THE REGIONAL CITY

PETER CALTHORPE

WILLIAM FULTON

FOREWORD BY ROBERT FISHMAN

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PLANNING FOR THE END OF SPRAWL

THEREGIONALCITY

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To my father, who taught me to always question assumptions,
and to my mother, who taught me to study. –P. C.

For Sara Elizabeth Torf Fulton, who works very hard every day
to make the world a better place. –W. F.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to start these acknowledgments at the professional roots of most of the ideas developed here. It was in Sacramento in the mid-1970s that an extraordinary group of individuals gathered as part of Governor Jerry Brown's administration to rethink much about our society. In that group, with which I had the opportunity to work, were Sim Van der Ryn and Bill Press. Bill, as head of the Office of Planning and Research, developed the "Urban Strategy" for the state of California, an effort and a set of strategies that quite simply lays out much of the thesis of the Regional City at the metropolitan scale—twenty-five years ago. It was never adopted. Sim, who was to become my partner and mentor, was state architect and focused on the complex relation among buildings, community, and ecology. Much of his thinking has found its way into my work on neighborhood design and a concern for the environmental consequences of development. Also of that time was an old friend and architectural professor of mine from Yale, David Sellers, who worked with us on our first experiments in urban infill and intensification. Dave has inspired many, including me, with his spirit, humor, and inventiveness in the many design charrettes that followed over the next two decades.

Doug Kelbaugh, now dean at the School of Architecture at the University of Michigan, and Harrison Fraker, dean at the School of Environmental Design UC–Berkeley, were lasting friends and co-conspirators in our efforts through the late 1970s and early 1980s to fashion an environmentally responsible form of architecture. Doug became my partner in developing a first rough idea about suburban growth called the pedestrian pocket. From that point on, as both friend and collaborator, he has helped articulate and invent much of the community-planning concepts that underlie the Regional City. It was through design experimentation at the School of Environmental Design at Berkeley that these hypothetical ideas continued to germinate. Dan Solomon and Lars Lerup supported and participated in studios that questioned and refined the notion of redesigning the suburbs. Dan has remained over the years a close collaborator and friend, as well as my architectural conscience.

Just as the 1980s ended, these ideas—dormant and theoretical—opened up with the support of an enlightened developer named Phil Angelides, now California State Treasurer. Phil had the vision and the guts to experiment with a major development, and attempt to shape a more diverse and walkable community at Laguna West. In that project I found another close friend and compatriot in Ken Kay, a landscape designer of rare talent who in every project teaches me something new about the subtleties of place making. Simultaneously, several local politicians, most notably Grantland Johnson (then county supervisor, now secretary of California's Health and Human Services Agency), supported an effort to rezone Sacramento County for Transit Oriented Development—a first pass at reorganizing the suburbs with transit and mixed-use communities.

Soon thereafter, Henry Richmond, the inspired leader of 1000 Friends of Oregon, launched a radical alternative for regional growth in Portland that succeeded in redefining the debate about growth in that region. His vision and leadership set the foundation for Portland's transformation into a Regional City. John Fregonese complimented Henry's work in his 2040 Plan for Metro. In working for John on the plan, I had the opportunity to make a lifelong friend and, ultimately, gain a professional partner who knows more about regional design than anyone I know. He has the unique capacity to humanize complex regional strategies, to bring together disparate groups into rare coalitions, and to communicate grand visions simply and clearly. Together we helped develop the regional vision for Salt Lake and in every project we pursue, I am honored to be working with him.

By the early 1990s, more and more designers were rethinking the shape of community. Some came together in 1992 to form the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU). I am deeply indebted to the founders of the CNU—Andres Duany, Liz Plater-

Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides, Elizabeth Moule, and Dan Solomon—for providing a remarkable forum in which ideas could cross-fertilize, and for creating a set of friendships and a sense of comradery that helps to sustain both a national movement and my personal growth. I owe much to many others within the CNU, such as Robert Davis, the developer of Seaside, Hank Dittmar, formerly head of STTP, Bill Morrish, head of the Design Center for the American Urban Landscape, and John Norquist, mayor of Milwaukee, for their commitment to principles and their willingness to set aside personal time for the sake of advancing a cause in which we all believe.

At the core of these acknowledgments must be my current and past co-workers at Calthorpe Associates (CA). Without them, the ideas here would not have developed in practice; through them, our work becomes more unique, diverse, and compelling. Joe Scanga was the first employee of CA, and is now one of its Principles and remains in a special way the heart and soul of our practice. Matt Taecker, also a Principle, joined not long after Joe and has become one of the most accomplished and skillful community designers I know. More recently, Tim Rood has become a central leader in the firm, combining planning skills at the regional level with a keen sense of design at the local level. I am indebted to Phil Erickson and Shelley Poticha—two past members of our practice who have moved on to different challenges. They helped guide the work in our early years and contributed greatly to the emerging field of regional design. Phil has since started his own practice and Shelley has become the executive director of the CNU. In this role, she has done an extraordinary job of expanding the agenda and influence of a fledgling organization—and she has done it with endless reserves of energy, goodwill, and good judgment.

Creating this book was a team effort with my coauthor Bill Fulton and several others. Bill brought just the right mix of knowledge, writing skills, and personal experience to broaden the message and clarify the definition of the Regional City. I am particularly indebted to Bill for our intense debates that always served to advance the depth of thinking and (I hope) strength of argument present in the book. Heather Boyer, our ever patient and supportive editor at Island Press, shaped this work in many unseen ways—introducing Bill and me, pushing us on content and concepts, and helping us with final edits. Marianna Leuschel and the entire L Studio team designed and produced a book that not only is elegant but also reflects the content in many subtle ways. In this work they went way beyond the call of duty in applying their extraordinary talents.

My family and extended family are the true foundation of this work. Without their support and love, not much of this would have come to pass. Jean Driscoll, my wife, and Diana Rose, my sister, saw me through critical surgery in the midst of completing this book—just one of many lifesaving manifestations of their love and generosity. Jeannie and my brother-in-law Jonathon Rose are also indirect professional companions—Jonathon, in his role as progressive developer, always challenges my thinking and calls on me to always push beyond any design formula. Jeannie, with her background in affordable housing and land preservation, lends me knowledge and perspective it would take a lifetime to accumulate. My children—Lucia, Jacob, and Asa—constantly remind me why better communities are essential and how we must all lead more balanced lives.

PETER CALTHORPE
Berkeley, California
August 2000

My greatest debt goes to my colleague Peter Calthorpe, who graciously asked me to work with him in writing this book.

I have always admired the founders of the New Urbanism movement for their commitment, their vision, and their ability to give voice to feelings so many of us in urban planning have had over the last twenty years about what is wrong with the built environment and what could make it better. But my admiration for Peter goes much deeper than that. From the beginning, Peter has never viewed the street or the block in isolation; rather, he has always sought to understand the relationship between the block and the metropolis as a whole, and to illuminate for all of us how this relationship affects the way we live our daily lives. That is the essence of what our book is about, and I hope that our joint effort here does justice to Peter's admirable vision.

I am also very grateful to many other people who have helped and inspired me over the years in seeking to understand the Regional City, either through conversation or by providing me opportunities to conduct research that has deepened my knowledge.

Will Fleissig of Continuum Partners in Denver first introduced me to these concepts as one of my planning school professors many years ago, and he remains a dear friend. Michael Mantell, now of Resources Law Group in Sacramento, has provided me with similar insight and inspiration over the years, and Jeanne Sedgwick and Mark Valentine of The Packard Foundation have given me innumerable opportunities to work on these issues. Alan Ehrenhalt of *Governing* magazine and Bob McNulty of Partners for Livable Communities have provided both stimulating conversation and many opportunities to research these issues. Bruce Katz and the Brookings Institution's Center for Urban and Metropolitan Policy have provided an excellent national forum to discuss metropolitan growth.

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Acknowledgments

WILLIAM FULTON
Ventura, California
August 2000

FOREWORD

A century ago the United States faced the challenge of the industrial city. Vast centers like New York and Chicago, larger than any cities in history, were growing faster than any in history, teeming with an unassimilated immigrant population and prey to disease, poverty, and social conflict. Nevertheless, these cities became in the first half of the twentieth century the heartlands of American prosperity and global power.

Today the challenge is what Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton call the Regional City. The industrial cities of the early twentieth century have evolved into our twenty-first-century "metropolitan regions," sprawling agglomerations of central city and suburbs that could extend a hundred miles in every direction and cover countless political jurisdictions. Where the main problem of the old city had been inhumanly dense concentrations of people and industry, the metropolitan region suffers from "sprawl," the inefficient and environmentally degrading spread of population. Where the old city suffered from very visible forms of smoke and water pollution, the new region is prey to more insidious forms of pollution and the continuing destruction of the natural environment. If poverty is now less widespread than in the old cities, it is also more isolated, more alienated, and more degrading.

The issues raised by these twin crises of sprawl and the inner city are fundamental: the relationship of a technologically advanced society to the natural world and the equally fundamental issue of social equity. Yet these pressing problems have been allowed to fester, with even the most creative responses stymied by fragmented political jurisdictions, by endemic conflicts between cities and their suburbs, and by a federal government whose uncoordinated policies have made regional cooperation difficult. While unsolved problems accumulate, the stakes have grown higher. As national governments decline in their ability to control the global economy, the key units worldwide have become the regions. Metropolitan regions that promote and manage growth, educate their populations, and maintain the quality of life will succeed. Those that remain mired in conflict and inaction will fail.

This book takes up the challenge of the Regional City as the necessary scale on which to confront our society's economic, ecological, and social problems. Calthorpe and Fulton have gotten past those twin towers of negativism—the urban crisis and sub-urban sprawl—to provide a manifesto for all those who see traffic jams, loss of open space, and racial divisions not as necessities to be endured but as problems to be solved. Among recent works on regionalism, this book, in my opinion, is the most comprehensive, the most practical, and the most visionary. As Calthorpe and Fulton announce, the Regional City is "not merely a theory," and they back up this claim with a wonderfully comprehensive selection of project descriptions and graphics from Calthorpe Associates' work. Their discussion of these projects is supported by Calthorpe's practical, hands-on experience in so many of our most creative and important regional initiatives.

Perhaps most crucially, this book is visionary in the sense that the authors insist that an overall regional design vision is necessary for successful action. For Calthorpe and Fulton, regionalism means not only thinking bigger but thinking better. It means seeing the interconnections between, for example, land use and transportation, open space and public space, growth boundaries at the edge of the region and rebuilt inner cities at their core. Where traditional policy analyses tend to separate and obscure these key interconnections, physical design embodies and reveals the links. It provides the common ground around which the different stakeholders in the region can come together for effective action. This book is a powerful argument for the crucial role of regional design as the synthetic discipline bringing together the separate worlds of economics, ecology, social policy, and aesthetics.

The Regional City is therefore filled with designs for the present and the future, but it is also based on a long tradition of American regional thought and planning. A brief comparison between Calthorpe and Fulton and some of their predecessors might help us to understand how this book is both a critique of and a contribution to that tradition.

As early as the 1920s, a remarkable group of architects, planners, and social activists led by Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and Benton MacKaye had attempted to make the region the primary focus for American planning. As founders of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), they already saw that the new technologies of their time—the automobile, electric power, the telephone, and radio—meant the crisis of the industrial city, or what Clarence Stein called the

"dinosaur cities." The need to crowd urban functions inside a single massive dense core at the heart of a region no longer existed. Instead, cities and their citizens could expand throughout the region into that green world of farms and small towns that once seemed to be the inevitable counterpart to urban life.

The leaders of the RPAA saw this coming regional transformation as a source of hope. Properly planned, decentralization could be channeled into New Towns: communities of about thirty thousand people that would include both work and residence, large enough to generate their own urbanity but bordered and contained by a perpetual greenbelt. Spread throughout the region's greenfields, the New Towns would combine efficiency, beauty, and social equity in ways impossible for older cities disfigured by slums and industrial pollution. The "dinosaur cities" would fade away and the new "regional city" would emerge as a network of New Towns in a perpetually green landscape: the home of an advanced society in union with nature.

Sadly, these prophets proved to be exactly half-right. After World War II, the American city decentralized with a vengeance, but the result was not the RPAA's ideal of the regional city. Postwar growth meant not only the expansion of the suburbs but their "urbanization." The central cities fragmented and exploded into a hybrid form that spread low-density development rapidly throughout whole regions and erased the traditional distinctions between city, suburb, and countryside. Contemplating this boundless "anti-city," as he termed it, Lewis Mumford despaired of American society itself.

Calthorpe and Fulton have helped to revive much of the hope and idealism of the earlier regionalists, while learning from the early mistakes and failures. First, the 1920s regionalists perceived the giant city with its slums and congestion as the overwhelming problem, and they looked eagerly to its decline and fall. They little imagined what depopulation and deindustrialization would do to our major urban centers, and especially to the poor left behind. By contrast, Calthorpe and Fulton's regionalism recognizes the crucial role of a robust central city, and they focus particularly in this book on ways to rebuild the inner city. As they argue, the problem of the inner city must be approached as part of a larger regional strategy that includes affordable housing throughout the region, tax-sharing between cities and suburbs, revived mass transit, and regional growth boundaries as a way of directing growth back to the core. But they rightly insist on the role that well-designed, mixed-use urban neighborhoods

can play in addressing regional inequities, and their concluding section on the federal HOPE VI projects is perhaps the most important in the book.

Secondly, the early regionalists believed that the self-contained New Town represented the single ideal physical form for an advanced civilization, and they looked forward to the time when the bulk of the American population lived in one. But in fact the full-fledged New Town (represented in this country by Columbia, Maryland, and Reston, Virginia) has proven virtually impossible for private developers to build and difficult even for the welfare states like postwar Britain and Sweden that once attempted them. In any case, the time for utopias has vanished, and so too has the ample open space at the edge of the regions where the 1920s regionalists had hoped to plant their ideal cities. Instead of New Towns on greenfield sites, Calthorpe and Fulton concentrate on suburban infill and redevelopment, the steady work of upgrading the suburban fabric to provide for walkable town centers, mixed-use neighborhoods, and public space.

Finally, the earlier regionalists were still caught up in the great wave of modernist optimism that saw radical innovation as salvation. Only by discarding all past urban forms and embracing the newest technology could the Regional City emerge. The 1920s regionalists were particularly enamored of the automobile, a perspective that Lewis Mumford, especially, lived to regret. Calthorpe and Fulton's twenty-first-century regionalism is built on a far more complex relationship to past and present. As Calthorpe wrote in 1986, "there is a special kind of wisdom in our cities born of time and its shifting forces." Calthorpe and Fulton turn to older urban forms not out of nostalgia or preservationism, but precisely to activate that wisdom as a resource for future innovation. Their aim, as they eloquently state it, is to maintain "some simple and basic urban design principles [which] are (as they always have been) to create places that are walkable and human-scaled, that are diverse in population and varied in uses, and that are shaped around public spaces that are meaningful and memorable."

One sees this commitment most clearly in Calthorpe's most important design concept, "transit-oriented development (TOD)," introduced in his book *The Next American Metropolis* (1993), and central to this one. In regional terms, transit-oriented development means reorienting the region around a system of light-rail lines emanating from a central city hub. Each stop becomes the town center for a mini New Town, a mixed-use community with stores, jobs, and diverse housing, all

within walking distance of the transit stop with its links to other towns and downtown. In some respects, Calthorpe and Fulton are rediscovering the "streetcar suburbs" of the turn of the twentieth century. But, in the context of regions where automobile-based development permitted limitless sprawl, transit-oriented development introduces a radical break with the immediate past. Far from reviving a vanished past, the use of this "obsolete" rail technology represents the possibility of a more complex twenty-first-century region.

In one respect, however, Calthorpe and Fulton are directly in the tradition of the earlier regionalists. Mumford, Stein, and their colleagues found it natural to combine the roles of authors, designers, and activists, and Calthorpe and Fulton have also resisted the far stronger pressures of specialization today. This book could only have been written by authors who have been testing and refining their theories over many years and many projects. Those who decry the absence of engaged "public intellectuals" in American life might look carefully at the range and achievements of both authors.

Trained as an architect, Peter Calthorpe has since the 1970s sought an ever widening design synthesis that would integrate urbanism and environmentalism. From designing energy-efficient houses, he moved to designing the compact, sustainable, equitable communities where those houses would find their proper context, and now to designing the regional framework that would support those communities. In all these endeavors Calthorpe has shown an impressive capacity to learn from history and from colleagues, and above all to translate social values into clear and compelling physical form.

In his first book, *Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs, and Towns* (1986; written and edited with Sim Van der Ryn), Calthorpe had already formulated many of his leading ideas: that suburban sprawl was not only ecologically but socially destructive; and conversely, that the compact urban designs that were most ecologically sustainable were also potentially the most socially valuable. This insight led him to extensive research into the design of pedestrian-friendly, mixed-use communities. Working with architect and educator Doug Kelbaugh, he put forward the plan for what he called a "pedestrian pocket," a "simple cluster of housing, retail spaces and offices within a quarter-mile walking radius of a transit system." The pedestrian pocket exemplifies Calthorpe's critical relationship to the older regionalists.

While drawing on New Town design, he specifically rejects the overambitious scale and stand-alone quality of the full-sized New Town. Indeed, the 50- to 100-acre

pedestrian pocket makes sense only through its transit links to other towns and to the regional core. The pedestrian pocket concept is thus a regional plan whose implications Calthorpe would work out in his transit-oriented development.

In 1989, Sacramento developer Phil Angelides turned to Calthorpe Associates (founded in 1983) for the design of Laguna West, a 1,000-acre mixed-use project that Calthorpe called "the first on-the-ground test" of his ideas. That same year, the Sacramento County Planning Department commissioned Calthorpe Associates to produce "transit-oriented development guidelines" for the Sacramento region, a commission that was followed by a similar project for the city of San Diego in 1991. In 1992, the citizens group 1000 Friends of Oregon asked Calthorpe Associates to help provide an alternative to a new freeway slated for the west side of the Portland region. This project, outlined in this book, gave Calthorpe a major voice in the region that was already the most receptive to his ideas. The resulting Land Use Transportation Air Quality Connection (LUTRAQ) became not only the most thorough of his regional plans for transit-oriented development but also the most influential. Not only did LUTRAQ nix the freeway, it led to the implementation of both a new light-rail line and transit-oriented land-use guidelines. Today, Calthorpe Associates along with John Fregonese, new partner and former head of planning for Portland Metro, are deeply engaged in regional planning throughout the country, perhaps most notably in the Envision Utah project that begins this book.

In 1992, Calthorpe and other West Coast designers joined with Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and others from the East Coast to found the Congress for the New Urbanism. The CNU has given Calthorpe a national platform, and his transit-oriented development stands alongside Duany and Plater-Zyberk's "neo-traditional town" as the two central concepts of the movement. Perhaps more important, the CNU has given Calthorpe a venue in which to debate and refine his ideas. (Contrary to the myth, the CNU is less an engine of design orthodoxy than it is a meeting ground for often passionate debate.) Like Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Calthorpe has always emphasized the centrality of the pedestrian-scaled neighborhood in the revitalization of the region, but, compared to them, Calthorpe has been less concerned with rules, codes, definitions, and historical precedents. He continues to revisit and revise his basic concepts, including the changing meaning of the neighborhood in the new regional context.

Coauthor William Fulton has combined a national practice in planning—he is the founder and principal of Solimar Research Group—with equally important achievements as an author. In a field not always distinguished for prose style, Fulton is an accomplished writer who has mastered a variety of forms from the hard-hitting article to the definitive (yet highly readable) *Guide to California Planning.* Editor of the *California Planning and Development Report,* he has also served as chair of the West Hollywood Planning Commission. These varied experiences all contributed to his most notable achievement, his book on the Los Angeles region, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Growth in Los Angeles* (1997). Among the many important recent books on contemporary Los Angeles, Fulton's is in my judgment the best. It is also perhaps the best analysis we have of the politics and power struggles of a large American region.

The Reluctant Metropolis shows Los Angeles caught between the crisis of the nation's most powerful growth machine and the difficult emergence of a critical regionalism. Fulton teaches us how the highly fragmented politics of Los Angeles can nevertheless generate immense power within the "shadow government" that controls the massive infrastructure investments in water, electricity, and transportation and operates through little-publicized authorities like the Metropolitan Water District or the Southern California Association of Governments. He also shows the travails of local citizen activism and the difficulties of creating not only a regional consciousness but a regional citizenship. *The Reluctant Metropolis* makes clear the challenges that *The Regional City* must confront.

In his classic of regionalist thought, *The Culture of Cities* (1938), Lewis Mumford grandiloquently proclaimed that the "re-animation and re-building of regions, as deliberate works of collective art, is the grand task of politics for the opening generation." In fact, the generation that Mumford addressed had other pressing tasks, starting with World War II, and the promise of regionalism seemed indefinitely postponed. This book allows us to hope that Mumford's "opening generation" is finally here.

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This book describes three interrelated phenomena: the emergence of regionalism,

the maturation of the suburbs, and the revitalization of older urban neighbor-

hoods.

Each is a topic unto itself, but each is now critically dependent on the other

two.

INTRODUCTION

In a large conference room in downtown Salt Lake City overlooking the city that Brigham Young laid out some 153 years ago, civic leaders gather to begin the process of envisioning the future of their fast-growing region. The city that was once a precursor to the American dream—each home on a one-acre lot bounded by streets wide enough for a U-turn by a horse and carriage—has evolved into blocks of parking lots, scattered mid-rise buildings, and six-lane streets recently punctuated with a new light-rail line. The 150 participants sit at small tables in groups of 10, armed with detailed maps of the region and seventy "chips"—small squares of paper, each representing four square miles of typical suburban growth. Their assignment: to accommodate the next million people in Salt Lake City by finding the best way to arrange the chips on the map.

At one of the tables, Utah Governor Mike Leavitt joins a random group that includes the head of a local environmental group, a major housing developer, a small-city mayor, and other community representatives. First, they lay the chips side by side in classic suburban fashion. But soon the chips have covered almost all of the region's dwindling agricultural land. Then they look for other buildable pieces of land and begin laying the chips on pristine mountain plateaus, accessible to Salt Lake City only through scenic mountain passes. The participants at the governor's table—and throughout the room—soon realize that if the Salt Lake region continues to grow at the current densities, much of what they love about the Wasatch Front will be destroyed.

So each group takes a different approach. Instead of spreading the chips out, the participants begin stacking them, one on top of the other—indicating that they are willing to accept higher densities in order to preserve agriculture and pristine land. When that isn't enough, they begin laying the chips on top of existing urban areas—in places that they know are underbuilt or in need of renewal. By the time they are done, they recognize that a different vision of their future is necessary and possible.

In the months that follow, this group and many others discover that a sprawling future for the Salt Lake area will be harmful in other ways. They learn that, compared with a more compact alternative, low-density sprawl will cost as much as an additional $15 billion in infrastructure and public services—approximately $30,000 for every new household. They learn that, even with a massive road-building effort, traffic congestion and air pollution will only get worse. They find that current zoning policies won't accommodate the region's growing number of senior citizens, singles, and young families in the years ahead. Perhaps most painful of all for such a family-oriented region, Salt Lake's civic leaders conclude that many of their children will not be able to afford to live in the Salt Lake area.

In other words, they find that "more of the same" will not solve their problems. Twelve months after sitting down at the table with the map and the chips, Governor Leavitt signs the Quality Growth Initiative—Utah's first growth-management law. In the Salt Lake City area, "sprawl as usual" is suddenly a thing of the past.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF EDGE CITIES

Sprawl means different things to different people. To some, it is the honest expression of who we are—fractured, free, and consumptive. To others, it is a virus infecting the land and our culture. We believe it is a model of development that is simply past its time. It was a postwar strategy to house a growing middle class in low-density places knitted together by the car. This pattern once delivered affordable single-family homes, low crime, open space, and free access for the car. Now homes are distant and more expensive, crime spreads, open space recedes, and cars are stuck in traffic. Sprawl now seems at once outdated and, for many, increasingly unaffordable.

"Edge Cities" are defined by Joel Garreau in his seminal book *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* as suburban areas complete with major job centers and regional retail. It is an accurate description of our contemporary regions and an apt name. For the first time, suburbs are the nexus of our culture and economy. In many cases, the focus of commerce and creative enterprise has shifted away from cities.

As the suburbs progressed from the bedroom communities of the 1950s and 1960s to these contemporary Edge Cities, many fundamental changes took place—changes that now dominate our identity, our politics, our opportunities, and our sense of community. We changed from a country of villages, towns, and cities to a country of sub-

divisions, malls, and office parks. We spread out geographically beyond any proportion to our population growth. We built a transportation system dominated by cars in a landscape designed for them. We became a decentralized service economy rather than an urban industrial economy. And we became more segregated—by age, by income, by culture, and by race. All of these shifts found physical expression in our development patterns—suburban sprawl and urban decay, diminished natural resources, and lost history.

But just as Edge Cities became the norm, we have outgrown the basic assumptions that encouraged their growth. Land and nature are not boundless. Air quality and congestion limit the monopoly of the car. Middle-class affluence is not universal. The single-family dwelling is not for everyone. In fact, we are no longer a country of nuclear families—only a quarter of American households are now married couples with kids and less than half of them subsist on one income. Since 1950, the percentage of women working has tripled. The *Leave It to Beaver* version of the American Dream is slipping away.

As this version of the American Dream is aging, we are confronted by other profound changes: the globalization of capital and labor, a growing economic inequality (even in the midst of prosperity), a decaying environment, and a marked erosion of our faith in public institutions, to name just a few. We hear about these changes every day but cannot seem to find the means to organize them into a coherent vision of a personal or cultural future. Many ordinary people respond by withdrawing, cocooning in special-interest groups and gated communities.

This retreat from a more public life is reinforced by our accelerating tendency to shape communities around special interests rather than around the places we live. "Communities of interest" are the social and economic associations that we form from our particular lifestyle, employment, and social standing. A community of interest is a world filled with people of similar activities, ages, incomes, and values. It is the "gated community" of the mind.

The counterpoint had been the random associations and connections that we developed in our older neighborhoods—places that often fostered a public world that enhanced interaction beyond common interests and like-mindedness. But, as these more diverse "communities of place" became more and more segregated by suburban zoning policies, we lost our day-to-day interaction with a wide range of people—

people not encountered in our communities of interest. A landscape of isolated land uses became a landscape of isolated people.

Even within the more highly segregated developments of today, there is less common ground, less civic space to bring even their homogenous populations together. We leave home in a car and travel to remote workplaces. Without the simple act of walking in our neighborhoods or having something of a common destination, it is little wonder that we know our neighbors less and less. We communicate on the Internet but not on the street.

For some, this is fine: for others, it is debilitating. While the wealthy and mobile can build a complex and rich personal network of associations and opportunities across their region—and in fact the globe—others become more physically, economically, and socially limited. Our two-tiered society and its inequities are magnified by this fundamental difference in the nature of our communities. We are becoming socially more segregated—now by interest, access, and geography as well as income, age, and race.

Part of our inability to come out of our special-interest cocoons and address the massive changes in our time is that our politics operate at the wrong scale. Frustration with centralized public programs has reached a watershed, while local action seems unable to deal with many of our most challenging problems. We are stranded between national solutions too generic, bureaucratic, and large, and local solutions too isolated, anemic, and reactionary. No wonder people become cynical and detached. We live simultaneously at the regional and neighborhood scale but lack a political structure to take advantage of their opportunities.

Many of our policy makers already know that the answers to our most pressing challenges lie in creating regional structures that reduce the sources of economic, social, and environmental stress before they become critical. But, because they operate at the wrong scale, they persist in treating symptoms rather than addressing root causes. As a result, they address inner-city disinvestment with banking regulation and development subsidies, rather than targeting regional economic growth where it is needed most. They control air pollution with tailpipe emissions, fuel consumption with efficiency standards, and congestion with more freeways, rather than making cities and towns that are less automobile dependent. They try to limit lost open space with piecemeal acquisitions, habitat degradation with disconnected reserves, and farmland conversion with tax policies, rather than defining regional forms that are compact and

environmentally sound. Too often, they address affordable housing by building isolated blocks of subsidized housing rather than creating mixed-income neighborhoods and implementing regional fair-share housing practices. There is an emerging consensus that these current strategies, though well intentioned and partly successful, are insufficient.

The problems of the Edge City are overwhelming these piecemeal strategies. Its linkages are congested. Its communities are competitive—new suburbs win, first-ring suburbs and cities lose. And its common ground—whether open space, history, or unique cultures—is decaying. The relentless development at the edge around the car is unsustainable, and most of us know it. A new regional order is emerging.

To succeed, this new regional order must reintegrate Edge Cities with old cities and first-ring suburbs. Regional cooperation and coordination is now essential to the success of every town and city. Without a diverse regional transportation network, our neighborhoods and towns easily become isolated pockets surrounded by congestion. Without regional greenbelts, habitat reserves, and farmlands, towns and cities lose their connection to the natural world. Without regional economic strategies, stressed inner suburbs can fall prey to the economic stagnation experienced in many inner-city areas. Without regional access, the truly disadvantaged are cut off from the models and opportunities they need to transform their lives. Without a healthy regional structure and affordable housing, it is increasingly difficult for an area to compete for jobs in a fluid global economy.

