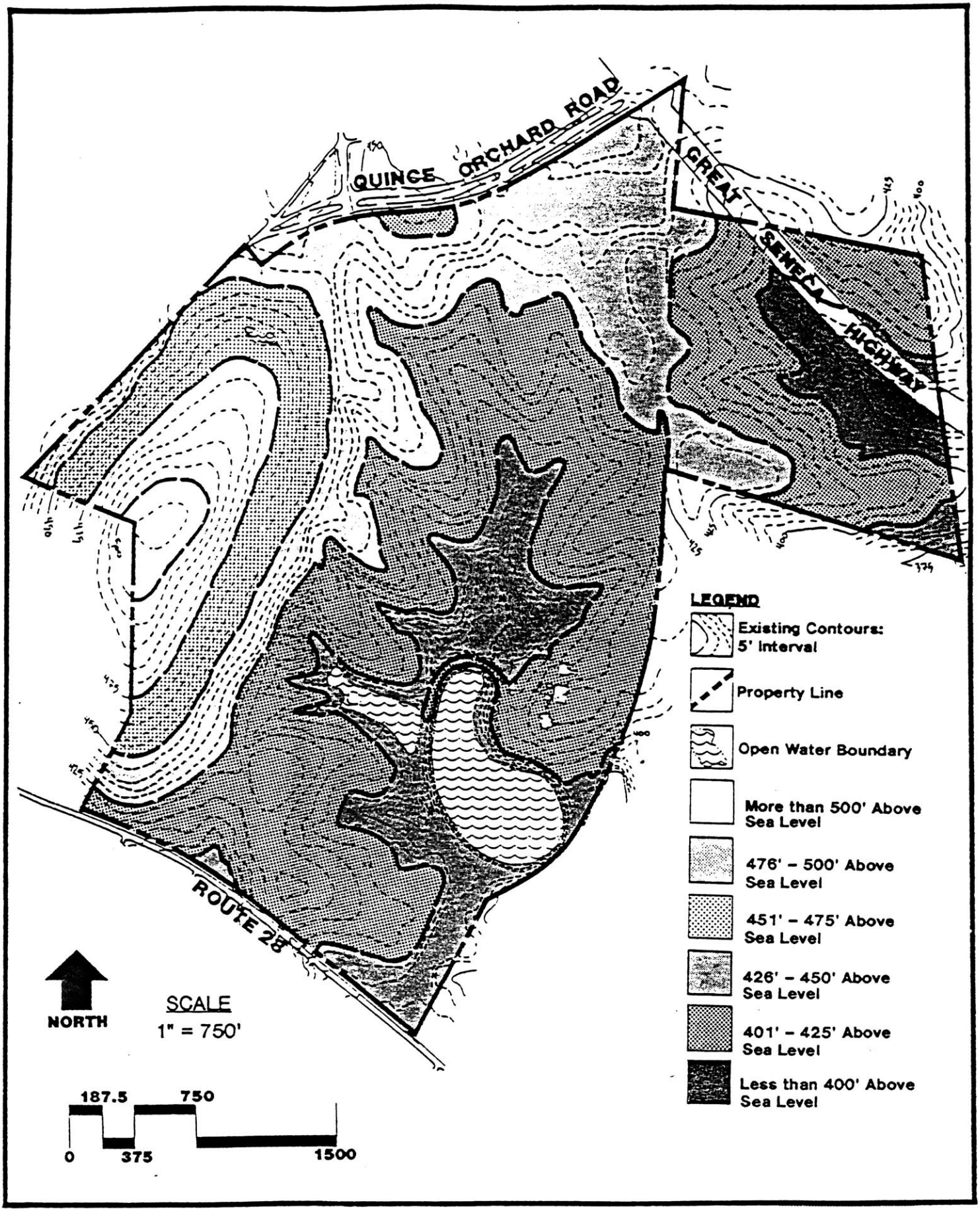
The Site

The 352 acre site had previously been used as a country estate and working farm, the last fragment of a larger estate assembled by Otis Beal Kent. The area was first developed as the summer retreat of Frederick A. Tschiffley in 1851; Tschiffley's mansion and several other buildings remain on the site. Kent purchased the estate in 1942, and went on to assemble over 1,000 contiguous acres with the idea of building a self-sustaining village. He never realized this ambition, and before he died he sold portions of the site to the National Geographic Society and the Izaak Walton League of America. (Joseph Alfandre & Company, 1987).

The centerpiece of the property was a cluster of buildings located at the site's eastern edge. These included Tschiffley's federal style brick mansion built in 1852, a two-level barn, a fire station, mill house, carriage house and guest house. The buildings were surrounded by lawns, gardens,

Kentlands: On-site structures in the future Old Farm district.

Townhouse development adjacent to Kentlands site. Buildings are in popular Georgian style similar to that of Kentlands, but roads and parking follow contemporary standards.



Kentlands site topography.
(Source: Biohabitats Incorporated, 1989)

orchards, small fields and service areas. Much of the site was landscaped in a picturesque English style. Access was by way of a paved lane leading from Great Seneca Highway to the north, and another entrance lane from Route 28 to the south. Both lanes were planted with allées of mature trees, the former with osage orange, the latter with red cedar. The site's topography is dominated by a ridge on the western side with spur ridges to the southeast. Lowlands adjacent to the ridges contain non-tidal wetlands covering approximately 40 acres, 14 open water, the rest forested or emergent. Most of the wetlands form part of naturally existing drainageways to the Muddy Branch. Three on-site lakes, Inspiration Lake, Lake Lynette, and Lake Helene, are the result of an impoundment construction program by Kent in the 1940s and 50s. The largest, Inspiration Lake, covers 11 surface acres. Other areas of the site are gently rolling. The ridges, and most swales, were covered with a mixed hardwood and coniferous forest, and the rest of the property was in agriculture. (Biohabitats, Incorporated, 1989; Joseph Alfandre & Company, 1987)

Early Development Efforts

Kentland's developer, Joseph Alfandre & Co., is a well-established developer of housing subdivisions in the Washington area. In 1987, the developer entered into a contract to purchase the 352-acre Kentlands site for $41 million (Hamblen, 1988). Upon purchasing the site Alfandre revived the idea of developing it as a new town. Thus, as at Seaside, the idea of a new town originated with the developer, although he had "no clear vision" of the town he wanted to build (Pearson, 1988). DPZ's planning methods later emerged as the agent of this original ambition. DPZ landed the job "after accompanying Duany on a trip to England to examined planned towns there." The developer was impressed by the architects knowledge of what contributed to the successes and failures of these places. The architect "struck a responsive chord: 'I grew up in Bethesda, and I could walk everywhere. It was nice," the developer has been quoted as saying (Forgey , 1988).

Before the arrival of DPZ, Alfandre had already contracted a number of consultants, architects and planners, and had begun the lengthy process of negotiations with the city of Gaithersburg. RTKL Associates and HOH Associates produced a schematic plan for the site based on traditional town planning objectives similar to those of DPZ. A document presenting the

zoning application for this effort states the intention to "provide community cohesion to the residents and surrounding areas by offering the neighborhood a place to live, work, shop, and recreate." The plan also included a Village Center, "conceptualized as much like the village centers of early New England or the market squares of the old world . . ." Thus the concept of a traditional town preceded DPZ's arrival on the scene (Joseph Alfandre & Company, 1987). Their involvement, however, was to alter the tone of the project through their celebrated planning technique, as well as the character of the design itself.

The Duany/Plater-Zyberk Charrette

DPZ brought to the planning of Kentlands an arsenal of techniques they had developed through their work at Seaside and other sites. One of these is an intensive week-long charrette process, bringing together 20 DPZ designers with developer's staff, local architects, engineers, consultants, planners, school board members and other government officials, community members, and news media. The purpose is to produce a schematic plan through a process that gives the architects access to all the people and resources they need on the spot, and that involves all the major players at the outset of the project. By reaching basic agreements on the nature of the project at the earliest possible stage, it is hoped to avoid unnecessary conflict and misunderstanding later, and thus to speed the development process. Beyond time savings, the charrette is intended to give all those affected a proprietary feeling about the plan, and to establish a common vision. It is hoped that the exchange involved in many people working together in close contact will produce results of a higher quality than otherwise possible. Finally, the charrette can be an important publicity coup for the developer and the architects. Alfandre has said that the charrette helps "to convince everybody that what we're doing is honorable, and it is." (Hamblen, 1988) For DPZ, it is an opportunity to gain a direct audience for their planning ideas, as well as the national media coverage that has accompanied the charrette. Thus, on a broader level, the Kentlands charrette had the second purpose of popularizing DPZ's ideas of traditional planning by private developers.

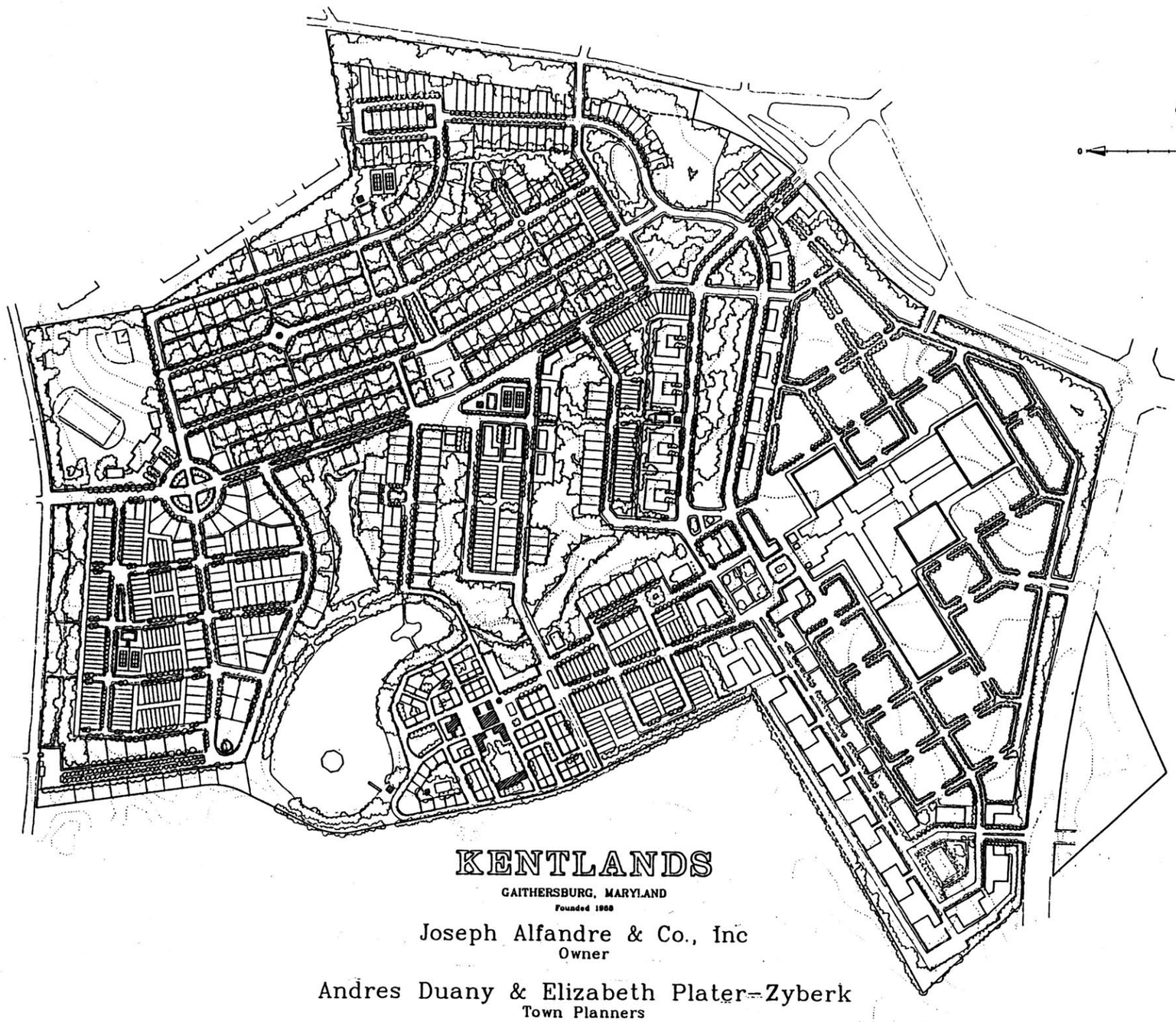
The Kentlands charrette started on June 1, 1988. DPZ's team set up shop in a barn on the Kentlands site, bringing all the necessary materials and machinery directly to the site, including reference works such as Unwin's

THE PLAN OF

KENTLANDS

GAITHERSBURG, MARYLAND

Plan produced by Kentlands charrette.



KENTLANDS

GAITHERSBURG, MARYLAND

Founded 1988

Joseph Alfandre & Co., Inc
Owner

Andres Duany & Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk
Town Planners

Charles Barrett
William Dennis
Tarik El-Naggar
Alex Krieger
Mark Lucy
Kathy Poole
Leon Nitzin

Rick Chellman
Andres Duany
Manuel Fernandez
Doug LaRosa
Patrick Pinnell
Dhiru Thadani
Keith Bowers

Raymond Chu
Douglas Duany
Estela Garcia
Bill Lennertz
Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk
Mike Watkins
David Wolfe

July 31st 1988

New Town Planning in Practice. The first day of the process started with a visit to nearby historic neighborhoods to be used as models for the plan: Georgetown in the district, and Annapolis, Maryland. The visit allows the team to "share images," according to DPZ architect Bill Lennertz, "so when we refer to the feeling of a particular street we all know what we're talking about." (Brown, 1988) The day concluded with a public meeting where Duany delivered a lecture with slides illustrating the firm's critique of existing suburban development, and what they intend to accomplish through their planning techniques. Most of the rest of the week was devoted to intense work sessions. On-the-spot negotiations were made over major decisions and different groups expressed their interests and concerns. The final product included a street plan, utilities plan, and renderings of important views. A basic structure was established for the development's homeowner's association. Finally, the charrette produced a staple of DPZ's planning technique: the two one-page "codes" to control the building of the project. Each document establishes standards for seven different building types. The first, labelled "Urban Standards," covers such matters as building height, and placement of buildings, porches and parking. The second, labelled "Architectural Standards," governs materials and configurations for such elements as building walls, roofs and gutters, windows, doors and shutters. Each code conforms to a one-page grid format used for all DPZ's plans. The specific standards incorporate the firm's basic ideas, but are tailored to the local context, particularly the historic sites visited on the first day of the charrette. (Hamblen, 1988; Boles, 1988)

The plan produced by the charrette process established the outline of the project: the location of different functions, the pattern of streets and walkways, the character of different neighborhoods. The plan was intended to be modified in light of contingencies encountered during the development process, such as negotiations over regulations governing the site's wetland areas, and the still unresolved problem of the regional shopping center. Nevertheless, both architect and developer seemed committed to ensuring that none of these changes compromised the basic nature of the plan. Subsequent changes to the first phase of the project for which a final design has been produced show significant alterations, but a character similar to that of the original design. In view of the absence of a final plan for the entire site, the charrette plan will be the basis of this discussion of the Kentlands plan. No

Views of Annapolis, Maryland, one of the local models for Kentlands.

changes have been made that drastically compromise the ideas on which the plan was based, although DPZ's formal approach has been stretched quite far in adapting to a site with important natural and regulatory constraints. A review of the most important alterations to date appears at the end of the chapter.

The Charrette Plan

The Kentlands plan was driven by a number of factors which contributed to its overall form. The site's location on the suburban fringe, and its poor accessibility by transit, meant that parking would have to be provided in large quantities. The existing wetlands system and three artificial lakes provided an opportunity for park and recreation space, but also placed development constraints that would become an important factor in the design and in later negotiations. The existing landscaping also provided an opportunity, and was a heavy influence on the landscaping and environmental elements of the plan. Finally, the site's prime location for retail development became a major determinant. Alfandre bought the site without the intention of building a major retail center, but subsequent marketing studies revealed that it was the best retail location remaining in affluent Montgomery County, and the development program was thus amended to include a large retail component. The mall's location at the corner of Quince Orchard Road and Great Seneca Highway would be a major factor in the site plan. Finally, the grouping of historic structures at the site's eastern edge formed a natural focal point for the planning of a "new old town."

But the major determinant of the plan's form was, of course, the planning ideology of the town planners. This dictated a formalistic treatment, in contrast to the previous plan by RTKL Associates and HOH Associates which had emphasized more the site's natural features. This formalist approach was strongly challenged by the site constraints. The wetlands system running through the center of the site, and the division between uplands and lowlands, gave the site a fragmented quality that ran counter to the tightly woven and highly centered approach more typical of DPZ's work at Seaside, Belmont, and other locations. With the hiring of DPZ, other aspects of the plan were also givens: the modified grid street system; the public nature of the open space; the formal treatment of vistas and building groupings; the

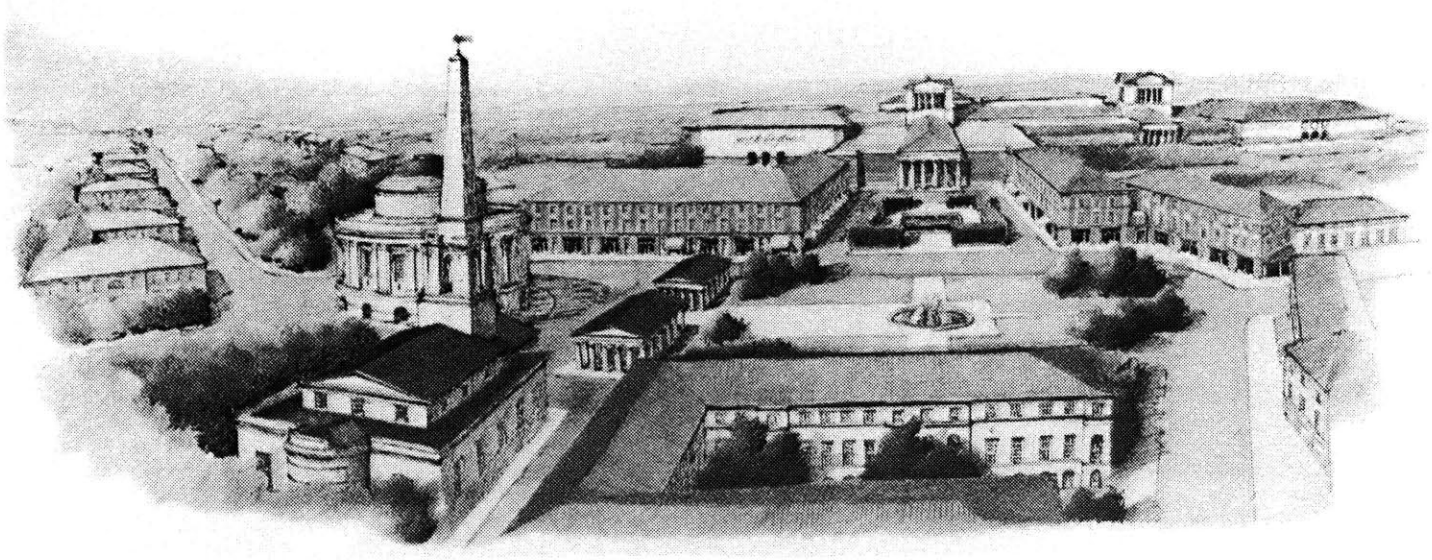
juxtaposition of a variety of housing types; an orientation to the character of local historical buildings; and an almost willful smallness of scale.