Certainly such a framework will require significant social change and progressive economic policies. But much of it has to do with the way we shape our communities: the physical context of our everyday culture. In many unseen ways, urban design and regional form set the physical order of our social structure, the dimensions of our economic needs, and the extent of our environmental impacts. Although it is true that changing the physical form of our communities will not address all our social and ecological challenges, it is also true that economic vitality, social stability, and environmental sustainability cannot be achieved without a coherent and supportive physical framework. Ultimately, it is not one or the other but the way that the two—physical forms and cultural norms—interact.

THE EMERGING REGION, THE MATURING SUBURB,
AND THE RENEWED CITY

This book describes three interrelated phenomena: the emergence of regionalism, the maturation of the suburbs, and the revitalization of older urban neighborhoods. Each is a topic unto itself, but each is now critically dependent on the other two. Coherent regional policies can and must support the evolution of the suburbs and the revitalization of the city. They cannot progress without a comprehensive regional vision. Conversely, the physical design of neighborhoods, urban or suburban, can easily negate many regional initiatives. The successful evolution of each—region, suburb, or city—is tied to the others. Taken together, these three trends shape the outlines of a new metropolitan form, what we call the "Regional City."

The first of these three trends, the emergence of regionalism, is clearly upon us. More and more, we live in an aggregation of cities and suburbs: a metropolitan community that forms one economic, cultural, environmental, and civic entity. Out of this aggregation, we would like to paint a picture of a new regional structure. One quite different than the radial vision of Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities, the modernist's decentralized vision of Greenbelt new towns, or the Edge City standard of existing sprawl. This new regional structure has a more complex form. One that is not focused toward the city or away from it. One that is more like a constellation than a solar system. This emerging region is a layering of networks: networks of communities, networks of open space, networks of economic systems, and networks of cultures. The health of this new region depends on the interconnectedness of these networks, the sophistication of the interfaces, and the vitality of the elements.

The "network" quality of the emerging region is much like the Internet. If the Internet lacked diverse sources of information, if it had congested links, or if it lacked a common language, it would fail. So, too, with regions: to thrive, they need many diverse communities, a variety of connections, and a clearly defined common ground. Although a region's communities range from urban centers to rural villages, each can become at once more centered and more nested into the larger metropolis. Their linkages can combine virtual technology with face-to-face places, just as they can blend the automobile with transit and walking. The region's common ground can be built from its open space systems and its cultural diversity, from its physical history and its economic character.

The emerging region is not dominated by one thing—urbanism, nature, culture, or economy—but by all simultaneously. It cannot be a simple return to central city urbanism or Garden City deconcentration. It is a network of many layers and many types of places. As such, the emerging region has become what the city used to be, the nexus of our culture and the armature of our economy—hence the name Regional City.

At the same time that regionalism is emerging, the suburbs are reaching a transitional stage. Like an adolescent, they have grown so large and uncoordinated that they no longer deliver the qualities that people sought in them. In older suburbs, privacy, mobility, and affordable housing have increasingly been displaced by isolation, grid-lock, and skyrocketing prices. Just as the region emerges as the superstructure of our communities, the suburbs have begun to evolve into something more complex and varied. This evolution involves a kind of infill and redevelopment that overlays the simplistic zoning of the past with richer and more compact choices in housing, transit, and urban form.

This maturation can be largely accomplished through rebuilding the suburb's strip commercial areas, dead mall sites, and obsolete institutional lands—the "Greyfields" of asphalt lining the arterials and highways that divide rather than connect our sub-urban communities. Inserting urban places—walkable and diverse—into these auto zones may seem radical, but it is, ironically, quite practical. These are the areas most available for change—the zones few care for and none would likely defend. If these Greyfields were transformed, the relentless auto-dominated scale of the suburbs could become punctuated with human-scaled havens, urban outposts in suburbia.

The same urban-design principles that can guide the suburb's maturation can help reshape and repair our most troubled inner-city neighborhoods. In fact, a return to the most basic urban-design ideas—diversity, human scale, and preservation—can begin to heal the damage wrought by the past two generations of urban decay, poor planning, and disinvestment in our cities. Although there are no silver bullets that will pierce the complex layers of urban decay, a regional perspective, good urban design, and comprehensive thinking at the neighborhood scale can begin to correct the struc-tural distress.

Clearly, not all urban ills can be cured quickly or simply. Areas with deep concentra-tions of poverty and compound social pathologies need enormous change on many levels, as does the society around them. Failing schools, crime, drugs, gangs, fractured

families, and joblessness are self-reinforcing realities in many places, both urban and suburban. Many of these problems are the product of larger shifts in our society: the demise of well-paying blue-collar jobs in the cities, the exodus of successful minority families from many ethnic neighborhoods, and the flight of white middle-class residents and jobs to the suburbs. Much of the ghetto culture is due to the collateral effect of these tectonic shifts.

Urban design alone cannot reverse the effects of these fundamental changes; but if it is married to a set of progressive regional policies, revitalization is more than possible. A regional structure that limits sprawl, equalizes tax structures, and redirects development into areas that need it most can fundamentally change the chemistry of many urban neighborhoods. Fair housing policies that balance housing opportunities throughout the region can begin to address the concentrated poverty that suburban sprawl has left in its wake. Acknowledging the transportation needs of the working poor can lead to regional transit systems that provide accessibility from city to suburb as well as the reverse. Facing the problems of urban schools can lead to innovations that expand the meaning and function of education, from preschool and after-school programs through job training and adult education. Understanding that skillful urban design is likely to greatly improve the health of a neighborhood can lead to developments that rediscover the value of urban places.

These three areas are each on the cusp of change: regionalism is a reality about to be born, the suburbs are rapidly maturing, and many inner-city neighborhoods are primed for rebirth. The three are connected by a common design ethic: that communities at the regional or neighborhood scale should have active centers, should respect their history and ecology, and should husband diversity. The challenge is to clarify the connections and shape both neighborhood and region into healthy, sustainable forms—into Regional Cities.

The missing link for many communities has been the loss of some simple and basic urban-design principles. These principles are (as they always have been) to create places that are walkable and human scaled, that are diverse in population and varied in uses, and that are shaped around public spaces that are meaningful and memorable.

Such an urbanism can have many manifestations—from grand and formal city centers to integrated urban neighborhoods, from rural village streets to historic town greens. In all cases, it is not simply density or architecture that constitutes the

urbanism, but the coherence of the shared space, the liveliness of the streets, and the complexity of activities. After fifty years of planning that ignored the spaces between projects and buildings, that isolated uses and people, and that elevated the car and marginalized the pedestrian, the simple urbanism of American cities, towns, and villages has a big role to play in the repair of our communities.

This type of urbanism is nothing new. It is an extension of many parallel efforts that have been evolving since Jane Jacobs and William Whyte began their critique of modern architecture and the auto-focused metropolis. Since that time, much has been undertaken to correct Modernism's broad negation of the city. It is now generally accepted that a city's vitality is basically tied to its diversity, pedestrian scale, and civic places. The notion that the auto-oriented suburb is sustainable or even universally desirable is no longer conventional wisdom. Environmental groups have developed to defend the ecosystems and farmlands threatened by sprawl. Inner-city activists have mobilized to revitalize urban neighborhoods and defend them against gentrification. Historic preservation groups have expanded their agendas beyond individual buildings to include whole districts and urban economies. And a multidisciplinary group called the Congress for New Urbanism (see Appendix) has emerged to advocate good urban design at the regional, neighborhood, and building scale.

Combined, these movements now include a diversity of people and professions engaged in a broad range of actions against sprawl and regional inequity. Each has helped to facilitate and support many changes that are part of the making of Regional Cities. Regional plans with complex open-space systems and transit-oriented development have been adopted. Suburban infill projects, replacing strip commercial with mixed-use neighborhoods, are being built throughout the United States. Inner-city housing and neighborhood revitalization has been supported at the federal level by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and at the local level by many individual city governments and community groups. Cities, counties, and developers have come to understand and use urbanism in many ways: as the building blocks for "smart growth" at the regional scale, as a way to transform "master-planned communities" into real towns, and as an effective design philosophy for a variety of infill-development sites.

In many ways, then, sprawl and urban disinvestment are under attack, and increasingly losing ground. Many forces are at play in the transformation of the American

Dream and our paradigm of growth. The emerging region, the maturing suburbs, and the revitalization of our older urban neighborhoods are each manifestations of this change. We see the integration of these movements as the foundation of the Regional City.

THE REGIONAL CITY

This book seeks to outline a framework for the Regional City and examine the linkages between the emerging region, evolving suburbs, and renewed inner city. The first part of the book, "The End of Sprawl," lays out the nature and underpinnings of this new metropolitan form. We believe that the Regional City cannot be conceptualized in the traditional terms of city and suburb or even as a collection of political jurisdictions. Rather, the Regional City must be viewed as a cohesive unit—economically, ecologically, and socially—made up of coherent neighborhoods and communities, all of which play a vital role in creating the metropolitan region as a whole.

The second part, "The Architecture of the Regional City," presents our view of the policies and physical design principles required for our metropolitan areas to transform themselves into Regional Cities. The region can and must be shaped through a participatory process to design the physical environment and public policy at both the regional and the neighborhood level. Like the Regional City itself, these designs and policies must be viewed as a cohesive whole, and they require the participation of many players—including the federal government, whose crucial role in determining the nature of regions cannot be overlooked.

The third part, "Regionalism Emerging," documents how many metropolitan areas throughout the United States are transforming themselves into Regional Cities through a combination of physical design and social and economic policies at the regional level. We focus on three cutting-edge Regional Cities—Portland, Seattle, and Salt Lake City. But we also consider the difficulties of implementing policies at a regional scale in very large metropolitan regions, and we pay particular attention to the potential role of state government in certain areas, including Florida, Maryland, and Minnesota.

The final part, "Renewing the Region's Communities," focuses on the two neighborhood-scaled phenomena that are shaping metropolitan regions at the local level—the maturation of sprawling suburbs and the renewal of urban neighborhoods. Although

we deal with these two trends separately, they are really intertwined with each other and with regional efforts in general. Maturing suburbs and renewed urban neighborhoods need regional policies that deal with large-scale social and economic trends as well as physical planning that reasserts the lost art of urban design.

SPRAWL AND INEQUITY

Throughout this book, we will frequently speak of the twin problems of sprawl and inequity. We do so because we believe that these problems are related to one another, and both emerge from the destructive metropolitan patterns that have shaped our nation for the past half-century. On a regional level, sprawl exacerbates inequity, and growing inequity, in turn, begets more sprawl. We believe that neither problem can be effectively dealt with if the two problems are not addressed together. A fundamental tenet of the Regional City is the pursuit of diversity, both at the regional and at the neighborhood level, in a way that is meant to combat inequity as well as sprawl.

Having stated our belief that sprawl and inequity are twin problems, it is important for us to add that, in our view, inequity is a much more intractable problem than sprawl. Sprawl is a recent phenomenon and a solvable problem. As we and many others have pointed out, we know what causes sprawl (low densities, segregation of uses, auto orientation) and we know how to attack them. Inequity, on the other hand, is an eternal problem. It existed long before sprawl, in small towns, in rural areas, and in industrial cities. It is caused not only by the physical environment, but also by a whole range of common human feelings such as greed, elitism, and racism.

Greater minds than ours have sought unsuccessfully to solve the problem of inequity in our society, and we do not pretend that our ideas for the Regional City will eradicate it. However, we do believe that inequity in the contemporary American condition needs to be attacked along with sprawl and its complement, urban disinvestment, and that both need to be addressed at the level of the region and the neighborhood. For two generations, Americans have sought to eradicate urban decay and the problems created by growing concentrations of poverty in the inner city. But this effort has been largely unsuccessful—in part because it has attacked inequity as a discrete problem of the city, without recognizing how metropolitan growth patterns increased the urban decay and concentration of poverty in the first place. Combating sprawl will not end inequity, but an end to inequity cannot be achieved without addressing sprawl.

We believe that the United States is in a transition to a new paradigm of growth. Sprawl's tendency to fracture local communities, empty our cities, and consume the natural and agrarian landscape is coming to an end. The suburban divide, that version of the American Dream that segregated our culture into low-density winners and urban losers, is breaking down. Increasingly, the middle class and underclass have problems in common—dysfunctional transportation systems, poor education, crime, pollution, lack of open space, and decaying neighborhoods—to which there can be common solutions. This is the real power of the Regional City: it can unify now disconnected interest groups by addressing their problems with shared strategies. The elements of the Regional City—transit, affordable housing fairly distributed, environmental preserves, walkable communities, urban reinvestments, and infill development—now benefit a growing cross section of our population and represent a powerful new political coalition.

This book is an attempt to lay out the processes, policies, and designs that can give shape and identity to these new strategies—to describe the emerging metropolitan network of the Regional City and its complement, the simple urbanism of walkable neighborhoods and diverse communities. The Regional City is built by intensifying places and intensifying connections—making them more complex, inclusive, and varied. It is not a choice between city and suburb, between virtual communities and physical places, between history and future, or between communities of interest or communities of place. At its best, it creates places in which we can live in all simultaneously, which is what we all seek to do anyway.

PART ONE:
THE END OF SPRAWL

Most Americans today do not live in towns—or even in cities—in the traditional sense that we think of those terms. Instead, most of us are citizens of a region—a large and multifaceted metropolitan area encompassing hundreds of places that we would traditionally think of as distinct and separate "communities."

LIVING IN THE REGIONAL WORLD

Only a century ago, the archetypal American community was a small city—often a factory town or a farm market town—so self-contained that its residents rarely had to leave its boundaries to obtain their daily needs. So small was Gopher Prairie, the locale of Sinclair Lewis's famous 1920 novel, *Main Street,* that in one thirty-two-minute walk his protagonist Carol Kennicott "had completely covered the town, east and west, north and south." Beyond Gopher Prairie's borders, as Carol quickly discovered, was nothing but "the grasping prairie on every side."

Almost a century later, Carol Kennicott could walk all day and probably never find the prairie. Today, more than half of all Americans live in metropolitan areas of a million people or more. Fully a third of the people in the country—approximately 90 million in all—live in the twenty or so largest metropolitan areas, according to the latest census figures. The urban space regularly traversed by the typical American is not really a "community" at all, but rather a series of connected urban and suburban districts that often stretch across a vast geographical space. Very few people in our country today can cover the entirety of their daily travels in a five- or ten-minute walk.

In other words, most Americans today do not live in towns—or even in cities—in the traditional sense that we think of those terms. Instead, most of us are citizens of a region—a large and multifaceted metropolitan area encompassing hundreds of places that we would traditionally think of as distinct and separate "communities."

Of course, most of us do not think of ourselves as living in a region. Strolling in our neighborhood or visiting our local shopping center, we still tend to think of ourselves as inhabitants of Gopher Prairie. But the patterns of our daily existence belie a different reality. Most of us commute from one metropolitan town to another for work, for shopping, and for many other daily activities. The businesses for which we work are typically bound up in a series of economic relationships with vendors and customers that are concentrated on a regional or metropolitan scale.

And, even if we do live and work in one small town in the best Gopher Prairie tradition, the ecological fallout of our day-to-day patterns will be felt upstream or downstream throughout the region.

The notion of a Regional City is not a new one. Indeed, even as Sinclair Lewis was writing *Main Street* eighty years ago, the small, one-dimensional community that it depicted was vanishing from the American scene. The idea of a "metropolis"—a large and multifaceted urban environment—dates back at least a century, when New York, Chicago, and other cities grew to abnormal size as burgeoning centers of the industrial economy.

Not surprisingly, the idea of planning and designing regions as a unit is a century old as well. It was just before the turn of the twentieth century that Ebenezer Howard created the vision of the Garden City as a way to decentralize urban populations and restore the balance between urban and rural life. In the 1920s, when Sinclair Lewis's depiction of small-town American life was at its peak, visionaries such as Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, and Benton MacKaye began to advocate a similar, carefully designed approach to American regions. The first great proposal to design a region was issued by New York's Regional Plan Association more than seventy years ago.

Ever since then, our metropolitan areas have grown consistently larger, our urban areas have fluctuated between robust health and mortal decay, and our suburbs have flung themselves farther and farther afield. Despite the consistency of these patterns, regionalism has gone in and out of fashion ever since—always a factor in the back of everyone's mind but rarely viewed as a driving force in our urban growth.

In the past decade, however, the concept of the region as a fundamental concept has gained new currency. Planners, economists, environmentalists, and others who for decades ignored the metropolitan region now acknowledge that the region is, indeed, a basic driver of American growth patterns. Metropolitan life throughout the nation now rests on a new foundation of economic, ecological, and social patterns, all of which operate in unprecedented fashion at a regional scale. As planner and economist Michael Storper has put it, all of us now live in a "regional world."

Since the end of the Cold War, as the "globalization" of our economy has accelerated, the metropolitan region has come to be viewed as the basic building block of this new economic order. In today's global economy, it is regions, not nations, that vie for eco-

nomic dominance throughout the world. In addition, our understanding of ecology has matured rapidly, as we have come to realize that the region is also the basic unit in environmental terms. Because of the interconnected nature of ecosystems, we are hooked together with our neighboring communities whether we like it or not.

Finally—and perhaps most important from our point of view—we are beginning to set aside our outdated view of independent towns and suburbs and coming to see that the region is also a cohesive social unit. In the postwar era, when the suburbs were affluent and older inner-city neighborhoods were in decline, this relationship was not always obvious. But now, many older suburbs are in transition as well—indeed, some are in steep decline—and so it is impossible to ignore the manner in which all our urban and suburban districts are interconnected socially. Old or young, rich or poor, the people of every metropolitan region are bound together in ways that greatly affect their daily lives.

THE ECONOMIC REGION

Almost every day, we hear news about the state of "the economy." Usually, this term is applied to the notion of our "national" economy—which is most often measured in terms of the gross national product or gross domestic product. The business pages are full of news about how the managers of our national economy, such as the Federal Reserve Bank and the Treasury Department, tweak the interest rate and the money supply to ensure that the U.S. economy remains healthy and robust.

Similarly, on the local level, we often operate on the assumption that each city or suburb also has its own economy. Local politicians compete with each other to attract new businesses inside their jurisdictional boundaries, often providing financial subsidies to specific businesses as part of the bait. And they tout statistical increases in their own tax revenue as proof that their policies are succeeding in improving a particular city's or suburb's economic health.

Whether national or local, these "economies" might be important to the politicians who preside over them, but it has become increasingly clear that they don't really exist. Economic activity does not come to a halt when it reaches a jurisdictional line, whether the jurisdiction is a local, state, or national government. Political boundaries are artificial—and they don't reflect the way the global economy operates.

Economic relationships have always slopped over political boundaries—local, state, and national—but, because of the increasing globalization of the economy, we have seen a dramatic transformation in the past decade. For the first time in centuries, metropolitan regions throughout the world, rather than nations, have emerged as cohesive economic units that operate as important players in the world economy.

Some economists now speak of "global" economies, which draw upon the labor pool, entrepreneurship, and cultural energy from a local region to create products and services that are sold worldwide. Business management guru Kenichi Ohmae, author of *The End of the Nation-State,* argues that "the real flows of financial and industrial activity" have essentially created a new map of the world—the economic world, at least—in which political boundaries barely matter at all. "Where prosperity exists," Ohmae writes, "it is region-based."

The global economy operates best at the regional scale for two reasons. First, much to everyone's surprise, despite our advances in telecommunications technology, *proximity* still matters a great deal. And, second, because of the decentralized nature of the economy, *networking* among a large number of highly specialized people and businesses matters more than ever.

The fact that proximity still matters has been something of a surprise in the past decade. At the dawn of the modem age in the 1980s, economists and urban planners predicted a great untethering of "work" from "workplace." The laptop, the fax machine, and the FedEx delivery truck would make it possible for anyone, anywhere, to participate in the global economy without being physically present in any particular urban or suburban location. Perhaps as much as a third of the workforce could operate from a rural mountaintop. And anyone who could do so would do so, because why deal with the hassles of metropolitan life if you don't have to?

Although a few executives do work on mountaintops, most choose instead to operate within the physical confines of a metropolitan economy. Take Silicon Valley in California—probably the hottest economy in the world. In the past decade, Silicon Valley has become both extremely crowded and extremely expensive, and many of the people who work there have become extremely rich. Yet most still choose to remain there. Why?

The reason is simple: technological advances, globalization, and the changing nature of work have transformed the form of our economy into what might be called a "net-

work economy." Economic activity is volatile and unpredictable. It's impossible to predict what an entrepreneur, or a business, or even an employee might need from one day to the next in order to thrive.

Therefore, the single most important component of economic success, either for a business or for a worker, is access to networks of all kinds: job networks, money networks, idea networks, and networks of vendors and services. And the only sure way to operate successfully in the network economy is to be physically located in what might be called a "network metropolis"—a region where all these networks are located in close enough proximity that they can remain lively and active without a heavy investment in travel or long-distance telecommunications.

"What actually attracts business is the entire geographically based infrastructure of skills, markets, and expertise," the California economist Manuel Pastor and his colleagues recently wrote in their new book *Regions That Work: How Cities and Suburbs Can Grow Together.* "These are the assets that make it worthwhile for businesses to accept higher labor standards in return for access to an educated and enthusiastic pool of workers, as well as the 'intangibles' of sound public policy and supportive business suppliers. And, increasingly, these assets are constituted at the regional level."

The reasons that the network metropolis must operate at a regional level are obvious: the global scale of the economy and the vast range of specialization required to compete globally demand a large and varied pool of labor skills and other expertise. This pool simply cannot exist at Gopher Prairie scale.

In recent years, for example, several U.S. airlines have contemplated creating a hub airport, used exclusively for transferring passengers, somewhere in the Midwest—preferably "in the middle of nowhere," where land would be cheap and complaints from neighbors would be minimal. Despite a lack of gate space at existing hub airports, however, all the airlines have rejected the "hub-in-the-middle-of-nowhere" solution. The reason? The range of labor skills required by a major airport demands a local population of at least 400,000 people—and that simply can't be found in the middle of nowhere. Like a thousand other components of a successful regional economy, an airport requires a network metropolis.

Increasingly, businesses recognize that they must operate at a regional scale to be competitive in the global marketplace. Businesses are coming to understand that the entire

metropolis—central city, older suburbs, newer suburbs, and so on—must be viewed as a single economic unit in order for them to be competitive.

When Los Angeles erupted in civic unrest in the spring of 1992, prosperous business owners in the suburban counties surrounding Los Angeles believed they would be unaffected by it. But investors from London to Tokyo were suddenly skittish about investing anywhere in Southern California, largely owing to the television images of urban neighborhoods in flames. In that case, the social geography of the region had a direct effect on the prosperity of virtually all of its residents—even those who had fled to distant suburbs in hopes of severing their connection to urban neighborhoods and the social ills that often afflict them. So it is not surprising that Pastor and his colleagues, in their new book, analyzed dozens of American metropolitan areas and found that the entire region is more likely to be prosperous if that prosperity is shared by both the central city and the suburbs. The suburbs are linked to the city in other, more positive ways. Cities are the home of an important and in some cases essential segment of the labor pool. Businesses must choose locations where they have maximum access to potential employees—including those in central cities, where a substantial population still lives. Recently, for example, BellSouth decided to consolidate seventy-five dispersed offices in metropolitan areas into three large employment centers. Instead of moving into the distant suburbs with most new development, however, the company chose three locations inside Atlanta's beltway, because the workplaces needed to be equally accessible to employees commuting from the fast-growing northern suburbs, the less-affluent southern suburbs, and city neighborhoods as well. In this way, the suburbs and the city are more interconnected economically than ever. In short, businesses that operate at the regional scale cannot afford to seclude themselves in job centers located in affluent suburbs, because the labor pool upon which they must draw is scattered throughout the entire region, including in the older central city.

In response to these trends, economic-development efforts throughout the United States have increasingly begun to operate on a regional, rather than a municipal, level. And they have increasingly begun to recognize that they must operate on the network metropolis model. For example, many economic-development experts have abandoned the "smokestack chasing" approach of the 1970s and 1980s, in which politicians woo an individual large company to relocate its headquarters or build a new plant in their city or state. In a volatile global economy, smokestack chasing is too

risky. There's no guarantee that the smokestack will still be around—or even still be needed by the world economy—next year or the year after.

Instead, economic development now revolves around analyzing and understanding business and industrial "clusters"—geographically based groups of companies, entrepreneurial networks, and labor skills that permit any region to find and keep its place in the global economy year after year. The cluster approach recognizes that it is the network that matters, not any individual business.

Not surprisingly, the emergence of regions as a cohesive economic unit has rendered the traditional approach—based on the jobs and tax base of individual jurisdictions—almost completely obsolete. "Cities and suburbs are political jurisdictions astride a single regional economy," political economists William Barnes and Larry Ledebur wrote recently in arguing for a regional approach. "The nature and dimension of this interdependence vary from place to place, but interdependence is nonetheless an economic reality. Denial of this essential reality fosters the seeds of the spatial suicide that is occurring in many of our nation's urban areas."

"Spatial suicide" is an apt term for the manner in which many American metropolitan areas choose to tear themselves apart rather than adapt to the idea of an economic region. As we will discuss below, the mismatch between regional economic reality and local political fragmentation often leads to such severe social and economic inequality across a region that it cannot function well either as an economic unit or as a social unit.

Indeed, even as business leaders recognize the emergence of regions as the basic unit of the global economy, they are becoming increasingly concerned that the very regions on which they depend will lose many of the qualities required to stay competitive. In particular, many American metropolitan areas are seeing both their quality of life and their ability to provide affordable housing erode. Business leaders are also concerned about the increasing geographical mismatch between job centers, which are now concentrated in affluent suburban communities, and prospective employees, who are located throughout the metropolitan region (including in the inner city). These problems can be viewed as matters of social equity (see the last section of this chapter, The Social Region) as well as regional economics. But they are extremely important in determining whether American metropolitan areas remain viable as regions in the global economy.

THE ECOLOGICAL REGION

The region does not exist only in economic terms, however. In the past two decades, it has become increasingly clear that the region is an ecological unit as well. Most natural systems do not operate at a local level. Rather, they function at a much larger scale that many ecologists and designers often call the "landscape" level, which includes entire watersheds, agricultural territory, and ecosystems that cover many communities.

Like the economic region, the ecological region has gained new currency in the past decade or so. After decades of fragmented effort, many of our state and federal environmental policies have come to reflect an understanding of the ecological region. In some cases, this new understanding has driven efforts at designing regions, albeit from a purely environmental point of view.

The very term "ecology" was coined in the nineteenth century to describe the emerging environmental science of studying interconnected species and habitats. But, for more than a century after its introduction, most of our approaches to environmental protection were not really grounded in the ecological notion of interconnectedness. In much the same way that local economic-development efforts were focused on specific cities and suburbs, environmental-protection efforts were focused on individual species and individual locations. Even the great environmental laws passed in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act, did not reflect a truly ecological approach. Instead, they focused on specific situations that required attention—an offending discharge pipe here, a species threatened with extinction there.

As the history of the term *ecology* suggests, interconnectedness has always been part of the conservation movement. More than a half century ago, Aldo Leopold, in his classic book *Sand County Almanac,* proposed a new land ethic based on preserving all the many parts of the "biotic community." And gradually, since the 1970s, environmental-protection efforts in many parts of the United States have come to embrace this philosophy. Just as a business or store in any given town is part of a rich and complex regional economy, so, too, are individual groves, streams, and meadows part of a rich and complex regional ecology.

Perhaps the first ecological issue that linked all the people and jurisdictions in a metropolitan region together was air pollution. More than a half century ago, when air

pollution was first identified as a major problem in industrial cities such as Knoxville and Pittsburgh, it was obvious that this was an environmental problem that did not respect political boundaries. Air-pollution patterns were shaped not by jurisdictional lines, but by topography and the pattern of prevailing winds. Indeed, the entire urban geography of Pittsburgh was shaped by the relationship between the smokestacks and the wind patterns. Those neighborhoods farthest away from the drift of smokestack pollution became the most fashionable ones. When these Regional Cities recognized that their pollution problems were holding them back from economic growth, both central city and suburbs banded together to attack the problem jointly.

Air pollution remains a major problem in most metropolitan areas. In many cases, air pollution is virtually the only problem that encourages—or requires—cities and sub-urbs in otherwise dysfunctional regions to work together. Regional air-pollution bat-tles can be bruising, usually because polluting industries resist stricter regulation. But coordinated air-quality efforts can often pay off. Pittsburgh, for example, first formed regional-planning organizations more than a half century ago to deal with air-pollu-tion problems. Today, those organizations continue to thrive, dealing with both envi-ronmental and economic issues on a regional level. More recently, the threat of degraded air quality from increased sprawl and auto use (and federal regulatory penal-ties) helped motivate the Atlanta area to move toward regional-growth management.

Many of the most important environmental initiatives of the past twenty years have focused on maintaining and enhancing larger "ecosystems" based on land and water patterns: the Chesapeake Bay, the Everglades, and the southwestern deserts. Gradually, environmental policy has been reshaped around this ecosystem approach.

The two most obvious examples of the emerging importance of the ecological region are watershed planning efforts, which have emerged throughout the United States in areas connected by natural drainage systems, and habitat-conservation planning efforts, which have emerged in those parts of the country where the protection of endangered species has become a major issue.

The watershed is perhaps the most obvious way that ecology links regions together. The term "watershed" simply means all of the land and "natural communities"—both upstream and downstream—that are linked together by a common set of water-drainage courses.

All the rural towns and villages in the Catskill Mountains of New York State, for example, are linked together as part of the same watershed. These communities are also linked with New York City and its suburbs, which use water from the Catskills for domestic use. Thus, everybody in the Catskill watershed—from dairy farmers in rural Delhi to office workers in midtown Manhattan—have a common interest in the quality and quantity of the water that flows downstream. Farming practices in the mountains and pavement materials and driving patterns in the suburbs help determine the level of pollution in the Hudson River, in New York Harbor, and in the water that flows from domestic taps all over New York City.

Traditionally, environmental-protection laws attempted to deal with water-quality issues on an extremely localized basis—for example, by regulating pollutants dumped into creeks and rivers by industrial polluters. Watershed planning efforts, however, have sought to take a more holistic approach that recognizes the entire breadth of the region—not only for ecological reasons, but for economic reasons as well. New York City, for example, recently reached an agreement with the rural Catskill towns on an important set of watershed protections. Helping the Catskill towns improve their farming practices, install septic and wastewater systems, and invest in more ecologically friendly economic-development efforts won't be cheap: the price tag to the city is $1 billion. But that's far less expensive than the $4 billion to $6 billion that it would cost New York to build massive water-filtration plants.

Watershed planning efforts have also popped up all over the country in urban and suburban areas as well, raising awareness about the interconnected nature of the region as an ecological unit. These efforts often link local community-improvement efforts to larger regional ecological-restoration projects and, in the process, help to harmonize the traditional discord between urban development and natural systems.

In the Philadelphia suburb of Cheltenham Township, for example, local volunteers recently undertook a major effort to restore native plants and natural flows along Tookany Creek, a scenic waterway that flows through the township's leafy streetcar suburbs. In the process, the Cheltenham volunteers aided a much larger regional effort to restore and enhance the Delaware River watershed. Among other things, their work reduced the likelihood of destructive floods, both in their own communities and downstream in Philadelphia itself.

PLANNING FOR THE END OF SPRAWL

Tookany Creek is just one of hundreds of examples of watershed efforts throughout the United States. Perhaps the most important lesson of these watershed projects, especially in metropolitan areas, is the manner in which they highlight the geographical interconnectedness of our major Regional Cities. Philadelphia is hardly alone in being defined largely by a watershed. As noted earlier, New York also is surrounded by a series of watersheds that flow into New York Harbor. The same could be said for Washington, D.C., Kansas City, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, and the San Francisco Bay area, whose geographical boundaries as an urban area are defined by the nine counties that touch San Francisco Bay.

In many emerging metropolitan areas, especially in the fragile desert Southwest, the ecological region has been defined not so much by watersheds but by landscape-level "habitats" for plants and animals that are threatened with extinction. Until the 1990s, efforts to protect endangered species focused almost exclusively on identifying individual plants and animals as "endangered" or "threatened," creating the "endangered species list." But, in the past few years, biologists have begun to focus on habitats, rather than species, and on landscape-level habitat-conservation plans, rather than listing.

The idea behind habitat-conservation planning is that plants and animals, no less than humans, live in their own "regional city"—a vast geographical area that contains a wide variety of natural communities. And, like their human counterparts, these plants and animals depend for survival on a complex set of systems that function at the regional level. Thus, it is not enough simply to set aside a patch of land here or there that contains a rare butterfly or an unusual combination of native plants. Rather, it is necessary to maintain the integrity of the entire ecosystem so that even the largest and most wide-ranging mammals—mountain lions, cougars, and grizzly bears—can continue to thrive. No less than humans, these mammals require an interconnected transportation system—that is, a system of wildlife corridors—that permits them to travel across their habitat and meet their daily needs.

Increasingly, watershed- and habitat-protection efforts are being combined with efforts to protect agricultural land on a regional basis as well. For decades, suburbanization removed productive agriculture from the landscape unnecessarily. But agricultural land performs a number of important functions in the metropolitan region. Even in this era of global food markets, it serves the metropolitan market as a source of fresh fruit, produce, milk, and other agricultural products. Agricultural land also

helps to give a region physical shape and form, providing edges and boundaries to urban growth. Ecologically, agriculture is increasingly used to help shape and sustain entire ecosystems. Although harsh farming practices can harm the environment, it is increasingly clear that agricultural land can double as an important habitat for endangered species and can assist in replenishing and sustaining natural systems. Some of the most ambitious "bioregional" approaches have been undertaken in Southern California, where a raw and diverse environment and roaring urban growth have often come into conflict. In Orange, Riverside, and San Diego Counties, a broad-ranging set of habitat preserves has been planned that will eventually set aside hundreds of thousands of acres of natural land on a permanent basis.

If these preserves are successfully implemented, they will create a regional open-space system that stands a good chance of protecting the integrity of Southern California's fragile ecosystems. Just as important, however, is the fact that they are also helping to shape the region as a unit—and increasing the awareness of it at the same time.

The permanent preserves created by the Southern California habitat-conservation effort will be forever intertwined with the urban and suburban communities that a century of rapid growth has created in the region and with the remaining agricultural land in the area. As in so many other metropolitan areas throughout the country, the ecological region and the economic region are woven together so tightly that they form the basic fabric of the metropolitan region.

THE SOCIAL REGION

Beyond economics and ecology, there is another way in which the residents of the region are connected. All are bound together in a social compact with one another. This compact can be equitable or inequitable, depending on the circumstances, but is nevertheless always present—even if, to the residents of the region, it is not always obvious.

The small American town of a century ago, depicted in *Main Street* and other novels of the time, was anything but equitable. It was often characterized by a palpable divide between rich and poor—as evidenced by a rigid social structure, hard divisions between neighborhoods, and, in some parts of the country, Jim Crow laws. Nevertheless, at the very least, rich and poor lived their lives in close proximity to one another and they vividly understood the interconnectedness.

Today, with most Americans living in metropolitan areas of one million people or more, this intimacy between rich and poor has all but disappeared. Whether they live in urban neighborhoods or in suburbs, people of all income classes are more geographically segregated from one another than ever before. This is especially true of the poor, who are clustered in poverty-stricken neighborhoods—both urban and suburban—much more than ever before. As writer James Traub recently put it in the *New York Times Magazine:* "Once it was the rich who seemed to live on an island of their own; now it's the poor."

Whether rich or poor, people derive some sense of regional identity from large institutions such as universities. In general, however, it is much harder for the residents of today's metropolitan regions to recognize the connections that bind them together. Even so, as the business examples included under The Economic Region suggest, residents throughout the region remain tethered together far more intimately than most people realize. Keith Ihlanfeldt of Georgia State University has suggested that, in addition to the matter of "perception" described earlier, there are four ways in which the metropolitan suburbs are linked to their central cities. Central cities continue to serve as the location of many regional amenities. They provide a sense of place valued by both residents and outsiders that suburbs simply lack. They offer specific economic opportunities—often tied to the density of employment—that make the central city's role in the regional economy unique and important. And the fiscal problems associated with a declining city may raise tax burdens in suburban areas—especially when those problems begin to spill over into inner-ring suburbs, as they do today.

In certain ways, the manner in which the region is governed recognizes both the social and economic interdependence of its residents, its neighborhoods, and its communities. This recognition is especially true with regard to "hard" urban infrastructure—transportation, water delivery, sewage treatment and disposal, and the like—which must necessarily operate at a regional scale.

This need for regional infrastructure was a major reason why, a century ago, large and centralized municipal governments were created in America's emerging metropolitan areas such as New York and Los Angeles. Today, the infrastructure needs of the region are more likely to be administered through cooperative arrangements, such as regional water or sanitation districts, rather than more literally through the creation of large cities.

But the need to deal with hard infrastructure on a regional basis has not changed, and this fact only underscores our basic point. The region could hardly function, either socially or economically, if matters of regional concern were not dealt with on a regional scale in a fairly equitable manner. Indeed, one of the major concerns of social activists in the past few decades has been to ensure that poor neighborhoods receive the same level of urban services, including funding of hard infrastructure, as rich cities. Among the most publicized stories in the recent history of community activism was the effort of Latino activists in San Antonio to pressure the city government to provide Latino neighborhoods with the same level of water, sewer, and storm-sewer capacity that Anglo neighborhoods enjoy.

Until recently, the problems experienced by these older areas were not viewed as regional problems but, rather, simply as problems of "the inner city." Older urban dis-tricts—usually located inside the large cities created early in the twentieth century—were losing population and suffering from economic decline because the middle class fled to the suburbs. The efforts to solve these problems were often ghettoized as "urban policy," the exclusive province of city politicians and government agencies dealing with poor people and poor neighborhoods. The notion that these problems should be viewed in the context of whole regions was rarely broached. Suburban politicians had little motivation to initiate a discussion about regionalism. Even city mayors and public servants rarely pursued a regional approach, fearing that it would undermine their own sources of power and money.

In the past decade, this dichotomy has become obsolete. The question of equity in the social region can no longer be cast simply as city versus suburb. And this change has come about for one simple reason: the fact that, as suburban growth has moved out-ward, urban decline has expanded as well—past the boundaries of old central cities and into older first-ring suburbs.

The region's political structure remains just as it was decades ago—in most cases, a large central city surrounded by many small suburbs. But most people now live in what can be regarded—at least technically—as the suburbs. And these suburbs today are just as varied as the urban neighborhoods that their residents left behind. Some are old, some are new, some are affluent, and some are poor. This means it is nearly mean-ingless to think in old city–suburb terms. Many older suburban areas adjacent to the cen-tral city are now faced with unprecedented demographic and economic change.

After extensive research on metropolitan areas throughout the United States, Myron Orfield of the Metropolitan Areas Research Corporation in Minneapolis has documented that there are at least three different types of suburbs in the typical American metropolis today, each one of which is harmed in its own way by regional imbalances. The first are "older communities in decline"—generally older suburbs, either close to the central city or located in formerly rural areas, that are facing the same kind of middle-class flight, concentration of poverty, and mismatch of need and resources that have harmed many central cities. The second are "fringe cities in fiscal distress"— usually rapidly growing bedroom communities on the metropolitan fringe that do not have a balanced tax base, because of their residential nature. The third are "congested employment centers"—the Edge-City suburbs that have become very large employment centers but suffer from extreme traffic congestion and a lack of affordable housing.

At the same time, older central cities are changing as well. Many downtowns and older neighborhoods inside central cities have undergone a remarkable revival, as middle-class residents have returned or "held out" until their neighborhoods stabilized and improved. In other neighborhoods, waves of immigration—from the Caribbean, from Latin America, from Asia—have breathed new life into formerly moribund neighborhoods. Many of these neighborhoods remain poor, but they are on the rise, as population and economic activity increase for the first time in decades.

In short, central cities are no longer uniformly in decline, and suburbs are no longer uniformly on the ascent. And, although the political structure remains, in many important ways there is no such thing as a city and a suburb anymore. There is simply a metropolitan constellation—an array of neighborhoods and districts of all kinds, interacting with each other in all kinds of important ways to create a region's pattern

On a macroscale, the biggest problem confronting the metropolitan region, as Orfield's description of different types of suburbs suggests, is a lack of balance. Most communities and neighborhoods within the region suffer from some type of imbalance. Some suburbs suffer from an embarrassment of riches, but riches of only a certain type—too many jobs, too much retailing, or too many job centers. For these communities, the imbalance often leads to massive auto congestion and a local political backlash against more growth.

Many central-city neighborhoods and older suburbs suffer from imbalance of a different sort. Increasingly, they are home to a concentration of poverty, a lack of jobs,

and a paucity of financial and institutional resources. In many of these communities, an increasing racial divide often reinforces the spatial separation of rich and poor and places great stress on both city neighborhoods and suburban communities. According to the Metropolitan Areas Research Corporation, poor African American and Latino residents are far more likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods than are poor whites—thus meaning that these racial groups are more likely to be cut off from good schools and the social networks required for economic improvement.

Throughout the postwar suburban era, we simply dismissed the significance of the region as a whole, wrongly focusing on specific aspects of metropolitan growth—especially suburban sprawl and urban decay—as if they were discrete problems. The rise of the "Regional World" in the past decade has reminded us that this is a luxury we can no longer afford. The economic, ecological, and social connections among residents and communities in today's metropolitan region are strong and complex. Yet our ability to deal with metropolitanwide problems emerging from those connections continues to be hampered by outmoded ideas about how to deal with them. Urban and suburban neighborhoods may be separated from one another politically, but they function together to create a complex and interconnected organism that forms the basis of people's daily lives.

To sustain both the metropolitan region and the neighborhoods within it, we must alter our entire approach. We must leave behind our notion of the metropolis as a series of disconnected places. We must cease viewing problems of suburban sprawl and urban decay as individual problems with no relationship to one another. We must instead think of the metropolitan region as a series of interconnected places—a Regional City—that will not function effectively unless it is consciously designed. And we must recognize the need to deal with problems at the appropriate scale, whether that scale is a thousand-square-mile metropolitan region or a one-square-block neighborhood.

CHAPTER 2:

COMMUNITIES OF PLACE

The Mano district in the Japanese city of Kobe is a mixed and ramshackle area that lies in stark contrast to the newer, postwar parts of town. Rather than modernist apartment blocks with clearly separated industrial and office areas, Mano has narrow streets with odd low-rise buildings crammed together and used for every kind of purpose. A few traditional Japanese homes sit next to a single-story sheet-metal factory building. A three-story apartment building for senior citizens stands across the street from a row of shops and local businesses. Everywhere there are houses with shops and small businesses combined within them.

In the massive Kobe earthquake of 1995, this neighborhood suffered fewer losses than did any other neighborhood in the city. The newer residential neighborhoods, with wider streets and better-engineered buildings, didn't fare well. It turned out that, in those areas, people didn't know one another well enough to know who was missing or where they might have been at the moment the quake hit. They didn't know where to go or whom to call on. They waited for the government to help, and the wait was costly. The centralized systems failed, and local cooperation couldn't replace it.

Mano was different. An area that appears to be a firetrap of old buildings with little separation and almost unpassable streets survived the quake literally through neighborliness and community. In this odd but human-scaled place, people knew one another. They knew who was missing, and they knew where to look for them. They understood how to work together, where to go for help, and who to turn to for each kind of need. They had well-known gathering places that in that critical time became the focus of ad hoc self-help organizations. Mano was, in the best sense of the word, a neighborhood.

Neighborhood means different things to different people. To some, it simply implies a subdivision; to others, a small urban area centered around a traditional Main Street. But when we use the term "neighborhood," we mean districts that are true "communities of place," like Mano. They are complex, human-scaled places that combine many of the elements of living: public, private, work, and home. They mix different kinds of people and activities in close proximity and provide places for them to interact. They provide for the everyday and sometimes random casual meetings that foster a sense of community. They create shared places that are unique to each neighborhood and shape a social geography intimately known only by those who live or work there. They are hard to design but easy to design away. And they are essential to our well-being—not just in times of crisis, but also in living our everyday lives.

If the region is the "superstructure" of a metropolitan area—providing the overarching framework—neighborhoods serve as the "substructure." Our daily life operates simultaneously at these two scales, and the region and the neighborhood have an important reciprocal relation that creates the overall structure of the Regional City.

The region, as described in Chapter 1, is the scale at which large metropolitan systems—economic, ecological, social—operate and therefore the scale at which large-scale problems of sprawl and inequity must be addressed. In this way, the region provides the overall framework that helps to shape neighborhoods physically, economically, and socially.

In contrast, neighborhoods provide society with its ground-level social fabric and community identity. Individual people and families need strong neighborhoods to thrive on a day-to-day basis, and the region needs strong neighborhoods to provide the foundation for the health of the Regional City. The neighborhood is the place where people do—or do not—gather the will, the attitudes, the resources, and the "social capital" required to live successful lives, both locally and in the metropolitan region as a whole.

BUILDING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD

The term *neighborhood* is elusive and elastic; it can take a wide range of forms, densities, and scales. In its ideal urban form, a neighborhood is a walkable place with clear boundaries and an identifiable center of local services and civic institutions. It includes a variety of people, offering housing opportunities for rich and poor, large family or small, young or old. Its diversity and human scale breeds a kind of intensity and sociability that creates a powerful identity and a strong sense of community.

But there are many other types of neighborhoods that do not meet this ideal yet sustain healthy communities. Some residential areas, for example, have several centers that are shared between neighborhoods. The centers can range in scale and use: some are local, whereas others operate at the scale of a town or urban district—each providing differing services and a different scale of community. The civic institutions of neighborhoods also may be shared, complemented in most cases by local institutions. Finally, the boundaries of some neighborhoods may be blurred and overlapping, offering some people "crossover" destinations and identities.

In truth, a neighborhood is less like a self-contained cell with its own isolated nucleus and more like a network of overlapping places and shared uses. It does not necessarily have a simple boundary or a single center. We live in communities that telescope in scale, the most local being a walking radius that cannot (at anything less than the highest densities) provide for all our daily needs. In most cases, our sense of neighborhood extends beyond to other destinations necessarily shared by several local neighborhoods. And certainly the identity and range of a neighborhood shift for different people: whereas seniors and kids may consider the neighborhood to be a sharply defined area that they sense as "theirs," mobile adults may gather a larger area into what they would call a neighborhood.

Given these more complex identities and configurations, healthy neighborhoods maintain some essential common traits: they are pedestrian friendly and they have a mix of uses, a clearly defined public world, and a reasonable range of housing types. They are very different from the subdivisions and apartment complexes that make up the fabric of the suburban world.

Just as important as the physical context, and a complement to it, is the social, economic, and cultural networks that spring up in a neighborhood setting. These are the networks of daily life that produce what sociologists call "social capital."

In the words of Harvard's Robert Putnam, who popularized the notion in the early 1990s, social capital consists of "civic engagement, healthy community institutions, norms of mutual reciprocity, and trust." Social capital broadens people's sense of self from "I" to "we" and encourages them to work together on community problems. Based on research, Putnam believes that community life—and even effective democracy— depends for its strength and vibrancy on the kind of informal networks that can be created only by a dense web of community organizations and neighborhood affiliations. With social capital, Putnam suggests, communities thrive; without it, they falter.

Putnam created a controversy in academic circles a few years ago by suggesting that America's social capital was dramatically on the wane. As evidence, he pointed to a sharp decline in participation in community organizations of all kinds: churches, unions, parent-teacher organizations, the Elks Club, the League of Women Voters, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, and even—in the observation that gave Putnam's work its name—bowling leagues. In his book *Bowling Alone,* Putnam cites statistical evidence that Americans are far less likely to socialize with their neighbors than they formerly did.

Sociologists such as Putnam have been at something of a loss to explain just exactly why our nation's stock of social capital appears to be diminishing. Indeed, some of them have argued that there is, in fact, no loss of social capital at all. Rather, people simply associate with each other in different ways. Instead of bowling leagues, they create the informal networks required for social capital by engaging each other in Internet chat rooms. In other words, the argument goes, we don't need strong communities of *place* if we have strong communities of *interest.*

It is alluring to think that, thanks to the Internet and other "virtual" communication, ours can still be a society rich with social capital even if we are bowling alone. But no matter how strong and powerful our chat rooms and list servers become, it is hard to imagine that our metropolitan regions can be strong and vibrant if our communities of *place* continue to unravel. Even Robert Putnam recognizes this idea as counterintuitive. "My hunch," Putnam wrote in *Bowling Alone,* "is that meeting in an electronic forum is not the same as meeting in a bowling alley—or even in a saloon."

THE THREAT OF "EVERYWHERE COMMUNITIES"

The shift away from communities of place toward communities of interest has been an important feature of American life almost from the time the nation was formed. In his classic book *Democracy in America,* the French commentator Alexis de Toqueville documented Americans' penchant for forming interest-based groups and associations, claiming that it was an important part of the nation's strength. In Toqueville's time, most of those groups and associations were rooted in place. But, for more than a century, Americans have been gradually pulled away from their geographical communities at a speed and intensity much greater than our counterparts elsewhere in the industrialized world.

Beginning with the railroads, telegraphs, chain stores, and mail-order catalogs of the late nineteenth century, Americans became—in the words of Pulitzer Prize–winning historian Daniel Boorstin—residents of the "everywhere community." These communities of interest were created not only by the active process of people associating with one another, but also by the more passive process of people purchasing goods and commodities that were available on a national scale—products that promised to provide a certain group identity along with their function. Drawn together by interest and style rather than geography, created by sales and marketing rather than proximity,

these everywhere communities began to define us as much as or more than the neighborhoods, districts, and other "places" where we actually live the bulk of our lives.

People abandoned their place communities in favor of everywhere communities for a lot of very good reasons. For many folks, the everywhere community means freedom from the narrowness characteristic of traditional place. In traditional-place communities, geographical proximity is often bound up in a complex mixture of family, ethnicity, race, and class. Whether rich or poor, communities of place are often "exclusive"—closed and stifling, denying people the power to define themselves in their own ways.

By the same token, everywhere communities allow people with something in common to connect with one another in ways that had previously been impossible. People of different races or of different social classes—or even from different continents—can "gather" (often by virtual means) to discuss matters in which their next-door neighbors are simply not interested. On the most basic level, the commercial version of the everywhere community enables people to find and purchase goods and services that would be unavailable in their neighborhoods or towns.

It is also undeniably true that metropolitan regions have emerged as the basic unit in the global economy precisely *because* of the communities of interest that they contain. As urban critic Jane Jacobs rightly pointed out, metropolitan areas exist largely because of their power to facilitate interaction among people of similar interests. Maybe they don't live in extremely close proximity to one another, but it isn't very hard to get together on a regular basis somewhere in the region. This is what the economists mean when they say that the economic, social, and cultural "assets" required for a vibrant place are increasingly assembled at the regional level.

At the same time, the proliferation of everywhere communities can be a fundamental threat to the strength and vibrancy of both regions and neighborhoods. Regions need a balance between their communities of interest and communities of place, not a monopoly by one or the other. The everywhere community assumes that the social, economic, and cultural *needs* of a metropolitan population can be satisfied in a manner that is completely divorced from the physical surroundings in which that population lives its daily life. It assumes that sufficient social capital can be created entirely by the initiative of people who do not live in close proximity to one another—by talking on the telephone, by e-mailing one another, and by gathering together occasionally in face-to-face meetings among self-selected groups of people.

It is not surprising, then, that the urban environment created to accommodate the everywhere community has a kind of nowhere quality to it. We build a subdivision here, a mall there, a tilt-up industrial park somewhere else. Our daily lives become extremely attenuated, as aspects of both our community and our personal lives become physically separated. Because we define ourselves primarily by our communities of interest rather than our communities of place, we think that this physical attenuation matters little. Yet the damage is severe—to our neighborhoods, to our region, and ultimately to us personally.

For those of us who are lucky enough to be prosperous middle-aged wage earners, the everywhere community appears to work well. We can control our home and neighborhood environments. We can easily connect with others like ourselves by telephone, the Internet, and the car. And we can engage in what seems like a rich social life at the office.

"Many employees find the office more pleasant than home," writes Florida sociologist Ray Oldenburg. "The best conversations of the day take place at work. There are more people around; work is where the action is. And, for a great many Americans the job offers a substitute community." Is it any wonder that office romances proliferate?

However well it may seem to work for this slice of the population, the everywhere community does not work as well for many others. While the affluent surf the Net and drive everywhere, their elderly parents and their young children are stranded in the random and attenuated urban environment that we have created. As Ray Oldenburg adds, "unlike the residential community of the past," the substitute community of the office "is one in which there is no place for children." Meanwhile, people of modest means—cut off almost entirely from the everywhere community because they lack the financial resources to participate—struggle to find jobs and to make the range of social connections required to lead successful lives.

Even those high-wage earners for whom the everywhere community is designed often find themselves bereft of the social and cultural connections that they desire. Neither region nor neighborhood will seem enriching or supportive if it is created without a reasonable balance of communities of interest and communities of place. It's hard to build much social capital if the social, cultural, and economic core of your life is uncoupled from your physical surroundings.

THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITIES OF PLACE

More than thirty years before Robert Putnam popularized the expression *social capital,* Jane Jacobs was already using the expression and showing how it works on the neighborhood level. Her writing is filled with stories about how social capital was created and then reinvested in the Greenwich Village neighborhood where she lived. She tells of neighborhood grocers who held spare keys to everyone's apartment and even of saloon keepers who, paradoxically enough, looked out for the neighborhood children and often intervened in disagreements on the street before they turned into violent confrontations.

Writing at the height of the postwar suburban era, Jacobs vividly reminded Americans how rich and full life can be in a crowded city neighborhood, as long as that neighborhood is blessed with an abundance of social capital. At the level of the neighborhood, social capital is created and reinvested over and over again on a daily basis. People run into each other at the school or the supermarket. They have chance encounters in a restaurant or on a street corner. They set up business meetings or social engagements that they would not otherwise undertake, because they are in close proximity to one another.

In many cases, people select their homes or their business locations specifically for this reason—the ability to interact frequently with other people in ways they believe to be positive for their lives and their work. In this way, strong places can form the basis for both a healthy social life and a successful economic life, for both the individual person and the community at large.

Furthermore, a neighborhood is more likely to be successful if it has a series of varied environments—in particular, community gathering places that provide people with a backdrop for engaging in the informal community life required to build social capital. These gathering places may be schools, parks, community centers, stores, cafes, or even bars. By providing a neighborhood environment that both supports and affords respite from home and work, the gathering places nurture the networks of human interaction required for a well-rounded social structure to emerge. Sociologist Ray Oldenburg dubbed these locales "the third place," noting that people need them to keep the office and the home in perspective. "In the absence of an informal public life," he wrote, "people's expectations toward work and family life have escalated beyond the capacity of those institutions to meet them."

Successful neighborhoods are delicate mechanisms, however, that require maintaining a difficult balance between the familiar and the unexpected, between the formal and the informal, and—not least—between people who are in some way the same yet in some way different. Jane Jacobs's grocer, for example, had to know all his neighbors well enough to be trusted with their keys, but not so well that he interfered with their daily lives.

Traditionally, such communities of place were built around some commonality among its residents so compelling that it created cohesiveness even when the individual members themselves were not exactly alike. The urban ethnic neighborhood, for example, contained people who were old and young, married and single, well-to-do and poor—all bound together by an ethnic identity (usually reinforced by religious practices) that all of them had in common. If such a neighborhood was often hostile to "outsiders" who were not part of the ethnic group, at least it contained a great deal of diversity within the group.

Maintaining such a neighborhood balance in a transient, multicultural society is difficult indeed. Far from creating a true community of place—with all the informal networks and delicate relations that the term implies—the typical suburban subdivision is simply the physical manifestation of a community of interest. The neighborhood has been packaged and sold to consumers who are part of the everywhere community.

As regions become more important, so do communities of place. Although communities of interest will never go away, nor will political jurisdictions of all shapes and sizes, it will necessarily be vibrant communities of place that will heal the region and reconnect it. If all places are more or less the same—or, worse, if the components of daily life are prepackaged and scattered randomly across the landscape—then people will get little sense that the neighborhoods in which they live are actually important components in the metropolitan constellation. People will claim no sense of ownership of the region as a whole if they do not feel connected strongly and positively to a healthy, diverse, and distinctive community of place. Civic life starts at the neighborhood scale.

Like its historical predecessors, the successful neighborhood of the Regional City must be based on both diversity and commonality. That is to say, it must be made up of people who have something in common and yet are different. The breakup of ethnic neighborhoods has weakened the social structure of many communities. But it

is important to recall that these neighborhoods, however vibrant, were often socially narrow and parochial places. Therefore, the model for the Regional City's neighborhoods must be somewhat different and more inclusive.

In concrete terms, many of the underpinnings of strong neighborhoods and community have been lost in postwar suburban development. The local institutions, unique history, cultural diversity, and common meeting places that once knitted neighborhoods together have been undermined by urban decay in the city and sprawl in the suburbs. The physical basis of community—walkable streets—has been degraded by crime in some areas and by auto congestion in others. Usable public space and civic facilities have decayed, resulting in loss of community and loss of a sense of place.

The fundamental elements of a neighborhood must be walkable streets, human-scaled blocks, and usable public spaces. Although these elements may seem obvious, modern planning seems to have lost the capacity to create these simple, community-supporting ingredients. Streets have been configured for cars, with little regard for pedestrians. Our existing public spaces—parks, plazas, town squares, and main streets—have decayed. Moreover, modern public spaces often lack the basic design intelligence to make them safe and active. Too often, public spaces become residual, housing loses its neighborhood scale, and streets lose the vitality of pedestrians. The result is a loss of identity and the sense of place that once formed the physical infrastructure of neighborhoods and communities.