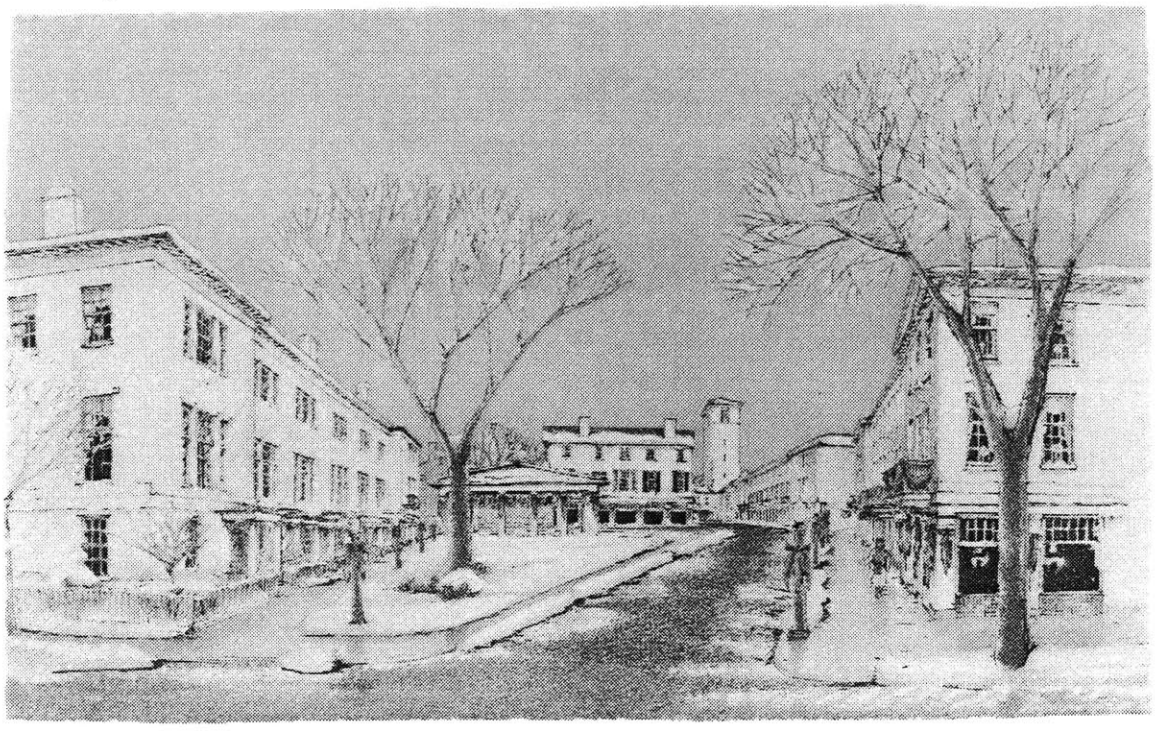
The Kentland's plan can be said to grow out of two locations: the mall site, which inevitably became the focus of the plan's commercial sector, and the historic buildings, which were designated a sort of civic counterpoint. The site was divided into four neighborhoods, and a town center, focused on the mall. The Old Farm Neighborhood is centered on the historic farm structures. The other three are located in terms of geography and important activities. The Schoolhouse district takes its name from the elementary school located there. It is bounded on the north by Lake Lynette, on the south and east by the site's boundaries, and on the west by the Hill district. The Hill district is centered on the site's upland area. At its foot to the northwest is the Midtown district, also bounded by the Old Farm neighborhood, the town center and mall parking lot.

The Neighborhoods

Kentlands neighborhoods are distinguished largely by character, location, and the five-minute walking distance which Duany asserts is the appropriate neighborhood scale. Each neighborhood has some sort of public park space, and each has at least some shopping, although in the more residential neighborhoods this is modest. All neighborhoods are to have a mixture of housing types, although each neighborhood will have a heavier representation of certain types, forming part of the basis of their character. Character will also be established by variations in street width and configuration, and by different planting schemes, which are to reflect the site's different sub-ecologies. Finally, a vivid image for each neighborhood is to established by an architectural set piece intended as a neighborhood focus.

Kentlands neighborhoods bear little relationship to the neighborhood unit as popularized by Clarence Perry beginning in the 1930s, which is discussed in chapter two. Perry's neighborhood unit was intended to display a degree of physical and social autonomy which the Kentlands neighborhoods lack. For instance, in Perry's scheme, each neighborhood would support one elementary school, which would serve as a focal institution for the community, and each neighborhood would also be served by a centralized shopping district. In the Kentlands plan, the entire site is served by one elementary school, and although some shopping is scattered throughout the





Conceptual renderings from Kentlands Charrette.
Top: Regional Retail Shopping Center.
Bottom: Mid-Town Area.

plan, the site's major shopping facilities are centralized in the town center. In physical terms, Perry's neighborhood was to be bounded by arterials which would isolate it from other neighborhood units, and the internal street network was to discourage through traffic. The Kentlands plan, in contrast, lacks such a clear hierarchy of streets, although the neighborhoods are isolated to a certain extent by natural boundaries and the differing alignment of their grids. (Banerjee and Baer, 1984, p.19). Finally, the scale of Kentlands' neighborhoods is significantly smaller than Perry's unit: Perry envisioned a neighborhood population of between 3,000 and 12,000 people (Gallion and Eisner, 1986), which again is the scale of the entire Kentlands development. The entire Kentlands development, then, bears a stronger resemblance to the neighborhood unit than does its subcomponents which have been labelled as neighborhoods. It would also be safe to assume that the values underlying the Kentlands neighborhood would differ from those that were the basis for Perry's concept. The latter included "family, neighborliness, community, and group identity" (Banerjee and Baer, 1984, p. 23), while there is no such clearly domestic and communal vision for the Kentlands at the neighborhood level.

Neighborhoods in the Kentlands plans are thus conceptualized more in terms of aesthetic significance, and as giving a strong sense of place and spatial orientation. In the course of the charrette process, a vision for each neighborhood was agreed upon, which was given representation in maps, renderings, and words. Based on the results of the charrette, the neighborhoods can be characterized as follows:

The Old Farm Neighborhood: As it is centered on the existing historic structures, this neighborhood seems to have gained a special place in a development so heavily geared to local historic character. This centrality is strengthened by the neighborhood's location on the northern shore of Lake Lynette, a public recreation area. To further heighten the sense of history, the scale of this neighborhood will be significantly smaller than the rest of the development. Most streets will be a mere 28 feet from building-line to building-line (one 12 foot driving lane, 8 feet of parking, and 8 feet of sidewalks). DPZ architect Bill Lennertz has described the character as "very tight, almost medieval." Building lots will also be smaller than average, and architecture is to be compatible with the existing structures. The historic

farmhouse at the neighborhood's center has been donated to the city, and together with an adjacent garden (to be restored as a "Hidden Garden") will be operated as a cultural center. The area will be programmed as the site of public gatherings, including the city's 1990 arts festival. At the lakeside will be a restaurant and inn, and the lake shore will be open to the public.

The Midtown Neighborhood: This neighborhood is to contain the commercial and residential mix at the town's core. Housing will include high density types, including apartment buildings, row houses, and apartment units above stores. The neighborhood will be defined by the east-west axis of twin, parallel-running North and South Main Streets. These streets will connect the arterials of Quince Orchard Road and Great Seneca Highway, and will be the development's principle commercial streets, lined with shops and offices in addition to residences. At the eastern end, a park will run between the two streets, which will be lined to the north (adjacent to the mall parking lot) with commercial buildings and to the south with apartment houses. As the town's commercial core, this neighborhood can be conceived of as the plan's most public area.

Schoolhouse Neighborhood: As the name implies, the school is intended to be the principle focus of this neighborhood. The school is located on the neighborhood's set piece, a traffic circus which will also be lined with a few commercial buildings along one corner, and houses on the remaining two. The circus is conceived as an appropriate site for an important civic building such as a school, in contrast to the "supermarket" locations for schools Duany derides in his lecture. The school site will also include athletic facilities, and a playground. Housing will be largely a mixture of zero-lot line houses and row houses, with a smaller contingent of detached houses. These different housing types will coexist in close proximity on the neighborhood's modified street grid, although types are largely separated on a block-by-block basis. The neighborhood is also to include a small neighborhood park.

Hill District: The centerpiece of this neighborhood is to be an axis leading up the eastern slope to a monument at the hilltop. The high ground is largely designated for larger and presumably more expensive homes, all of which are detached. These include a concentration of the plan's most prestigious "Type VI" houses, on 88 foot-wide lots. The fringes of the neighborhood toward the midtown district are to include smaller, attached units. A minor commercial center appears on the charrette plan at the basis of the monumental

axis. A neighborhood park centered on a lake is located near the neighborhood's northern edge, a continuation of the Main Street park of the Midtown area.

Town Center: Not really a full neighborhood, this is a town square located at the mall's southern entrance in the charrette plan (the area has seen a number of revisions since then). The square is to be lined with stores, civic buildings and apartments. A strong axis is to connect the square's southwest corner with the Old Farmhouse District. More information on this area will be included in the section on the plan's commercial component.

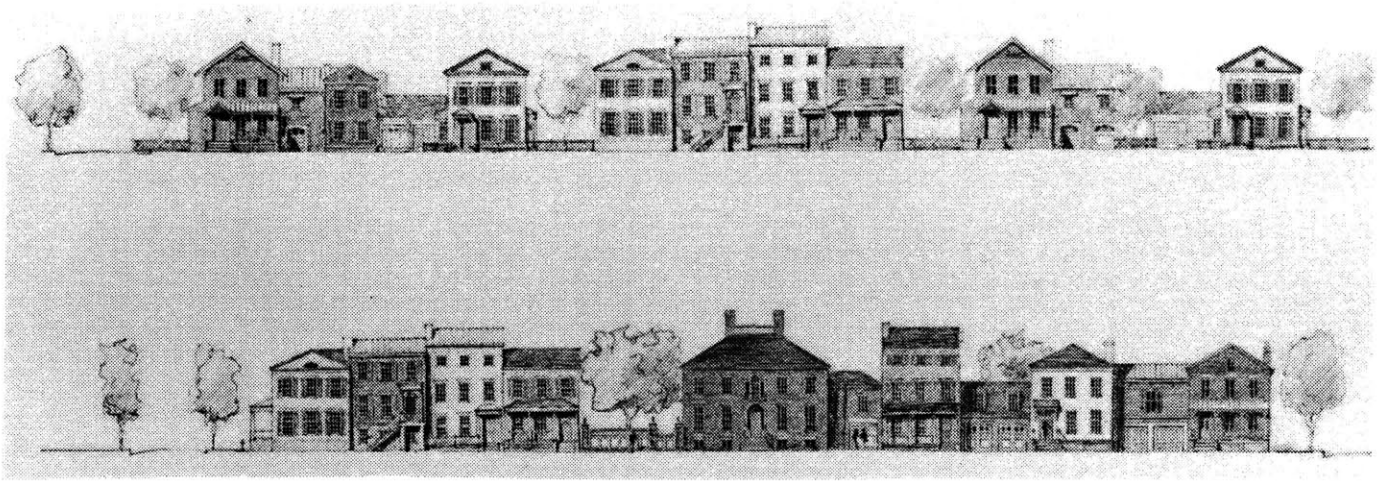
Housing and Lots

The Kentlands plan includes seven basic building types specified in the plan's Urban Standards document. Type I is commercial. Type II is for apartment buildings containing retail at the ground level. The other five types are residential units.

Following an historic English method of subdivision, most land will be platted in lots which are multiples of a basic width, in this case 22 feet. Historically this method allowed lots to be sold to people of a variety of means, as smaller lots could simply be combined to form larger building sites. At Kentlands the intention is two-fold: first, by operating on a basic module, a proportioning system is established which is intended to allow different housing types to coexist in visual harmony; second, the modular system gives the developer the flexibility to respond to a changing market without replatting by combining or dividing lots to produce the housing types in demand as the development progresses.

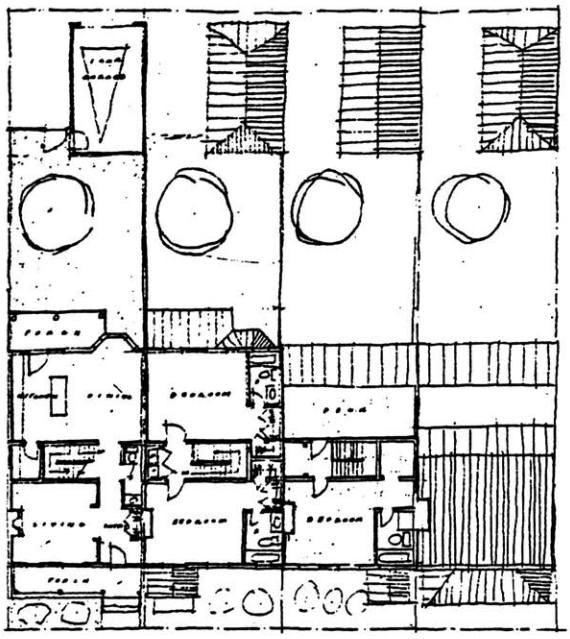
Each lot width is associated with one or more housing types in the Urban Standards document. Twenty-two-foot lots are designated for row houses, 44-foot lots for zero-lot-line houses, and 66- and 88-foot lots for fully detached houses. Apartment building sites are mapped on larger lots.

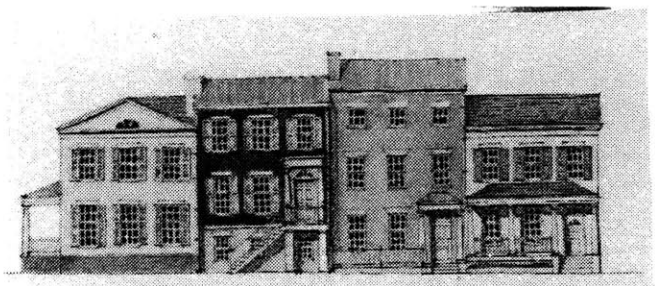
In addition to these building types, housing units will be found in two additional configurations. First, out-buildings to the rear of lots are explicitly permitted in the Urban Standards, and will be developed as "granny flats" by some builders. These buildings are limited to a twenty-five foot depth and two stories. Second, some builders will be building "English basement apartments" in townhouse buildings.



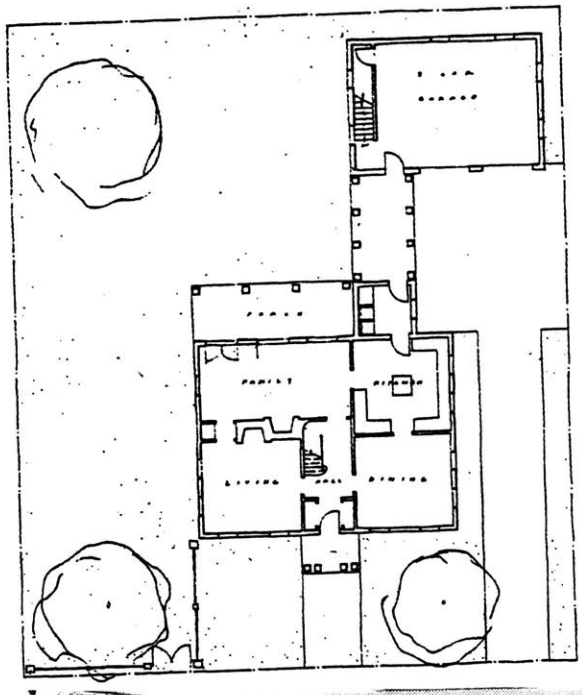
Above: Conceptual rendering of neighborhood streets from Kentlands charrette plan.

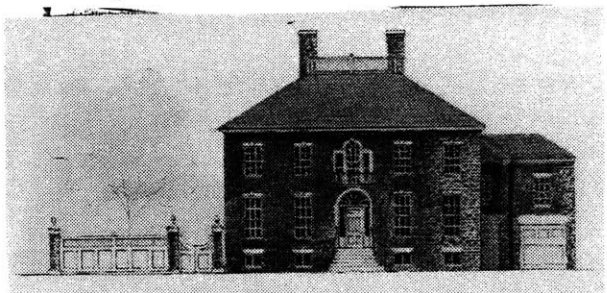
Below: Housing types on lots with widths in multiples of 22 feet. One Type VI lot equals four Type III lots.



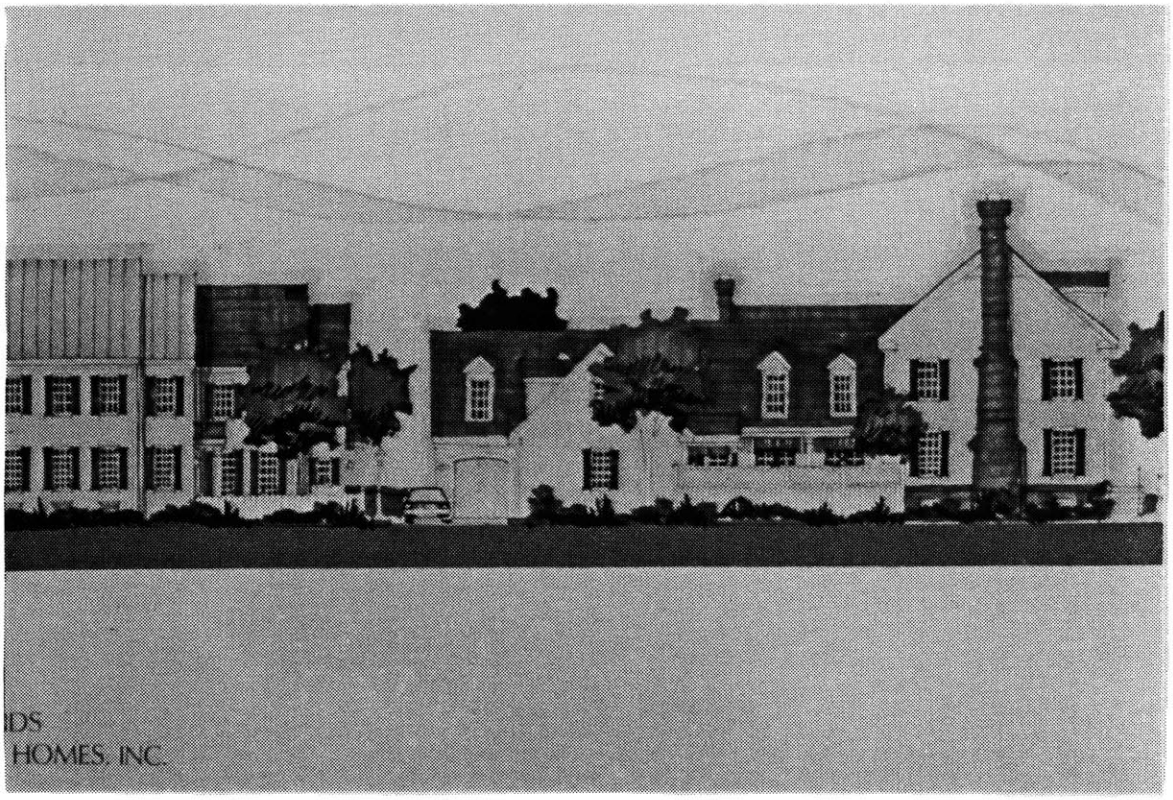


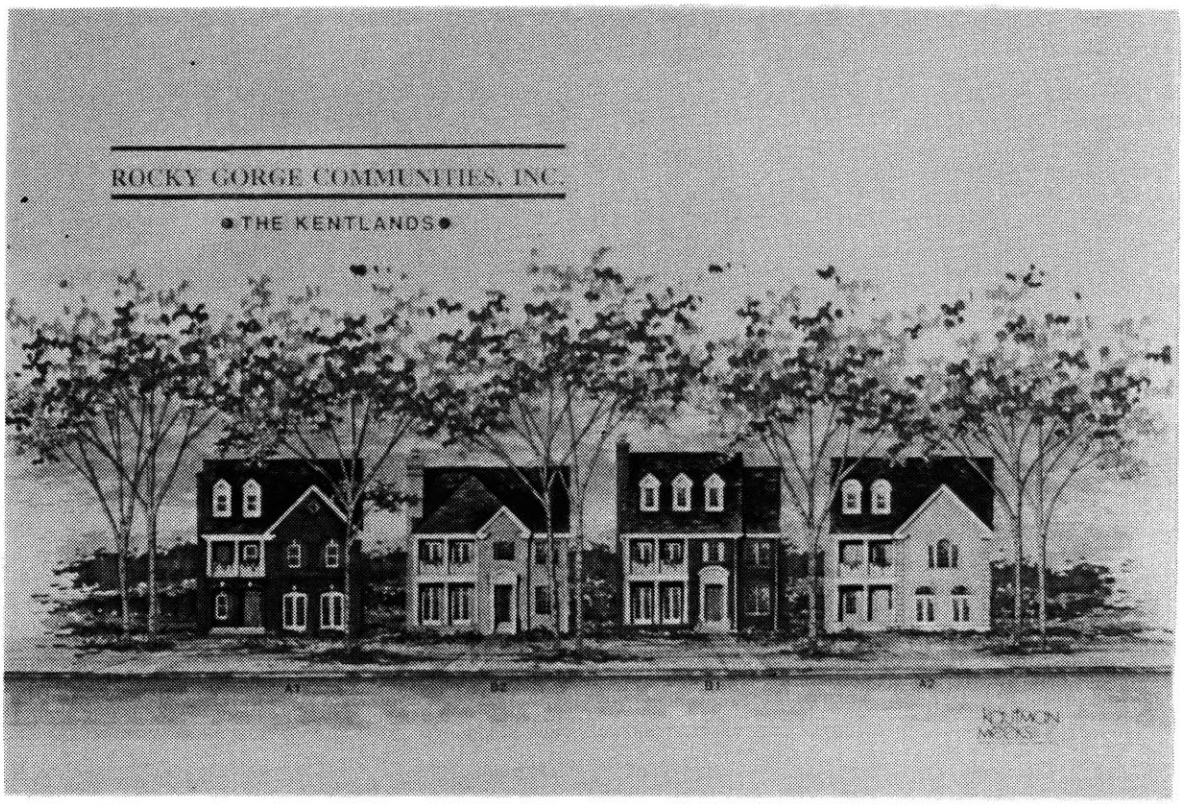
Type III, Georgetown House — 22' Lot





Type VI, 5-Bay House — 88' Lot





Renderings of builders' models for Kentlands.