The art of place making must be reestablished piece by piece. Each element—whether for new growth, infill, rehabilitation, or redevelopment—should reinforce local identity, history, and character. New housing should help create or reinforce complete blocks that provide orientation and a clear sense of location—street addresses not building numbers. Street improvements should favor the pedestrian and in many circumstances reduce auto speeds. Small parks should be distributed to be within walking distance of most homes, and they should be configured to have active edges and adequate visual surveillance. Buildings should support connections within the community by facing toward the neighborhood's public spaces: its streets, parks, commercial centers, and civic facilities.

Today's region is remarkably diverse—full of people of different ages, races, ethnicities, backgrounds, and economic means. As pointed out in Chapter 1, sprawl has served to isolate these groups from one another, magnifying the increasing inequities

among them while minimizing their interactions with one another. For the poor, the inability to break out of their isolated neighborhoods prevents them from entering the economic mainstream. For the wealthy, the insular nature of neighborhood life allows them to ignore the inequities that metropolitan sprawl creates.

Thus, neighborhoods in the Regional City need diversity of all kinds: diversity in building types, diversity in economic activity, and, most of all, diversity in the racial, age, and economic makeup of their populations. This need would seem to run counter to current trends in the way American communities are created; developers seem to move toward ever-more-narrow market segmentation. Yet there are many examples, even today, of neighborhoods that thrive on an inclusive built environment, a diverse set of economic activities, and a wide range of ages and incomes among their residents. And it is this kind of diversity at the neighborhood level that builds social capital, providing associations that cut across communities of interest and open the door to diverse coalitions and associations on the regional level. Integrating different age groups, different income levels, and different family types is a basic responsibility of the neighborhood, a responsibility that no amount of busing, social programs, or government intervention can replace.

Good neighborhoods provide many things simultaneously: associations by interest as well as proximity (and even some opportunities for anonymity). They create the context for many different lives to be led—kids in the playground, seniors in the park, teens hanging out, lovers out for a stroll; the list is endless. Good neighborhoods are never one-dimensional and they have no simple formula. There is an art and a science to creating the physical and social basis of communities of place. Along with the concepts of social capital and the ever-expanding universe of communities of interest, this art and this science are essential to the health of our regions.

PART TWO:
THE ARCHITECTURE
OF THE REGIONAL CITY

The idea that a region or even a neighborhood could or should be "designed" is central to creating the Regional City. We need to acknowledge that we can direct our growth and that such action can include complex trade-offs as well as unexpected synergies.

DESIGNING THE REGION

At the heart of creating concrete visions for the Regional City is the notion that they can be "designed." We use the term "design" not in the typical sense of artistically configuring a physical form but to imply a process that synthesizes many disciplines. Regional design is an act that integrates multiple facets at once: the demands of the region's ecology, its economy, its history, its politics, its regulations, its culture, and its social structure. And its results are specific physical forms as well as abstract goals and policies—regional maps and neighborhood urban design standards as well as implementation strategies, governmental policies, and financing mechanisms.

Too often we plan and engineer rather than design. Engineering tends to optimize isolated elements without regard for the larger system, whereas planning tends to be ambiguous, leaving the critical details of place making to chance. If we merely plan and engineer, we forfeit the possibility of developing a "whole systems" approach or a "design" that recognizes the trade-offs between isolated efficiencies and integrated parts.

The engineering mentality often reduces complex, multifaceted problems to one measurable dimension. For example, traffic engineers optimize road size for auto capacity without considering the trade-off of neighborhood scale, walkability, or beauty. Civil engineers efficiently channelize our streams without considering recreational, ecological, or esthetic values. Commercial developers optimize the delivery of goods without balancing the social need of neighborhoods for local identity and meeting places. Again and again we sacrifice the synergy of the whole for the efficiency of the parts.

The idea that a region or even a neighborhood could or should be "designed" is central to creating the Regional City. We need to acknowledge that we can direct our growth and that such action can include complex trade-offs as well as unexpected synergies. The common impression is that our neighborhoods, towns, or regions evolve

organically (and somewhat mysteriously). They are the product of invisible market forces or the summation of technical imperatives. There also is the illusion that these forces cannot and should not be tampered with. Planning failed in the past; therefore it will fail in the future.

The real illusion, of course, is that we cannot control the form of our communities. Historically, design played a large role in shaping our forms of settlement. The template that underlies much of our suburban growth was designed in the thirties by Frank Lloyd Wright with his Broadacre Cities plans and Clarence Stein's Greenbelt towns. These were then bastardized and codified by the HUD minimum property standards of the 1950s. The template for urban redevelopment was developed about the same time by Le Corbusier and a European group of architects called CIAM (Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne). Their vision of superblocks and high-rise development became the basis of our urban renewal programs of the 1960s.

The problem is not that our suburbs and cities are lacking design but that they are designed according to failed principles with flawed implementation. They are designed in accord with modernist principles and implemented by specialists. The modernist principles of specialization, standardization, and mass production in emulating our industrial economy had a severe effect on the character of our neighborhoods and regions.

At the neighborhood scale, specialization meant that each land use—residential, retail, commercial, or civic—was isolated and developed by "experts" who optimized their particular zones without any responsibility for the whole. Regional specialization meant that each area within the region could play an independent role: suburbs for the middle class and new businesses, cities for the poor and declining industries, and countryside for nature and agriculture.

As a complement to specialization, standardization led to the homogenization of our communities, a blindness to history and the demise of unique ecological systems. A "one size fits all" mentality of efficiency overrode the special qualities of place and community.

Mass production (in housing, transportation, offices, and so forth) upends the delicate balance between local enterprise, regional systems, and global networks. The logic of mass production moves relentlessly toward ever-increasing scales, which in turn reinforces the specialization and standardization of everyday life.

Designing the Region

Against this modern alliance of specialization, standardization, and mass production stands a set of principles rooted more in ecology than in mechanics. They are the principles of diversity, conservation, and human scale. Diversity at each scale calls for more complex, differentiated communities shaped from the unique qualities of place and history. Conservation implies care for existing resources whether natural, social, or institutional. And the principle of human scale brings the individual back into a picture increasingly fashioned around remote and mechanistic concerns.

These alternative principles apply equally to the social, economic, and physical dimensions of communities. For example, the social implications of human scale may mean more police officers walking a beat rather than hovering overhead in a helicopter; the economic implications of human scale may mean economic policies that support small local business rather than major industries and corporations; and the physical implications of human scale may be realized in the form and detail of buildings as they relate to the street. Unlike the standard governmental categories of economic development, housing, education, and health services, each of these design principles incorporates physical design, social programs, and economic strategies. These principles, then, are the ones that we believe should form the foundation of a new regional and neighborhood design ethic.

Human Scale

For several generations, the design of buildings, the planning of communities, and the growth of our institutions have exemplified the view that "bigger is better." Efficiency was correlated with large, centralized organizations and processes. Now the idea of decentralized networks of smaller working groups and more personalized institutions is gaining currency in both government and business. Efficiency is correlated with nimble, small working groups, not large hierarchical institutions.

Certainly, the reality of our time is a complex mix of both of these trends. For example, we have ever-larger retail outlets at the same time that Main Streets are making a comeback. Some businesses are growing larger and more centralized while the "new economy" is bursting with small-scale start-ups and intimate working groups. Housing production is diversifying home types at the same time that it consolidates into larger financing packages. Both directions are evolving at the same time, and the shape of our communities will have to accommodate this complex reality.

Yet people are reacting to an imbalance between these two forces. The building blocks of our communities—schools, local shopping areas, housing subdivisions, apartment complexes, and office parks—have all grown into forms that defy human scale. And we are witnessing a reaction to this lack of scale in many ways. People uniformly long for an architecture that puts detail and identity back into what have too often become generic, if functional, buildings. They desire the character and scale of a walkable street, complete with shade trees and buildings that orient windows and entries their way. They idealize Main Street shopping areas and historic urban districts.

Human scale is a design principle that responds simultaneously to simple human desires and the emerging ethos of the new decentralized economies. The focus on human scale represents a shift away from top-down social programs, from character-less housing projects, and from more and more remote institutions. In its most concrete expression, human scale is the stoop of a townhouse or the front porch of a home rather than the stairwell of a high-rise or the garage door of a tract home. Human scale in economics means supporting individual entrepreneurs and local businesses. Human scale in community means a strong neighborhood focus and an environment that encourages everyday interaction.

Diversity

Diversity has multiple meanings and profound implications. It has the most challenging implications for the social, environmental, and economic dimensions of community planning. Perhaps its most obvious outcome is the creation of communities that are diverse in use and in population. As a planning axiom, it calls for a return to mixed-use neighborhoods that contain a broad range of uses as well as a broad range of housing types and people.

The four fundamental elements of community—civic places, commercial uses, housing opportunities, and natural systems—define the physical elements of diversity at any scale. As a physical principle, diversity in neighborhoods ensures that destinations are close at hand and that the shared institutions of community are integrated. It also implies an architecture rich in character and streetscapes that vary with place and use.

As a social principle, diversity is controversial and perhaps the most challenging of all. It implies creating neighborhoods that provide for a large range in age group, household type, income, and race. As already stated, neighborhoods have always (to a

greater or lesser degree) been defined by commonalties even if energized by differences. But today we have reached an extreme: age, income, family size, and race are all divided into discrete market segments and locations that are built independently. Complete housing integration may be a distant goal, but inclusive neighborhoods that broaden the economic range, expand the mix of age and household types, and open the door to racial integration are feasible and desirable.

Diversity is a principle with significant economic implications. Gone are the days when economic-revitalization efforts focused on a single industry or a major governmental program. A more ecological understanding of industry clusters has emerged. This sensibility validates the notion that a range of complementary but differing enterprises (large and small, local, regional, and global) are important to maintaining a robust economy, and that now more than ever, the quality of life and the urbanism of a place, as well as the more traditional economic factors, play a significant role in the emerging economy.

Finally, diversity is a fundamental principle that can help to guide the preservation of local and regional ecologies. Clearly, understanding the complex nature of the existing or stressed habitats and watershed systems mandates a different approach to open-space planning. Active recreation, agriculture, and habitat preservation are often at odds. A broad range of open-space types, from the most active to the most passive, must be integrated in neighborhood and regional designs. Diversity in use, diversity in population, diversity in enterprise, and diversity in natural systems are fundamental to the Regional City.

Conservation

Conservation implies many things in community design beyond husbanding resources and protecting natural systems; it implies preserving and restoring the cultural, historic, and architectural assets of a place as well. Conservation calls for designing communities and buildings that require fewer resources—less energy, less land, less waste, and fewer materials, but it also implies caring for what we have and developing an ethic of reuse and repair—in both our physical and our social realms.

The principle of conservation and its complements, restoration and preservation, should be applied to the built environment as well as to the natural environment—not only to our historic building stock and neighborhood institutions, but also to human resources and human history. Communities should strive to conserve their

cultural identity, physical history, and unique natural systems. Restoration and conservation are more than environmental themes; they are an approach to the way that we think about community at the regional and local levels.

Conserving resources has many obvious implications in community planning. Foremost are the quantities of farmlands and natural systems displaced by sprawling development and the quantity of auto travel required to support it. Even within more compact, walkable communities, conservation of resources can lead to new design strategies. The preservation of waterways and on-site water-treatment systems can add identity and natural amenities at the same time that they conserve water quality. Energy-conservation strategies in buildings often lead to environments that are climate responsive and unique to place.

Conserving the historic buildings and institutions of a neighborhood can preserve the icons of community identity. Restoring and enhancing the vernacular architecture of a place can simultaneously reduce energy costs, reestablish local history, and create jobs. Although the preservation movement has made great strides with landmark buildings, it is correct now in extending its agenda beyond building facades to the social fabric of neighborhoods and to the ecology of the communities that are the lifeblood of historic districts.

Conserving human resources is another implication of this fundamental principle. In too many of our communities, poverty, lack of education, and declining job opportunities lead to a tragic waste of human potential. As we have begun to see, communities are not viable when concentrations of poverty turn them into a wasteland of despair and crime. In this context, "conservation" takes on a larger meaning—the restoration and rehabilitation of human potential wherever it is being squandered and overlooked. There should be no natural or cultural environments that are disposable or marginalized. Conservation and restoration are practical undertakings that can be economically strengthening and socially enriching.

DESIGNING THE REGION IS DESIGNING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

What happens to regions or neighborhoods if they are "designed" according to these principles? An interesting set of parallel design strategies emerges at both the regional and the neighborhood levels. First and foremost, the region and its elements—the city, suburbs, and their natural environment—should be conceived as a unit, just as the neighborhood and its elements—housing, shops, open space, civic institutions, and businesses—should be designed as a unit. Treating each element separately is endemic to many of the problems that we now face. Just as a neighborhood needs to be developed as a whole system, the region must be treated as an human ecosystem, not a mechanical assembly.

Seen as this integrated whole, the region can be designed in much the same way as we would design a neighborhood. That the whole, the region, would be similar to its most basic pieces, its neighborhoods, is an important analogy. Both need protected natural systems, vibrant centers, human-scale circulation systems, a common civic realm, and integrated diversity. Developing such an architecture for the region creates the context for healthy neighborhoods, districts, and city centers. Developing such an architecture for the neighborhood creates the context for regions that are sustainable, integrated, and coherent. The two scales have parallel features that reinforce one another.

Major open-space corridors within the region, such as rivers, ridge lands, wetlands, or forests, can be seen as a "village green" at a megascale—the commons of the region. These natural commons establish an ecological identity as the basis of a region's character. Similarly, the natural systems and shared open spaces at the neighborhood scale are fundamental to its identity and character. A neighborhood's natural systems, like the region's, are as much a part of its commons as its civic institutions or commercial center.

Just as a neighborhood needs a vital center to serve as the crossroads of a local community, the region needs a vital central city to serve as its cultural heart and as a link to the global economy. In the Edge City metropolis, both types of centers are failing. In the suburbs, what were village centers of human proportions are overcome by remote discount centers and relentless commercial strips. In the central cities, poverty and disinvestment errode historic neighborhood communities. Both fall prey to specialized enterprises oriented to mass distribution rather than the local community. Like the commons, healthy centers, both urban and suburban, are fundamental to

local and regional coherence.

Regional and neighborhood design has other parallels. Pedestrian scale within the neighborhood—walkable streets and nearby destinations—has a partner in transit systems at the regional scale. Transit can organize the region in much the same way as a street network orders a neighborhood. Transit lines focus growth and redevelopment in the region just as main streets can focus a neighborhood. Crossing local and metropolitan scales, transit supports the life of the pedestrian within each neighborhood and district by providing access to regional destinations. In a complementary fashion, pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods support transit by providing easy access for riders, not cars. The two scales, if designed as parallel strategies, reinforce each other.

As we have pointed out, diversity is a fundamental design principle for both the neighborhood and the region. A diverse population and job base within a region supports a resilient economy and a rich culture in much the same way that diverse uses and housing in a neighborhood support a complex and active community. The suburban trend to segregate development by age and income translates at the regional level into an increasing spatial and economic polarization—the "secession of the successful," as Robert Reich articulated in *The Work of Nations.* Both trends can be countered by policies that support inclusionary housing and mixed-use environments.

These parallels across scales are not merely coincidence. The fundamental nature of a culture and economy expresses itself at many scales simultaneously. Sprawl and our lack of regional structure is a manifestation of an older and quite different paradigm. Since World War II, our economy and culture have accelerated their movement toward the industrial qualities of mass production, standardization, and specialization. The massive suburbanization that marks this period is the direct expression of these qualities. As a counterpoint, the principles and concurrences just outlined define a new paradigm of community and growth, one that leads from the Edge City to the Regional City.

THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF THE REGION

To facilitate the shift from Edge City to Regional City, we need to reconceive the basic building blocks of the region and its jurisdictions. The elements of our zoning maps are simply the wrong language with which to compose communities at both the regional and the local scale. Our approach to regional design must shift from the mentality of segregated land-use maps to a geography of places and communities. Complex building blocks that combine uses and functions at an appropriate scale must be used to rewrite our codes and regional frameworks. Rather than the twenty or thirty specific land-use designations found on most zoning maps, only four elements are needed to design complete regions, cities, and towns.

Centers: the local and regional destinations at the neighborhood, village, town, and urban scale

Districts: the special-use areas, which are necessarily dominated by a single primary activity

Preserves: the open-space elements that frame the region, protect farmlands, and preserve critical habitat

Corridors: the connecting elements based on either natural systems or infrastructure and transportation lines

Although neighborhoods are the most basic building blocks of communities of any scale, they are too fine grained to be used in a regional plan. Nonetheless, they are the fundamental building blocks of the villages, towns, and cities that constitute the region. In that way, they telescope into a regional plan. Each type of center has a family of neighborhoods directly associated with it, even if the center's market area is much larger than those neighborhoods. Neighborhoods are also the structure of the infill areas of a regional plan and the tissue of the new growth areas.

Centers are by definition mixed-use areas; they include jobs and housing as well as services and retail. *Districts* may be mixed use but are typically dominated by a single primary land use such as a university or an airport. *Preserves* may be productive agriculture or natural habitat. *Corridors* are the edges and connectors of the region's centers, neighborhoods, and districts. They come in many forms, from roads and highways to rail lines and bikeways, from power-line easements to streams and rivers. Maps that use these four simple elements can help us to reconceive and redirect the fundamental quality of our regional habitat.

The regional maps shown in Part III demonstrate this structure of regional building blocks as a series of layers. The first layer combines centers, corridors, and districts into one picture of the regional plan. It is the framework of the built environment [Plates 3 and 15]. The preserves are mapped individually as another layer of the regional plan because of their complex makeup [Plates 2 and 14]. The final layer of the regional plan is a delineation of infill and new growth areas. This layer does not show any of the building blocks discussed here but provides an overall summary of the direction and type of growth for the region [Plate 16]. The regional building blocks of centers, corridors, and districts overlay these designations of infill and new growth areas. Finally, the comprehensive plans of the local communities flesh out the more detailed building blocks of neighborhoods and special-use districts. They can be layered back into the regional land-use picture as part of the iterations that a regional plan requires.

Centers: Village, Town, and Urban

Centers are the focal points and destinations within the Regional City. They gather together neighborhoods and local communities into the social and economic building blocks of the region. They are necessarily mixed use in nature: they combine housing of different scales, businesses, retail, entertainment, and civic uses. There is a hierarchy from village center through urban center, but there are no hard-and-fast distinctions between them, only general qualitative differences.

All centers have varying degrees of office and employment uses. Each must include civic uses and common places such as greens, squares, churches, government institutions, recreation facilities, and day care. And each must develop a walkable network of streets, human scaled and lined with accessible uses.

Centers are distinct from neighborhoods but may include a neighborhood. Neighborhoods are primarily residential with some civic, recreational, and support uses mixed in. Centers, on the other hand, are primarily retail, civic, and workplace dominated with some residential uses mixed in. They are the destinations of several or many neighborhoods.

The village center is the most common and smallest of the regional centers. Its retail component is most typically defined by the inclusion of stores such as a grocery and pharmacy along with smaller shops and restaurants. Its market area is a one- to one-and-a-half-mile radius and it is supported by five thousand to ten thousand homes.

(It is not to be confused with a neighborhood convenience center that serves approximately five hundred units.)

The village center mixes second-floor uses, such as housing and small offices, with the retail uses. It adds recreation and civic uses and integrates all the activities with an accessible and walkable street system. In many cases, main streets, village greens, mixed-use buildings, libraries, and day-care centers are combined with senior housing and affordable apartments.

The town center is larger and more varied than the village center. It typically includes a large number of office and employment uses, along with nighttime facilities such as cinemas, theaters, museums, and hotels. Its retail component is close to the scale of what the retail industry calls a "community center," anchored by several major stores that are accompanied by specialty shops and restaurants. Second-floor office and residential uses add to the intensity and walkability of the area, and cinemas and restaurants maintain its night life. A transit village or transit-oriented development is a variation on the town center, similar in scale and uses but including a major transit station. The key to each is its range of uses, its walkability, and the inclusion of housing.

The quantity of jobs in the town center is second only to that of urban centers. Like suburban activity centers or Edge Cities, the town center becomes a subregional employment focus with the potential for strong transit connections. But, unlike activity centers, the office buildings are not surrounded by parking lots. Parking is located to the rear, and much of it is shared with nighttime and weekend uses. The addition of significant housing also serves to transform these areas into more complex neighborhoods as well as destinations. This mix of uses and intensities makes the town center a key station in any regional transit system.

Defining an urban center is as complex and elusive as defining a city; they come in many forms, densities, and characters. They are the most compact form of community with the greatest range of uses in the region. Like a village or a town center, the urban center must be mixed use, walkable, and shaped by civic places. But they must be more intense, more inclusive, more diverse, and more active than their smaller regional counterparts. They hold the history, the color, the economics, and the cultural character of the region. More than any other center, they are dense, walkable, and transit served. As they become the cultural and economic focus of the region, they also become the transit vortex of the metropolitan circulation system.

The Regional City can and, in many cases, does have several urban centers. For example, the Bay Area has at least three: San Francisco, San Jose, and Oakland. Either multiple or singular, urban centers form the prime structure of a region. They are the business, cultural, and civic centers that provide the global identity and local focus for a region. Whereas suburbs seem to be more and more homogenous, cities remain unique—in form, scale, enterprise, and culture. They can be as different as Chicago and Portland, and their surrounding metropolis is greatly influenced by these differences in identity and focus.

Districts

Districts are areas outside of neighborhoods and centers that accommodate uses not appropriate for a mixed-use environment. Not all uses can be of a scale, mix, and character that fits within a neighborhood or a center. Examples of such uses are plentiful: light and heavy industrial areas, airports and major seaports, "big-box" retail and distribution centers, central business districts, military bases, and university campuses. These areas are critical to the economic and cultural life of a region but functionally must be separate from the fine grain of a neighborhood or the mix of a center.

However, some single uses, correctly segregated as districts, can be closely integrated with mixed-use areas and centers—and should be. Office parks are a prime example. Under current zoning, these primary work destinations are isolated and clustered into districts near highway interchanges. Through some bizarre identification with factories, offices are seen as a poor fit with village, town, and urban centers. To the contrary, they should be integrated into our mixed-use centers. Such integration adds strength to the retail component of the center, reinforces the transit system supporting the center, and increases the value of any of its civic uses.

The challenge of integrating offices into regional mixed-use centers is often their large scale. Although there is a growing and important segment of office work in small businesses, the large corporation must not be excluded from the region's centers. This is a design challenge that must not be sidestepped by isolating large corporations in "campus" or office-park settings. In urban centers, the solution is traditional and well established: the high-rise building. In town centers, large-scaled low-rise buildings can be integrated into a block system that respects the pedestrian while allowing efficient building footprints. Shared parking, structured parking, and reduced parking (for

transit accessibility) all can help mitigate the separations typically created by large parking lots. A hierarchy of streets can allow for a front pedestrian side of the office development and a back service and parking side.

Other examples of important uses too often isolated from mixed-use centers are cultural and civic facilities. The ubiquitous suburban civic center or entertainment zone is another lost opportunity to complete and reinforce town and village centers. Our civic buildings along with our cultural facilities should be integrated into the fabric of our communities, mixed with employment, shopping, and some housing. The modern equivalent of "courthouse square" should be a focal point of the Main Streets of the future. Theater districts and movie complexes should likewise be an essential part of the centers that draw our communities together.

In contrast, light industry, such as factories, are another matter. The low intensity of jobs in light industry and factory areas, the need for frequent truck access, and the scale of the buildings do not lend themselves to mixed-use areas. Warehouse facilities and businesses that use toxic materials also need separation into special districts. In a way, big-box retailing is a kind of light industrial use. It is in effect a warehouse that sells merchandise directly. Setting aside the debate about the negative effects of big-box stores on local and neighborhood retail viability, these uses are more appropriate in light industrial areas than in village or town centers.

Some other uses become special districts because of their functional needs. The college or university campus is a good example. Certainly, the edges of these institutions must be clear and identifiable. But the relation between such special districts and town and urban centers is a rich opportunity. The "town and gown" tension adds interest and character to many cities and towns throughout the country. And once again the transit system can be a prime connector to such districts.

Preserves

Preserves are perhaps the most complex and controversial building block of a regional design: complex because they include so many very different elements, locations, and potential uses; controversial because the means of saving the land and the economic effects are hotly debated. Beyond those lands now protected by federal or state law (wetlands, critical habitat, and so forth), the identification of which types of rural landscapes are appropriate for preservation is a central component of a regional vision. Clearly, such open-space preserves at the edge of a region are almost universally

desired, as are the open-space corridors within the region. But their delineation and preservation is a political and economic challenge.

Sometimes a region's natural features can give clear definition to a region; the bays and hills of the San Francisco Bay area or the waterfront and lakes of Seattle are good examples. Sometimes there are few boundaries to create a natural definition. Denver or Chicago, with their surrounding prairies, are examples of regions without easily discernible natural edges. In most regions, simply preserving critical lands is not enough to contain sprawl. Preserving unbuildable areas—wetlands, riparian corridors, steep slopes, watersheds, and endangered habitat—will rarely define a complete regional boundary. In all cases a combination of open-land preservation, infrastructure planning, and land-use controls is necessary to define the location and types of growth.

There are two distinct types of regional preserves: community separators and regional boundaries. Community separators function to create open-space breaks between individual communities within the region. They are a high priority for communities seeking to avoid the "wall to wall" quality of many suburbs. Lacking the scale for sustainable agriculture, community separators are often preserved for habitat or recreation. They can be created by cluster development that dedicates open space in a coordinated way or by the outright purchase of development rights from property owners. Being closest to contiguous development and infrastructure, community separators are an expensive form of open space when not legally constrained.

Preserving farmlands as regional boundaries is a different matter. The land values are not as high, and the need for preservation is justified by more than regional planning. Preservation is also needed because high-quality farmland is threatened in many areas of the country. American Farmland Trust reported a loss of 400,000 acres per year of "prime farmland" between 1982 and 1992. Prime farmland often coincides with development because our major metropolitan areas tend to be located in river valleys with rich soils. In fact, counties with high pressures for urban growth currently produce more than half the total value of U.S. farm production. But the issue goes well beyond actual farmland developed to what is called the "zone of conflict" surrounding development, in which farming practices are compromised. According to the American Farmland Trust, if 1 million acres of farmland are to be lost to urbanization in California's fertile Central Valley, as much as 2.5 million acres will fall into this constrained zone at the edge of development.

Beyond the need to preserve our agricultural capacities is a larger impulse among the electorate to preserve the rural heritage close to their urban areas, regardless of soil classification or ecological value. This impulse has translated into ballot initiatives throughout the country to finance open-space acquisition and purchase development rights. A complete regional design must integrate protected habitat with significant farmland preservation and scenic corridors. The tools to do so are as varied as the types of land that need to be preserved. Along with regional community separators, natural and farmland preserves are a fundamental structuring element of the region's building blocks.

Corridors
Although corridors come in many types and sizes, natural and human made, they always constitute a flow. Waterways, traffic flows, and habitat movements define the unique corridors of each region. They can become either the boundary of a community or one of its unifying bits of common ground—a main street or riverfront are simultaneously destinations and passageways. Corridors are the skeletal structure of regional form and its connections. And they form the defining framework of its future.

Natural corridors can be defined by specific habitats, unique ecologies, or larger watersheds. In most cases, they are a combination of all three. The interconnected quality of natural corridors is essential to their viability and efficacy. The more disconnected the system, the less ecological value it has and the less value it has in shaping the human-made environment. For this reason, a regional approach to open space is essential, and regarding that open space as corridors rather than segments is critical.

Each region has a watershed structure that is fundamental to its natural form. Every watershed is made up of catchment areas (hillsides), drainage areas (streams and rivers), wetlands (deltas and marshlands), and shorelines (beaches). There may be other natural corridors worth preserving in the region—a specific habitat of endangered species, unique ecosystems, or scenic corridors—but these four watershed domains are critical and contain many of the others. Although many elements of a watershed—wetlands, riparian habitat, and shorelines—are protected by federal regulation, the results of the regulations are often piecemeal, emerging only as individual properties are developed and often in a disconnected form. Continuity is more important than quantity in natural corridors.

Using the region's waterways as a primary corridor system is not just ecologically wise, it is a powerful tool for enhancing the quality of life. The American River Parkway in Sacramento is a good example. This twenty-three-mile park not only preserves valuable wetlands, habitat, floodplain, and water quality; it also forms a major recreational asset for the entire region. It becomes a kind of regional commons that everyone identifies with and enjoys. In many areas, these waterways have been lost to private development, flood control projects, and channelization. Recapturing them is a massive challenge, as is preventing further loss. Much of the existing channelization is in place to protect flood-prone land that, in many cases, should not have been developed. Reestablishing lost waterways is part of the ecological repair and recycling that each region needs to undertake as part of building its open-space network.

A striking example of the intersection between habitat preservation, waterway protection, and regional land-use patterns has been created by the recent placement of salmon on the endangered species list in the Pacific Northwest. The regional land-use implications are immense. Not only do the waterways themselves have to be protected with significant buffers, but the water quality and water temperature must also be protected from storm-water drainage due to development throughout the watershed. In this context, the quantity of impervious surfaces and the system of detention and water-quality treatment must become a central design challenge for the whole region. These systems can become assets within neighborhoods, just as the larger watershed elements create invaluable open-space elements within the region. Ecology and development become inseparable.

Human-made corridors are as important to the quality of life within a region as are natural corridors. Roads and transportation systems have always provided the fundamental structure of human habitat in cities and regions. But it is time to balance our hyperextended highway system and road network with other types of mobility. Transit is foremost. It can form the regional armature for a different type of growth, one that naturally favors infill, walkability, and human-scale development.

Just as there are many types of roads, there are a plethora of transit types, each different in use and effect. Freight and commuter train lines, like highways and arterials, are barriers to pedestrians, need large buffer zones, and tend to spread their nodes of development far apart. Size, noise, and safety make them inhospitable to walkable communities. The infrequent service of a commuter rail system makes it a highly specialized alternative to the car.

Light-rail, busways, and streetcar lines, like historic boulevards and main streets, are pedestrian friendly and serve as catalysts to the formation of mixed-use neighborhoods and centers. They do not form barriers within communities; in fact, they often unify a place by creating a focus and a common destination. Additionally, they form benign connections between communities; visitors without a car are always welcome to places trying to overcome the tyranny of parking lots and traffic congestion.

Finally, bus routes and bikeways, like local streets, are the smallest elements of transit mobility. They are as essential to the larger forms of transit as pedestrians are to a main street. Feeder buses, safe sidewalks, and comfortable routes for bikes are the "corridors" that knit together each neighborhood.

Each of these corridor types—highway and commuter train, boulevard and light rail, local street and bus-, bike-, and walkways—is essential to the region. A central element of any regional design must be the balance between them, the ease of connections, and the appropriate land-use complement. If one corridor type dominates, it will quickly become overwhelmed, as our auto infrastructure is now. If the systems are disconnected, they will be expensive and inefficient, as many fractured transit agencies demonstrate now. If the land use doesn't fit the corridor type, then ridership will fail and traffic will worsen, as we see in all the major metropolitan areas of this country.

Our unseen utility corridors are perhaps as important as the more visible road, transit, and open-space corridors. Investments in water-delivery systems, sewers, drainage capacity, and other utilities form the backbone of development. If these investments push outward into areas appropriate for natural or farmland preservation, no amount of zoning and regional regulation will stop the inevitable development. Designing these systems to be efficient, compact, and responsive to the land-use vision of the region is essential.

These utility corridors must be coordinated with land-use policy in both directions: they must be expanded and upgraded in areas targeted for infill and redevelopment, and they must be constrained in areas targeted for preservation. This coordination can be accomplished only at the regional scale, inasmuch as local politics often serve local development interests. Just as with highways, the bias of the past forty years has been to subsidize infrastructure at the suburban fringe.

Reusing and repairing old, underutilized, and decaying corridors, either natural or human made, is an imperative for any regional strategy that includes significant infill and redevelopment. As we will demonstrate, the strip commercial corridors of our older suburbs offer a chance, through redevelopment, to transform those places into mixed-use walkable districts. In these areas, the roads need to be redesigned and enhanced for pedestrian, bike, and transit, and the infrastructure must be upgraded for higher densities and a mix of uses.

Perhaps the greatest opportunity for corridor reuse is in our underutilized railroad rights-of-ways. Old and abandoned tracks can be reused for new transit links that run through the heart of a region's historic core and older suburbs. These old rail lines are like our old main streets—ripe for rebirth and supportive of the type of development most needed.

The direction in which corridors grow and their diversity define the character and future of the region. They are the superstructure of the other building blocks of the region—neighborhoods, centers, districts, and preserves. Their design can create healthy limits and opportunities or inequitable growth and disinvestment. They can form rational boundaries and connectors for human-scale communities or they can fuel the next generation of sprawl.

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In these design principles and regional building blocks, we are not proposing that the alternative to sprawl and inequity is a return to a small-town world of a historic culture or an acceleration of the fractured urbanism of many modern cities. A sustainable urban and regional form must be shaped out of the best of timeless traditions combined with the complexity and intensity of our contemporary world.

Any viable future will be a weave of local, regional, and global characteristics, processes, and forms. It is the balance between these scales and forces that must be attended to. Mass production and distribution systems will not evaporate. Global information systems will not implode. National and municipal political structures will not collapse. But a stronger regional framework and a clarified local identity can civilize the forces that today seem out of control, dysfunctional, and downright dangerous. Reconfiguring regions and neighborhoods to better serve our needs will resolve many questions that the wrong design principles and fractured regional building blocks cannot.

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE REGIONAL CITY

A design vision for the Regional City may be compelling in theory, but what does it mean in terms of concrete policy and day-to-day actions? What steps can be taken to make regional design a reality? To a considerable degree, the answer lies in public policy. Precisely because it operates on such a large scale, regional design needs to be integrated with a wide range of policies, including land use, transportation, the environment, housing, tax equity, and even education.

Each is essential to the implementation of a regional vision. It is hard to envision a Regional City that does not integrate land-use patterns and transportation investments to create alternatives to an excessively auto-oriented environment. It is hard to envision a healthy regional economy without adequate and well-placed affordable housing for its workforce. It is hard to imagine maintaining a high quality of life throughout a region without maintaining accessible open space, a diverse set of wildlife habitats, and abundant working farmland. And it is hard to imagine arresting urban decay without policies that seek to equalize the tax base throughout the region, decentralize the poverty currently concentrated in inner-city areas, and improve historically troubled city schools. Each of these needs has a design and a public policy dimension.

Such policies cannot effectively shape the Regional City unless they, like the region itself, operate on a metropolitanwide scale. These matters are already dealt with, in one way or another, by our existing government agencies—but in piecemeal fashion at a scale that is often inappropriate. Examples are plentiful. Local governments make land-use decisions without the larger picture in mind, while state and federal transportation officials implement transportation policy in a way that is not coordinated with its ultimate effect on land use. Individual housing decisions by local governments often create a regional imbalance that concentrates poverty and wealth in separate enclaves—with unfortunate results for both social and economic conditions. Important natural resources are squandered bit by bit, rather than enhanced and used as building blocks for a coherent regional open-space system.

Even attempts to solve the problems created by this piecemeal approach tend to suffer from tunnel vision. Noble urban-revitalization efforts are undertaken in complete isolation from the regionwide social geography that helped create the distressed neighborhoods in the first place. Important environmental-protection programs seek to preserve resources without attacking the root cause of why those resources are endan-

gered in the first place. Air pollution is addressed with emission standards rather than strategies to reduce the acceleration of auto use. The list goes on.

Traditionally, American metropolitan areas have been reluctant to deal with policy on a coordinated regional level because local governments—and many citizens—fear the power of a large regional government or state-level intervention. But creating a comprehensive set of policies does not necessarily require the creation of new levels of government, either at the regional level or at the neighborhood level. Every metropolitan region already has a policy and institutional framework that can serve as the foundation for a consistent regional strategy. At a minimum, each region has a Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) that directs regional transportation investments and a regional air-quality control board that can regulate the sources of pollution, including the car.

Thus, the task of creating and implementing workable regional policies is largely a political task—one that can hypothetically use existing institutions, rather than creating a new "regional government." But these regional agencies are typically directed by boards of locally elected officials. Therefore, using the existing agencies to create comprehensive regional policies is not an easy task. It requires leadership, vision, and a commitment to regional goals.

The problem is that locally elected officials have a hard time representing regional interests, even if regional strategies can indirectly benefit their local constituencies. They are politically obligated to represent immediate local concerns. As the case studies in Part Three show, most regional visions originate either with a civic group or at the state level with representatives who are responsible for larger constituencies.

More often than not, the inspiration and leadership for a regional vision comes from a business group, whose interests are long term and regional in scale. Their commitment to economic growth leads them to confront regional problems such as affordable housing, transportation, and quality-of-life issues. As public awareness of regional matters and opportunities grows, the politicians and their policies can follow. This part attempts to outline the range of policies that can emerge from such a progression.

The policies of any Regional City need to address two problem areas endemic in our current metropolises—the twin problems of sprawl and inequity. In crafting a set of

policies for the Regional City, therefore, it is important to understand that the inter-connectedness of the region's communities creates a twin set of policy imperatives:

– the region's *physical design*, which can help overcome sprawl

– the region's *social and economic opportunities,* which can help overcome inequity

No metropolitan region can truly transform itself into a Regional City without addressing these two policy imperatives responsibly, comprehensively, and in an inter-connected way. Dealing with the region's *physical design* requires attention to two policy areas that lay the foundation for the region's physical design: the creation of *regional boundaries* and the integration of *land use and transportation.*

Dealing with *social and economic equity* requires attention to three other policy areas: *regional fair-share housing, regional tax-base sharing,* and *urban educational reform.* Even though these three policy areas do not concern physical design itself, they have a tremendous impact on regional design because of the social and economic incen-tives that they provide—or, in some cases, don't provide—for businesses and residents to physically shape a stronger and healthier region.

In just the same way that sprawl and inequity are connected, so, too, are the policies connected. In our view, no Regional City strategy can succeed without a vision of the physical design of the region. But this physical design must be married to social and economic policies in ways that are mutually reinforcing. In the same way that a neigh-borhood must be shaped holistically—with its physical, economic, and social aspects considered together—the Regional City must use comprehensive policies to adopt a holistic approach on the regional level.

THE PHYSICAL-DESIGN POLICIES

The Regional City is ultimately a geographical entity, and therefore the region's poli-cies must support the shaping of its geographical boundaries and the design of its urban environment. Two sets of regional policies in particular must be managed effec-tively to create a healthy physical form for the Regional City. The first is the set of policies that shapes the region's urban boundaries and the interaction between the urban area and the rural lands outside it. The second is the set of policies that shape its interconnected land-use and transportation patterns and in so doing determine the urban form of the communities within the Regional City.

Regional Boundaries

Perhaps the most controversial of regional policies are those that deal with the quantity and location of growth. The simplest expressions of such policies are regional boundaries—lines typically at the perimeter of the region that clearly delineate where development may happen and were it should not. They have many names, each with a slightly different meaning and effect: urban growth boundaries, urban service boundaries, and greenlines. They are vilified by some as an artificial limit on healthy economic expansion and advocated by others as the only way to preserve the quality of life of the region. It is evident to most that without some form of clear, defensible definition of growth and preservation areas, investments in infrastructure and jobs will continue to sprawl. And, along with the sprawl, roadway congestion and air quality problems will continue to be amplified at the same time as farmlands, watersheds, and open-space habitat are lost.

The antidote is not a simple, static boundary, as some think. Regional boundaries are much more complex and multidimensional. They should be the result of a detailed set of environmental, economic, and demographic analyses. The process of determining an appropriate boundary is perhaps as important as the line itself because it causes people to think regionally about many things simultaneously.

Three interactive components must be balanced in this process of determining regional boundaries: habitat protection and farmland preservation, the growth demands of the region, and the cost of new infrastructure and services. The first has come to be called a *greenline* and sets an edge based on environmental and agrarian factors. San Jose, California, has recently adopted a greenline. The second is an *urban growth boundary* and sets a limit based on the land capacity (at some given growth rate and density) needed to house a growing population. Portland is a good example of this approach. The third is the *urban service boundary* (USB), a delineation of the logical extension of infrastructure or the land areas most efficiently served. Sacramento has placed a USB, and the smart-growth policies in Maryland have effectively created them for the whole state. Each component has been implemented independently in differing circumstances, but rarely have all three been coordinated and combined.

All three components can and should be combined into the creation of one regional boundary that includes the essence of greenlines, service boundaries, and growth boundaries. Such a multifaceted policy can reinforce a development tendency toward

more compact communities, support efficient infrastructure investments, preserve open space, and encourage the revitalization of many declining areas. Environmental preservation, fiscal frugality, and economic reinvestment effectively wrapped in one regional policy.

Yet the basis for each dimension of regional boundaries is always vague. How much growth must be accommodated and at what density? Which environmental assets are worth preserving and which are replaceable? What is the most efficient pattern of infrastructure? How much farmland is critical? All these economic and political questions must be confronted. Absent a regional design process that puts forth the questions, provides analysis, and seeks a comprehensive solution, these questions are endlessly debated in a piecemeal fashion, town by town, project by project. Each question must be understood and combined with the others at a regional scale to result in the best set of trade-offs—or, in many cases, synergy.

Answering these questions is best accomplished by providing a set of regional scenarios that describe and analyze the effects of differing assumptions about each fundamental question. It is important to develop comprehensive alternatives rather than isolated choices in order to give citizens a whole picture of the region and the implications of each alternative.

The critical variables of such regional alternatives for growth boundaries are average urban density, cost of alternate infrastructure investments, and the delineation of environmental and agrarian assets. The projected quantity of growth, though often controversial, can be a fixed number if the time frame is left flexible. The question then becomes how to accommodate the next increment of population—not a debate about growth rates. Given this inevitable population increase, the growth-boundary question becomes a matter of density and urban form. Various assumptions of density produce different quantities of new growth areas and different extensions of existing infrastructure.

Whereas these forces of density, urban form, and infrastructure can shape the region from within, the region's environmental assets and farmlands can begin to shape it from without. The accurate mapping of such regional open-space systems, watersheds, habitat, and topography with the use of geographic information systems gives us a new and effective tool to delineate what is at stake. In some rare cases, such a mapping can begin to shape a distinctive regional form. It often becomes apparent

that some critical lands must be preserved. Concerns for rare habitat, watershed preservation, scenic corridors, unique topographies, wetlands, and riverways lead the list for such regional "set asides." As a regional pattern of critical lands emerges, the connecting links between such open-space systems become obvious.

The close-in farmlands and less critical open spaces cannot be as easily designated for preservation by demonstrable environmental concerns. The value of farmlands to the local economy or as a national productive asset is hard to quantify. Additionally, the economics of converting farmland into development are often compelling to both the farmer and the land speculators. The other dimensions of regional boundaries—population capacity and infrastructure efficacy—are needed to complete an appropriate preservation strategy. Therefore, only by combining the differing types of regional boundaries can a coherent and defensible boundary emerge.

The biggest criticism of a regional-boundary policy—as with any policy that appears to restrict growth—is that it will constrain the supply of land and therefore drive up the cost of housing. Recent attacks from both the National Association of Home Builders and property-rights-oriented think tanks, such as the Reason Public Policy Institute, have focused especially on Portland, where home prices rose quickly during the 1990s.

Although critics tend to blame Portland's Urban Growth Boundary for the price increases, there is little hard evidence that the boundary itself caused very much of this increase. Indeed, the best analysis of housing costs in Portland, by two economics experts from Lewis and Clark College, found that the urban growth boundary had only a small effect on home prices. In fact, there is considerable evidence that the boundary has led to a healthy revitalization of in-town neighborhoods that were formerly at risk.

Portland's boundary has been in place for more than twenty years. During the 1980s, when Oregon's economy was weak, average home prices in metropolitan Portland actually went down, despite the boundary. The rise in home prices came only when a high-tech boom swept the metropolitan area. During the early and mid 1990s, Portland experienced job growth of about 3.5 percent per year—approximately double the national average.

In such a hot economy, it is unlikely that the private market could have met the demand for housing under any circumstances—a point reinforced by comparing

Portland with Salt Lake City, another western city with a booming economy. During the 1990s, home prices in Salt Lake City, which had no growth restrictions, rose approximately 70 percent—slightly *more* than in Portland, which had a long-standing growth boundary. Home prices rise rapidly in an economic boom because of the rate of housing production and increased purchasing power, not because of boundaries.

In fact, when the overall cost of infrastructure and related building requirements is figured into the equation, compact development patterns can bring *down* the overall cost of housing. Respected researcher Robert Burchell of Rutgers University, an expert on the financial effects of urban development, conducted several studies, concluding that compact development patterns bring housing costs down by 6 to 8 percent. Burchell's best-known analysis was conducted in New Jersey, where he estimated savings of several billion dollars in infrastructure costs if the state pursued a strategy of compact development. Burchell's studies in a wide variety of other geographical locations—including Michigan, South Carolina, and Delaware—have resulted in similar conclusions.

It is important to note that many of the building industry's criticisms of regional boundaries are really criticisms of the way in which such policies change the nature and the shape of metropolitan growth. Arguments often begin with the assumption that large lots and low densities are good; therefore, any policy that encourages smaller lots and higher densities must be bad. The viewpoint of Samuel Staley of the Reason Public Policy Institute is typical: "If the growth boundary is successful, it will constrain vacant land and require housing development on more expensive land and on lots much smaller than consumers would otherwise prefer."

This is a philosophical argument, not a substantive one. There is little question that regional-boundary policies will alter the nature and shape of new urban and suburban development within a metropolitan region. Indeed, this is the very point of such policies—to encourage more compact development patterns that allow the creation of a wider variety of housing types and daily living patterns better suited to the demographic patterns and lifestyle preferences of Americans today. The evidence from Portland and elsewhere indicates that the new patterns created by boundaries have reinvigorated urban neighborhoods formerly threatened by continued sprawl. Close-in neighborhoods in Portland appreciated at a much higher rate during the 1990s than did traditional suburbs.

It is not enough simply to draw a greenline to protect natural resources without also changing policies inside the line to accommodate the expected urban growth. For example, the Natural Communities Conservation Planning effort in Southern California has done an excellent job of identifying sensitive natural areas and out-lining a regional strategy for preserving them. But communities in the region have continued to pursue the traditional suburban development patterns in the designated growth areas, meaning that urban problems such as traffic congestion, air quality, jobs–housing imbalance, and social inequity will continue to fester even with the greenline in place.

In addition, it is not enough simply to draw a boundary around an individual com-munity if the growth dynamics in that community are regional in nature. Many years ago, for example, Boulder, Colorado, embarked on a long-range greenline policy that has been successful in many ways. The community is now ringed by a 26,000-acre greenbelt owned by the city, and Boulder's urban environment remains manageable and livable. But Boulder has proved unwilling to permit enough housing to accom-modate the city's job growth. As a result, the entire Boulder area suffers from a jobs–housing imbalance, and new residential development has simply skipped over the greenbelt to outlying communities that are much more suburban and less livable than Boulder itself.

It is always possible that new development will follow a "path of least resistance" and skip over designated boundaries, thus creating long communities and regional imbal-ance. That's why the discussion of boundaries and urban form must take place at the regional level, as it has in Portland, Seattle, and Salt Lake City, rather than at the municipal level.

The Land-Use and Transportation Connection

Wherever the geographical boundaries of urban expansion are placed, it is equally important to pay close attention to how the region is designed inside those bound-aries. The two most basic components of regional design at this level are transporta-tion facilities and land-use patterns. Indeed, these two components are intertwined so tightly that it should be virtually impossible to separate them.

Unfortunately, they are rarely analyzed as the interdependent feedback loop that they truly are. Land use is not used as a critical variable in the analysis of transportation options; it has become a static assumption. This problem runs in two directions: the

effects of new transportation improvements on land use are rarely looped back into the analysis, and alternative land-use patterns are rarely used to generate different types of transportation investments. If we are to break the cycle of highways and sprawl, studying alternate land-use patterns must be part of the process that leads to infrastructure decisions. Likewise, understanding that any new facility will breed a set of land-use patterns that will ultimately create new demands on that system is equally important.

The nature of the land-use–transportation feedback loop is obvious. Land-use patterns dictate the need for travel, while at the same time the location, size, and character of our transportation facilities determines which land uses are likely to develop in given locations. Highways make suburban sprawl possible, and sprawl constantly requires more highways. The pattern feeds itself but never seems to reach resolution. Similarly, walkable neighborhoods support transit investments, and transit systems become a catalyst for more walkable and diverse land-use development. Each transportation system is tied to a land-use pattern in a self-reinforcing feedback loop. Both forms are needed, but the balance between the two and their interaction are rarely studied in the regional-planning process.

Fifty years of highway building and auto-oriented development has lead to an environment with fewer and fewer choices in mobility. And the costs of this singular system keep growing. The average American household now spends close to 20 percent of its disposable income on transportation, compared with just 7 percent in industrialized Europe. But are there feasible alternatives, and, if so, what effect can they have on the American love affair with the car?

The first question is to what degree land use affects travel behavior. Can changing the urban design of a neighborhood significantly affect the amount and type of travel that people choose? This question is more complex than it seems. The type of household, its lifestyle, its income, and its location are significant variables in travel behavior independent of land use and urban design. People who do not drive, because of age, income, or preference, will walk and use transit more than those with the income and capacity to own several cars. But, beyond the demographics, land use has been shown to be an additional and significant determinant of travel behavior.

In Portland, the results of a study of detailed travel diaries showed a three-to-one variation in the amount of auto use per person, depending on the environment. This variation was correlated not simply with housing density, as in most studies, but with an

"urban index." The urban index is an expression of the walkability of the area, as quantified both by the frequency of street intersections and its density of jobs. The higher the frequency of street intersections, the more direct the walking route. The greater the densities of jobs, the more destinations close at hand to which to walk. Combine these two easily measurable factors and you have an index that quantifies the walkability of an area. If the area also has convenient transit service, this walkability overcomes one of the principle reasons that people don't like to use transit—being stranded on arrival. Surprisingly, the urban index demonstrated that walkable neighborhoods correlated with less auto use, even though the average number of trips per person remained the same.

This urban index relation stands to reason. If you create an area that is easy to walk around but has no significant destinations, people will drive. Some master-planned communities create such areas by investing in extensive trails and bikeways that are great for recreation or walking the dog but are too remote from commercial areas—nice place to walk, but nowhere to go. Alternatively, if you create a mixed-use area with many desirable destinations but make it a pedestrian's nightmare, people will still drive (even if a short distance such as from one end of a strip shopping area to the other). A common example is the so-called activity center. It is a suburban area that typically mixes apartments, office complexes, and shopping areas, with each separated by big arterial streets and parking lots—lots of local destinations, but not a walkable environment.

The urban-index study demonstrates that both walkability and mixed-use planning are needed and that creating alternatives to the car is not a simple matter of density or household income. The old rules of thumb for transit systems reduced the matter to density because higher-density areas had more people and were typically inhabited by lower-income groups. The urban index study implied, however, that small towns and villages could generate walking and transit trips if well designed; that is, they could have a high urban index without high densities. This fact is very significant if suburb-to-suburb connections are to be made by transit as well as the car.

The second major question is whether changes in land-use patterns are possible in today's marketplace. Can the density, mix, and location of development sift enough to significantly change travel behavior in the United States? The answer seems to be an unqualified yes. The shifting demographics and an emerging desire for a different

quality of life form a powerful foundation for new land-use patterns. In many market studies and surveys, walkable neighborhoods and community centers are high on homebuyers' lists of desirable attributes. The results of a study completed by American Lives, a well-respected market-research firm for homebuilders, placed a "walkable town center" second only to open space as the most desired quality of a master-planned community.

Another expression of this desire for walkable places is that, throughout the country, people are paying a premium to live in urban neighborhoods close to city centers. In Denver, people are paying up to a 25 percent premium for older homes in urban neighborhoods, compared with similarly sized new homes in outlying subdivisions.

Additionally, the housing types needed to support higher densities are becoming more marketwise. For example, first-time homebuyers and older people are seeking smaller lots for lower maintenance and more affordability. Empty nesters and young couples are seeking townhomes if they offer more accessibility. In 1999, only 25 percent of the new homebuyers throughout the country had kids. It seems that many homebuyers now desire compact, walkable neighborhoods supported by urban services—just when the regional need for transit-oriented development and denser housing is maturing. As a result, the opportunities for regional land-use–transportation alternatives that build on these trends are extraordinary.

Nonetheless, increased auto use, based on our existing land-use patterns, is rampant throughout the country. Assuming similar increases in the future and building highway systems to accommodate them are ultimately unsustainable; we know that more auto capacity ultimately breeds more auto use and that it will simply cost too much. Instead, we should set goals or benchmarks for the amount of auto use per capita and design a land-use–transportation system to support the goal. Such a system would inherently favor transit and, through land-use policy, reduce average trip lengths while creating more opportunities to combine trips.

One powerful possibility for such a reversal of incentives exists at the federal level. Those regions with a declining VMT (vehicle miles traveled) should be rewarded with more federal transportation dollars, whereas those that continue to allow increases should lose. Today the regions with the worst traffic congestion and a dramatic increase in VMT are often rewarded with more money to "fix" the problem by adding new roads.

To a certain degree, such incentives are already happening through air-quality constraints rather than VMT standards. Atlanta is a great case in point; it now has its federal highway dollars in jeopardy because of low air quality. But, in more direct ways, regions that begin to offer people alternatives to auto-only lifestyles should be rewarded. In the past, a growing need for highways translated into more federal and state support. In the future, a declining need should receive more support.

The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) allows regions the flexibility to choose between transit and auto-oriented investments. It also allows regions to use alternative land-use projections in calculating their transportation needs. But too many regions are pursuing business as usual, by using standard land-use assumptions and computer models that provide worst-case projections. The federal and state governments should require what is now optional—transportation needs assessments that use alternative land-use patterns as assumptions and analysis that projects the real potential of new forms of mixed-use planning.

In summary, regional policy must look comprehensively and critically at the interaction of land-use policies and transportation investments in a dynamic way, not simply as a set of causal relations but as a complex feedback loop. This is difficult because the land-use component is typically under local control, whereas the regional MPO directs the transportation investments. This bifurcated decision making is one of the greatest obstacles to the Regional City.

Yet integrated land-use–transportation scenarios are essential to the health of a region and are an essential complement to regional boundaries. These two physical policies are closely intertwined—what happens inside the boundary will ultimately determine how effective and sustainable the boundary itself is. They are also intimately related to social and economic policies.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES

The physical-design policies just described provide an underpinning to end sprawl and bring shape, form, livability, and functionality to the Regional City. But by themselves they cannot end the social and economic inequity that is endemic to our metropolitan areas and that, in many ways, drives the shape and makeup of our communities. To begin to alleviate inequity, the physical-design policies must be combined effectively with three sets of policies dealing with social and economic matters:

– Fair-share housing and deconcentration of poverty

– Regional tax-base sharing

– Urban schools and regional education balance

None of these policies are physical-design policies themselves, but all of them have a tremendous influence on the geographical organization of the Regional City and, in particular, on the distribution of people and economic activity within the region. No Regional City—no matter how good its physical design—can begin to overcome inequity without addressing these social and economic matters. That said, it is important to acknowledge that fairly distributed affordable housing, a better regional distribution of tax base and services, and improved urban schools cannot in themselves rid our society of inequity or equalize economic opportunity. They are, however, a start in the right direction.

Fair-Share Housing and the Deconcentration of Poverty

The Regional City cannot thrive—economically or socially—unless the problems of both the working poor and the underclass are addressed in aggressive fashion. As more and more research has begun to reveal, equitable regions are economically successful regions, and regions that do not seek to deal with the problems of concentrated poverty will be dragged down by the ongoing social problems that result. In addition, regions that succeed in strategies to enhance urban infill and redevelopment must also be careful of the negative effects of gentrification: without strategies to provide affordable housing and protect the core identity of functioning urban neighborhoods, there is great danger of displacement for low-income households.

The problems of the most distressed urban poor cannot be solved in the ghetto alone. The Regional City will not overcome inequity unless its leaders pursue a regional strategy of deconcentrating poverty, providing adequate affordable housing in prox-

imity to jobs, and creating a more equitable distribution of investment throughout the entire metropolitan area.

A generation ago, most jobs were located in central cities, and a large number of middle-class workers commuted from suburbs to them. Since then, two jobs have been created in American suburbs for every job created in American central cities. This change in itself is not a bad thing. Indeed, in many cases, it is a good thing because it creates better balance between the location of jobs and the location of part of the laborforce. But the decentralization of jobs has, unfortunately, not been accompanied by a reordering of housing opportunities to provide a geographical match between the working poor and job opportunities.

Indeed, quite the opposite is true: as jobs have decentralized into the suburbs, the poor have increasingly become concentrated in the central cities. Median household income in 1990 was 38 percent higher in the suburbs than in central cities. The decentralization trend makes it especially difficult for the poor and working-class residents—often trapped in centrally located older neighborhoods without a car—to gain access to emerging job opportunities in the suburbs. Even lower-middle-class workers, such as public servants, often cannot find affordable housing in the very suburbs that employ them.

Many areas have focused on creating new transit lines and other methods to transport poor and working-class people from the city to suburban job centers. But this problem cannot be solved by transportation alone. Without significant housing opportunities for lower-income families throughout the region, the working poor will be cut off from important job opportunities, and suburban employers will be cut off from an important laborforce.

A mix of housing opportunities fairly distributed is also central to solving traffic and air-pollution problems. The so-called jobs–housing balance pursued by planners is meaningless if the housing costs don't correspond to the salary levels. Clustered job centers with a mix of nearby housing appropriate to the salary levels of employees reduce the need for long commutes and increase the possibilities for transit. Well-distributed affordable housing also provides opportunities for teachers, firefighters, police officers, and others who provide critical services in a community to live in the community. The social as well as transportation implications of this dimension of housing policy are obvious.