Different housing types are to be built directly adjacent to each other, not separated or buffered. Although in most places each block-frontage will be of a single type, different building types appear across the street from each other, or around the corner. Densities are to be highest near the town center, where apartment buildings and townhouses will predominate, while the largest houses are relegated to the more remote portions of the Hill District and Schoolhouse Neighborhood. Thus a rough density gradient is established from periphery to core.

Although houses of different types are to rub elbows, the residents of those houses may not vary as much as the buildings themselves. With the bottom price for a townhouse planned for the $250,000 range, an income barrier will operate for all the conventional houses. The developer considered including affordable units, but decided not to for financial reasons, in view of donations to the city in other areas. A greater range of incomes may be produced through the integration of basement and out-building units, as well as apartment houses at the town's center. Still, the mixture of housing is likely to be more a matter of physical form than the social status of residents. The inclusion of a variety of sizes, however, may allow greater flexibility in terms of lifestyle or position in the life-cycle.

Most of the housing is to be built by local builders. Since these builders specialize in standard suburban products which differ considerably from the Kentlands' requirements, many of them have had to alter their product line and building methods for the project. Kentlands project architect Mike Watkins describes the process as one of negotiation between builder and developer, and of mutual education, as builders learn "traditional" building techniques, and DPZ architects become better aware of builders' concerns.

In addition to selling groups of lots to builders, the developer will also sell individual lots throughout the development. The purpose is to increase variety by mixing large and small production homes with custom ones (Pearson, 1988).

Streets

Kentlands' street systems is a sharp contrast to that of surrounding development. The latter follow the now-standard forms of winding collectors and cul-de-sacs. The streets operate in a hierarchical fashion, from the isolated cul-de-sacs, to more heavily travelled collectors, leading to non-

residential arterials. Orientation is difficult, there is no apparent path leading through the site, and the prized position is the privacy of the cul-de-sacs at the top of the hierarchy.

At Kentlands, streets are straight (with a few minor exceptions). All streets are through-streets -- there are no cul-de-sacs. As a set of variations on the grid system, a number of different routes are available to different locations. There is no absolute hierarchy, although there is a definite distinction between wide, grand "boulevards" and narrower neighborhood streets. A major goal is legibility and a strong sense of orientation.

A variety of widths and configurations are to be employed. These vary from the narrow 28-foot-wide streets of the Old Farm District to a boulevard 94 feet wide. All streets are based on an organizing principle different from the streets typically built in the suburbs today. Duany describes the system using the example of the Parisian boulevard as a street that harmoniously integrates a number of elements: traffic movement, pedestrians, building frontages, parking, and greenery. According to Duany, the balance of these parts has been upset by street designs that give too great an emphasis to traffic flow at the expense of other elements. Thus a major goal of Kentlands' street design is to bring a greater emphasis to a number of components: building frontages, which are to be given a mandated relationship to street without the interruption of parking lots and garages; on-street parking to reduce the necessity for off-street parking and provide a buffer between sidewalk and roadway; greenery in the form of uniform rows of trees to further define the street space and soften the environment; and pedestrian accessibility, which will be encouraged by a legible street network, a more interesting street environment, the accessibility of parks and shopping, and a variety of pathways and environments to encourage wandering.

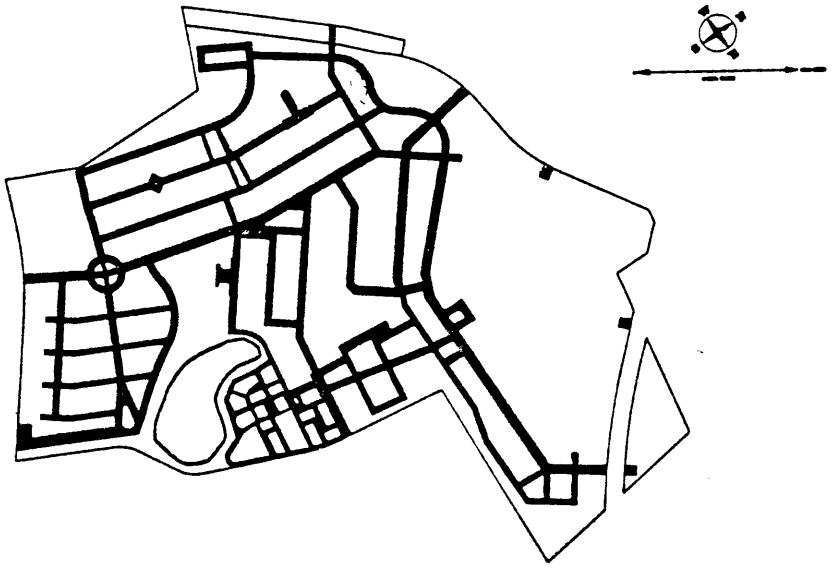
In the denser areas, the streets are to be supplemented by a network of alleys to accommodate parking and services to the rear, along with utilities. Duany describes the alleys as a means of creating a "civilized" street space by removing disruptive elements from the street, particularly garages, which can dominate building frontages at higher densities. The emphasis is thus on the street as a human environment, with elements that disrupt this environment removed or mitigated.

In the charrette plan, street alignments vary from contemporary standards in a number of places. Curb radii are much tighter. A number of

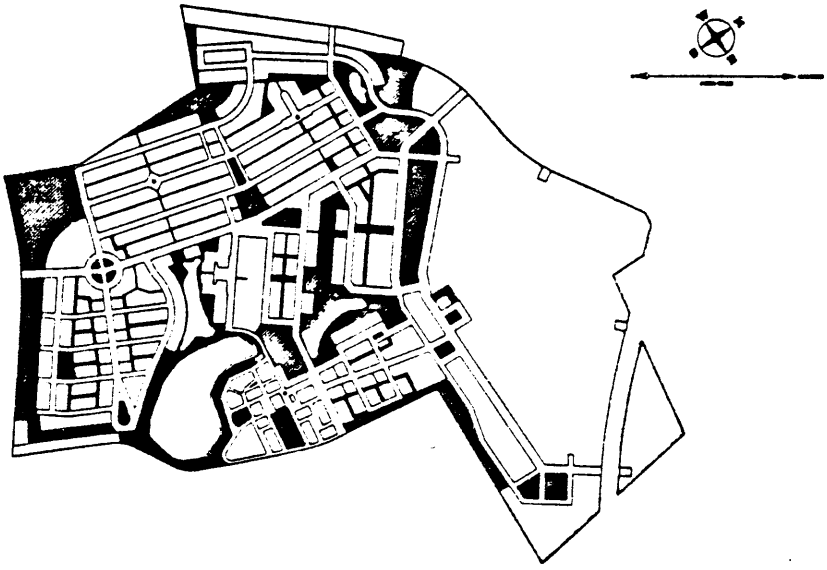
Diagrams from
Kentlands charrette:

Patterns of accessibility.

VEHICULAR NETWORK
KENTLANDS · GAITHERSBURG, MARYLAND



PEDESTRIAN NETWORK
KENTLANDS · GAITHERSBURG, MARYLAND



non-standard intersections appear, such as t-joints at curves or bends on the through-street. Duany and Plater-Zyberk have described their opposition to engineering standards designed to speed traffic with little attention necessary from the driver. Their iconoclastic approach is to slow cars by making streets more difficult to navigate. This is intended to make the driver more alert and improve pedestrian safety.

All these devices are means to accomplishing DPZ's perhaps idealistic vision of the street as a locus of the civic realm. All aspects of street design are thus geared to creating the architectural expression of a civic ideal, and a setting for social interaction. This vision differs considerably from earlier communal visions of space like those advocated by the RPAA and its members, such as Lewis Mumford and Clarence Stein. For while their vision was one of domesticity, neighborliness, and bounded communities, DPZ's vision is of greater inclusiveness and a larger civil society. Duany is less likely to use words like "family" and "community space" than "citizen" and "public realm."

These ideals are given direct expression in street design (as well as public spaces, which will be given consideration in a later section). This begins with the relationship of building to street mandated in the urban standards. These standards require a traditional approach, where the building facades act as the boundary between the public street space and the private sphere. The relationship is further articulated by porches and small front yards that act as a transitional zone between public and private. In imitation of Georgetown, setbacks for row houses are permitted several variations to produce the greater sense of randomness characteristic of that neighborhood. By restricting the width of disruptive elements such as driveways and parking lots, and mandating a minimum frontage width for buildings, the architecture is to create a clear bounded space as a public environment. In contrast to a more naturalistic interpretation of public space, such as that of the RPAA, in DPZ's scheme, public space is thrown into relief by its contrast with private.

Landscaping is used to further heighten this sense of an orderly public space. Duany has spoken of regular rows of trees as an important ordering device in streets where a well-defined space is not created by the proportion of building height to street width. The DPZ plan includes a generous system of such tree plantings, including the incorporation of existing allées from the

previous landscaping scheme that served as formal entrances to the farm buildings.

The grid network itself carries with it notions of open access, in contrast to the exclusivity of dead end and loop roads. Whereas the latter have received justification on the grounds that they will foster the close interaction of a small number of people, Duany advocates the grid in opposing terms, as allowing a greater range of interaction and broader social contact. Whether either configuration has the power to achieve these ends is open to question, especially in view of studies that show that social interaction is likely to be greatest with a few nearby housing units, whatever the spatial arrangement (Mayo, 1979).

For Duany, the public realm is to be expressed in terms of monument and symbol as well as social intercourse. Thus civic landmarks are placed so as to be visible at the ends of streets, and streets widen to encompass monuments. Indeed, in the Kentlands of the charrette plan, it would be difficult to walk for long without encountering some such civic symbol.

These civic symbols are also part of another important aspect of DPZ's street design approach, the great emphasis given to creating a picturesque environment. Their much quoted source book in this regard is Raymond Unwin's Town Planning in Practice, a virtual encyclopedia of methods for producing "street pictures" through the placement of buildings and alignment of roads. An important part of this techniques is creating a good composition by avoiding gaps in the field of vision, as is so often the case with long straight streets. Duany has criticized the arbitrary curves of many conventional suburbs as a dumb method of producing closed vistas. DPZ use few curves, employing instead an arsenal of other effects to achieve properly closed views. Straight streets, for instance, rarely run more than a few blocks without bending to cut off the view. Many roads end in t-intersections with buildings terminating the vistas. Streets may widen into circles or minor squares, with monuments placed in the center and buildings of larger scale facing the roadway at diagonals.

Thus, the prime goal of DPZ's street design is the creation of a "civic realm" based on traditional models. This realm is conceived in terms of both social interaction and aesthetic expression. The model is that of the broader, inclusive, liberal society, not the small scale, closed neighborhood as the building block of the greater city. DPZ believe that the physical environment

can influence behavior, and their streets are configured in ways that they believe will increase public-spirited social interaction. But for them the aesthetic is also an important part of civic expression, and their street designs are thus intended to have a picturesque quality, and, more importantly, one that elevates the civic realm.

Parking

As an exurban development, Kentlands will have to accommodate large amounts of parking; its plan is intended to serve as a demonstration of Duany's claim that "traditional" town design can accommodate parking if "fully modern quantities." The challenge for the planners was to accommodate the large areas required for this parking in way that would not disrupt their carefully crafted pedestrian environment.

Two principal sorts of parking problems confronted the planners, those of high density residential development and of the major commercial center.

The plan's requirements for off-street parking in residential areas bear out Duany's intentions to accommodate quantities of parking no less than more conventional developments: 1.75 spaces are required for one-bedroom apartments, and 2 to 2.5 spaces for larger apartments and houses with frontages of 44 feet or less. One space is required houses with frontages of 66 and 88 feet, with additional parking space available at the curb. In the areas of highest residential densities, parking will be accessed from the rear of the lot through alleys. In all areas, parking will be barred from within 20 feet of the front building line.

The reliance on curb parking reflects DPZ's effort to reduce the demand for paved off-street parking areas, and their opinion that parking can be accommodated distributed along the street in a manner far less aesthetically objectionable than in an off-street parking lot. On the contrary, they assert, on-street parking is a positive street element, because it buffers pedestrians from moving traffic, and brings activity to the street edge.

Parking for the retail and office components is more problematic, as both require far more parking spaces per acre of development. The planner's preference for structured parking was ruled out as too expensive. In the charrette plan, compromise between ideal and convention was achieved in the case of the mall by arranging surface parking on the three sides of the mall

facing towards the arterials bounding the site, with direct pedestrian access to the mall from the rest of the project on the mall's fourth side. This configuration did not prove a permanent solution to the problem, and the mall site remains the most problematic area of the plan. For the office and retail buildings clearly oriented toward the plan's internal street system, parking has been barred from the front of buildings, and facades will form a screen between parking areas and the street to preserve the streetscape.

Open Space and Public Facilities

DPZ's public space ideology demands a treatment of open space that is non-exclusive, and that allows for a variety of uses. This is achieved in their plans through both design and programming.

Kentlands can be seen has having two sorts of open space systems. The first is based on the existing wetlands system, which due to environmental regulations could not have been built on in any case. The lakeside environment will perhaps be more "naturalistic" than is usual for DPZ. The second is a system of formal architectural spaces more typical of DPZ's plans. The two systems will be integrated to some extent, as the lakeside park will connect with the more architectural space bounded by North and South Main Streets, and will be directly accessible to the formal spaces of the Old Farm Neighborhood.

All park spaces will be accessible to the public. Unlike at the earlier new town of Reston where the perimeter of lakes are lined by private residences, Inspiration lake will be surrounded with pathways and benches as a public park. A restaurant and inn at lakeside is intended to attract people from both within and outside the development. The lakeside park has been donated to the city of Gaithersburg, which will own and manage it.

Smaller parks are scattered throughout the development. Although owned and managed by the homeowner's association, these parks are also to be publicly accessible in their design, usually directly accessible from streets, and not clearly the turf of any particular housing units. Except for those buffering the perimeter of the site, these parks take the form of green spaces of small to medium size tightly bounded by buildings.

A more specialized park space is the proposed "Hidden Garden" adjacent to the historic farm structures. A renovation of the farmhouse's

kitchen garden, this formal setting is intended to be lined with studios of artists and craftsmen.

In addition to serving neighborhood needs, several parks are located adjacent to shopping, and as the foreground for public buildings. In the charrette plan, the schoolhouse circle and the park at the base of the Hill District's monumental axis combine civic structures and minor shopping centers. The park between North and South Main Streets is also to be lined with a number or retail buildings. Most importantly, the town square sited at the mall entrance is intended to be both a shopping location and a civic space with lots reserved for civic buildings such as a post office, fire station, and church.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk have criticized the trend of commercial environments increasingly functioning as our society's most important public spaces. The shopping mall in particular is singled out as the poor modern substitute for traditional public areas. According to the line of thinking, having shopping as the principal public activity is detrimental to society, and may have a harmful effect on citizens raised in this sort of environment. Nevertheless, as a major part of the building program, the Kentlands mall will inevitably be one of the site's principle public spaces. The difficulty of reconciling the conventions of the mall environment with DPZ's notions of public space are attested to by rocky course of the mall design. An earlier relationship with Melvin Simon & Associates, a prominent mall developer, was aborted because it proved impossible to reconcile differences between Simon on the one hand, and DPZ and Alfandre on the other. The design of the major retail center, and its relation to the rest of the plan, has continued to be the most troublesome part of the plan, with a number of configurations examined and rejected. So far, however, the architects and developer persist in the belief that their planning goals can accommodate the demands of modern retail and office design, and talks have been held with experts in these areas to arrive at a solution.

To ensure that the Kentlands public realm not become solely a commercial environment, a number of other elements have been incorporated into the program. Already mentioned is the public park donated to the city of Gaithersburg. The mansion and barn have also been given to the city, and will be operated as a cultural campus. Alfandre also hopes to build a live theater complex. The school and its athletic grounds should attract outsiders.

To fulfill the requirements of both parties, the complex was designed through a collaboration of architects chosen by DPZ and the local school board. A public library will be located not far from the school, on the southern bank of Inspiration Lake. Under the charrette plan, recreation facilities were to be scattered throughout the neighborhood, but in revised plans these have been consolidated into a single facility. Two churches are planned. Daycare will be offered at the churches as well as a separate facility. Finally, the site may accommodate some of the city's public hearings.

Kentlands is thus easily distinguishable from "golf course communities" and other subdivisions centered around a few amenities. The Kentlands plan calls for a much greater diversity of activities; a concerted effort to attract people from beyond the site; and an integration of these activities, with each other and with the residential areas, along a pedestrian-oriented street system. Thus Kentlands also runs counter to the trend of separating different age, income and lifestyle groups in separate facilities.

Town Center

DPZ's ideal of a town center is a place that combines the vitality of a commercial center with the public presence of a civic core. Moreover, such a center should be physically integrated with the area of which it is the center, not isolated as a separate architectural monument. Thus in plans such as Seaside and Belmont the center is connected to the rest of the development by a number of radial streets.

These ideals were challenged by the constraints of the Kentlands site and program. Programmatically, the placement of the mall was the controlling factor of the development's retail core. To fulfill DPZ's goal of integrating commercial, residential, and civic uses, the mall and town center should be adjacent. The requirements of mall development, however, dictated a peripheral site at the intersection of major arterials. Further, the very nature of the single-function, large shopping mall runs counter to DPZ's ideals of integrating uses in a fine grain. In terms of the site, the wetlands system acts as a barrier between the mall location and some parts of the site, blocking the tight, formal integration that is more characteristic of the firm's work. The Kentlands town center, then, is in some sense a compromised version of the DPZ norm.

The charrette plan's treatment of the junction of shopping mall and town center emerged as the result of a series of informal negotiations between DPZ, Alfandre, and representatives of the potential mall developer. DPZ's goal was to avoid the freestanding mall surrounded by parking which is produced by the standard conventions of mall design, but which runs so much counter to their ideals of combining buildings to form an overall street fabric, and of taming auto-oriented design in favor of pedestrian scale. The compromise that emerged at that time was a mall surrounded on three sides by parking, and exiting at one end directly onto a town square that connects the mall to the street network of the remainder of the plan. The mall's vast parking area would be screened from the remainder of the development by commercial and apartment buildings whose facades would define a traditional street space, with parking accommodated to the rear. This configuration was sketched out on the charrette plan, but eventually failed to form the basis of an agreement between Alfandre and mall developer Melvin Simon Associates. The area has since been the subject of a number of proposals, without a final resolution at the time of this writing.

Viewed in relation to the rest of the Kentlands plan, the town center of the charrette plan is located at the intersection of two important axes: a north-south axis running through the center of the Old Farmhouse district to Inspiration Lake; and an east-west axis of the twin Main Streets, lined with the bulk of the remainder of the plan's shopping, office space, and apartment buildings.

As the juncture between the mall, the Old Farmhouse Neighborhood, and the main spine of the Midtown District, the square was intended as the key focal point for the development. This importance was to be marked by a tower at the square's corner, designed to terminate several visual axes and make the center visible from other parts of the site. Conceived as more than just a commercial center, the square was to have lots reserved for civic buildings such as a post office, fire station, and church, in addition to residential units above some of the retail ground floor. Other activities were to include smaller shops, restaurants, and a food court. The square was to serve as an activity center, but also as an aesthetic statement as a foreground for civic monuments.

The plan's core area extends from the square up and down North and South Main Street into the retail and commercial areas in the Midtown District.

This spine is to be lined with buildings up to 75 feet high containing retail on the ground floor and offices above, and with courtyard apartment buildings 45 feet high with retail at the ground floor level. These buildings are to be configured to present a unified streetwall of facades on the street side, with parking to the rear. A large, single-function office building will likely stand at the spine's east end. To the west, North and South Main Streets envelope the plan's largest formal park space.

Although the town square area derives a quality of centeredness from its relation to the Old Farm District and the Midtown area, its physical relation to the other neighborhoods is less clear. A major boulevard connects the Schoolhouse Neighborhood and Hill District with the eastern end of the Main Streets spine, but the Kentlands plan nevertheless has a fragmented quality which is different from the firm's more typical work at Seaside and Belmont.

The Urban and Architectural Standards

A key element in DPZ's planning technique is the regulatory mechanism they have devised to implement their planning goals. These are the "codes," called Urban and Architectural Standards, that have guided their projects since Seaside. Although they differ from plan to plan, these documents share a number of similarities. In each case there is a set of Urban Standards to govern basic configuration of elements such as building envelope, yards, parking, and porches. In addition, a set of Architectural Standards governs matters such as materials and configurations for such items as building walls, windows and doors. Each set of standards is presented primarily in graphic form, with most information in simple diagrams. A number of building types, typically from five to eight, are specified. Requirements for each type are displayed in a grid chart, with building type names running horizontally across the type, and categories such as "yards," "parking," and "out buildings" running vertically down the side. Typically, the entire document runs no more than two pages.

The purpose of this system is to allow a greater variety than would be possible if only one or a few architects designed all the buildings, while establishing a formal framework for the development as a whole. In the broader view, the system is DPZ's contribution to the methodology of reintroducing the sort common language of city building that prevailed at earlier points of history but which have been lost during this century.

The standards form part of the contracts between the developer and individual builders, and thus become legally enforceable under contract law. By selling small numbers of lots to a number of different builders, it is intended that the project will gain a sense of variety, and that particular buildings can be tailored to the needs of owner-builders, or the market. In the case of Seaside, almost all parcels were sold as individual lots and a great variety was established. At Kentlands, professional builders will acquire a number of lots, but no builder will get control of a large enough number to define the character of any area. The developer also intends to sell a number of lots on an individual basis so that custom homes are mixed with mass production ones.

A project map specifies which building types are to be located on which parcels. Each parcel is specified only one type, and must follow its set of rules. Mapping of different types is usually at a fairly fine grain, to implement the sort of mix that the planners advocate.

A number of lots are not subject to the system of standards. These are the spaces reserved for important civic and commercial structures, on some of the most prominent sites in the development. For these buildings, the planners desired to leave greater freedom for the architect, and final designs are to be arrived at in agreement with the developer.

In addition to a greater direct involvement in these prominent buildings, the developer and planners retain control over the shape of the plan through the design of the street network and open spaces, and the distribution of the different building types. In this way, the planners control the key element of scale through the specification of building envelopes, lot sizes, and street configurations. Scale can be used in a dynamic way through the variation in street widths, and the play of scale between streets and squares. The purpose of the buildings subject to the code, then is to fill in the fabric of the development, in a manner that allows for interest through diversity, but which follows a fairly strict set of conventions. These areas are in some senses the ground against which the more important civic spaces and structures are viewed.

Enforcement of the standards is an important part of the process of ensuring that they achieve the results desired by the planners. The first experiment in this process was at Seaside, where a very active developer was part of a review committee that screened all building proposals, most of which

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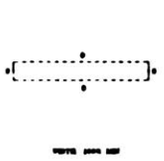
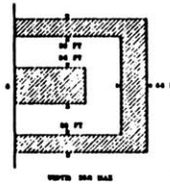
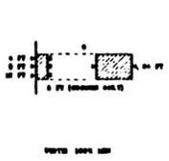
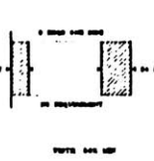
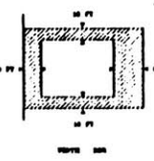
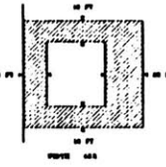
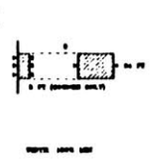
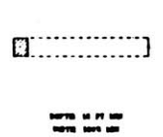
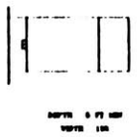
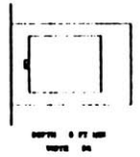
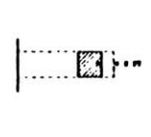
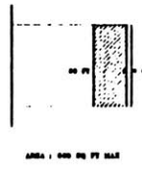
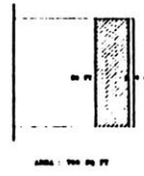
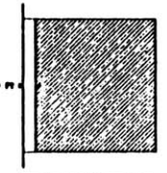
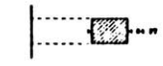
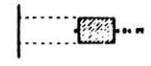
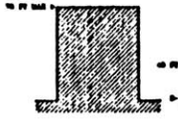
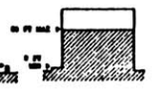
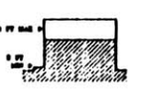
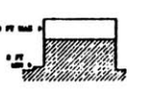
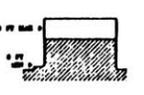
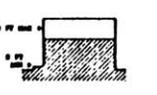
URBAN STANDARDS ★ KENTLANDS

	TYPE I RETAIL/OFFICE	TYPE II RETAIL/RESIDENTIAL	TYPE IIIA TYPE IIIB TYPE IIIC RESIDENTIAL	TYPE IV RESIDENTIAL	TYPE V RESIDENTIAL	TYPE VI RESIDENTIAL	TYPE VII RESIDENTIAL	TYPE VIII SPECIAL NEIGHBORHOODS	SPECIFICATIONS
YARD AN AREA LEFT FREE OF STRUCTURES MORE THAN 8 FT IN HEIGHT								1. CODE PROVISIONS SHALL BE DEVELOPED IN CONSULTATION WITH THE DEVANDS ADMINISTRATION 2. ARCHITECTS SHALL BE SELECTED BY THE DEVANDS ADMINISTRATION	1. ALL BUILDING PLANS SHALL BE SUBMITTED TO THE KENTLANDS ADMINISTRATION FOR CONFORMITY TO THE CODE 2. VARIANCES TO THE CODE SHALL BE GRANTED ON THE BASIS OF ARCHITECTURAL MERIT 3. ALL BUILDINGS SHALL CONFORM TO THE APPROVED MATERIALS LIST
PORCH AN UNGLAZED ROOFED STRUCTURE									1. THE PORCH OR BALCONY SHALL EXTEND IN WIDTH A MINIMUM OF THE DESIGNATED PERCENTAGE OF THE STREET FACADE 2. THE FRONT PORCH OR BALCONY SHALL BE THE MINIMUM DESIGNATED DEPTH 3. THE WINDOW PROPORTION SHALL BE SQUARE OR VERTICAL BALCONIES ARE REQUIRED IN TYPE IV ONLY
OUT-BUILDING AN AUXILIARY STRUCTURE LOCATED WITHIN A YARD AREA									1. THE FOOTPRINT OF OUTBUILDINGS SHALL NOT EXCEED THE DESIGNATED AREA 2. OUTBUILDINGS SHALL NOT EXCEED 20' HEIGHT EXCEPT TYPE IV WHICH SHALL NOT EXCEED 16 FEET 3. THE WALLS OF OUTBUILDINGS AT PROPERTY LINES SHALL BE LEFT BLANK OR LESS AND SHALL BE 2 HR FIRE RATED
PARKING AN OPEN AREA NO LESS THAN 18 FT BY 20 FT WITH A MINIMUM 10 FT WIDE CONTINUOUS ACCESS FROM THE STREET									1. THE SPECIFIED NUMBER OF PARKING SPACES SHALL BE PROVIDED WITHIN THE AREA DESIGNATED 2. TRUCKS, BOATS, CAMPERS AND TRAILERS (AIRSTREAM TYPES EXCEPTED) SHALL BE PARKED IN REAR YARDS ONLY 3. GARAGES SHALL FOLLOW THE SPECIFICATIONS OF OUTBUILDINGS
HEIGHT THE VERTICAL DISTANCE BETWEEN THE AVERAGE ENTRANCE STREET ELEVATION AND A SPECIFIED POINT ON A STRUCTURE.									1. MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM BUILDING HEIGHTS SHALL BE AS DESIGNATED 2. THERE SHALL NOT BE HEIGHT LIMIT ON STRUCTURES OR PORTIONS OF STRUCTURES WITH A FOOTPRINT OF LESS THAN 256 SQ FT 3. THE PRINCIPAL ROOF SHALL BE A SYMMETRICAL GABLE OR HIP WITH A SLOPE OF 6:12 TO 12:12 4. A SHED ROOF SHALL HAVE A PITCH OF 3:12 TO 12:12 AND BE PERMITTED ONLY WHEN ATTACHED TO A PRINCIPAL ROOF OR WALL 5. A FLAT ROOF SHALL BE PERMITTED ONLY AS A HABITABLE DECK ENCLOSED BY A CONTINUOUS BALUSTRADE OR PARAPET

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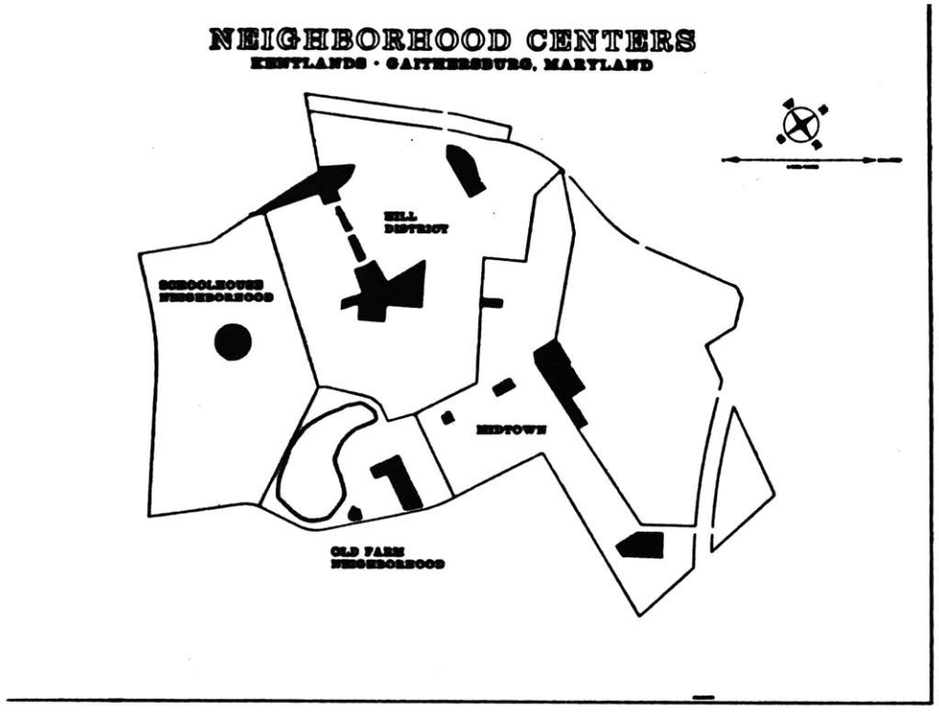
ARCHITECTURAL STANDARDS

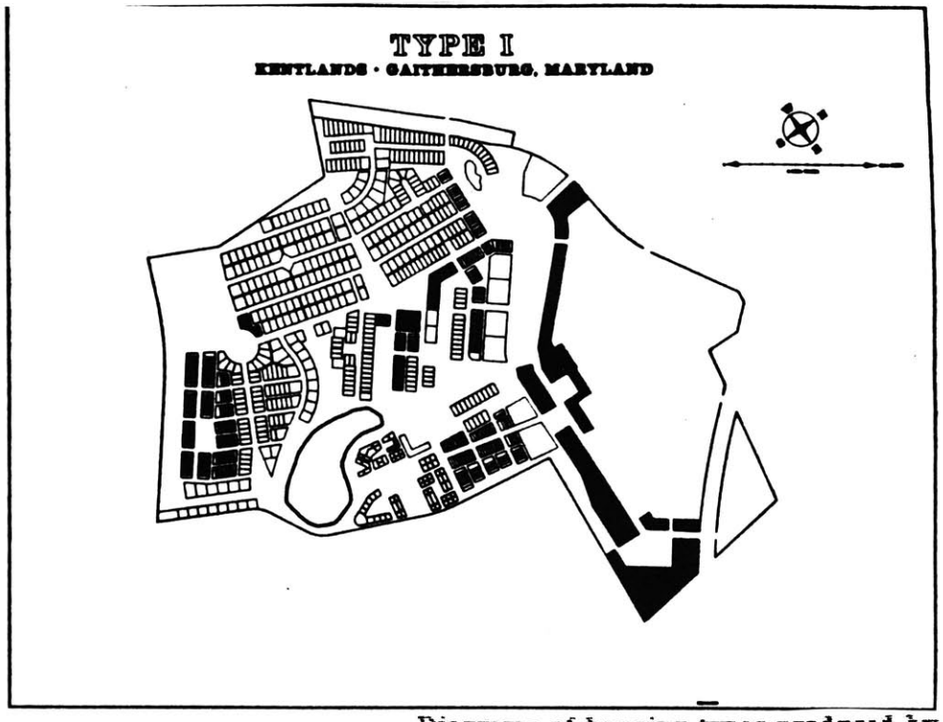
KENTLANDS ★ GAITHERSBURG, MARYLAND

- ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS PRESCRIBED HEREIN ARE STANDARD
- EXCEPTIONS SHALL BE REVIEWED BY THE TOWN ARCHITECTS OFFICE (T O A)

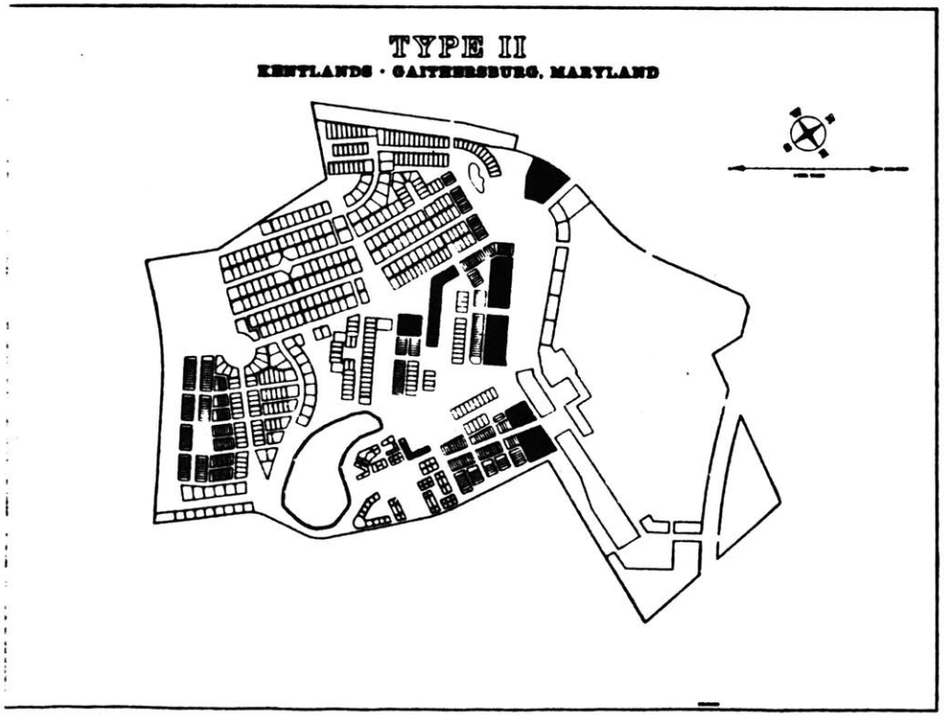
	MATERIALS	CONFIGURATIONS	OPERATIONS	GENERAL
BUILDING WALLS	Cedar shingles - four to six inches to the weather Wood clapboard - four inches to the weather Wood banded siding - seven inches to the weather Brick & stone - to be selected from the T O A Master List - horizontal running bond only - raked mortar joints only	The open undercroft of decks shall be enclosed by wood lattice Shingles and clapboard shall be flush trimmed at corners Trim shall be 4" boards maximum at openings		Materials shall be used in horizontal bands only No painting is permitted
GARDEN & RETAINING WALLS	Brick & stone - to match the principal building Wood pickets & wood lattice Wood rail & board - pattern to be approved by the T O A Master List	Brick walls shall be capped		
ARCHES, COLUMNS & PORCHES	Brick - piers & arches Wood - posts & columns - porches & balustrades Metal - railings (type 7 only)	Arches shall be no less than 8" in depth Masonry piers shall be no less than 16" x 8" Posts shall be no less than 6" x 6" Columns shall be of the Doric, Tuscan or Ionic Order Spindles shall not exceed 6.5" on center Porch openings shall be vertical in proportion		
ROOFS & GUTTERS	For Roofs - red cedar shakes - steel standing seam - galvanized steel standing seam - slate & artificial slate For Gutters - wood - galvanized steel - aluminum	Simple Gable & Simple Hip Roofs symmetrical pitch min 8:12 max 14:12 Simple Shed Roofs asymmetrical pitch min 4:12 max 14:12 - to be used against a principal building wall or as dormer only - dormers shall be a minimum 16" from end gable Flat Roofs with Railings or Parapets - accessible from an interior room only - railing pattern to be approved by the T O A Gutters shall be half round at overhang and ogee when no overhang		Artificial slate shingles shall be selected from the T O A Master List
WINDOWS, DOORS & SHUTTERS	Materials - sheet glass - painted wood - stained hardwood - vinyl clad wood	Permitted - rectangular of vertical proportion - circular & semi circular - hexagonal & octagonal Garage doors shall be 8' maximum width	Permitted - single and double hung - casement - fixed with frame	The following are permitted accessories - wood shutters sized to match openings - storm windows and doors - wooden window boxes - real wood muntins
OUTBUILDINGS	Materials shall conform to that of the primary structure	Massing shall conform to that of the primary structure	Permitted Barbecues Garden pavilions & green houses Gazebos, trellis structures & arbors Garages & workshops Guest houses & artists studios Handball & squash courts & saunas In ground swimming pool & outdoor tubs Pool houses & equipment enclosures	
LANDSCAPE	All trees and shrubs shall be selected from the T O A Master List	There shall be one tree of species from the T O A Master List of not less than 3 1/2" caliper planted every 30'-0" along the Front Property Line		Trees over 6" caliper may not be removed without the approval of the T O A
MISCELLANEOUS	All colors shall be selected from the T O A Master List	The following items shall be selected from the T O A Master List : - mailboxes - exterior lighting - lettering & numbering - garbage cans - wall air conditioners - exterior hardware		The following shall not be located at the front yard - clothes drying yards - electrical meters & gas meters - air conditioning compressors - antennae and satellite dishes - garbage cans