Contrary to popular belief, the creation of more economically diverse communities throughout an entire region would not have a dramatic effect on the makeup of most suburban towns. According to Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institution, almost 20 percent of all city residents in the United States live below the poverty line. In the suburbs, the number is about 9 percent—smaller, but by no means insignificant. If poverty were evenly distributed, every jurisdiction—including suburbs—would have only about 13 percent of its population in poverty—not a major increase for suburban areas, but a big decline for the cities.

This is not just good social policy; it is good economic policy as well. In practical terms, social and economic policy serve the same goals. When pockets of poverty are deconcentrated, some of their self-reinforcing social pathologies are reduced. Kids can find role models beyond drug economies and gang cultures. Adults can find jobs and community services more easily in neighborhoods that are not dominated by unemployment and marginal economic growth.

University of California economist Manuel Pastor found that most people find jobs not through the want ads but through social networks. Who you know helps you get ahead. If you are stuck in a distressed inner-city neighborhood, you are likely to know only other poor people who are not connected to good jobs. If you live in a more affluent area, you are far more likely to know people who are better connected in the mainstream economy. This is not to say that other factors such as learning readiness and job skills do not play a significant role. But it is obvious that an environment richer in opportunities and services can better support personal efforts for change.

When we talk of deconcentrating poverty, we are not implying the same type of policies that destroyed ethnic neighborhoods under the urban-renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s. The goal must be to rebalance neighborhoods without destroying their identity. Many households in lower-income neighborhoods want to stay and improve their communities, keeping intact the historic cultural and social bonds while improving the economic and social ecology of the area. Supporting such efforts must remain the highest priority. Regional fair-share housing adds an opportunity to move throughout the region for those who desire a change—desire a new start in a different area. Such programs should not justify wholesale gentrification or force moves on households that do not desire them.

Creating more housing equity requires nothing less than a strong regional commit-
ment—embraced by all the region's communities—to providing a range of housing
opportunities in all parts of the region. This means devising a system by which each
jurisdiction within the metropolis will provide its "fair share" of affordable housing.

Probably no regional goal is more politically difficult to build consensus around. The
power to determine what type of housing will be constructed is one of the most cher-
ished prerogatives of most local communities—one that suburbs have exercised all too
often for exclusionary purposes. In most cases, a "regional compact" on fair-share
housing will probably require the political commitment of state governors and legis-
lators, who are more likely than local officials to recognize the importance of balanced
regions and a connection between jobs and housing.

Perhaps the best example in the United States of a regional housing policy to deconcen-
trate poverty is the system that has evolved in New Jersey in the past twenty-five years. In
the 1970s, the NAACP brought suit against the town of Mt. Laurel, New Jersey, alleging
that Mt. Laurel and other suburban towns throughout the state had engaged in uncon-
stitutional discrimination against lower-income people by pursuing exclusionary zoning
policies. In the 1970s and 1980s, the New Jersey Supreme Court issued two sweeping
rulings that forced localities to change their housing and zoning policies, and eventually
the state adopted a law establishing a statewide affordable-housing system. Under the
system, each town in New Jersey must establish affordable-housing goals and require
housing developers to provide affordable-housing units in each project—called inclu-
sionary zoning. A state agency, the Commission on Affordable Housing, must approve
local plans and oversee implementation of these affordable-housing policies.

The New Jersey system is far from perfect. For example, suburban townships can "buy
their way out" of as much as half their affordable-housing requirements by paying
another jurisdiction $20,000 per unit to assume the responsibility. In practical terms,
this arrangement means that affluent suburbs evade part of their commitment by giving
money to financially strapped central cities such as Newark and Camden. This system
at least creates some measure of accountability for the suburbs, but it harms the overall
goal of deconcentrating poverty. Still, New Jersey has moved much more aggressively
toward regional economic equity through housing policy than has any other state.

An affluent suburb of Washington, D.C.—Montgomery County, Maryland—has
been following a similar strategy for almost thirty years with considerable success.

Beginning in the early 1970s, Montgomery County began requiring all housing developers to dedicate 15 percent of their units to affordable purposes. In return, developers were permitted a 20 percent increase in density. Despite political pressure to do otherwise, Montgomery County has stuck to the policy ever since, and the results have been dramatic.

In 1997, the average homebuyer in Montgomery County had an income of $68,000 per year and paid $240,000 for a house. The overall county population is 73 percent white and only 13 percent African American in a metropolitan region where blacks are a major part of the population.

For buyers of the affordable units, however, the statistics were dramatically different. The average price of an affordable unit was only $90,000—about a third of the county average. The average household income of those buying affordable units was approximately $29,000—an income achievable by two low-wage workers making slightly more than minimum wage. Most striking, however, was the racial composition. Only one-quarter of the affordable-housing buyers were white. More than a third were Asian, a quarter were black, and 14 percent were Latino—all figures much higher than the countywide average.

In one of the most affluent counties in the United States, therefore, an affordable-housing policy has helped to provide suburban housing to low-paid service workers required by that county's economy. And the profile of the people living in that housing is much more diverse than that of the county's residents overall.

Maintaining equilibrium in the Montgomery County program is not always easy. Many of the affordable units—including some that are mixed in, indistinguishably, with upper-middle-class houses—are owned by the county's public housing authority. Public housing managers spend a great deal of their time in these mixed-income neighborhoods, assisting lower-income residents (even providing them with lawn mowers and garden hoses in some cases) and attending homeowner-association meetings. These efforts at neighborhood relations are often cast in the press as the result of a "problem." In fact, nothing could be more positive. Residents of modest means and the housing specialists who work with them are breaking the concentration of poverty by working with upper-middle-class residents to maintain successful mixed-income neighborhoods.

A much simpler—though politically difficult—way to achieve regional housing balance is to alter land-use policies in both urban and suburban areas. Zoning controls have often hampered the creation of diverse and affordable housing—often deliberately, but sometimes inadvertently. Some of the best opportunities for affordable housing can result from simple changes in the typical zoning code, such as the following:

– *Mixed-use development.* Many city neighborhoods and older suburbs were designed on the assumption that all arterial street frontage would be used for retail or other commercial development. But many of these long commercial strips are now in decline. In many of these neighborhoods, especially older suburbs, few sites exist for apartments or other affordable housing because residential areas are "built out." Allowing mixed-use buildings—with housing over retail—is a natural way of placing affordable housing in such neighborhoods. The benefits include creating a more walk-able environment on an arterial strip that was traditionally auto oriented and creating more affordable housing.

– *Granny flats.* Ancillary living units—often in the backyard or above the garage—can greatly increase the stock of rental and affordable housing in single-family neighbor-hoods without altering the basic character of a neighborhood. The small rental cot-tage provides cheap housing for the elderly, students, and other persons living alone. Meanwhile, the main house becomes more affordable because the rent from the granny flat helps defray the mortgage for the homeowner.

– *Live–work spaces and small-lot single-family homes.* Such housing types as the live–work space and the small-lot bungalow create more housing diversity for a wide range of households, but they are usually not permitted under the local zoning ordi-nance. The traditional zoning code not only encourages a segregation of all types of uses, including living and work space, but also encourages larger lots. Rezoning to allow a broader range of densities and mix of uses is a cost-free way to provide some affordable housing.

In fact, many of the housing types needed to provide more affordable housing can also provide more neighborhood diversity. This type of housing can help create more pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods, increase transit patronage (even in the suburbs), and create the compact communities required to preserve open space.

After a regional framework for deconcentrating poverty is in place, it can be imple-mented not only in accord with rules on new housing developments, but also by using

the existing housing stock more effectively to accommodate a wider range of people through rent-subsidizing vouchers.

A dramatic example of using housing policy to decentralize poverty on a regional basis emerged in Chicago after a legal settlement in the famous *Hills* v. *Gautreaux* case. In almost a quarter century since the case was settled, literally thousands of poor families—from three hundred to five hundred per year—who were living in public housing in Chicago were given Section 8 vouchers that have permitted them to move elsewhere. The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, which administers the program, locates housing opportunities throughout the region and helps the voucher recipients identify and move into private housing.

Not all of them chose to leave the city—or even their neighborhoods—but approximately half of them have moved into middle-class suburbs. Researchers from Northwestern University concluded that low-income women who moved to the suburbs "clearly experienced improved employment and earnings, even though the program provided no job training or placement services." The new suburbanites were more likely to be employed, and their children were less likely to drop out of school. Many of them said that simply living in a middle-class neighborhood gave them stronger motivation to get jobs and improve their lives. Approximately 90 percent of the youth in the suburban locations either have jobs or go to school, compared with only 74 percent in Chicago itself.

As the researchers pointed out: "By doing no more than helping low-income people move to the suburbs, this program put children in better schools and put adults in better labor markets." It is this breadth of opportunity—for both city and suburban residents—that can create a healthier and more equitable region through greater housing diversity.

A regional policy of housing diversity at the neighborhood level is often sharply critiqued not only by the Right but also by the Left. Many critics say that ethnic groups should stay close to their geographical "homes" to maintain cultural identity and a political power base. They also say that a decentralization of poverty will make city neighborhoods more attractive to "gentrifiers," thus increasing the possibility that the poor will be displaced and the total stock of affordable housing will decline.

It is possible that ethnic low-income groups would lose their natural support networks and see their sense of identity and history weakened if they spread throughout an entire region. But, as the Gautreaux experiment in Chicago reveals, not everybody who has an opportunity to move to a different neighborhood will choose to do so. If ethnic and social ties are strong, many people, including middle-class residents, will choose to stay in the ethnic neighborhood, as, indeed, they often do today. A "fair housing" program would not seek to weaken strong ethnic urban neighborhoods, but rather to create a more diverse mix in both city and suburb.

The second criticism—that gentrifiers will drive the poor out of urban neighborhoods—really just highlights the need for a more balanced housing policy everywhere in the region and the need for a true regional commitment to affordable housing. For decades, we have limited the poor's access to affordable housing in all but the poorest neighborhoods. The goal should be not displacement but rather a healthy economic diversification of both city and suburb. As long as adequate affordable housing is dispersed through the city and the region, gentrification may not be an extreme problem if kept in balance. It is clear that a regional housing strategy cannot succeed if it simply moves the middle class into urban neighborhoods without protecting lower-income households that want to stay. But providing choice for residents of modest means to move into suburban neighborhoods that they have been shut out of for decades is also a long overdue right.

HUD's programs of Consolidated Planning, HOPE VI, and Moving to Opportunity described in Part Four of this book are further examples of efforts to deconcentrate poverty, provide affordable housing, and balance the forces of gentrification with increased economic opportunity. Their success in the past decade is an indication that more regionwide strategies are possible and desirable.

Although deconcentration of poverty and fair-share housing may seem like a grand but isolated goal, it is tightly intertwined with many other fundamental regional goals. Even some business leaders—such as those in Silicon Valley—have begun to support higher densities, transit-oriented housing, inclusionary housing ordinances, and increased housing subsidies because they understand the linkage between housing choice, neighborhood livability, and economic growth. They understand that, without adequate housing and a decent quality of life, they will have a hard time maintaining an affordable workforce and that businesses seeking expansion will leave. Transportation, economic development, environmental protection, and regional form

are all tied to housing policies that recognize that the Regional City is a metropolitan constellation in which every star must be strong and bright.

Urban Schools and Regional Education Balance

If the Regional City is to provide true diversity at the neighborhood level, as well as a real set of choices about where to live, then it must also find a way to provide good education in an urban setting. Without good urban schools, the only families willing to live in the city will be the rich, who can afford to buy private education, and the poor, who have no choice. Middle-class families will continue to abandon the city for better schools in the suburbs—just as they have done for decades—and the problem of urban schools will continue to serve as a barrier to a healthy and equitable Regional City.

The question of how best to revive urban schools is one of the most difficult and controversial public policy issues of our time—pondered by experts in education and social policy who view these matters in isolation from the concept of the Regional City. After decades of experimentation, the jury is in: forced school busing doesn't work, because it drives middle-class families to the suburbs and simply integrates "poor with poor" in the hollowed-out urban school districts that are left behind. Now the close-in suburbs are feeling the effects of educational decline, as they receive waves of poor and immigrant families and watch their middle class move farther out, just as the central cities did long ago.

The problem of urban education is really twofold. First, how can poor families be given the same kind of choices that middle-class families have (by moving to the suburbs) and rich families have (by buying private schools)? And, second, how can stability in city and inner-suburb neighborhoods be maintained by increasing the faith of middle-class families in the educational system?

It is obvious to see how the question of regional educational balance is related to the question of regional housing balance, which was discussed in the preceding section. The school, as writer James Traub pointed out in the *New York Times Magazine,* "is not as powerful an institution as it seems"—for the simple reason that children are influenced far more by their neighborhoods and their communities than by their schools. Simply fixing schools without dealing with neighborhood problems created by concentrations of poverty will not provide a true solution. If more housing opportunities open up in the suburbs for people of modest means, then poor children will no longer be ghettoized in urban schools. By the same token, however, urban schools

(like urban neighborhoods) must be improved—both to provide choice to the poor who stay in cities and to attract middle-class families back to urban neighborhoods.

Two policy ideas hold the potential to improve urban education in ways that will strengthen the Regional City. The first is the charter school—a public school where parents have more control over how education is delivered and how their school is run. Charter schools can give the middle class more confidence in urban schools even as they improve the education of the urban poor who attend the same schools. And by requiring intense parental participation in the local school, they can reinforce the sense of geographical community so often lacking in the way that we approach education today.

The second idea—more controversial but potentially more powerful—is the concept of using school vouchers in a geographically targeted way to strengthen urban neighborhoods and urban schools. The idea of a public school voucher is that instead of requiring parents to send their children to the local public school, those parents should be given a "voucher" equal to the cost of their child's education (usually between $4,000 and $8,000) per year, which they can use to pay for education at any school, public or private. To date, vouchers have been targeted by income level or at the scale of the whole city. What is needed are vouchers that are targeted to urban neighborhoods that need and want to diversify their population—as an incentive for the middle class to move back and as an opportunity for existing residents to exercise more choice.

Vouchers are often opposed by traditional liberals, who believe they will undermine public education, and supported by traditional conservatives, who simply believe any parent should be able to use vouchers to choose any school for his or her child. But, from the perspective of the Regional City, the power of the voucher idea is the potential to target vouchers geographically to give urban neighborhoods—and urban schools—a strategic advantage.

Perhaps the most eloquent proponent of urban school vouchers in the United States is John Norquist, the mayor of Milwaukee. "What parents want," Norquist has written, "is the opportunity to select a good school for their children. Instead of choosing an alternative school for their children, wealthy parents are choosing an alternative place to live, the suburbs. Vouchers would give all parents a similar power of choice, one that doesn't require moving out of town."

As mayor of a central city, Norquist has been able to implement the voucher system only on the municipal level. But think of the potential if school vouchers could be used in a targeted way to reinforce a regional strategy of infill and redevelopment with the goal of equity and diversity among neighborhoods. Suburban parents wouldn't need vouchers, because they would still be able to send their children to the successful schools those children now attend. But parents—rich or poor—in cities and older suburbs could be given vouchers if they lived in specific neighborhoods in need of social and economic diversity. A targeted voucher system would give families an incentive to help restore a regional balance, would improve public school performance by putting them in a competitive environment, and would give lower-income households power over their children's education.

Many worry that vouchers would damage public schools by reducing their budgets and "creaming" the best students away. Certainly, the public schools in the voucher districts would have to improve and compete with other inner-city schools for the dollars and the best students. But they have considerable advantages in that they have the facilities that start-up alternatives would have to struggle to replicate. It is important also that the alternative schools not be allowed to select only the most promising students, thereby leaving the most difficult for the public schools. Early analysis of the effects of vouchers in Milwaukee shows the public schools responding to the challenge and improving their educational performance.

To many, school vouchers seem like another tax break for the rich and the middle class—a capitulation of our worthy goal of economic and racial integration in public schools. But the current situation is already inequitable. Middle-class and wealthy families already use their economic power—and, indeed, their tax breaks such as the mortgage interest deduction—to buy a better education in a suburban school district. Geographical targeting of vouchers would simply level the playing field.

Such a program might help parents recognize that despite decades of brainwashing about how suburbs are better for kids, cities and older suburbs actually have great value for children and families. The school cannot do its job unless it is supported by the neighborhood. For years, most have assumed that only an affluent suburban neighborhood can provide adequate support. The irony is that good urban neighborhoods—not places where poverty is concentrated, but places that are lively and diverse—provide a much better backdrop for a well-rounded education than do sterile

suburban subdivisions. As Mayor Norquist has written, "School choice will make big cities places where parents WANT to live. Only in the center of a metropolitan area can we offer people a full range of educational choices. Just as cities are centers of finance, industry, art, and culture, so should cities be centers for quality education in grades kindergarten through twelve."

Regional Tax-Base Sharing and Social Equity

Regional strategies for housing and educational balance can be powerful indeed, but by themselves they are not enough to overcome all the inequities created by a half-century of sprawl. Local taxing and fiscal structures also need a unifying framework at the regional level—one that will liberate local governments to work together to solve regional economic and social problems, rather than encourage them to engage in destructive competition with one another for tax producers.

In most states, our current system of local government taxation gives jurisdictions an incentive to pursue an unbalanced land-use policy. Cities, counties, towns, and villages "win" when they can attract commercial or retail development, which provides lots of tax revenue but requires little in the way of public-service cost. They "lose" when they receive too much housing because it does not typically produce enough tax revenue to pay for the higher costs of public services. This problem is especially acute in such states as California, Colorado, and Washington, which have limited property taxes and thus give localities great incentive to pursue big sales-tax producers such as retail stores—and ignore affordable housing. But the problem also exists in other parts of the country, where commercial or retail development can generate large amounts of property-tax revenue and therefore can turn a "profit" for local governments.

The tax system is set up on the assumption that each jurisdiction is self-contained, requiring—and having—its own healthy mix of housing, stores, offices, factories, and other land uses. In this ideal situation, each jurisdiction would receive a healthy balance of tax revenues needed to support the community.

But in the typical region, things don't work this way. Housing, shopping, and labor markets operate at a larger level—usually a ten- to thirty-mile radius—that almost always transcends municipal boundaries. Thus, the activities that generate tax revenue—and the social and economic need for public revenue—have little geographical relations to the distribution of those taxes among local governments that provide the public services.

This imbalance leads to cutthroat competition among local jurisdictions for land uses that produce the most tax revenue, especially retailers and office parks. But, unlike other marketplace incentives, this competition does not produce healthy results. The "winning" jurisdictions are usually affluent suburbs, which can exploit their proximity to desirable markets, and those desperate older cities and suburbs willing to quite literally "give away the store" in regard to public subsidies.

Yet even the winners are often losers. Communities that subsidize desirable retailers and other businesses often wind up suffering a net financial loss—or, at least, little financial gain. Many jurisdictions actually subsidize big-box retailers that cannibalize their own communities (either older commercial centers or historic Main Streets) because they fear that "if they don't do it, the next town will." In other words, the tax-distribution system encourages local governments to steal from each other—and often from themselves—to win a temporary advantage in this zero-sum game.

As harmful as this emphasis on business and retailers is to the individual communities, it is even more harmful to the region as a whole. Among these predatory suburban governments, housing is regarded as a financial loser that should be discouraged and even zoned out. This is true not only of "affordable" housing but even of market-rate housing for the middle class, which often doesn't "pay for itself." Many communities zone too much property for commercial and industrial property, permit only high-end housing, and even hold important parcels off the market in the slim hope of getting retail or commercial development.

An unintended consequence of towns competing for tax base rather than sharing it is this tenancy to zone too much commercial and industrial area. Jurisdictions believe their available land must be saved for commercial and high-tax-generating uses even if the market or rational regional planning doesn't support it. This keeps land off the market and leads to "hopscotch" development as well as lost opportunities to provide housing where it is needed. In many cases, those areas reserved for commercial development would function better as mixed-use areas with housing as well as jobs and services.

A good example of this "fiscal zoning" (the tendency to design the community to optimize tax income rather than to create a balanced place) is in the city of Fremont, California, just across the bay from Silicon Valley. Here a large nine-hundred-acre tract of undeveloped land was perfectly located for a mix of uses, including much-

needed housing for the exploding job centers in the region. Rather than allowing the developer to build a range of uses, the site was zoned for office and industrial uses only. The expected time frame is approximately twenty years for build-out of the commercial-only zoning because of lack of market demand. The city zones for inappropriate development because its tax base is isolated from the region.

As jurisdictions chase jobs and stores and shun housing, the balance among jobs, housing, and tax revenue within the region is completely disrupted. Many workers must endure long commutes, which are harmful to them, to their employers, and to the environment. The biggest losers are often the urban centers—central cities and older suburbs—that become caught in a downward economic spiral as prosperity shifts to more distant suburbs. Jobs of all kinds, as well as higher-income residents and retail, flee these older areas, leaving them with a smaller tax base and greater social-service needs. As they raise taxes to cover the gap, more businesses flee. And often the only way to retain or attract business is to provide deep public subsidies that cause even more financial loss.

The cycle can be broken only by restructuring the tax system to distribute tax revenue more equitably on a regional or subregional basis. The simplest way to do so is to place part of the local sales- and property-tax base in a regional pool, which is then redistributed within the region on the basis of population and need. Such tax-base sharing breaks the intensifying subregional mismatch between social needs and tax resources, undermines the fiscal incentives that often drive sprawl, and ends intrametropolitan competition for tax base. It is the only way to end fiscal zoning.

The most important experiment in regional tax-base sharing was undertaken in the Minneapolis–St. Paul region, where local governments have for almost thirty years placed a part of their property-tax growth into a regional pool for redistribution. The region now shares almost a half-billion dollars a year in property tax. The redistribution goes a long way toward reducing the regional inequity. Without the tax sharing, the ratio of tax revenue between the richest and poorest community would be fifty to one. With the tax-sharing agreement, that ratio is reduced to twelve to one.

By sharing taxes, declining areas can receive the support that they need to rebuild before they negatively affect the region. Such a system also eliminates each community's incentive to cannibalize a neighbor's job or retail development. An economic

win for one community becomes a win for the region rather than another justification for increased isolation.

Oddly, tax-sharing arrangements are often opposed by local governments even if they are "losers" under the current system. In particular, suburban jurisdictions often believe they will be required to subsidize the central cities. Yet the Twin Cities experience reveals that it is hard to predict who will be subsidizing whom. In the 1970s, the suburbs were indeed subsidizing the two central cities. By the 1980s, the reverse was true. And in the 1990s, many of the older suburbs that had prospered in the 1970s were in decline and therefore more in need of assistance from the region as a whole.

Given the reality of the region as a global economic unit, it is clear that any Regional City will not be able to compete in the worldwide marketplace if its communities are caught up in a civil war over land use and tax revenue. As the section "Living in the Regional World" explained, footloose global businesses that can choose one community over another within a metropolitan region can easily abandon that region altogether if conditions are not favorable. A short-term tax advantage will not benefit any individual community if, in the long run, its region becomes less competitive at a global scale because of problems associated with sprawl and inequity.

Conclusion

As we have proposed, sprawl and inequity are related problems. The Regional City will be healthy and prosperous only if it seeks to address both problems simultaneously. Mechanisms such as regional boundaries and rational land-use–transportation policies provide the physical-design framework necessary for a balance of livable neighborhoods, efficient infrastructure, and ecological protection. Policies such as regional tax sharing, fair-share housing, and educational reform provide the social framework necessary to bring a better balance of social equity and economic prosperity to that regional framework.

These policies often meet political resistance from people, businesses, and political leaders with an investment in the status quo. This is understandable, but it is short-sighted. In the long run, the only way for everyone to succeed is to recognize that the Regional City must be compact, healthy, and equitable. And, despite all the political obstacles, a growing number of metropolitan regions in the United States have begun to work toward reshaping themselves as Regional Cities in just the ways described here.

CHAPTER 5:

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN REGIONALISM

The federal government's role in shaping the Regional City is not always obvious, but it is far reaching. Since the 1930s, federal policies and investments have been instrumental in creating the sprawl found in today's metropolis. Those patterns of sprawl cannot be overcome unless federal policies are reshaped and federal investments are reprioritized to reinforce the concept of a Regional City.

Washington has traditionally steered clear of establishing land-use policies. Throughout the United States, land-use policies remain the purview of state and, especially, local governments. We are not advocating that the federal government insert itself directly into the local land-use arena, but it would be foolish not to recognize that the federal government plays an important role in virtually all aspects of community building—transportation, environmental quality, housing, and so on. As a result, when poor land-use and growth policy leads to sprawl and inequity, the federal government usually must pay the bill in the form of more transportation investments, more environmental-cleanup money, and more funding to assist poor neighborhoods that have not benefited from a region's overall growth.

Given these undeniable facts, the federal government should simply be in the business of ensuring that its investments are well placed and likely to provide "return" for the region as a whole. Plainly put, regions that use federal dollars to create efficient Regional Cities should be rewarded. Regions that squander those funds on sprawl should be penalized, just as any poorly run business would be.

Using the power of the federal government to promote the concept of the Regional City requires an integrated approach that includes a wide range of federal agencies and federal programs. Some of this integration has already taken place under the smart-growth initiatives on the part of several federal agencies, including the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. But a concerted and lengthy effort is still required, especially in four areas:

– In the area of transportation, the federal government must continue to move away from a bias toward highway projects and reform its analytical techniques in a way that will tie together the construction of transit lines with the creation of transit-oriented development projects.

– In environmental policy, regulation and federal investments that protect air quality, wildlife habitat, and open space must be implemented with the recognition that these

programs are actually helping to form regional open-space systems.

– In providing credit financing for private housing projects, the federal government must move beyond its historic orientation toward "plain vanilla" housing and move instead to encourage more construction of multifamily housing, urban redevelopment, mixed-use developments, and other innovative projects.

– In revitalizing communities, the federal government must focus on preserving and enhancing the diversity, the walkability, and the history of our urban neighborhoods, instead of promoting large-scale, "bricks-and-mortar" urban renewal.

TRANSPORTATION INVESTMENTS

Transportation money is the "big carrot" available to the federal government in encouraging metropolitan areas to move toward a Regional City model. The federal government contributes $50 billion per year to regional and local transportation construction and operations throughout the country—the single biggest source of such funding in most locations. To support the Regional City, these funds must be spent to help create and maintain compact regions, walkable neighborhoods, and workable transit systems—not just by changing federal transportation *policy* (which has already been done in many respects), but by changing the way policy is *implemented* by state and local transportation agencies throughout the country.

Over the past forty years, federal transportation policy has undergone a remarkable evolution. In the 1950s and 1960s, the prevailing philosophy was one of *capacity.* The entire focus was on constructing a transportation system—specifically, a highway system—capable of carrying more vehicles.

Beginning in the 1970s, when the federal government also began providing strong financial support for public transit systems, the prevailing philosophy emphasized *mobility.* America's transportation problems would not be solved merely by building more highway capacity; the focus had to be on moving people from place to place, not merely increasing the speed of cars on highways.

Since the passage of the original Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) in 1991, the federal transportation philosophy has shifted again to emphasize *access.* The objective is not to move cars or even to move people over long distances. Rather, the objective is to ensure that people have access to the goods, services,

and locations that they need—either by enabling them to reach these locations (by whatever means) easily and conveniently or by placing the goods and services in proximity to where they are.

The philosophy of *access* is very much in keeping with the whole concept of the Regional City. As a policy goal, access was retained in TEA-21, the renewal of ISTEA that was passed by Congress in 1998. Unfortunately, however, even though federal *policies* favor the access philosophy, the actual *implementation* of those policies—especially by state highway departments—is still stuck in the capacity-building era of the 1950s and 1960s. Most highway bureaucrats still focus almost exclusively on constructing more highway and roadway capacity as the solution to transportation congestion.

Blind adherence to this outdated philosophy does not really address sprawl and inequity; nor does it improve the environmental problems associated with excessive automobile use, such as air pollution and energy consumption. Rather, sticking to the *capacity* model only makes these problems worse. In most metropolitan areas, simply adding more highway or expressway lanes rarely provides long-term relief for traffic congestion, because the new lanes are soon congested as well. And, by maintaining and increasing auto dependency, the capacity model doesn't begin to address the environmental damage created by cars.

Now that federal transportation policy has turned the corner philosophically, implementation tools also must change to ensure that these policies are carried out as Congress intended them to be. Several strategies can help achieve this goal. First, regions and states should be rewarded for progressive land-management policies that fit into the Regional City model, as do Oregon's and Washington's. (See the case studies of Portland and Seattle in Part Three: Regionalism Emerging.) States that encourage their metropolitan regions to improve the jobs–housing balance and encourage transit-oriented development zones should be given priority for both highway and transit dollars. Ironically, in most cases, those states that do the *worst* job of dealing with these problems are the winners: regions that sprawl and undergo increased congestion are rewarded with more highway funds, thus perpetuating the cycle.

A simple way to get federal priorities straight is to use regional vehicle miles traveled (VMT) per capita as a measuring stick. Regions with a decreasing VMT should be rewarded, whereas those with an increasing VMT should be penalized. This approach permits Regional-City goals to be reached without micromanaging state or regional

implementation strategies. The value of a VMT approach is evident. Since transforming themselves into Regional Cities, Portland and Seattle have slowed their VMT growth dramatically, whereas sprawling metropolises such as Atlanta continue to increase their reliance on cars disproportionately.