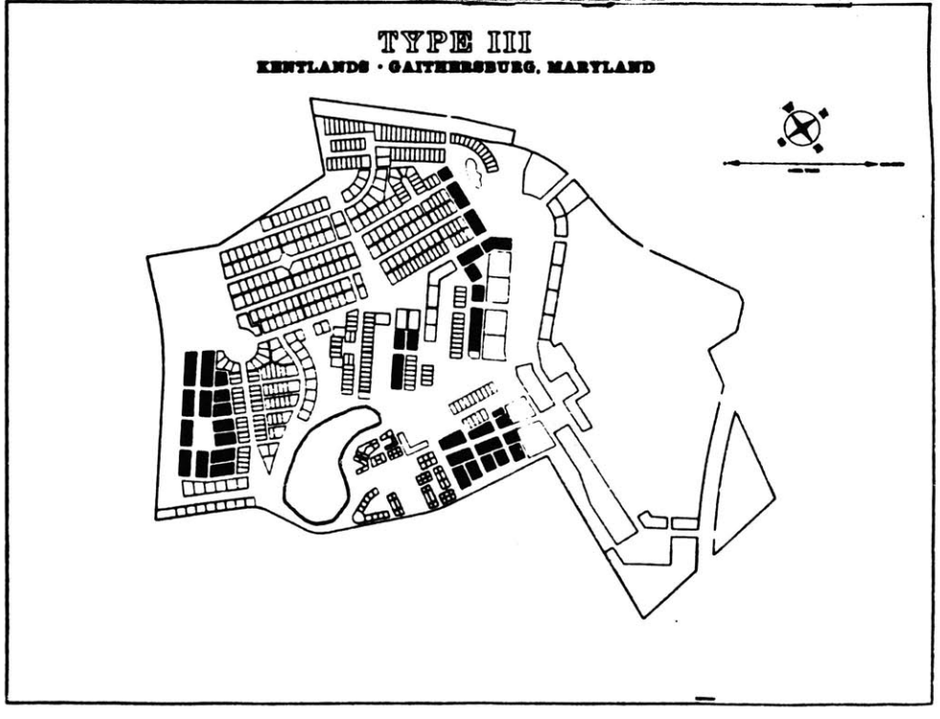
APRIL 7TH, 1990

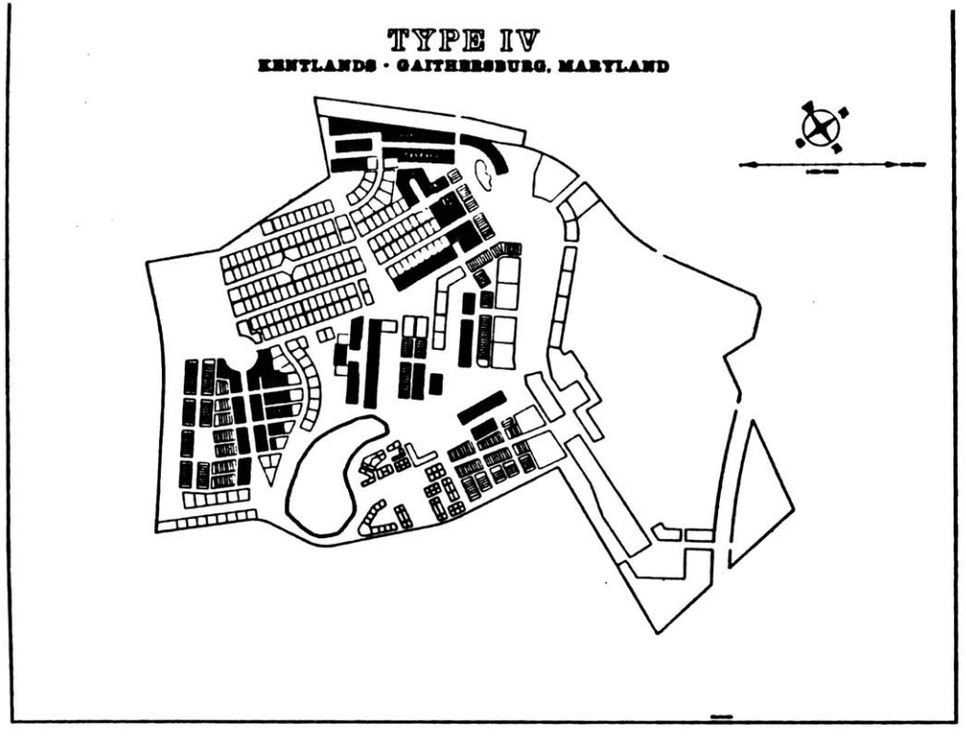


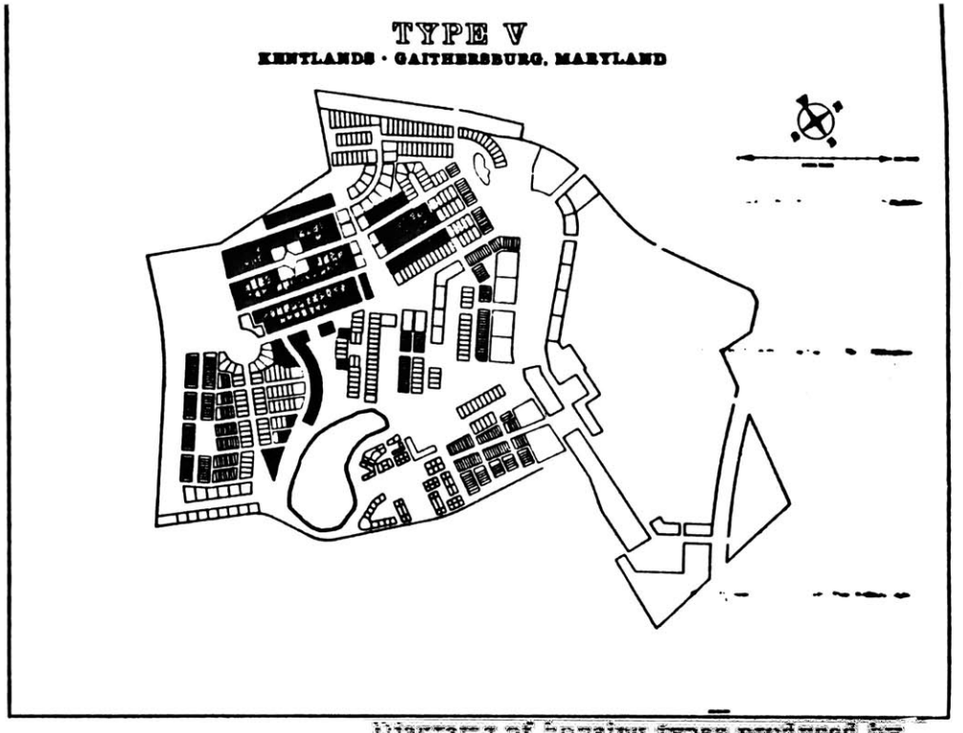


Diagrams of housing types produced by Kentlands charrette

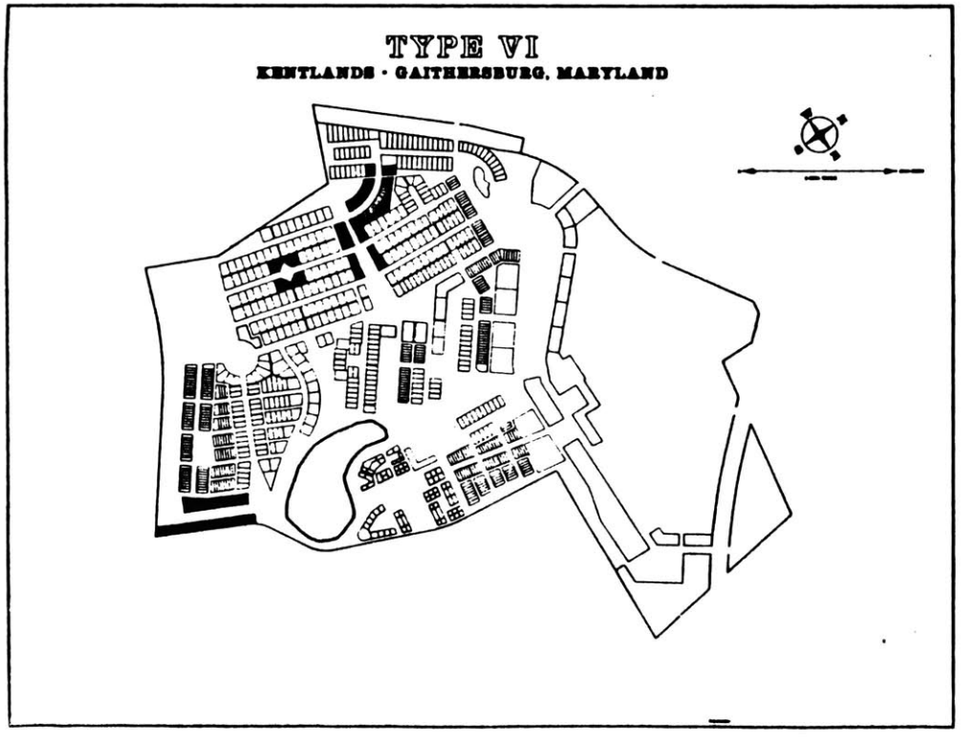


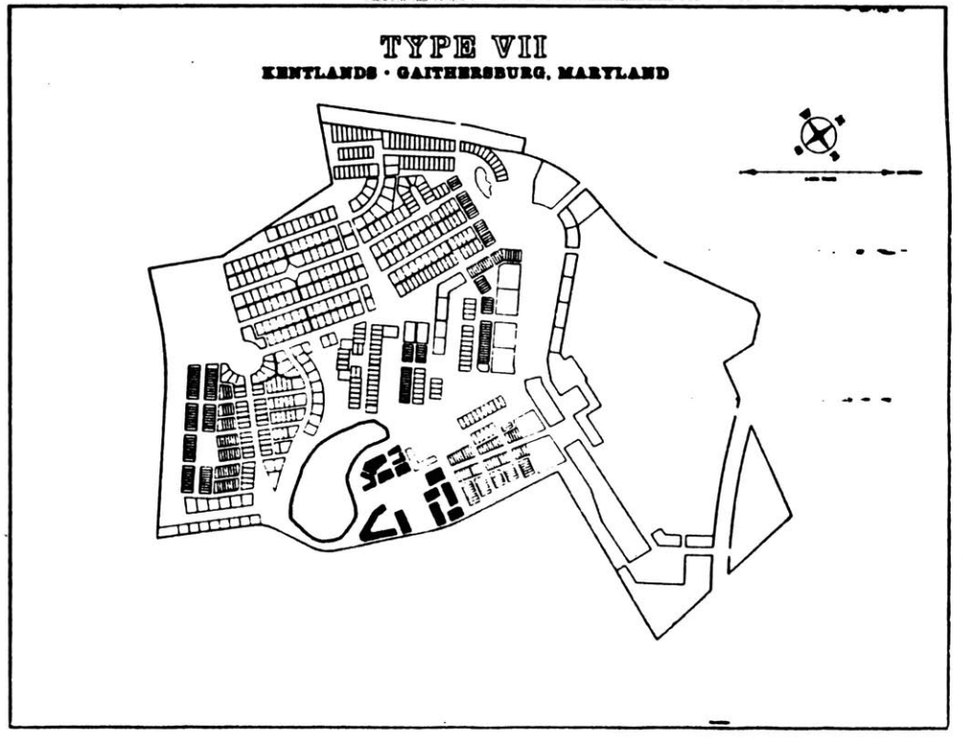






Diagrams of housing types produced by Kentlands charrette



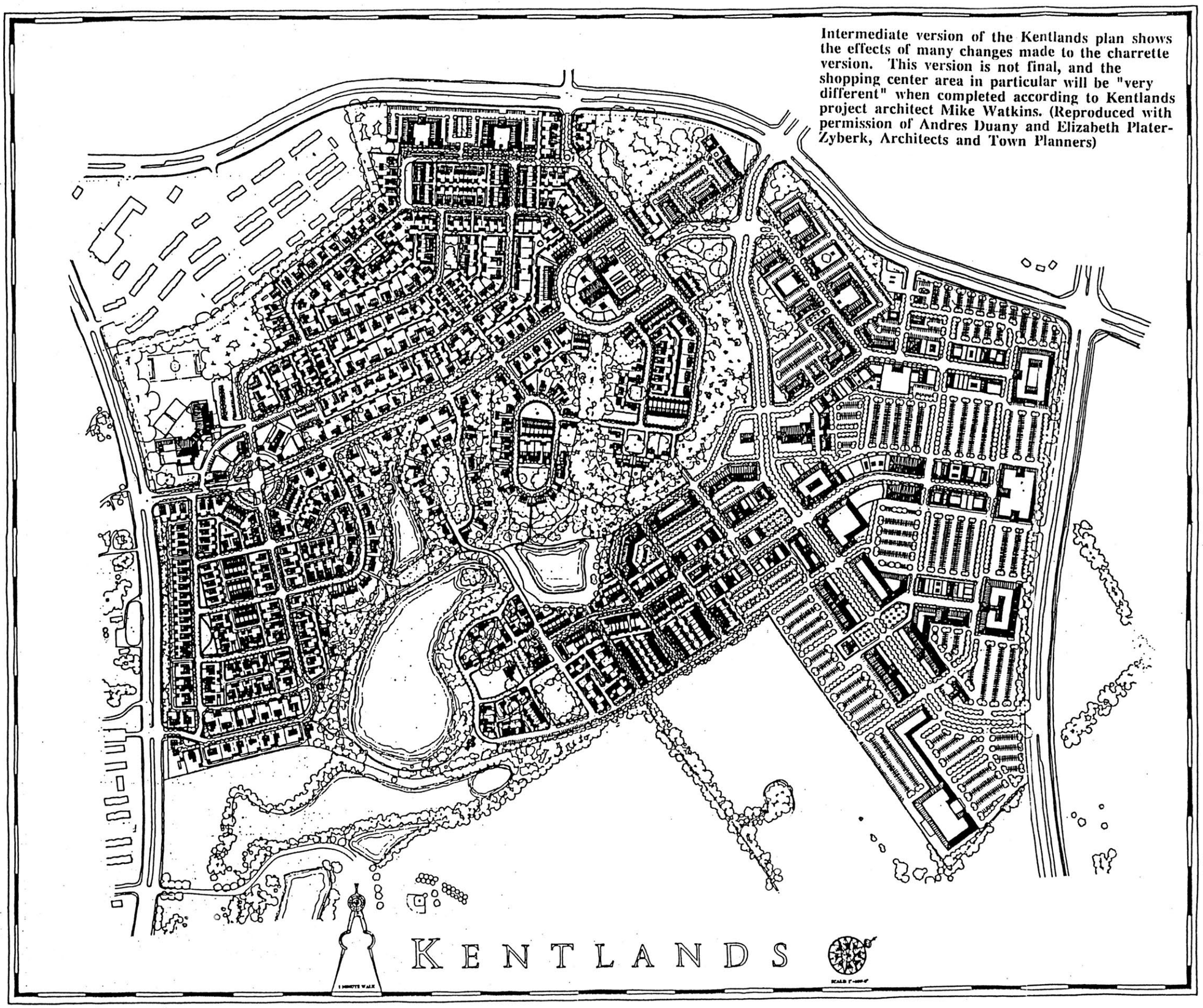


were for single houses. At Seaside, the committee's standards were often stronger than those of the written document, and the committee had full discretion. Since then, DPZ have made a number of changes intended to improve the process. The standards were lengthened from one to two pages and made more detailed and comprehensive. In many cases, a smaller number of builders and architects were used to ensure greater control of the final result. At Kentlands, review is handled principally by DPZ's project architect. Since the larger-scale builders come to the project with pre-established product lines and building techniques, the final design is the result of negotiations between the project architect and individual builders.

Duany has said the the way to reform conventional building practices is to change the rules -- "the key to reforming America is to get hold of the codes." (Forgey, 1988) The Urban and Architectural Standards system is part of their effort to find a set of rules to replace those of conventional single function and Planned Unit Development zoning. As a system based on private contract, it is capable of a greater subtlety of control than is usually possible with local government regulation. Nevertheless this private system is only possible where it is allowed by local law. Seaside was possible in part because it was built in an area of with few regulations. The typical suburban site, however, is subject to the zoning and subdivision ordinances of the local government. Since few zoning ordinances include categories that permit DPZ's Urban Standards system, a revision of the zoning text is necessary. In the case of Kentlands, text for a new MXD zone was arrived at through negotiations between city and developer.

Changes to the Charette Plan

Changes to the charrette plan have been numerous, and even if it were possible to track all of them, such an exercise would be beyond the scope of this thesis. It is worthwhile, however, noting a few of the major issues that arose in subsequent phases of the plan and how they affected the plan. Many changes will be visible in comparisons between the map of the charrette plan and that of an intermediate plan, both included. The latter includes many of the alterations that affected the shape of the plan since the charette, but is not final, particularly the shopping district which according to project architect Mike Watkins will be "very different."



Intermediate version of the Kentlands plan shows the effects of many changes made to the charrette version. This version is not final, and the shopping center area in particular will be "very different" when completed according to Kentlands project architect Mike Watkins. (Reproduced with permission of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Architects and Town Planners)

Wetlands were perhaps the major natural and regulatory constraint on the site. Corps of Engineers regulations mandated greater wetlands preservation than projected in the original plan, requiring elimination of through-streets and other alterations in the configuration of roads, parks, and lots that together contribute to the plan's fragmented qualities. A number of pedestrian paths have been created to substitute for connections formerly planned for roadways. These changes are visible in a comparison between the two maps.