Finally—and perhaps most important—the analytical tools used to determine transportation alternatives must be broadened to include the likely effect of alternative land-use scenarios. The starkest example here is the need to overhaul the methodology of major investment studies, which often provide the backbone of federal transportation investment in metropolitan regions.

Under ISTEA and TEA-21, metropolitan regions have far more flexibility than ever before in determining how to spend their money at the regional level. For example, Metropolitan Planning Organizations—the regional planning agencies that determine how to spend federal transportation dollars—can choose to divert part of federal funds from highway projects to transit projects. But in determining how to spend federal money on specific transportation corridors, the federal government also requires a more fine-grained analysis of alternatives and costs and benefits. This fine-grained analysis is known as the major investment study (MIS).

The idea of an MIS is a good one, because thoughtful corridor analyses can support coherent regional planning. But, as with so many other implementation tools under ISTEA and TEA-21, the MIS analysis usually reflects the outdated biases of highway-oriented transportation engineers. Even when an MIS considers transit as an alternative to increased highway capacity, it rarely considers alternative land-use scenarios that might increase transit ridership. In most cases, the land-use assumptions are tied to existing zoning, which usually calls for low-density, segregated land uses—the traditional suburban formula.

Major investment studies are usually conducted by engineers who are comfortable with "hard infrastructure" solutions rather than a real discussion of alternative land-use policies. Both transportation officials and their engineering consultants are reluctant to engage the public in a real discussion about alternatives and fear that land use is politically hard to handle at the corridor level because it is traditionally controlled by local jurisdictions along the corridor. Therefore, the alternatives used in an MIS are reduced to differing route alignments, alternatives in the number of lanes, and transit options unlikely to work, because they are not supported by appropriate land-use

strategies. For example, one recent MIS cost $4 million, but only $100,000 was dedicated to land-use studies and the process included no discussion of alternatives to existing zoning. For all these reasons, the MIS usually reinforces the status quo: more highways to support more low-density suburban development.

Yet, in study areas where alternative land uses were analyzed, the results have been encouraging. For example, in the Highway 101 corridor study in Sonoma and Marin Counties, north of San Francisco, it was found that varying land use by only 5 percent would double the ridership of a proposed rail transit system. This minor change in land use dramatically reduced the need for additional highway capacity, which would be both extremely expensive and environmentally destructive. (The Marin–Sonoma example is discussed in more detail in Part Four of this book.)

The MIS is just one example—but an extremely important one—about how federal transportation planning and funding can support the transformation of metropolitan regions into true Regional Cities. ISTEA and TEA-21 encourage greater analysis of land-use alternatives but does not require it. To be truly successful, transportation analysis must provide communities with real alternatives about their future—not just engineering studies.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND OPEN-SPACE INVESTMENTS

If transportation is the big carrot available to the federal government to shape regional growth patterns, environmental policy is the big stick. Just as transportation investments shape the circulation patterns that determine the urban form of metropolitan areas, environmental regulations shape the open space patterns that form the boundaries of metropolitan growth.

Compared with virtually all other federal programs that affect metropolitan growth patterns, the power of federal environmental policy is surprisingly strong. The Clean Air Act is probably the most pervasive environmental law because it dictates good air quality in our metropolitan areas, and therefore its requirements can have a major influence on transportation investments and growth-and-development patterns. The Endangered Species Act is the single strongest federal environmental law in existence, requiring strict protection of wildlife habitat, without exception, whenever a federally protected plant or animal species is present. The Clean Water Act also directly affects

land-use patterns by establishing federal rules for development in the vicinity of wet-lands and watercourses. By purchasing and trading for valuable open-space land every year, a variety of federal agencies unwittingly create boundaries to metropolitan growth in many locations.

Many of these policies could help to shape the greenline of every metropolitan area—the natural systems and protected lands that serve as the natural and topographical boundaries of urban growth. Yet federal environmental agencies—narrowly focused on the task of protecting the environment according to their organizational mis-sions—rarely view themselves as being in the business of shaping urban growth in addition to protecting the environment. The result is a hodgepodge of land-use pat-terns, determined largely by the federal government on the basis of environmental considerations, with little concern for the effect on regional form.

Perhaps the most important exception to this trend is the implementation of the Clean Air Act, which is increasingly used to deal with regional growth and develop-ment patterns in large metropolitan areas. Like so many other federal laws, the Clean Air Act does not deal with land-use questions directly but has an enormous indirect effect on growth patterns—especially because of the way in which it interacts with TEA-21 and federal transportation policy.

The Clean Air Act sets standards for air quality in metropolitan areas throughout the nation and establishes timetables for nonattainment areas—that is, regions that do not attain federal air-quality standards. Although air pollution is created by many dif-ferent sources, in most metropolitan areas, the major problem is ozone smog, which is the result of emissions from the tailpipes of cars and trucks. In many states—espe-cially California and the northeastern states—the major focus of air-quality regulation has been to use improved technology to reduce tailpipe emissions.

However, despite dramatic improvements in tailpipe standards (reductions of as much as 99 percent in some cases), technology alone has not solved the problem. The reason is simple: in the typical metropolitan area, the amount of driving (as measured by vehicle miles traveled) is increasing so fast that this increase more than offsets the decrease in tailpipe emissions. Therefore, the Environmental Protection Agency is increasingly recognizing that air-quality standards cannot be attained unless regional growth patterns are altered so that there is less dependence on driving.

This linkage has become more important since federal transportation policy was linked to air quality in ISTEA. Under ISTEA (and now TEA-21), every metropolitan region must spend federal transportation funds in a way that ensures conformity with that region's air-quality plan prepared under the Clean Air Act. Simply put, if the region has polluted air, it cannot spend federal transportation funds on sprawl-inducing roads and highways that will dirty the air even more. If the conformity requirement is not met, the federal government has the option of withholding all transportation funds from the region.

This is why the state of Georgia passed a sweeping law in 1998 giving the state more power over transportation and land-use decisions. By almost any measurement, Atlanta has the worst sprawl of any large metropolitan region in the nation. The average commute in Atlanta is almost thirty-five miles, or double the national average. More important from a federal point of view, however, is the fact that metropolitan Atlanta is one of the most serious air-quality nonattainment areas in the nation. As the deadline for the region's attainment approached in the late 1990s—and there appeared to be little chance to meet the deadline—Atlanta was faced with the possibility of losing more than $1 billion in federal transportation funds by 2005.

As a result, the state passed the Georgia Regional Transportation Authority (GRTA), a sweeping law that gives Governor Roy Barnes great control over major transportation and land use in metropolitan Atlanta. Among other things, GRTA diverts highway funds to public transit projects, vetoes new highways proposed by the Georgia Department of Transportation, and overturns local decisions to build shopping malls on greenfield sites on the metropolitan fringe. Because the Georgia law is new, it is hard to say how successful it will be in transforming Atlanta into a true Regional City. However, there is little doubt that the Clean Air Act played a preeminent role in bringing the law about.

Like the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act and the Clean Water Act also do not regulate local land-use directly, but their policies on both land and water can have a major effect on metropolitan growth, as can federal land-management and ownership practices undertaken by the Bureau of Land Management, the USDA Forest Service, and other federal land-owning agencies. Traditionally, however, the agencies responsible for implementing these laws have done so in a narrow and bureaucratic way, with little thought for the overall pattern of metropolitan growth that results.

For example, in many western cities—Las Vegas, for example—federal land-management agencies routinely trade publicly owned land on the edge of the metropolis for more ecologically valuable property in rural areas. Thus, these federal agencies inadvertently promote suburban sprawl on the metropolitan fringe in their attempt to protect the environment elsewhere. Similarly, in virtually all metropolitan areas, federal environmental agencies restrict or prohibit urban development on sensitive natural land even when building on that land makes sense from the point of view of regional form. This restriction is frequently true of wildlife habitat protected by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service or wetlands protected by the Army Corps of Engineers. Often, the result is a set of federal actions that protects certain pieces of the natural environment but creates urban problems by separating urban centers from one another and providing them with poor connections.

In the past few years, several federal agencies have made progress in moving toward a more holistic approach to regional environmental and conservation planning, recognizing that they must protect entire ecosystems, not just patches of sensitive land that may be threatened by one development project or another. This trend is encouraging, but federal environmental officials still often fail to see that in carving out open-space preserves, they are practicing a kind of landscape architecture that shapes urban areas as well as natural ones. It makes little sense to pursue conservation planning that protects some pieces of land without addressing the underlying reasons—sprawling, low-density, auto-oriented development patterns—that sensitive lands are threatened in the first place.

Thus, it's not surprising that federal environmental officials often find themselves falling behind a curve of growth and development that they cannot truly overcome with the continuation of status-quo policies. The regional orientation of air-quality standards—and the linkage between the Clean Air Act and TEA-21—give the federal government an opportunity to use environmental policy to further the goal of regionalism throughout the nation. But the individual federal environmental policies must take their effects on metropolitan growth into account. It makes little sense, for example, to protect small or poorly placed wetlands or habitat if the overall effect is to increase sprawl, congestion, and air pollution. Federal environmental policy must recognize that consciously designing the Regional City is good ecological practice and that many of their isolated programs should be coordinated with one another and with a locally sponsored regional vision.

HOUSING FINANCING

For almost seventy years, the federal government has played an important role in shaping the housing patterns of metropolitan America. From the New Deal onward, a variety of federal finance, tax, and loan programs have sought to stabilize housing markets and, especially, expand home-ownership opportunities. These programs have been extraordinarily successful in building home ownership. Almost two-thirds of all American households own their own houses—one of the highest figures in the world and the highest in history. Yet, at the same time, these same credit policies have encouraged sprawl and inequity in all metropolitan regions by favoring mortgages for single-family homes, especially those in traditional suburban neighborhoods.

As we have stated repeatedly throughout this book, the Regional City must have a diverse supply of housing in every neighborhood in order for both region and neighborhood to thrive. Like other federal policies, the federal government's housing credit policies should work to reduce metropolitan sprawl and inequity rather than exacerbate them. This means that the federal government should place more emphasis on different housing types, including mixed-income multifamily and mixed-use projects, which can help to bring diversity to individual neighborhoods.

This is the opposite of the role the federal government has traditionally played. From the beginning of its involvement in ownership housing in the 1930s, the federal government has encouraged the creation of conventional single-family suburban neighborhoods—communities that are auto oriented and segregated by use. For decades, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) provided loans only for houses that fit this description. And the home-ownership efforts of Fannie Mae (Federal National Mortgage Association) and other federally chartered secondary mortgage companies have hewed closely to this traditional suburban notion of "good" housing and neighborhoods.

Fannie Mae and its sister institutions have played an important role in creating housing opportunity by creating the secondary mortgage market— buying mortgages from banks throughout the country that originate the loans, and thus ensuring a continuous fresh supply of new capital for housing in communities throughout the nation. But the Fannie Mae record on multifamily mortgages is illustrative of how narrowly focused the whole secondary market has been on "plain vanilla" single-family housing. In recent years, Fannie Mae has created several new programs sup-

posedly designed to encourage multifamily housing. The dollar amounts of Fannie Mae multifamily loans seem impressive at first glance. For example, in 1998, Fannie Mae purchased almost $2.6 billion in new multifamily loans from mortgage origina- tors and held almost $12 billion in multifamily loans in its portfolio.

Yet these figures are deceiving, because they constitute only a tiny fraction of the overall secondary market within which Fannie Mae is operating. Fannie Mae's $2.6 billion in multifamily *purchases* in 1998 was only 1.4 percent of the association's overall purchase activity. The remaining $186 billion was spent on single-family activity. The $11 billion in multifamily loans that Fannie Mae *held* in 1998 was less than 3 percent of its overall portfolio. The rest of Fannie Mae's portfolio—more than $400 billion—was in single-family mortgages. Surprisingly, despite Fannie Mae's rhetoric on increasing multifamily activity, these statistics reveal a significant drop from the early 1990s. In 1994, Fannie Mae's portfolio included 7.2 percent in multi- family loans, a far higher percentage than now.

Furthermore, even these multifamily statistics seem large compared with the record on mixed-use projects. Mixed-use projects are just as important as multifamily proj- ects to creating the diverse and vibrant neighborhoods and districts required by the Regional City. Yet very few private lenders will take on mixed-use projects, because the whole concept of creditworthiness is deeply rooted in the segregation of uses that characterized the suburban era. The federal government has played virtually no role in encouraging the private market to provide financing for these projects.

The federal government can and should play an important role in encouraging diverse and healthy neighborhoods by expanding the secondary market for mixed-income multifamily housing projects and creating a secondary market for mixed-use projects. By taking such steps for the single-family market during the Great Depression, the federal government helped stabilize that market and greatly expanded the capital available to single-family home buyers. Today, the federal government can encourage the transformation of our metropolitan regions into true Regional Cities by doing the same thing with mixed-income multifamily projects and mixed-use projects.

Because there is little existing secondary market for mixed-income multifamily and mixed-use projects, the originating lenders are likely to be "stuck" with the loans in an economic downturn. The loans that are sold into the secondary market tend to be large properties with modest debt levels, strong operating histories, and substantial

cash reserves. But, because mixed-income multifamily and mixed-use projects are "nonstandard" projects, they usually don't meet these criteria.

It is true that over the past few decades, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has sometimes provided funding to build affordable housing projects. But this funding is subject to the vagaries of the federal appropriations process, and it would be far more powerful to use the federal government's leverage to encourage the private sector to provide such funding instead. The obvious solution is for the federal government to create a free-standing entity, similar to Fannie Mae, that would specialize in buying these loans from originators and then pooling and "securitizing" them for sale to Wall Street investors. To make these securities attractive, the underlying loans would probably have to be guaranteed up to a certain amount by the Federal Housing Administration, just as single-family loans packaged by Fannie Mae already are.

It is easy to overlook the importance of federal credit policy in making multifamily housing—and, indeed, any type of development project—feasible in the private marketplace. But "form follows financing" is an axiom for regional growth. Transportation funding may be the big carrot of urban growth, and environmental regulations may be the big stick, but credit policies that stimulate a broader variety of housing stock in neighborhoods throughout the Regional City can draw billions of dollars of private capital into the Regional-City effort that otherwise would be used to finance further suburban sprawl.

URBAN REVITALIZATION PROGRAMS

Of all the federal programs that have dealt with metropolitan matters in the past half century, perhaps none have received more attention—or more criticism—than urban policy programs. Ever since the passage of the Housing Act of 1949, the federal government has undertaken a whole series of programs intended to halt and reverse the increasing isolation of poor people in older central cities. Not all of these programs have worked. Indeed, some have been outright disasters—such as the urban renewal and public housing programs of the 1950s and 1960s.

These programs sought unsuccessfully to suburbanize our cities by substituting highways for street grids, superblocks for urban fabric, housing projects for neighborhoods, retail centers for main streets, and towers for townhomes. In the end, these

programs simply increased the isolation and concentration of poverty in inner cities, because their suburban concepts encouraged an overall loss of the diversity, sense of community, and respect for history that all successful neighborhoods require.

This experience has led many commentators to conclude that the federal government should not even attempt urban-revitalization efforts; rather, it should leave this task to the private marketplace. However, as with the other policy areas discussed in this section, it is inevitable that the federal government will play a role in urban revitalization. Urban decay is an issue of national importance that demands federal involvement. Even the Reagan-era conservative politics of the 1980s could not do away with the concept of a federal urban policy.

Today, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has a budget of more than $20 billion, making it one of the most important investors in America's urban neighborhoods. HUD spends some $3 billion a year on public-housing subsidies alone, and $5 billion a year on the Community Development Block Grant program—a flexible program that rewards local initiative and has received strong bipartisan support in Congress for almost thirty years.

As with other policy areas, then, the question is not *whether* the federal government should have an urban revitalization policy, the question is *what* that policy should be and, specifically, how that policy should attack the twin problems of metropolitan sprawl and inequity and encourage the transformation of our metropolitan regions into true Regional Cities.

Instead of focusing on bricks-and-mortar and bureaucracy, as urban policy has done in the past, a more holistic approach would focus on neighborhoods and communities—especially on the social, economic, and human capital within those communities. This basic framework was put into place at HUD in the 1990s, when Henry Cisneros and Andrew Cuomo served as HUD secretaries in the Clinton administration.

Given the political turmoil and the frequently shifting political priorities in the Clinton years, this new and sensible approach to urban revitalization did not always get the attention that it deserved, even from the president and others within the administration. However, no matter who is president in the future, this approach provides an excellent blueprint for federal urban policy.

Perhaps the best articulation of this approach came in 1994, when HUD changed federal requirements to require communities to prepare a "consolidated plan"—that is, one plan to fulfill community-planning requirements for many HUD programs. The idea of an integrated vision permeates many federal revitalization strategies today, and places federal urban policy in a much broader and more cohesive context when it is applied "on the ground" in neighborhoods and communities throughout the nation. And over the past several years, we have seen this concept applied by the federal government, sometimes inconsistently, in two broad areas. The first is in implementing programs that seek to improve conditions in poor neighborhoods. The second is in implementing programs that seek to reconnect poor residents to the metropolitan regions in which they live.

The concept of an integrated vision as it is articulated in HUD's Consolidated Plan process will be described in more detail in Part Four. For now, it is sufficient to note that in the arena of making poor neighborhoods better, we have seen the implementation of a whole series of federal programs—some originally proposed by Democrats, others by Republicans—that have shown promise in bringing those neighborhoods out of isolation and back into the orbit of the city and region. Perhaps the most important of them is the so-called HOPE VI program, which has focused on redesigning and revitalizing the extremely poor urban neighborhoods that have suffered from the worst examples of high-rise public housing. HOPE VI also will be discussed in detail in Part Four. Suffice it to say here that it is an excellent example of how the federal government can take an integrated approach to community building. Instead of simply warehousing poor people in high-rise buildings, HOPE VI has replaced some sixty thousand units in failed public housing projects with well-designed, human-scale housing that is integrated into the community around it. HUD has also sought to encourage working people to live in HOPE VI projects, thus ending the concentration and isolation of households in poverty.

Several other programs in recent years have shown promise in improving central-city neighborhoods that have suffered from a concentration of poverty. For example, the federal Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) program has provided several billion dollars in targeted assistance and tax breaks to encourage economic growth in troubled central-city areas. The program is a variation on the "enterprise zone" concept, which was first proposed by Reagan Republicans in the 1980s as a way to provide tax breaks and regulatory relief to employers who locate in inner-city areas.

In keeping with the Consolidated Plan philosophy, EZ/ECs begin by adopting a community vision and a strategic plan. Communities then use a wide variety of incentives available inside the zones, such as tax credits for welfare-to-work, environmental cleanup, and access to special bond money. The program has already attracted more than $10 billion in new public and private investments in EZ/EC communities, according to HUD.

Similarly, HUD has also undertaken a "homeownership zone" initiative that permits the creation of mixed-income, owner-occupied housing in distressed inner-city neighborhoods as a means of increasing stability in those areas. Using existing grant programs, the Homeownership Zone program is targeting the creation of thirty-five hundred new housing units in a dozen U.S. cities. This step is tremendously important, and it could become far more powerful if it were combined with a more broad-minded federal approach to housing credit, as we discussed in the preceding section.

Both HUD and EPA have embarked on "brownfields" programs, which provide government assistance in assessing and cleaning up toxic contamination on underutilized urban sites—often former industrial sites—that could be converted into housing, manufacturing, or commercial centers. The programs are crucial in making good locations in central cities and older suburbs competitive for new development. The federal government has also sought to make older urban areas more competitive by locating federal offices in these neighborhoods whenever possible—a policy that is actually a requirement under an executive order signed by President Clinton.

Not all of these inner-city-improvement programs work perfectly. HUD and EPA, for example, do not coordinate their brownfield programs well, and many federal agencies have not followed the Clinton executive order about office locations. Nevertheless, all of these programs represent important progress toward the goals outlined in the HUD Consolidated Plan.

At the same time as the federal government must work on improving older neighborhoods, it must also focus on reconnecting poor residents to the region as a whole. Using its unique position as the federal agency in charge of both housing and community development, HUD has made significant strides in recent years in making this connection. For example, HUD's pilot Moving to Opportunity program sought to broaden the success of the Gautreaux program in Chicago by helping approximately five thousand poor families in five cities move into new neighborhoods. The five-year

evaluation of Moving to Opportunity in 1999 revealed that most families had made significant strides and had moved into affluent neighborhoods with far more frequency than they would have if they had remained in conventional Section 8 programs. The program provides a model for future federal housing programs, especially considering that HUD is a major owner not only of public housing projects but also of suburban homes claimed through foreclosure in FHA or VA programs.

More recently, HUD established the $100 million Regional Connections program as a part of the large Community Development Block Grant program. This program provides a way of helping communities work together to develop strategies to deal with economic development, affordable housing, and other matters at the scale of metropolitan inequity and metropolitan sprawl.

Given the experience of the last half century, it is tempting to suggest that the federal government should simply withdraw from efforts at urban revitalization and other community-building arenas. But this approach is not a realistic. The federal government's broad-based programs will always play a role in shaping the region and its neighborhoods. The goal of federal participation should be to reinforce the idea of the Regional City and encourage a holistic approach to urban revitalization. The goal is simply to create regions in which sprawl and inequity will no longer harm the national interest or encourage the federal government to throw "good money after bad," trying to solve problems that federal policies and funding formulas help to create.

PART THREE:
REGIONALISM EMERGING

Each region has its own history, ecology, geography, economy, political frame-work, and social and cultural backdrop. This means that the Regional City will take many forms, adapting itself to the conditions of each region as appropriate.

INTRODUCTION

The Regional City that we have described throughout this book is not merely a theory. In a growing number of metropolitan regions throughout the United States, it is becoming a reality. Most major metropolitan regions in the country have undertaken some effort at regional planning, regional visioning, or regional coordination in the past few years.

This part of *The Regional City* focuses on nine regions that have, in one way or another, sought to tackle the basic problems of the metropolitan region. Chapter 6 deals with metropolises that have taken steps to become true Regional Cities—Portland, Salt Lake City, and Seattle. All have undertaken metropolitan planning or visioning efforts that fully embrace Regional-City concepts. Chapter 7 deals with "superregions"—New York, Chicago, and San Francisco—that have struggled with how to address regional problems at an enormous scale. And Chapter 8 deals with three examples of what we call "state-led regionalism"—Florida, Maryland, and Minnesota, all of which have sought to deal with metropolitan-scale problems through state legislation.

As we assess the experiences of these case-study regions, it is clear that we are still in the embryonic stage of the Regional City, with different regions testing different approaches, ideas, and implementation strategies. It is also clear that, even when the Regional-City principles are part of the regionalism effort, there is no single "silver bullet" solution or process. Each region has its own history, ecology, geography, economy, political framework, and social and cultural backdrop. Each region, for example, will strike a different balance between local and regional control—especially over land-use issues, which often are the core of regional problems. This means that the Regional City will take many forms, adapting itself to the conditions of each region as appropriate.

Despite these differences, however, a common theme runs through all of these case studies: the importance of creating a vision for the physical design of the region and then using that design vision as a touchstone for future action.

This theme is obvious in the most successful regional efforts, such as those of Portland and Seattle. These regions have addressed the question of physical design directly by (1) adopting what we would call a Regional Boundary (the Urban Growth Boundary in Portland and the Urban Growth Area in Seattle) and (2) pursuing land-use and transportation policies inside the regional boundary that emphasize choice and equity. Salt Lake's alternate physical design scenarios provided the basis for the entire regionalism discussion, which is still ongoing.

Remarkably, though, the physical design question is also emerging in other areas that initially dealt with regionalism merely as a policy question. In locations as diverse as South Florida, the Twin Cities, and New Jersey, state and regional planning leaders are coming to the conclusion that their policy-driven efforts at regionalism—enlightened though they may be—simply cannot get the job done unless they are also tied to a physical vision of the region's future. So civic and political leaders in these areas are now embarking on a new generation of efforts at regionalism that incorporates a physical design vision as well as equitable anti-sprawl policies. In other areas, such as Chicago, an analysis of the region's problem of sprawl and inequity has led quickly to a desire to focus on a physical vision in the implementation stage.

These case studies, then, reinforce one of our most basic tenets about the Regional City: that in order to succeed it must be shaped through a conscious process of design that uses the art of configuring a physical form as a means of integrating the vast array of issues that must be addressed at a regional scale—ecology, economics, culture, social equity, and even a region's history and its political orientation.

CHAPTER 6:

DESIGNING THE REGIONS:
PORTLAND, SALT LAKE, AND SEATTLE

Of all the metropolitan areas in the United States that have recently undertaken experiments in regionalism, three stand out: Portland, Salt Lake, and Seattle. In each case, civic and political leaders have moved in exemplary fashion toward creating a physical vision for the Regional City and carrying it out. All three regions are far along the path of combining their geography, their physical design, and their social and economic infrastructure into a comprehensive and integrated vision for the future. In Portland and Seattle, we have begun to see significant changes in the way governments make decisions, the way private businesses make investments, and the way people live.

All three of these metropolitan regions have certain advantages that make pursuit of the Regional City a little easier. All are located in the West, where population growth is accepted as part of the metropolitan landscape and where prosperity can often provide the foundation for a regional discussion that is more difficult to manage in economically stagnant areas. All are relatively small (from one million to three million people) and relatively homogenous—though Seattle is larger and more diverse than the other two. In addition, all three regions were blessed with civic leaders—both inside and outside government agencies—with the vision to see problems on a regional scale and the clout to initiate a regional discussion.

Obviously, not all metropolitan areas are blessed with these advantages. Even so, Portland, Salt Lake City, and Seattle are important models for a nationwide discussion of the Regional City. Other regions may be larger or more diverse or more economically troubled or all three. But America's fastest-growing metropolitan regions are all approximately the same size as the three regions described here.

PORTLAND METRO

In 1973, Oregon adopted a series of state planning laws that led to the adoption of Portland's Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) provisionally in 1976 and finally in 1979. The boundary was conceived primarily to protect farmlands from speculation and development, and indeed it did so. The boundary contained sprawl but did not change its nature—and it was not intended to do so. Even the addition of a regional governing body (Metro was created by a local vote in 1979) to the Urban Growth Boundary was not enough to change the nature of suburban development.

In this sense, the UGB in Oregon is fundamentally misunderstood. It was not originally intended to change the type of development within the UGB. In fact, it is not

even a fixed boundary, it is legally elastic. The UGB must be adjusted periodically to provide enough land for twenty years of growth, with the critical variables—density and growth rates—open ended. Hypothetically (if the region assumed low densities and high growth rates), the boundary could be so large as to be effectively nonexistent. Indeed, the line established in 1976 was so loose that it took twenty years for development to reach it, partly because of a regional recession in the 1980s (the area actually lost population in 1983).

Even with the UGB in place, the land-use and infrastructure investments in the region had been on automatic pilot for years. But, by the end of the 1980s, it was increasingly clear that those patterns and investments needed to change. Many understood that to have an effective regional plan, preserving open space and farmlands was important but not enough. It was also clear that reconnecting the form of communities with an appropriate transportation infrastructure was as fundamental to a healthy environment as preserving natural systems and farmlands.

By the early 1990s, several initiatives began to shift policy and the regional vision in a substantive manner. A new state Transportation Planning Rule required cities with populations larger than 25,000 to revise their transportation plans to provide more emphasis on alternative modes, requiring pedestrian-friendly design along transit lines and street connectivity in subdivisions. The four MPOs in the state had to adopt transportation plans that sought to achieve a decrease in vehicle miles traveled (VMT) per capita over time. Additionally, Metro was beginning to address the increase in VMT per capita with its Regional Urban Growth Goals and Objectives, which also called for a new regional plan. In 1992, Metro started its now-infamous plan, Region 2040. A nonprofit environmental advocacy group called 1000 Friends of Oregon had challenged the creation of a new highway for the west side of the region in 1988, and it began its landmark study of an alternative land-use–transportation strategy in 1991. The question of regional form within the UGB was about to be addressed.

The Land Use, Transportation, Air Quality Connection (LUTRAQ)

1000 Friends had originally focused on defending the UGB and rural lands, but through the years had come to understand that these matters could not be isolated from broader development and transportation policies. In the 1980s, 1000 Friends was very active in advocating that development densities be addressed at state and regional levels. Early in the 1990s, they took on transportation issues in a comprehensive manner by creating an alternative to the proposed Western Bypass Highway.

Coming out of the recession, Washington County had been the region's leader in growth. With an urban area of 100 square miles, the county was projected to have 150,000 new residents and 100,000 new jobs by 2010. It was an area that was filled with the typical landscape of subdivisions, office parks, and malls. Only 3 percent of the work trips were by transit, compared with 7 percent for the region as a whole. Over the next twenty years, the county's congestion was projected to grow at twice the rate of its population. Oregon's Department of Transportation (ODOT) figured that it was time for a new highway to relieve the congestion, and unfortunately, Metro concurred by adopting the proposal as part of its Regional Transportation Plan. The proposed highway, the Western Bypass, ran outside the UGB for a considerable length and therefore threatened to create development pressures in preserved lands.