Street engineering standards were another important issue. Since all streets are to be publicly owned and maintained, negotiations were necessary to reconcile DPZ's very non-standard alignments with those normally required by the city for public roads. According to Watkins, compromises were usually reached that fell between the two. Many alignment changes, such as the elimination of the original plan's sharp right angles, are also visible in the two maps.

Subsequent analyses of grades and rock conditions on the major hill forced alterations in the configuration of that neighborhood. Perhaps an even greater change was caused by the developer's marketing decision to move the apartment buildings to a location visible from the surrounding arterials. As a result, what was a district primarily of the development's largest houses now includes a number of courtyard apartments and townhouses. The developer's decision to combine all the recreation facilities that had originally been scattered among the neighborhoods also created a major new element on the map: the consolidated recreation facility that terminates the boulevard which is the major southern entrance to the site. As other changes altered the plan, neighborhood names have also been changed, although the connection of name to neighborhood seems to have little substantive importance, still reflecting in only a general way the character of different subareas of the plan.

Chapter 4: Evaluation

As the foregoing chapters attempt to illustrate, many different ideas are involved in the goals and rhetoric that accompany DPZ's plans. At times the words and images seem to become a barrage that conceal as much as they reveal about the actual nature of the plans themselves. This is not surprising. First, what DPZ are engaged in is the attempt to revive our ability to build in the manner of places that already exist and that we have experienced in all their complexity and ambiguity. Through appealing to our experience of well-loved places, they tap into the side of us that experiences places emotionally, rather than that which seeks rational solutions to particular problems. While their argument does at times proceed to the level of particular problems and their solutions, it is the emotional connection with the experience of actual places that is primary. Second, through their lectures and writing, DPZ are engaged more in the art of persuasion than in the process of systematic investigation and academic debate. A review of a small but growing body of literature, by people both inside the effort and outsiders writing about it, reveals no systematic debate or body of thought to match that of earlier generations of new town advocates such as Ebenezer Howard, F.J. Osborn, or Clarence Stein. The existence of such a body of thought will neither make nor break the plans. They will grow, thrive, be reproduced and cared for, or be rejected and abandoned, in large part without reference to this sort of systematic expression. Nevertheless, since claims are being made, it is appropriate to examine them and the prospects for their fulfillment through the methods DPZ propose. At least two sorts of questions are in order: are DPZ's methods likely to fulfill the planners' claims, and what will be achieved if they do?

DPZ's claim that their planning approach can counteract the physical and social fragmentation of the suburbs. They reject the isolated, homogeneous fragments of the existing pattern by introducing diversity as a main element of the plan, and knitting it together through a framework of coherent public places, foremost attractive walking access through a network of non-exclusive streets. They reject the automobile as an appropriate means of providing this connection because, as Duany phrases it, the car is "hermetic" and "anti-social."

But with diversity as their centerpiece, DPZ still run the risk of becoming yet another fragment in the suburban mosaic, not the solution to it. The matter revolves around a number of questions: Do the plans really respond to the diversity of the city by bringing different elements together, or do they merely imitate diversity, and thereby subtly reinforce the existing segmented order? Can a mere physical plan counteract the powerful social forces that produce the fragmented order, or are other measures necessary, such as the job-residence matching of the British new town experiments, or the utilization of housing subsidy programs at Columbia? If different population groups are brought together, what will be achieved? How much contact is possible or desirable? What sort of equilibrium can be expected in ever-changing social circumstances? These are the sorts of questions Lynne Burkhart poses for Columbia, Maryland, with the conclusion that the result may well be a pluralism delicately balancing the strong forces of competing interests, not a unified, organic community (Sennett, 1990; Burkhart, 1981).

These questions can be approached through an examination of the interrelated problems of suburban sprawl and public spaces, which together hold the key place in DPZ's critique of and solutions for today's suburban pattern. By sprawl, I believe that what is meant is not the physical expansion of the city (which DPZ show no signs of opposing), but its tendency to disintegrate through the dispersal of different types of people and functions, which are increasingly located in specialized and isolated places. This sort of sprawl gives rise to the problem of public spaces through the elimination of places for experience of the larger society, and the lack of a physical means of expressing the connections and interdependencies between different functions and groups.

Suburban Sprawl

The place that is the subject of DPZ's critique, and which will be the setting for many of their plans, is the increasingly fragmented, dispersed, and complex urban environment growing at the periphery of older cities. To assess DPZ's response to this environment, we must first survey what is known about it. A number of names have been proposed for this still poorly understood phenomenon. Peirce Lewis has called it "the Galactic City," (Lewis, 1990) and Robert Fishman simply terms it "the New City." Whatever it is called, its basic attributes are agreed upon: immense scale;

fragmentation and segregation; almost total dependence on the automobile for access; and increasing sophistication in terms of urban services and amenities.

The underlying principle of this city is equal access to all points via "the democratic automobile" along a highly efficient network of roads and highways. This principle leads to a dispersal of functions that can seem almost random (Lewis, 1990). Maps showing the locations of different income groups in the metropolitan region reveal a mosaic-like quality that stands in sharp contrast to the neat concentric-ring diagrams of the Chicago School of urban sociologists of the earlier part of this century (Muller, 1981).

In spite of the seeming randomness, however, observers have noted underlying organizational principles that account for the location of many elements. Office and retail tend to locate at the intersections of major highways (or other transportation routes if they exist) in increasingly large agglomerations, which at their biggest rival the downtowns of major cities. The most famous example is Tyson's Corner in the Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C., which is said to contain more office space than downtown Miami.

Residential location also exhibits some regularity, with the rich tending to locate near natural or historical amenities, the middle class settling next to areas of wealth, the working class locating in older, denser suburbs or newer ones adjacent to industrial corridors, and the poor filling in the spaces neglected by others in center cities or the hidden corners of suburbia (Muller, 1981, pp. 63-64).

Nevertheless, on the ground this sort of ordering is often not apparent, and the scene can seem to be characterized by the juxtaposition of a variety of apparently unrelated types of activities. Movement between these dispersed locations is by automobile, and distance is considered in terms of time, not space; thus the supermarket is said to be "ten minutes away," not "ten blocks away." According to Fishman, the resident of this new city locates him or herself in relation to various wants and needs in order to plug into three basic overlapping networks of activity: the household network, the network of consumption, and the network of production. The household network, for example, may include home, school or daycare, church, and so on. In making choices among what the urban realm has to offer, the individual is able to construct a city "a la carte" (Fishman, 1990, p. 38).

The resident of this type of environment can, and in fact must, be highly selective about what to take from the considerable variety available in the large region within his or her reach. In fact, many observers see the underlying social principle of such a place as selective engagement and avoidance; the suburb is a "community of limited liability," where involvement is mostly at the discretion of the individual (Fishman, 1990, p. 43). The resulting sort of social grouping has been characterized by a number of interrelated qualities:

- Avoidance of difference as a means of managing conflict.
- The clustering of similar people in distinct physical locales.
- Far flung social networks across the urban region, and even beyond, to connect friends and family.
- The relative absence of strong social connections with those living nearby, especially beyond the immediate block.

According to Perin, suburban residents use avoidance, spatial separation and self-segregation as a means of managing differences and avoiding conflict. Social relations can be framed physically by the structure of spaces and the imposition of distance between people and activities considered incompatible. The ideal of homeownership represents social peace and domestic tranquility, and the home must therefore be separated from the sphere of work, and from neighbors that would lead to conflict. The city and the suburb "contrast in the freedom to 'avoid' people . . . One basic contrast of urban living with suburban living is held to be the amount of outright avoidance possible." (p. 87-89) In the suburb, privacy can be used as a blanket term for other social meaning, as "one aspect of a strategy for managing social interactions." (p. 89) Physical boundaries can represent of substitute for rules of interaction -- people within defined physical boundaries share a set rules. City dwellers, on the other hand, need to know more rules to handle the greater amount of diversity encountered. Being adept at many rules and signals is the mark of the urbane and cosmopolitan individual. Lack of this knowledge helps account for social fears based on this ignorance (Perin, 1977, p.84-103; Lofland, 1973). Perin stresses that mechanisms of separation and avoidance are common to all societies. Sennett, on the other hand, argues that due to a variety of socioeconomic factors, there has been a decline in the cosmopolitan

outlook, and the substitution of rules of intimate interaction that are unable to manage the diversities of society (Sennett, 1976).

According to Muller, these qualities vary in relation to social class. Upper class areas are characterized by little casual contact on the street, and a social life governed by selective organizations such as country clubs. Middle class families may be more home-centered , and much social contact between adults will involve children's activities such as schools and scouts. Working class people may be more oriented to the extended family and neighborhood. And so on. (Muller, 1981, pp. 71-73).

But in spite of the continuing importance of social class, Muller believes that lifestyle will increasingly become the dominant factor in structuring social space: "The broad partitioning of suburban residential space based exclusively on congregation-by-income is now evolving into a much more internally refined sociospatial structure dominated by stratification according to lifestyle" (Muller, 1981, p. 64). Similarly, Newman sees lifestyle as the most important factor in site design, and believes that it may even be the unifying factor capable of spatially integrating people of different classes and races (Newman, 1979). Lifestyle, as discussed by both Muller and Newman, is related to a number of factors such as "occupational status, stage in the life cycle, leisure time availability, importance of family versus career objectives, local versus cosmopolitan outlook, and a host of lesser environmental and ecological factors . . ." (Muller, 1981, p. 70). It is impossible to list all the relevant factors, for new groups are constantly coming together to generate "communities of shared concerns" (Fishman, 1990, p. 44). In fact, one could see lifestyle as the very core of the suburban environment, for the suburb has "long been the embodiment of lifestyles desired before settling there . . ." (Muller, 1981, p. 70).

Muller speaks negatively of "the unwillingness of different lifestyle groups to share social space . . ." in the suburb (Muller, 1981, p. 70), but J.B. Jackson extolls this environment's ability to bring together like-minded people across great distances through the automobile, and of the diversity of public spaces created in this setting. By public space, in this instance, Jackson means "public places in the strictest sense: places where like-minded people can come together and share an identity" (Jackson, 1984, p. 287). Melvin Webber writes glowingly of the expanded access and opportunities provided by the new order: "During the past half-century the benefits of

urbanization have been extended to an ever-growing proportion of the population . . . Access to information and ideas has thereby been extended to larger and larger percentages of the population, and this has been greatly abetted by the increasing ease of communication and transportation *across* space, bringing books, periodicals, lectures, music, and personal observation to more and more people." (Webber, 1963, p. 31)

Nevertheless, many commentators take a much more pessimistic view of this situation. They stress that this sort of environment is harmful to society because it creates people who are unable to manage the differences of an increasingly diverse society, because it can cause the physical isolation of low mobility groups such as the young and the elderly, and because such voluntary social groupings force an unwanted exclusion on blacks and the poor. This situation leads to a politics of narrow, local self-interest, rising resentment among those excluded, and the breeding of stereotypes among groups with little first-hand mutual experience resulting in mutual suspicion and misunderstanding. (Muller, 1981, p. 55).

Such negative consequences can be directly linked to the underlying structure of the suburb: reliance on the car for transport, and a high degree of individual discretion over where to go, what sort of environment to live in, and whom one associates with:

> With massive auto transportation, people have found a way to isolate themselves; a way to avoid confrontation; a way to privacy among their peer group . . . they have stratified the urban landscape like a checker board, here a piece for the young married, there one for health care, here one for shopping, there one for the swinging jet set, here one for industry, there one for the aged, here one for the rich in their fifties, there a ghetto for the *Untermensch* --be they poor or racially despised. When people move from square to square, they move purposefully, determinedly. . . . They see nothing except what they are determined to see. Everything else is shut out from their experience." (K.H. Schaeffer and Elliot Sclar, Access for All: Transportation and Urban Growth, Baltimore: Penguin, 1975. Quoted in Muller, 1981, p. 81)

The problems of racial segregation in the suburbs have been the subject of much investigation, litigation, and a number of innovative social programs.

These efforts have repeatedly encountered resistance and a number of recurring problems. Neighborhoods where the proportion of residents reaches a certain percentage (usually in the neighborhood of 20 to 30 percent) are usually abandoned by whites and quickly become all black, a phenomenon known as "tipping." Even where integration is achieved at the neighborhood level, segregation usually continues on a block-by-block basis (Muller, 1981, p.89-112). Where some semblance of integration is achieved, as in the new town of Columbia, Maryland, there is often little contact between black and white adults, and mutually hostility and suspicions can develop between teenagers in integrated high schools. Not only race, but also income can be stigmatized in the suburban setting. Low income housing developments may elicit complaints of poor maintenance standards deemed incompatible with the rest of the neighborhood. If maintenance is not a problem, lack of contact between the lower income residents and the rest of the population can lead to widespread false impressions of the lower income residents. A common misconception is that lower income housing is necessarily predominantly black even where that is not the case, revealing how class and racial prejudices are easily intertwined (Burkhart, 1981).

The resistance of the white and the middle class to share their neighborhoods with the black and the poor have lead to a variety of institutional mechanisms designed to enforce segregation. Lenders and builders, already faced with the inherent risks of the development industry, are usually avoid the "booby trap" of mixing housing types (Perin, 1977, p. 84). Local governments may discourage lower-income housing in a number of ways. Zoning can be used to limit the size of apartment complexes, or relegate them to the periphery of the community or near obnoxious land uses. Local governments may site publicly-assisted housing in a manner that perpetuates existing patterns of segregation, as in the recent case of Yonkers, New York. Exclusionary zoning and subdivision ordinances can be used as income barriers by raising the costs of development. Large minimum lot sizes can raise land prices, and construction prices can be raised through standards requiring expensive items such as granite curbing. Where income barriers are insufficient to achieve racial or ethnic segregation, other means may be used. Racial covenants, though declared unenforceable by the Supreme Court, have a history of use by developers, and informal agreements and screening practices can achieve the same effect. Real estate brokerages have perpetuated

a dual housing market by steering different races to different neighborhoods by maintaining separate housing lists for blacks and whites. Though such practices are illegal, revelations of them have continued in newspaper accounts in the eighties. Where brokerages do not enforce the dual housing market, house owners may opt to bypass the broker entirely and find potential purchasers privately (Muller, 1981, p. 45).

Thus the problem of segregation is not easily solved. Nonetheless a number of public and private programs have used different strategies to avoid "tipping" and achieve racial balance or provide low income housing. In Dayton, Ohio, a fair share plan under the aegis of the Miami Valley Regional Planning commission, attempted to bring lower-income housing to the suburbs by scattering it widely throughout the region. Although housing has been built, inner city residents relocated to the suburbs have had difficulty to adjusting to certain aspects of their new environment such as total automobile dependence and lack of convenient shopping. Moreover, wherever low-income housing is built, among existing residents "there is much resentment and total avoidance of social contact with the lower-status newcomers." (Muller, 1981, p 105). At the new town of Columbia where housing of diverse price ranges (including both federally-subsidized and unsubsidized lower-income housing) was integrated in a suburban-like setting, similar problems of avoidance were encountered (Burkhart, 1981). In New York, a program of massive aid to provide low-income housing in wealthy Westchester County, next to New York City, was eventually cancelled because of local opposition (Muller, 1981, p. 104). According to Muller, by the mid-seventies the problems of such programs lead to the widespread acknowledgement that such voluntary efforts alone could not desegregate the suburbs.

In suburbs where pre-existing low-income populations have persisted in close proximity to wealthier neighbors, they may be so physically or socially isolated that the affluent are totally unaware of their presence (Muller, 1981, p. 77).

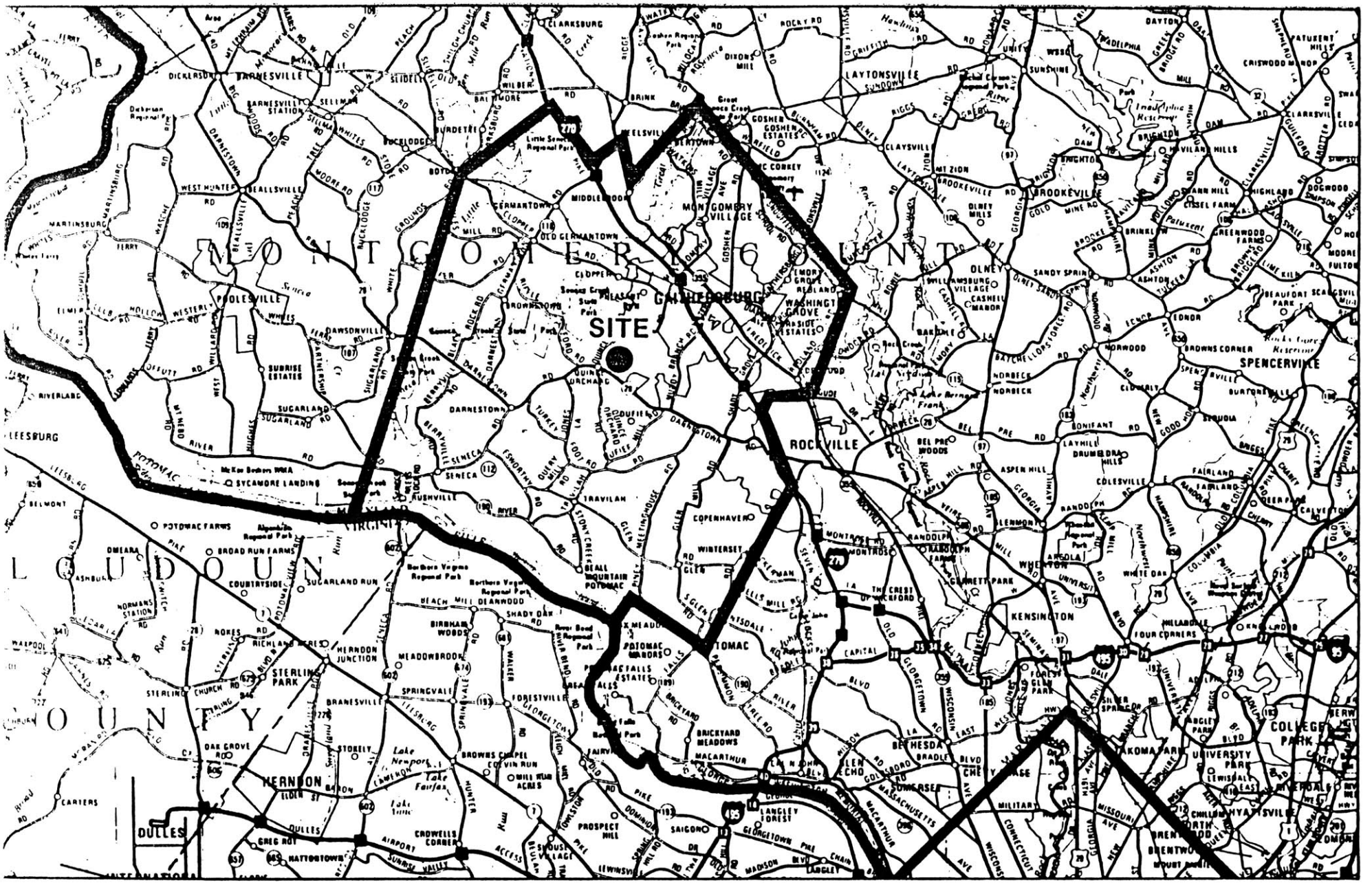
Although the new urban environment is as yet poorly understood, its advantages and disadvantages have been much discussed, as the preceding discussion has attempted to show. It is the complexities of this environment that pose the greatest challenge to DPZ's vision of small communities, and this is why Kentlands, the firm's first suburban project, is important. The

history of new towns has shown the difficulty of creating autonomous, self-contained settlements within this framework; for some, they have also demonstrated the undesirability of trying to do so: "Sites for 'self-contained and balanced' new towns are readily found, and site plans are readily made. It is quite another matter to get the townspeople to behave as though they comprised a 'self-contained and balanced community' -- nor would many of us really want them to be deprived of the enriched lives that come with free communication with the 'outside world.'" (Webber, 1963, p. 50) For Webber, such communication underpins the essence of urbanity: ". . . the quintessence of urbanization is not population density or agglomeration but specialization, the concomitant interdependence, and the human interactions by which interdependencies are satisfied. . . . It is helpful, therefore, to view the spatial city as a communication system, as a vastly complex switchboard through which messages and goods of various sorts are routed." (Webber, p. 41) Any effort that would hamper this communication would be contrary to the good of the city. Webber's views are perhaps the polar opposite of those espoused by DPZ. He writes, "I am flatly rejecting the contention that there is an overriding universal spatial or physical aesthetic of urban form" (Webber, p. 52)

The relevance of Webber's critique is demonstrated in two aspects of Kentlands that are most problematic in terms of DPZ's espoused goals: the office component and the mall. DPZ advocate a spatial arrangement that will allow people to fulfill all the needs of daily life within a five-minute walking radius, including work and shopping. But as Varady has pointed out, commuting time is usually a relatively unimportant factor in the choice of job and residence (Varady, 1990). Rather, people tend to maximize the two independently, within a reasonable commuting time constraint. Thus the people who are drawn to Kentlands for employment will not necessarily have any interest in living there, and many of the people most attracted to the residential environment are likely to have good reasons for wishing to work elsewhere. Whether this potential mismatch between Kentlands workers and residents should be considered a bad thing is another matter: although it would surely contribute to problems of traffic congestion and the pattern of sprawl, in Webber's terms it would also represent people's ability to increase their opportunities for interaction and find greater satisfaction in both domestic and work life, as balanced against the time spent in commuting. Thus while

Duany may be right that commuting time is a "waste," it is a waste that the individual balances against benefits to be gained in other areas. Except in the unlikely event that the majority of those who choose to work at Kentlands will also choose to live there, one must accept that the people who benefit from the plan through the ability to walk to work will be the minority. What the plan does, however, is offer the *option* to do so for those who desire it, and the variety of housing types and tenures available in the development make it possible for a broader group of people to make this choice. Nevertheless, if the majority of the workers at Kentlands commute from somewhere else, the scheme's promised impact on traffic congestion is also to be questioned.

The plan's retail component is perhaps even more problematic. If it reaches the 1.2 million square feet of the early plans, Kentlands will be a major regional retail center drawing from far outside the development site. Given the project's highly dispersed context, the majority of of these people will be coming by car, creating the problems of accommodating large volumes of parking on site and ensuring that mall-generated traffic volumes do not threaten the residential areas of the plan. These problems have been handled by placing the retail parking at the edge of the site, at the intersection of the most heavily travelled adjacent arterials, Quince Orchard Road and Great Seneca Highway. The decision to include a mall of this size was based on marketing surveys conducted by the developer, not by DPZ's planning ideas, so this aspect of the plan should not be taken to represent their aspirations. Nevertheless, it raises a number of questions. Given the current state of retail markets and the retail industry, will not such large retail concentrations continue to be a feature of the suburban environment? Would it be a good thing to reverse this, and lose the advantages of concentrating a large number of goods and services for a broad market? Further, wouldn't there be advantages to the inclusion of such a regional draw in bringing a greater number and diversity of people to the enjoy the site's attractions? This is precisely the pattern in the historic areas that DPZ use as models for Kentlands: In Georgetown, M Street and Wisconsin Avenue have grown into the district's major region-wide shopping streets; Annapolis draws millions of visitors a year to its combination of shops, architectural charm, and waterfront activities. In both cases, areas of extraordinary architectural amenity are opened up to a far greater number of people than could possibly reside there, a pattern which is repeated across the country, from Portland,



Retail trade area for the proposed mall extends far beyond the site. (Source: GA/Partners Incorporated, 1987)

Maine's old port district to San Diego's Old Town. If Kentlands matches the architectural attractions of these areas as intended, it is likely to assume a comparable function. In Julian Beinart's felicitous phrase, it would represent the "gentrification of the suburbs."

Given the widespread observation that shopping has become the major form of public life in this country, such an arrangement may be the most effective way of opening Kentlands up to a broad public. However, the specter of a public life based solely on consumption is one of the suburban ills that DPZ seek to counteract. To this end, they have included a number of other elements to draw people to the site for other purposes, including a library, parks, and a cultural center, as well as the potential live theater and public meeting space. With these things in place, the site may avoid the commercial claustrophobia of the typical shopping mall and achieve a more well-rounded character. Even so, the life of the place would not follow the pattern of the self-contained daily round envisioned for a small, self-contained community.

All this points to the vaguest and perhaps most problematic aspect of DPZ's, and Krier's, small town vision: the relation of the autonomous "towns" (DPZ) or "urban quarters" (Krier) to each other in the larger region. In particular, will people choose to inhabit these spatial forms in a manner different from the ways that they currently use the region? Just as the existing historic neighborhoods DPZ use as models have come to assume specialized functions in a greater region, so too projects such as Kentlands, if successful, are likely to find such a special niche.

While work and shopping seem to have become inherently region-wide activities in our society, it seems that Fishman's other "activity network," the "household network," is better suited to the sort of localism envisioned by DPZ and Krier. As described by Fishman, this network includes places such as home, school, daycare, and church. All of these functions are to be included at the Kentlands site, in addition to others that presumably belong in this category, such as library, park, and recreation center. With the possible exception of church, they are all functions for which mutual proximity is likely to be an advantage. For Kentlands' children, the ability to walk from home to school to library to pool should be a distinct benefit, and for teenagers, the shopping center should be a major attraction. The ability of kids to get around on foot may accomplish one of DPZ's objectives, relieving

the mother of the role of chauffeur. Nevertheless, older teens will probably still want cars to have access to the attractions of the wider region.

Another lower mobility group that may find Kentlands attractive is the elderly. This group, especially, experiences the problem of functional and social isolation in their homes. The availability of park space, nearby shopping, and smaller housing types may prove an attractive combination. As they grow older, Kentlands home-owners will have the option of staying on the site in one of the apartment units. But for the frailer elderly, access to medical facilities and other care will be more important considerations (addressed more fully in the plan for Friday Mountain discussed in chapter two).

Perhaps the greatest problem of the suburbs is the exclusion of the poor and minorities through mechanisms discussed earlier. DPZ promise to address this issue through the inclusion of a variety of smaller housing units, including apartments and outbuildings, and through the promise that these units will be harmoniously integrated into the community so as not to create the sort of disruption associated with low-income housing projects. Affordable housing nevertheless remains problematic in the Kentlands plan. As Duany himself has noted, small rowhouses are unlikely to remain affordable in attractive neighborhoods, a pattern experienced both in gentrified historic neighborhoods like Georgetown and older planned communities such as Forest Hills Gardens where housing planned for the working class is now available only to the wealthy. Duany holds out more hope of continuing affordability for less conventional housing units such as outbuildings and apartments over stores. These units, the argument goes, are inherently less desirable, and are thus less likely to elevate in price. In particular, he notes the possibility of restricting the floor area of outbuildings to avoid the creation of a tenement situation (the largest outbuildings in Kentlands charrette plans are limited to 880 square feet), and the stigmatized quality of housing over stores in our society. One must wonder, however, whether this sort of housing is the appropriate solution to the needs of the poor. Small outbuildings, as Duany notes, are suitable for singles or couples, not families, and deliberately leaving the poor only stigmatized housing does not seem to live up to DPZ's inclusionary and public spirited goals. In addition, at Mashpee Commons, housing above stores intended as affordable was lifted

out of the affordable range by the necessity of compliance with local building codes.

In fact, detached and row housing at Kentlands is likely to be anything but affordable, ranging in projected price from approximately $250,000 for townhouses to $1,000,000 for the largest detached homes. One builder for the project's first phase, Rocky Gorge Communities, Inc., recently cited its expected prices for townhouses as the low to mid $300,000 range, and for "small single" as the low to mid $400,000 range. Apartments are likely to be cheaper, although no definite figures were available at the time of this writing.

Previous generations of new towns have had difficulty in achieving the goal of a broad social mix without special programs. British new towns employed a program of drawing potential residents from the local housing authority lists of the inner city. Even so, income profiles of the towns showed the poorest underrepresented, in part because there was little employment for them (bringing the goals of social balance and self-containment into conflict), in part because they were often not on housing authority lists in the first place due to transiency or recent immigrant status (Corden, 1977).

At Columbia, Maryland, the developer employed federal housing subsidies to build low-income housing. Although low and high income housing were located adjacent to each other, according to one study there was little social contact between the two groups, except in schools, where conflict developed between teenagers. (Burkhart, 1981) In the current housing market, it seems impossible to for a new town to duplicate the full income spectrum of the population without some form of subsidy. Kentlands' developer Alfandre decided not to offer such subsidies in light of the expense of other public benefits offered with the project.

Nevertheless, by placing apartments, outbuildings, townhouses and detached houses adjacent to each other, Kentlands may avoid the pattern of fine income distinctions that Duany criticizes in his lectures. The mixture of housing types and tenures may also help increase social contact and understanding across other social distinctions: people with and without children, the elderly, the single, and people of different ethnic groups who are not subject to exclusion on the grounds of income or race. It is perhaps in these latter areas, rather than the issues of racial and class segregation, that

Kentlands will be more likely to make a contribution to mutual understanding and the encounter of diversity.

If Kentlands will operate best in terms of a local "household network," one must pause to ask what will actually distinguish the localism of a place like Kentlands from the sort of localism envisioned by the neighborhood unit concept discussed in chapter 2. If there is a real difference, it is likely to rest in a better approximation of Christopher Alexander's semi-lattice structure as discussed in that chapter, which would give the city a greater scope for subtlety and flexibility of organization, and especially the greater potential for the growth of systems that may depend on combinations of elements from the the different "networks," elements that would of necessity have been isolated from each other under more conventional planning that rigorously separates functions. I would guess that what DPZ is really trying to achieve is this potential for the growth of complex and subtle urban patterns that respond to the actual needs for contact and interdependence among the people and activities of the city, not the tight, bounded, self-contained village community whose image is evoked by much of their rhetoric. It is perhaps better, then, to look to DPZ's planning model less for the achievement of a static image of the well-balanced and harmoniously integrated town (as has been the model for new towns of the past and is sometimes offered as an image by DPZ as well) and more as a possible seedbed for the many potential complicated urban patterns that may emerge when a diverse array of elements are allowed to come in to contact and interact with freedom. The greatest question facing their planning work, then, is whether it is still too static and rigidly organized, and whether its vision of the dynamics of urban order is too archaic, to accomodate the dynamic patterns of the modern metropolis.

Public Space

Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk claims that the fundamental issue facing the suburbs is public space. Her firm's work is premised on the idea that creation of a public realm there is possible and desirable. (Plater-Zyberk, 1990).

To evaluate such claims it is first necessary to explore the concept of public space and the public realm. The difficulty of defining the term is

reflected in the loose and varying use it is given. Yet there is a widespread (though not universal) agreement that, whatever it is, it is lacking in the pattern of development in this country in the past 45 years. Recognizing that the term has had different meanings and connotations for different people and at different times, I will focus my discussion on the meaning that I believe is held by current critics of the suburbs, and by extension, by DPZ.

Public areas are most readily contrasted with private areas. In legal terms, private spaces are usually conceived as ones from which the owner can expect the benefit of use, and from which he or she can exclude others. In emotional terms, private space carries the same connotations of control and stability of expectation, but often includes other qualities as well. On the one hand, it can be associated with warmth, personal closeness and morality. On the other, it can also mean isolation, or the stifling aspects of intimacy.

If private space is fairly easily conceptualized, public space is more difficultly so. If private spaces carry with them the absolute right to exclude, and the fact of usually being settings for structured social relations, public spaces must have a greater fluidity. But where exactly the line is drawn between public and private is not always clear or agreed upon. The right to exclude may exist in practice even where not supported by a legal framework. Architectural design or body language can act to exclude others just as powerfully as doors and legal prohibitions, even where a space is in fact legally and physically accessible to all. For all these reasons, phrases have often been employed to describe in-between places, which are termed urban-semi-public, group-public or group-private (Charmayeff and Alexander 1963, p. 129). There is also the problem of distinguishing the idea of publicness from the similar, but in some senses opposite, concept of community. Whether a space belongs to one or the other can be an important distinction.

Some writers claim that public space is characterized by its extreme openness. Thus Roger Scruton writes that public space "is a space into which anyone may enter, and from which anyone may depart, without the consent of strangers, and without any declaration--however tacit--of a justifying purpose." (Scruton, 1984, p. 14) At perhaps the other extreme, J.B. Jackson writes of public spaces in the strictest sense as "places where like-minded people came together to share an identity." (Jackson, 1984b, p. 289) Here, public takes on the connotation of the group, with the attendant

concepts of group purpose, identity, inclusion and exclusion. It is this view that leads Jackson, contrary to must others, to believe that public spaces have been multiplying, not diminishing, in recent years. Jackson, however, would remind us that the nature of public places in this country has changed over the past 200 years, from ones that implied the expression of a corporate existence and membership in a political community, to ones where unrelated individuals can assemble each to pursue individual ends. It is thus not always clear in contemporary society what range of relationships public spaces must include. But it seems that there is a continuing tension between conceptions of public space that are in fact communal, involving active involvement with and knowledge of others, and other conceptions that are more inclusive of all, stressing the importance of providing a place where those with little or no relationship can come together and share.

The contemporary discussion centers, I believe, on the more inclusive end of the spectrum. It stems from the recognition, perhaps most forcibly stated by Jane Jacobs, that urban life has always supported, and in fact required, relations between people that involve little commitment or intimacy. The existence of such relations is what gives the city its creativity and dynamism, and is also what is required for different groups to coexist in the same place in more than the most functional or hostile of relations. The criticism of the suburbs, then, is that although they have spaces of a varying range of inclusiveness, that they lack truly public places for the less intimate range of contacts necessary for true urban life. More disturbing to many critics is that the suburb as a realm of private territoriality is no longer balanced by a downtown core of public inclusiveness. As what was once the suburb evolves, in Robert Fishman's phrase, into the "new city," all opportunity for public contact will be lost, and society will disaggregate into private or semi-private interests with no common ground.

Using a different phrase, Sam Bass Warner, captures the idea concisely in a recent article on "The Liberal City":

> A liberal city is, above all, a place where strangers come together to share experiences, to trade and exchange. The essential urban value of such a city is not community; it is not enclosure, closeness, and shelter. Left to themselves, such forces will destroy a city. The essential urban values are the qualities of openness. A city depends for its creativity

> and health upon peaceful coexistence, toleration and pluralism. Without these values to guide all others, a city cannot function as a gathering place, a market, a theater, a cathedral or a democracy . . . [The] new American metropolis is in danger of choking on its own specialization." (Warner, 1988, p. 15)

Warner's discussion is perhaps as close as it is possible to come to a definition of public space in the sense that I believe most current critics intend. Warner stresses that it is a place for "strangers to come together." Thus it is a place of "openness," contrary to the community's "closeness." (The double edge of the word "close" in both its pronunciations is thus revealed, signifying a relation that brings people "closer" while "closing" out others.) The guiding values of such a place are not similarity and like-mindedness, but "toleration," "pluralism," and "peaceful coexistence." Some of the activities one might engage in the public realm are to "share experiences, to trade and exchange." The functions of this realm include "gathering place," "market," "theater," and "democracy." Such places are necessary for the city's "creativity," and "health."

While openness, in this view, is an important characteristic of public space, openness as an ultimate and exclusive value must be suspect. At the extreme, it would mean a place where people have no relation to each other, or perhaps to anything else. Thus several writers have attempted to understand how public spaces serve to mediate between people, and between other, non-public spaces. Implicit is the idea that, even where they seem totally open, public spaces do in fact rely on an underlying structure, both physical and social. This idea is important, because it may point to the terms on which such spaces can be designed, or to the social conditions where they can in fact exist.

Roger Scruton argues that a "space is made public by the nature of its boundary . . . The wild countryside may be open to unlimited human movement, but it has no point of contact with the private world, no point at which to announce its public purpose . . . Lacking a boundary, it lacks the character of public-ness, for it lacks social stigma altogether. Nature is neither private nor public, but merely beyond society." (Scruton, 1984, pp. 14-15) Scruton uses this distinction to argue against "a very important idea of public space . . . which has been extremely influential in modern planning, [that] a

public space is primarily a substitute for nature," with the park as the paradigm.

Others have also talked about the importance of the relationship between public space and private space, usually employing the street, not the park, as paradigm. Jacobs discusses the street as "a marvel of balance between it's people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous wishes for differing degrees of contact, enjoyment and help from the people around." (Jacobs, 1961, 98-99) Victor Caliandro discusses the ordering of public and private realms in his description of a traditional Brooklyn row-house street which provides a rich arena for the public realm. Entries, areaways, and stoops provide a mediation between the strictly public realm of the street and the private realm of the house, acting as both "observation posts" over the public area, and as "the settings for the extension of private activities of the residents (gardening, sitting and watching, neighboring)." This ordering extends through the private realm, as "the floor-through organization of many apartments helps to establish the house as part of a transition from the private, enclosed yards at the rear to the public space of the street." (Caliandro, 1978, p. 159) J.B. Jackson puts the matter in historical perspective by arguing that the revival of the street as the paradigm of the public is really a "reverting to a medieval urban concept which long preceded the Renaissance concept of the public square . . . its most significant trait was its blending of domestic and public life, its interplay of two distinct kinds of space . . ." (Jackson, 1984b, p. 289).

This balance of private and public is psychological as well as physical, and exists for those in the public space, not just those who line its periphery. Jackson says that "it is characteristic of many modern public spaces that contact between persons is likely to be brief and noncommittal . . . We did not come here for what an earlier generation called 'togetherness,' we came for an individual, private experience--a sequence of emotions, perceptions, sensations, of value to ourselves." (Jackson, 1984b, p. 277) In this type of space, "other people" means not those "with whom (to use Aristotle's phrase) we can exchange 'moral or noble ideas' . . . No, 'other people, more often than not in this new urban space seems to mean voices and color and movement and fleeting impressions." (Jackson, 1984, p. 122) Richard Sennett traces the roots of this sort of public realm to the 19th century. In this period, he argues, the "city of spectacle" began to replace one of "elaborately

careful interchanges between strangers." The person in public began to become less an active participant than an individual undergoing a private experience, the "passive spectator, the onlooker silent and amazed." (Sennett, 1976, p. 125)

According to Sennett, this disengagement has led to a situation where the concept of a specifically *public* sort of interaction and communication is no longer commonly understood, and the standards of intimate interaction are indiscriminately applied. Where expectations of intimacy are too great, the ability to cooperate and work together in groups can break down altogether. The endless complications of intimate involvement push out other achievable, even necessary, objectives which could be supported through more limited forms of involvement.

In architectural terms, ways of building that neglect or even run counter to the requirements of maintaining a public realm can cause public spaces to decline without knowledge of good public spaces, people may eventually come to have difficulty, understanding such spaces at all. "Intimate vision is induced in proportion as the public domain is abandoned as empty. On the most physical level, the environment prompts people to think of the public domain as meaningless. This is in the organization of space in cities." (Sennett, 1976, p. 12) This outlook is expressed in the Modernist notion that the form of a building should express its function and structure. It is also powerfully expressed in the Modernist image of the glass house where visual boundaries between interior and exterior are eliminated allowing, supposedly, an intimate sort of relationship between the interior of the house and the natural setting around it. The same concept operates in Modernist skyscrapers:

> The international school was dedicated to a new idea of visibility in the construction of large buildings. Walls almost entirely of glass, framed by thin steel supports, allow the inside and outside of the building to be dissolved to the least point of differentiation; this technology permits the achievement of what S. Giedion calls the ideal of the permeable wall, the ultimate in visibility. But these walls are also hermetic barriers. Lever House was the forerunner of a design concept in which the wall, though permeable, also isolates the activities within the building from the life of the street. In this design concept, the

aesthetics of visibility and social isolation merge. (Sennett, 1976, pp. 12-13)

Thus, according to Colquohoun, "Modernist city planning has destroyed the possibility of symbolizing the social public realm and has created a polarity between increasingly isolated *private* space and a public realm that defies any kind of spatial representation." (Colquohoun, 1985). Thus it is not just the notion of the public that has altered with the arrival of Modernism, but the idea of space itself: "From now on, space was a positive entity *within which* the traditional categories of tectonic form and surface *occurred.*" The hallmark of the new outlook was "the concept of the building slab *in space* as opposed to the perimeter block -- a figure-ground reversal of the traditional city, with its solid fabric cut through with streets." (Colquohoun, 1985). For Modernists such as Corbusier, the space between buildings was to be restored to nature, and this area would thus have some vaguely-defined purpose relating to health and spirituality. But according to Roger Trancik, this in-between area has in actuality come to have no meaning or purpose whatever, and he thus refers to it as "Lost Space." As places of specialized function are created for the full range of activities, actions that used to take place in the public realm, usually in the street, are siphoned off into separate areas, usually under private control. The street comes to be viewed solely as a conduit from one such area to another, and this one purpose comes to dominate street design. Indeed, the idea of designing the street as a place of human habitation in itself is neglected, as the configuration of the street comes to be thought of purely in functional terms. (Trancik, 1986)

In this sort of environment, the "modern city dweller is forced to create a social life on personal, controllable territory instead of engaging in a communal existence centered around the street. As a consequence, individual attitudes toward the use of urban space have been radically altered." (Trancik, 1986, p. 10) One manifestation of this, perhaps, is that people who grow up in the modern environment can have difficulty comprehending space that is not in some sense "themed." (Lois Craig, personal communication, 1990) People become accustomed to spaces which are controlled, managed, and given an image all for some specialized purpose. Places that do not follow these rules are not fully comprehensible given this frame of reference. To

return to Sennett, these people know no rules for specifically public interaction, as opposed to those of particular specialized functions.

The relation of a place to history is also altered. According to Colquohoun, the Modernist approach to history is not a cumulative one, but one of radical discontinuity. The modern age has brought changes that render the past obsolete. The modernist design imperative does not relate to history, but rather to a transcendent fit of form to function. In a place that is properly designed and managed for its intended function the presence of history has no meaning, even if design and management must respond to change in a dynamic way, for the present is continually replacing a past which is continually becoming obsolete. For the its users, a shopping mall has no history. Although stores may change and expansions may be made, the environment of the mall, aided by climate control, is one of the continuous optimal present.

Some critics of this scheme of things have denounced the idea of specialized places as inherently authoritarian and oppressive. In Leon Krier's phrase, "everything that is not explicitly allowed is strictly forbidden." A schizophrenic split is thus created between different spheres of life, such as home and workplace, for the individual "is one person in his own work situation and quite another at home." (Colquohoun, 1985) Some have traced this split back to the point early in the industrial era when work and home were first separated. In this view, the factory system represented not merely a more efficient organization of production, but also an increase in authoritarian control of labor.

Unease with the tendency towards a city composed of specialized private spaces has manifested itself in a number of areas. In the case of the shopping mall, legal battles have been waged over the right to political speech, based on the argument that the mall is the closest thing modern America has to public space. Anastasia Loukaidou-Sideris has examined schemes under which the provision of downtown public spaces is shifted to the private sector, concluding that the result is design and management of the spaces which exhibit qualities of exclusion and internal control greater than in publicly controlled parks nearby. In the domestic sphere, private control of communal space in planned unit developments (PUDs) has given rise to the Homeowners Association. Although given legal status as private corporations, many view these entities as a *de facto* new form of government.

In the case of Columbia, Maryland, where the new town was denied incorporation as a city, a private corporate body known as the Columbia Association was in fact given many of the functions of government, including ownership and management of a large park system, provision of community services, and the operation of a public transportation system. The Association was also given the power to levy Columbia residents, based on the assessed value of their Columbia property. (Columbia Data Book, Howard Research and Development Corporation, October, 1969). Other, smaller, developments have less elaborate, but essentially similar Associations, which have the power to levy charges against residents, and to control such areas as architectural standards, use of commonly held property, and residents' ownership of pets. Although this mechanism was originally instituted for the positive goals of flexibility of suburban design, provision of amenities in a communal fashion, and preservation of open space that municipalities have been unable or unwilling to pay for, the Homeowners Association has nevertheless been criticized as inherently autocratic, given a structure that vests all powers in a single body, the board of directors. In addition, if amenities and services that once were provided publicly are now provided privately, there is the danger that the quality of public services and amenities will be eroded, and that access for some people will be barred by barriers of income, race, or other factors. Thus, the basis of the critique of the fragmented urban landscape involves the fundamentals of power and equity in society.

In Richard Sennett's view, authority, form, and experience are intertwined in this environment. The ancient Greek could use the eye to experience his world, but in the modern city places do not suggest in their form the complexity of how people live. This understanding seems to have become a floating mental operation. In different settings experience is carefully controlled, and even where the experience of diversity is imitated, such as at theme parks like Disney's Epcot Center or post-modern malls like Horton Plaza in San Diego, the environmental control remains, and the basic relation of authority to experience is unaltered.

In seeking to design in a way that redresses the problems they perceive of suburban public space, DPZ have taken on a complex area that involves fundamental issues of authority, experience, and social equity. They seem to advocate the idea that the nature of the city itself is dependent on the public

realm, and that this realm is constituted through formal principles of building that are timeless and universal in application. They reject the separation of functions and to some extent the "notion that every program type has its equivalent type-form" (Colquohoun, 1985). Rather, the overriding goal of architecture is to constitute a public realm, and DPZ believe that there are architectural principals that accomplish this regardless time or place. In his popular lecture, Duany argues that different activities which are currently separated, such as shopping and housing, can coexist harmoniously if both submit to architectural principles that facilitate public life. He contrasts a slide of a shopping mall with its enormous parking lot and one of an historic mixed-use district where shops and residences share the same, small-scale physical vocabulary. DPZ's Urban and Architectural Standards are designed to ensure that these principles of built form are observed.

Colquohoun suggests a number of elements that comprise the revisionist view of city form of which DPZ are a part:

1. It sees the city, with its perimeter blocks and streets, as a solid, anonymous fabric which should contain a variety of functions, including housing and commerce.

2. The few isolated buildings, whether old or modern, would gain symbolic importance by contrast with this continuous fabric.

3. It reinstates the street and the public square as the places of unprogrammed public enjoyment and congregation.

4. It reinforces the pedestrian scale and rejects the dominance of fast, motorized circulation.

5. It sees the public space of the city as more analogous to so many external rooms and corridors, with definite boundaries, than to a limitless void within which buildings, circulation routes, etc., occur.

6. Finally, it conceives of the city as historically as well as spatially continuous -- capable of being read as a palimpsest. In the early-twentieth century avant-garde, the city was seen diachronically, as a

> linear development over time, each period cancelling the ones before in the name of the unity of the *Zeitgeist.* The revisionist view looks at the city as a result of temporary accumulations in space -- the latest intervention taking its place in the total sequence (Colquouhoun, 1985).

According to Gutman, the revisionist's principal design concern is the street space itself. Although streets have long been social spaces, "what sets the contemporary idea of the street apart from previous definitions is the conviction that street should be designed and managed for the benefit of the community life of its residents" (Gutman, 1978, p. 252) This situation differs from the indifference to the street as a social space among the previous generation of planners and designers, and the unspoken assumption of a hierarchical social order as the basis for street use in past ages. In contrast, the problems of user and program for street spaces have become central questions for the contemporary designer. According to Gutman, the Smithsons have asserted "that the problem of the city is no longer functional organization -- the fitting together of places for work, residence, recreation, and the circulation system that connects them -- but instead is the issue of human association -- finding the patterns that will enable people to live together" (Gutman, 1978, p. 252).

It is in these terms that DPZ's design principles applied at Kentlands can be understood. Their emphasis on the importance of street design that creates an attractive pedestrian environment is geared toward the self-conscious creation of the street as a social space. Moreover, it involves the self-conscious conceptualization of what *kind* of social space is to be created. In pursuing an ideal of this interaction as *public,* DPZ emphasize streets that are non-exclusive, and thus reject the cul-de-sac in favor of the through-street. The mixture of housing types on this network is supposed to provide for the interaction of different segments of the population. The intermixing of shopping and other facilities assures that people will use these streets because they have somewhere to go (following DPZ's principle that five-minutes is the most people are likely to walk before choosing to take their cars instead) and that the schizophrenic split between different spheres of life will not be encouraged. In these repsects, DPZ's plans seem to at have at least found a technique for restoring some of the qualities they admire in the designs of previous ages. Whether these designs will accomplish all of the social

purposes they intend is another question. Gutman has pointed out that the love of street life in previous ages has frequently been exaggerated. He notes in particular the antipathy of many middle-class Victorians to the street as a social environment. In addition, many of the models of previous planned communities that DPZ champion, such as Roland Park and Shaker Heights, were in fact exclusive commuter towns, and thus never exhibited a balanced, self-contained village character. Nevertheless, these older models did exhibit some of the qualities of public environments in DPZ's terms to a greater extent than the subdivisions of today: through-streets, along with connections to surrounding street grids, created a greater accessibility than is the norm today; although not all activities and social classes were represented, these older models did create greater pedestrian accessibility to more of the activities of daily life, especially for children, and often had a greater mixture of income levels through the inclusion of apartment buildings, usually on the main roads.

But publicness is not purely a function of physical form or program mix. As discussed above, the exclusiveness of many places of gathering today is enforced by mechanisms of private social control. In these respects, Kentlands also represents a departure, especially from the norms of PUDs. Unlike most PUDs, in Kentlands there will be no private roads, meaning that streets will form a continuous network of public access throughout the development. The parks based on the existing system of wetlands, and the gardens of the Old Farm district, will also be owned by the city, constituting another system of public access to extend throughout most of the site. Other, smaller neighborhood parks, however, will be under private control of an incorporated body similar to a homeowner's association. Here physical design may make a difference, for all of these parks will be physically accessible by public streets, and there may thus arise a greater *de facto* public access than would be the case in PUDs where physical access is more limited and/or controlled. DPZ consultant David Wolfe likens the arrangement to the Georgian squares of London where privately controlled open space has assumed a function that is for all practical purposes public. According to DPZ consultant Monica O' Neal, this arrangement is more typical for DPZ plans than the purely public parks of the wetlands area. It does not, however, represent an intent on DPZ's part to secure exclusive areas for residents of its developments, but rather the unwillingness or inability of most municipalities

to pay for common areas of the quantity or sort that comprise DPZ's ideals. Thus the underlying problems of ownership and control of public spaces remain only partially solved.

DPZ is also involved in efforts to restructure the conventional homeowner's association into a form that is less autocratic and provides greater protection for the rights of individual residents. With Wolfe they are involved in devising a framework which would form the basis for a departure from the conventional Homeowner's Association in ways perhaps analogous to the physical departures of DPZ's physical plans. Provisional documents for Kentlands call for the creation of a private body known not as a homeowner's association, but as a "Citizens Assembly." This private body is organized under the same statutes of private incorporation as homeowner's association because there is no alternative under state laws. But the procedural structure of the Assembly is designed to disperse responsibility from the board of directors to other bodies in order to protect individual members from a potentially authoritatian centralized power. The structure establishes direct election of a president, as opposed to the normal election by the board of directors, who has power of appointments to various other committees. Both president and board members are elected by all Kentlands residents 18 years or older, not just by property owners. In matters of architectural control, a similar dispersal of powers is instituted. Architectural review is handled first by a committee to be labelled the Kentlands Historical Trust. Enforcement, however, will be given to a separate committee, the Board of Code Compliance. A final appeal may be made to the board of directors (a separate appeal body cannot be legally established under Maryland corporate statutes). While the structure described above is provisional and has not been adopted by the developer, its thinking is likely to underpin the arrangement eventually adopted at Kentlands (Wolfe, 1990).

In strengthening the rights of individuals, the legal scheme mirrors the intent of DPZ's system of architectural standards. The purpose of the standards is to create a diversity impossible through highly centralized design strategies, by providing a framework under which many builders can produce different architectural works. But the framework goes beyond superficial variety to touch upon the attitudes towards time and history discussed above. The real goal of the system of standards seems to be to create a mechanism for registering individual voices in the building of the "town," and thus in some

sense to create a place that has a "history." In planning terms, it represents an attempt to move away from static blueprint planning to a system that incorporates the ability to produce diversity over time through the decisions of individuals in the future. The standards mechanism is an attempt to balance individual freedom with a common framework so that individual decisions produce an environment that has an overall harmony.

What might be seen as purely an aesthetic question brings us back to the underlying question of public space. For in the views expressed by Caliandro, Scruton, and others, public space seems to be a phenomenon that can flourish only where building decisions surrounding the space are neither wantonly individualistic nor under oppressive control. This same balance of individualism and control underlies DPZ's approach to the creation of public spaces. It is a balance that is disturbed by building patterns that create places that are strictly autocratic internally and yet governed by few rules that relate them externally to other places around them, beyond buffering and separation. How successful DPZ's attempt is to redefine the terms of this balance is something that will probably depend much upon the predispositions of the observer, for how much and what sort of controls and freedom one is happy or willing to accept is something that varies from individual to individual. In setting up this sort of balancing system, DPZ is beginning an experiment that can only ultimately be evaluated as it plays itself out over time.

Time, too, will be the test of DPZ's social aspirations for Kentlands, as it becomes the stage on which people from both inside and outside the development interact and live their lives. In the absense of this final test, however, it seems likely that Kentlands will fulfill DPZ's goals in a number of ways while falling short in some others. On the positive side, the mixture of housing types, creation of through-streets, and scattering of public attractions throughout the site will make Kentlands a far more open place than surrounding developments. The inclusion in the program of a number of elements attractive to the city and the region, such as the shopping and cultural center, will mean that outsiders will likely go to Kentlands and find some sense of proprietary interest in it. On the negative side, the housing mix at Kentlands is unlikely to do much to include those people who feel society's exclusion most sharply. The development's location in affluent Montgomery County and the difficulty of access except by car will mean that the poor of the center city will effectively be excluded. As for residents, Kentlands is likely

to draw people who value its architectural character or ideals. It will deter people who are unhappy with architectural restrictions, with the prospect of involvement in the politics of the corporate body governing the development, or whose concerns over security will dictate against living in a project of Kentlands' physical accessibility and programmatic inclusiveness. In short, the project is likely to draw a set of people who particularly prefer what it offers and can afford the price of admission. Monica O'Neal, former Kentlands project manager for the developer, describes the expected market as including people who have "gotten tired of being yuppies", as well as households with two working parents, and older families. She expects residents to better educated than average, with artistic or philosophical inclinations to which Kentlands' overall environment would appeal. Singles and the elderly are likely to be renters, not owners. In seeking the "yuppie" market, the developer is making the gamble that Kentlands' urban qualities will be attractive to city dwellers who have come to desire some of the advantages of the suburbs. If he succeeds, the project may really represent the "gentrification of the suburbs" as Beinart proposes. The population will thus develop as a particular lifestyle group, but one that is perhaps more inclusive than the more limited developments around it, and in a setting that may provide for a good measure of the openness that DPZ intend.

Overall Assessment: DPZ in the context of their time

Kentlands will arrive at a time and place that are not incidental to what is likely to be achieved there. Geographically, the Washington, D.C., area would seem to be a particularly inviting setting for DPZ's work. It is a city with a number of well-loved historic neighborhoods, as well as attractive nearby towns. The region's population is unusually affluent and well educated. Moreover, it is a city with a strong tradition of formal physical planning, and a fairly conservative architectural taste.

DPZ's work at Kentlands and elsewhere can also be seen in the context of a number historical of trends that it seems to further. One obvious precedent is the growth and flourishing of an historic preservation movement throughout the country. This movement has laid the foundation for Kentlands in a number of ways. By restoring and maintaining old neighborhoods such as Georgetown, preservationists have helped provide the very models on which Kentlands is based. The preservation movement has also been responsible for a growing body of literature on historic American urban environments and architecture, both of which were poorly documented a few decades ago. Restoration work has also provided a greater understanding of historic building techniques and styles.

The recent gentrification of historic neighborhoods reflected in part the lifestyle choice of a fairly small but growing segment of the population (often called "yuppies") to put off the responsibilities of child-rearing in order to enjoy the increasingly sophisticated possibilities of urban life available in the city center. This sophistication has also been moving into the suburbs in the form of elaborate shopping malls such as those at Tysons Corner in the D.C. area, as well as a broadening range of cultural facilities and home entertainment. The marketing concept of Kentlands apparently is intended to capitalize on both these trends. Yuppies, it is hoped, will be drawn to this sort of environment as they grow older and find more of their changing needs encountering the limitations of the center city, such as the poor quality of public schools, problems with the safety of children, and the high price of large houses. In terms of the retail component, Kentlands may represent the latest and probably most advanced attempt to restructure suburban shopping malls to mirror the qualities of highly attractive and successful urban environments. Previous attempts of this sort include Fashion Island in

Orange County, California, where a luxurious, open-air imitation of a Mediterranean village sits atop a parking structure; and Forrestal Village near Princeton, New Jersey, a trouble-ridden attempt to create a high-end, open-air imitation of a Main Street. Kentlands will go farther, however, in integrating retail, housing, and other uses in a more genuine re-creation of an urban center.

Perhaps the greatest impetus to developments such as Kentlands is the changing outlook on the suburb titself. Until recently, the suburb was seen as essentially an extension of the center city. The quiet domestic environment was to be a counterpoint to the hustle and bustle of the downtown. In the space of the last two decades, however, this vision has been altered radically. It is increasingly apparent that the suburbs are becoming the setting for all activities of life, not just a residential retreat for the urban man and woman. Center cities have declined both economically and as destinations for suburban dwellers. Employment, shopping, and entertainment are now as easily available in ths suburb as downtown. At the same time, the arrival of urban functions in the suburbs has brought urban problems: traffic congestion, pollution, visual blight, crime. There is an increasing awareness that what is growing at the edge of our older urban centers are not suburbs in the sense that we have always imagined, but cities in a form that we never anticipated. Perhaps it is this awareness, and the growing need among many people for a sense of identifiable place in a bewildering new urban environment, that has given rise to the search for different patterns of physical order for these environments. The importance of DPZ's work is as a part of this search. Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk recognizes this challenge in her assertion that one of the tasks of architecture today is to provide an interface between technology and society through conscious form-making (Plater-Zyberk, 1990). Thus while it is unlikely that Duany and Plater-Zyberk will be able to restore the village life of the past, they may well make a contribution to the urban patterns of the future.

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