1000 Friends understood that simply opposing the highway would not succeed politically. They needed a feasible alternative plan, one that made new assumptions about the quality and placement of future growth as well as positing different transportation investments—not sprawl and not highways. Their work started in 1991 and was completed in 1997, and they ultimately succeeded in helping to replace the bypass freeway with a new light-rail system and the sprawl with a new pattern of development called Transit Oriented Development (TOD). The project was called Making the Land Use, Transportation, Air Quality Connection, or LUTRAQ for short.

LUTRAQ's goal was to provide an alternative in the required environmental analysis of transportation options. As explained in Chapter 5, the federal government allowed land-use alternatives to be considered in such studies, but they rarely were. Land-use changes at the corridor or subregional level were considered a political nightmare. It made sense, therefore, for a nonprofit citizens group to take on the task; its members could risk the wrath of local governments responding negatively to changes in their general plan maps. And, as advocates, they could challenge the public with new ideas.

At its core, the LUTRAQ alternative envisioned a new light-rail extension with increased feeder bus service coupled with Transit Oriented Development and complementary improvements in local arterial roads. The concept of TODs had been developed first in Sacramento County in the updating of its general plan in 1990 and had been adopted by San Diego County as design guidelines at about the same time. But, as a regional growth strategy, it had not been analyzed rigorously.

The central notion of TODs was that clustering jobs, services, and housing in areas served by transit would give people several convenient alternatives to the car: walking, biking, carpooling, buses, and rail. But the land uses needed to be more than clustered; the vision was to create interconnected neighborhoods and districts designed for the pedestrian as well as the car. Portland had many older, highly valued "streetcar neighborhoods" that possessed many of the qualities of TOD.

The LUTRAQ alternative proposed three types of TODs, each walkable and mixed use but at varying densities, given differing locations. In some ways, each is similar to the three types of contours described as regional building blocks in Chapter 3. *Mixed-use centers* had the highest densities and the greatest percentage of jobs and were located at the centers of existing towns projected to have light-rail service. Their residential densities ranged from twelve to fifty units per acre for the infill sites. These mixed-use centers were to be the major commercial centers for each subregion with about 45 percent of their area dedicated to new jobs. *Urban TODs* were located directly adjacent to more remote rail station sites and combined some jobs with housing at an average density of fifteen dwelling units per acre. *Neighborhood TODs* were walkable and mixed-use neighborhoods located within two miles of a new light-rail station—a convenient feeder-bus or bike ride away. They were to be dominated by housing averaging just eight dwelling units per acre, with some supporting retail and civic uses.

Establishing TODs as a feasible alternative land-use pattern took thorough research into demographic trends, the housing and job markets, and available land capacities. The research showed that Washington County, like many suburbs, was not providing enough multifamily housing. The increase in single-person households along with empty nesters and a large transient population (people just moving to the area for a new job temporarily renting) had created an unmet demand for higher-density housing that the TODs could help satisfy. Additionally, it was found that there was a

large growth in retail jobs that could provide a basis for the shops needed to make the TODs mixed use. Finally, the land analysis showed that more than 22,000 acres—one-third of the land within the UGB of the county—was vacant or underutilized. In short, the studies showed that there was a strong demographic and market demand for the type of development contemplated in TODs and that land for them was available.

The LUTRAQ alternative created a countywide land-use plan for the projected population and job increases that mixed TODs with standard development types. The different types of TODs were placed throughout the county according to their intensity and transit accessibility. The remaining lands were projected for low-density residential development and industrial uses.

Married to this alternative land-use plan was an array of transportation improvements. Light-rail extensions in the area were already under study by TriMet, the regional transit operator. They consisted of the now-complete westside line to Hillsboro along with a southern extension from Beaverton to Tualatin. This core transit system was supplemented by several express bus lines to major activity centers in outlying areas along with an extensive feeder bus system to bring people to the trunk lines.

Along with these traditional transit systems were the often-overlooked investments in pedestrian and bikeway systems. The LUTRAQ proposal recognized that a workable transit system needed pedestrian-friendly areas at its origins and destinations and that walking and biking, even independent of transit, could make a large contribution to reducing auto use in the county. Finally, the alternative included modest but critical improvements to the existing highway and arterial road network. Just as its plan provided for a broad range of land-use choices, the LUTRAQ transportation plan provided for a full range of travel choices, from car to transit to walking or biking.

As we have pointed out, one of the greatest problems of regional transportation planning is that significant land-use alternatives are rarely considered. Another problem emerges when alternative land-use patterns *are* considered. The computer models used to project demand are typically insensitive to urban-design strategies that support walking, biking, and transit use.

These transportation models were developed in the heyday of suburban development when it seemed reasonable to design for the worst-case auto-dependent future. These

models were designed to size the next highway—not to accurately project the split between auto use, walking, and transit for a range of complex land-use patterns. In fact, walking and bike trips were not typically even included in the data used to calibrate and validate the projections of the models. Transit trips were largely tied to household income and housing density with the tacit belief that anyone who could afford a single-family home would always use a car. The primary critique of the models had been that they didn't account for the "induced trips" created by new roads—not that they were blind to the effect of TODs.

But the LUTRAQ alternative needed modeling that could actually account for a difference in "mode split"—the percentage of daily trips from each type of household "split" to differing types of transportation—for the differing types of TODs. The existing computer model used for the Bypass study could not do it. So the LUTRAQ team along with the Metro staff began a process to enhance the model by adding software that would draw finer distinctions based on mixed-use environments and their pedestrian-friendly configurations.

They developed the Pedestrian Environment Factor (PEF) to allow the model to more accurately predict the percentage of trips on foot or bike. The PEF had four variables: ease of street crossings, sidewalk continuity, local street connections, and topography. Put simply, people would be more likely to walk in areas without big arterial roads, without discontinuous sidewalks, without dead-end cul-de-sacs, and without steep hills. The analysis showed that households in neighborhoods with the highest PEF ranking traveled in cars less than half as many miles as households in the lowest PEF neighborhoods. When household size and income were held constant, the quality of the pedestrian environment still showed a significant effect.

Many other factors must be incorporated into an analysis of new types of development. The PEF was just the beginning. In a follow-up study done by Metro, the density of jobs (which reflects local walkable destinations) became an added factor for the walk/bike mode split. This measure of local destinations was combined with a simple measure of walkability—the density of street intersections—to produce the Urban Index. This factor later proved even more predictive than the PEF and was simpler to use.

Beyond encouraging walking and biking, pedestrian and transit-friendly design can affect the length and the number of auto trips. The clustered jobs and services tend

to bring these major destinations closer and allow travelers to combine what would be multiple errands into one trip.

Regardless of the sophistication of the modeling, the LUTRAQ alternative performed better than the Bypass Highway alternative by all criteria used in the evaluations: 22.5 percent fewer trips to work were made in single-occupant vehicles, and 27 percent more trips were made on transit or by walking and biking. Without any new highway construction, the LUTRAQ alternative even reduced the total amount of highway congestion by 18 percent relative to the Bypass option. LUTRAQ resulted in less air pollution (–6 to –8.7 percent), less greenhouse gas (–7.9 percent), and less energy consumed (–7.9 percent). And these advantages were even greater for those households and businesses located in TODs. The average number of transit trips per household went from 8.8 percent in the Bypass option to 28.2 percent in a TOD. And the average single-occupant auto use dropped to less than 50 percent compared with 75 percent for the more standard development patterns.

Ultimately, the LUTRAQ alternative won. In 1990, ODOT was considering only a Bypass and a "no build" option. In 1992, LUTRAQ published its alternative and, through citizen pressure, it was included in the environmental impact statement process. In 1995, that process defined the environmental impact of five alternatives, ranging from the new highway to the LUTRAQ alternative. The results showed that the LUTRAQ alternative was the only choice (other than a no-build option with congestion levels so high that there was less travel altogether) that would comply with the federal Clean Air Act and with Oregon's growth-management policies.

In 1996, ODOT recommended an alternative to the bypass highway by using the LUTRAQ land-use proposals and a new light-rail line, which ultimately opened for service in 1999. Metro's 2040 plan, which was running in tandem with LUTRAQ, was able to use the tools developed and political support created through 1000 Friend's efforts throughout the region. And, at the state level, the concepts affected the Oregon Transportation Planning Rule, which now promotes compact pedestrian- and transit-friendly development. It also requires the consideration of land-use alternatives in all transportation planning.

Region 2040: Decisions for Tomorrow

In 1992, Metro began a process to review the UGB and in so doing to reexamine all the assumptions about growth in the region. Unlike 1000 Friends of Oregon, Metro did not and could not start with an agenda or a bias. Its job was to find a consensus on the nature, quantity, and placement of growth in the region. To succeed, it needed the widespread support of citizens and the twenty-seven local cities and three counties in the region. It had a state mandate to manage growth, but it needed local support to shape and implement it. And it was bound by state law to provide a twenty-year inventory of developable land within the UGB. The density of the residential development, the nature of the jobs, and the appropriate location of each were open questions.

In regional planning, public education moves in two directions: from citizens to elected officials and staff, and from planners back to citizens. In the process, the elected officials and planners find out what the public wants and, perhaps more important, how much they want it. They also uncover the demographic and economic realities that drive growth. The public at large is educated in regard to what choices they have and what the trade-offs are for those choices. More often than not, the public has an opportunity to learn about and consider choices that it didn't know it had. And, through the scenario process, it begins to understand the larger implications of the differing futures.

Metro started its process by assessing the general values and desires of the public and then moved through a series of opinion polls to more and more specific questions about trade-offs. The general survey revealed no surprises. People valued convenience, accessibility, and quietness in their neighborhoods. At a regional scale, they valued open space and scenic beauty even more than the region's people. In fact, 39 percent valued natural beauty and 14 percent valued environmental quality, whereas only 19 percent valued the people of the region or a sense of community. Although just 20 percent desired a rural lifestyle, most valued the region's perceived small-town atmosphere. Their dislikes were also fairly typical; traffic was considered the biggest problem by a margin of three to one. Other worries included lost environmental quality, safety, and a sense that the area was growing too fast. One dark cloud was uncovered in the general surveys—people's expectations for the future. Three times as many respondents thought quality of life would get worse, compared with those with no opinion or those who had an optimistic view of the future. "More of the same" seemed to worry the people of the Portland region.

On probing deeper, the surveys found some contradictions in how people felt about key issues. It became clear that people did not understand that what they desired individually was not always possible to enjoy collectively. Whereas some might be able to live on a one-acre lot within a five-minute drive of downtown, clearly many could not. Not only was the ideal unaffordable, but too much of it would limit other lifestyles. There emerged a clear double standard: "I don't like sprawl, but I don't want my neighborhood to change." "I like transit, but I mostly drive my car." "I don't want growth, but I like a strong economy." To get past the attitude of having it both ways, the next surveys offered a set of trade-offs such as:

• Should growth occur in existing neighborhoods or in new areas?

• Should investments be made in highways or transit?

• Should commercial development occur in typical suburban patterns or be clustered in more urban centers?

• Should residential and commercial areas be mixed or separate?

• Should there be a public policy to encourage affordable housing or should the market determine prices?

The results of this more probing survey were rather startling. Only 14 percent preferred investing in roads rather than transit, and only 13 percent thought growth should occur in new areas. Whereas 37 percent felt public policy should encourage affordable housing, 32 percent thought it should be market driven—an even split. In the other trade-offs, people seemed to want a mix of both approaches: 43 percent thought commercial development should be in both suburban and urban locations; 40 percent felt housing and jobs should be mixed; and a similar percentage felt they should be segregated. The message seemed to be to hold the UGB, invest in transit, and have a mix of land-use policies that allowed a range of development patterns.

After these surveys were taken, Metro began studying the region, its existing characteristics, and its future trends. With the assumption of a moderate growth rate, the population of the region, with 1.4 million in 1990, was projected to grow to 2.5 million in fifty years. The average existing density for the region was 3,000 persons per square mile, compared with 1,200 in Nashville, 4,300 in San Francisco, and 7,500 in Toronto. Metro found that within the UGB's 234,000 acres, 120,000 acres of land were developed, 61,000 were streets and open space, and 53,000 were vacant—quite a large opportunity for infill development.

Metro also found a considerable mismatch between the current zoning and the existing development patterns. For example, while 35 percent of the existing single-family lots were considered small (5,000 square feet and under), only 20 percent of the new areas were zoned for small lots.

Similarly, while 90 percent of new jobs were projected in the nonmanufacturing sector, 27 percent of the land was zoned for industrial development—even though only 16 percent of the region's land was currently covered by industrial development. In fact, Metro found that only one-third of the region's jobs were located in industrial areas, whereas 55 percent of them were in commercial areas and 12 percent were in residential areas. Work at home had already become a significant pattern. In other words, the current zoning for housing and jobs did not take into account either historic patterns or reasonable projections of the future.

The 2040 Concept Plans

Next, the Metro staff and consultants created and analyzed a "base case" future and three alternatives. The base case represented a simple build-out of current zoning and an expansion of the UBG by some 100,000 acres. Each of the three alternatives attempted to meet new state and regional goals for land conservation and traffic reductions in different ways. Metro was challenged by what LUTRAQ was doing in Washington County and pushed by larger policy decisions that called for environmental preservation and air-quality improvements.

The Regional Urban Growth Goals and Objectives adopted by Metro in 1991 were progressive on land-use and transportation matters but not specific in implementation strategies or physical visions. Region 2040 was meant to realize the policies and provide a more definitive vision of the region. In addition, the Transportation Rule adopted by the state set very aggressive goals for the reduction of VMT, congestion, and better air quality. The combination of these policies and examples pushed 2040 to use a form of Transit Oriented Development in all of its alternatives. The choices were effectively variations on the direction set by LUTRAQ. But the constituency was much larger and the job of reaching a consensus much more demanding.

The alternatives evolved into one plan to modestly expand the boundary (called Concept A), a plan to keep the boundary intact (Concept B), and a plan to use "satellite cities" to absorb some of the growth (Concept C). Whereas the base case needed 100,000 acres beyond the UGB to satisfy growth demands, Concept A needed 42,000

acres, Concept C—by using the land available in other towns—needed only 17,000 acres, and Concept B by definition needed none. This variation in the amount of land consumed was the result of differing densities—but not as dramatically different as one would expect. The base case assumed 70 percent of the housing to be single-family residences, whereas Concept B, the highest density, assumed 60 percent. And the percentage of land in high-density housing (fifty units per acre or more) varied from only 7.4 percent to 11.2 percent. Another element that affected overall land area was how much redevelopment was assumed. For the base case, redevelopment was zero, and, for B, it was 18 percent, a dramatic shift in policy. This fundamental variation in density and land area came to be known as the "grow up or grow out" choice.

All of the alternatives used mixed-use areas and TODs to varying degrees. Whereas the base case projected none of the new development area in mixed-use patterns, Concept A had 24 percent, Concept B had the highest at 30 percent, and Concept C had 27 percent of the land in what could become walkable environments. The amount of area accessible to transit followed a similar pattern, doubling from the base case to Concept B. Other measures of urbanism followed a similar proportion. The areas with central-city density and form went from 48 to 100 acres, and commercial centers, the next level of urbanism, also doubled from 2,300 to 5,300 acres. This variation in mixed-use areas, TODs, and urban centers presented another fundamental choice for the region: build single-use environments for the car or build mixed-use areas for pedestrians and transit.

The traffic, air-quality, and transit implications for the alternatives showed significant differences. The average vehicle miles traveled per capita dropped 20 percent between the base case and the more compact Concept B. The percentage of transit and walking trips increased by 50 percent, and, as one would expect, deleterious air-quality effects were least for Concept B. The amount of congestion in these alternatives is partly a product of how much and what type of travel the various land-use configurations generate and partly a product of how much is invested in new roads and improvements. More roads reduce congestion in the short run. The base case added close to 1,500 new lane miles, whereas Concept B added only 257. Nevertheless, Concept B had only an additional 152 lane miles of congestion at the peak hour. Put another way, the base case had more that 1,200 new miles of road but prevented only 150 miles of congestion.

The alternatives showed that the region's residents had several significant and feasible choices. They could live within the existing UGB through a set of policies supporting infill, redevelopment, and densification in major regional centers. In this way, they could reduce negative air-quality effects and the cost of extensive new road construction with policies aimed at supporting Transit Oriented Development.

From the feedback about the alternatives, some valuable lessons were learned. The "satellite cities" approach of Concept C was not well received by the neighboring towns, which weren't that interested in absorbing a disproportionate share of the region's growth. In fact, these towns highlighted the need for permanent greenbelts both within and outside of the UGB to provide separation between communities. One powerful message came through time and again: preserve the existing quality of residential neighborhoods and preserve the current UGB.

Urban-Design Case Studies

As part of the process of a regional design and of understanding the implications of the alternative concept plans, it was essential to ground the large-scale regional concepts in local studies. Citizens need to experience the implications of regional visions in their own neighborhoods, in real situations. Perhaps of equal importance, however, is the need to "reality test" some relatively new urban-design ideas. Local residents need to understand what a regional plan will mean to the future of their neighborhood in concrete terms, and the regional plan needs to learn from local case studies what is feasible. It is a critical two-way learning process.

Six case-study sites were selected from throughout the region (four are illustrated on Plates 4–11). Each site represented a condition found in many communities, with the idea that lessons learned in these locations could be applied elsewhere. In each case, a public "hands-on" workshop allowed the local stakeholders to create their own plans for the area. In addition, public open houses and stakeholder workshops were used to explore notions of future land-use patterns, building scale and massing, the quality and location of public buildings, transportation patterns, and historic preservation. More than five hundred people participated in these sessions. With the use of this input, the resulting illustrative plans and perspective drawings became rooted in local desires. In most of the case studies, an incremental infill strategy knits together disparate land-use elements and makes a new walkable neighborhood out of underutilized areas.

The four case studies illustrated deal with prototypical suburban situations. Beaverton [Plates 10 and 11] is a post-World War II suburban town with little of its historic Main Street intact. Through time, it became a classic strip commercial area of small parcels containing randomly placed retail and commercial buildings fueled by a highway interchange. Clackamas town center [Plates 4 and 5] is a classic case of a sub-regional mall complete with acres of parking surrounding a single enclosed environment. It is known as the place where Tonya Harding once practiced ice skating. The Hillsdale case study [Plates 6 and 7] shows the effect of the regional plan on the retail center of a small town. Finally, Orenco [Plates 8 and 9] is a tiny village of two hundred homes in a rural area zoned for major industrial development. It is at the heart of what is now called Portland's "Silicon Forest."

Each of these sites represents the challenge of creating a different type of growth in the context of an emerging Regional City. The UGB, the light rail, and the 2040 Plan changed the development dynamic for each place, creating a premium for denser development and reuse in each case. All but Orenco represented the challenge of infill and redevelopment. Beaverton represented the challenge of redevelopment in areas with fractured, small-property ownership patterns. Hillsdale showed how incremental change in a small area could change the character of what was a strip retail area into a walkable town center. Finally, Orenco represented the challenge of turning a simple single-use zone into a mixed-use neighborhood.

The 2040 Framework Plan: A New Vision for Regional Growth
All this preparation led to the crafting of the adopted plan. Much like Concept B, the Framework Plan [Plates 2, 3, and 12] focused development within the UGB and used urban centers and TODs to achieve the densities and road relief needed. But it added a stronger open-space element. Rural reserves and greenbelts were included to preserve in perpetuity certain critical open-space areas. The greenbelts were located between existing towns both within the UGB and beyond it. Because the UGB may be modified by future generations, the rural reserves were seen as a way of permanently securing the most critical open-space elements of the plan. They are designated in areas most threatened by inappropriate development—areas that could form critical community separators or preserve significant natural resources. Within the UBG greenbelts, stream corridors and open space of about 35,000 acres were designated for conservation in the plan.

To preserve the existing neighborhoods, the adopted plan identified appropriate densities in inner and outer suburbs, one requiring an average lot size of 5,720 square feet and the other 7,560 square feet. This began to address the mismatch between the market demand for smaller lots and the existing tendency of outer jurisdictions to zone for larger lots. But the increased densities in the neighborhoods were minimal. The inner neighborhoods would increase from a current density of about 11 persons per acre to 14 per acre, and the outer neighborhoods would increase from 10 to 13. This modest shift in density in new neighborhoods, along with the redevelopment opportunities in older neighborhoods, provided for about 38 percent of the new housing in the region.

Significantly increased densities were designated for the urban centers and corridors, not the neighborhoods. Here the hierarchy of types used is instructive (but somewhat different from the categories used in the alternatives and for our regional building blocks). First is the Central City Zone designation for the heart of Portland. This area is projected to capture 22 percent of regional employment, and its average density is to climb from a current 150 persons per acre to 250—an aggressive continuation of Portland's planning for pedestrian-friendly urbanism. Next, six Regional Centers were designated in existing towns surrounding the metropolitan center. These centers are projected to develop to one-third the density of the downtown but three times the density of their existing condition. Each of these centers is located near transit and highways. Next is the Town Center, the most frequent focus of the suburban areas. Each Town Center would become the commercial center for a two-and-a-half-mile market area throughout the region. All these centers were to be mixed use and walkable.

The next element of the plan delineated is its many Corridors, from light rail to main streets. The projected mixed-use character of the moribund commercial strips, historic Main Streets, and new light-rail stations provided opportunities to intensify areas in the suburbs without affecting existing residential neighborhoods. The plan's corridors, along with the often overlapping centers, were one of the primary means to keep development from spreading beyond the UGB.

In total, the corridors would come close to the City Center in providing job opportunities, accommodating 19 percent of new job growth (compared with 22 percent in the City Center and 16 percent in the other Centers). They would provide for the most new housing units—one-third of the total, compared with 21 percent in the

inner neighborhoods and 17 percent in the outer neighborhoods. Transforming the strip and its grayfields of asphalt into mixed-use nodes served by transit is a fundamental shift for the region. The existing main streets of the region largely evolved from the streetcar lines in the pre–World War II suburbs. These historically mixed-use areas would be protected and enhanced but not intensified by the adopted plan.

Given this compact framework, the transit ridership is expected to quadruple to 570,000 riders a day by 2040. A combination of walking, biking, and transit trips will then constitute 13 percent of all trips in the region, compared with 8 percent today. In some areas close to transit in the Centers, the percentage of nonauto trips can range from 25 percent to 50 percent. The plan includes a balanced expansion of bus and regional road systems along with the now famous light-rail systems.

Metro's Framework Plan set a new direction for the region, a vision to "grow up not out" around a structure of centers and transit. In the past, highways had formed the armature of growth for the region, but, in the 2040 Plan, transit corridors create the new backbone. The vision was strong and its implications revolutionary. But, even for a regional entity such as Metro, its implementation would be challenging.

The 2040 Functional Plan: Implementation

Because the 2040 Plan itself is a balance of open space and development—of transit and roads—its implementation also is a balance. Even though people tend to see Oregon's land-management laws as a top-down system, the actual creation and implementation of the plan is a partnership between citizens, local government, and Metro. Citizen and local government participation was critical to the development of the plan, and it is central to its implementation.

With feedback from the local governments, Metro developed its Functional Plan as a way to implement the 2040 Framework Plan. The Functional Plan has eleven elements, ranging from general targets for housing and job growth within each town to specific recommendations such as parking limits. Each element has two implementation choices: a standard option, which is prescriptive, and a local option, which allows the individual jurisdiction wide latitude to find its own means to achieve the desired result.

The first element, *Title 1: Requirements for Housing and Employment Accommodation,* establishes target capacities based on a detailed analysis of the character of the town,

its location, and its role in the region and of its vacant-land, infill, and redevelopment capacities. The densities for each area were derived from the plan's hierarchy of centers, corridors, and neighborhoods. To arrive at the target capacities, cities and counties were required to set minimum densities for all their current zones that allow residential development. The intent was to make sure that development came close to the capacity allowed and that areas in which housing was appropriate, such as light-rail station areas, would not be underdeveloped. This minimum density was set at 80 percent of the maximum allowable under the zoning. In addition, local governments were to allow "granny flats" on all new or existing single-family lots.

The implementation options for Title 1 were to simply revise the local zoning to match the 2040 Plan (this is the prescriptive option) or to demonstrate that the town's unique plan could achieve the desired targets. Cities and counties had the option to zone for a range of densities and then submit their capacity analyses based on the low end, or they could zone for a range and require an "average minimum" density for each development. The fundamental shift was to move to zoning codes that set minimums as well as maximums. A place could actually have too little development as well as too much.

With the regional plan in place, the feasibility of the UGB and certain transit investments required appropriate densities in certain locations. Squandering the areas around transit stations or in regional centers was to be avoided, and the Functional Plan therefore set up standards to prevent underdevelopment. But the trade-off was clear: higher capacities in some areas allowed the conservation of open space and the preservation of most existing neighborhoods. The higher densities and mixed-use areas were mainly located along primary corridors or in the various centers of the regional plan. These were areas where development and redevelopment would improve the current conditions without affecting residential neighborhoods.

Although the capacity targets are at the heart of the implementation plan, Metro established other standards to guide development and local governments. Two of them had to do with creating the open-space network and greenbelts. *Title 3: Water Quality and Flood Management Conservation* set standards for floodplain development and riparian areas. These simple environmental standards have the effect of creating greenways along most streams and rivers within the region at the same time that they protect water quality and prevent expensive flood-prone development. Title 5 had to do with creating the rural reserves outside of the UGB to prevent strip development

along the highways connecting the neighboring towns. These cooperative efforts were to create permanent community separators between the region and its neighbors.

Two elements dealt with cars, roads, and parking. *Title 6: Regional Transportation Plan* sets goals for mode splits in the City Center, Regional Centers, and Station Areas, as well as modifying the allowable service-level standards in those critical areas. Higher congestion levels are appropriate in urban areas that depend on transit and pedestrians. The plan also calls for street connections at a minimum of eight per mile in new and redeveloping areas. This seemingly simple standard has an enormous effect on the nature of development in all circumstances and for all uses. Metro's research found that one of the key variables for more walkable and transit-friendly environments was the frequency of street intersections. More frequent intersections allowed more direct foot and bike routes on local streets. With a more finely grained street network, local trips by car can easily stay on local streets—leaving the arteries free for through trips. This simple requirement for a denser street network helps reduce local congestion and directs development toward a more walkable form.

Title 2: Regional Parking Policy deals with the quantity of parking in commercial and mixed-use areas. Most local codes set parking minimums without maximums—and the minimums are often too high. An oversupply of parking wastes land and is inhospitable to pedestrians, and it is another hidden subsidy for the car. In areas well served by transit, the policy calls for a reduced parking standard—with a maximum. It also encourages "shared parking" measures where it is easy to walk from one area to another. Mixed-use Town Centers would have a "park once" and walk approach to clustered and shared parking lots. In addition, Metro developed and published a new set of street standards aimed at ensuring that pedestrians and bikers were well accommodated in a more compact street right-of-way.

Results

The Functional Plan was adopted in 1996. Although development is a slow process, the patterns of new development are showing significant change as a result, and the aspirations of the plan are beginning to be felt. The region is growing in a more compact manner without creating extremely high housing costs. The transit system ridership is beyond projections, and Transit Oriented Development is gaining acceptance in the marketplace. Although not perfect or instant, the plan's beginning stages of implementation are a powerful demonstration that a regional vision can bring significant positive change.

The region's light-rail system is gaining momentum without compromising bus and other forms of transit. Whereas the population increased by 17 percent from 1990 to 1998, overall transit ridership increased by 59 percent. During the same period, light-rail ridership was up by 65 percent and bus ridership was up by 57 percent. Contrary to some expectations, rail did not steal from bus, and the system grew as a whole. On the Eastside LRT, rail ridership has increased from 18,000 on opening day to 39,000 in 1999. The Westside LRT opened at 21,000 in 1999 and has grown to 25,000 in its first year of operation.

The rate of growth in traffic congestion in Portland is simultaneously beginning to slow. Portland's long-term attack on transportation problems is starting to give the region an edge over cities that have focused more on roads, according to an analysis by the Texas Transportation Institute. Portland's national congestion ranking dropped from twelfth in 1993 to sixteenth in 1997 without the construction of any new highways. Tim Lomax, research engineer for the Texas Transportation Institute, said that Portland's sophisticated approach of linking land-use planning and transportation planning is paying off: "I like what Portland is doing," said Lomax. "There is definitely a need for other places to look at the long-term approach Portland is taking."

Transit-related development has been robust along both the older Eastside LRT and the new Westside LRT. Some $1.9 billion worth of development is under construction or has been completed immediately adjacent to the Eastside MAX (the name of Portland's LRT) line since the decision to construct the project. Developers have assembled sites up and down the eastern corridor for 2,064 multiple-family units. Since the decision to build the Westside line, there has been more than one-half billion dollars in new development next to the stations, and nearly 7,000 new homes are underway in new transit-oriented communities.

Transit Oriented Development seems to be working for retailers as well. Businesses are reporting higher sales volumes and increased foot traffic because of MAX. In a 1997 survey of fifty-four businesses located near the MAX line, 66 percent of business owners said that their businesses had been helped by being located near MAX. More specifically, 54 percent said that their sales volumes increased as a result of being located near MAX.

The Plan's strategies for preserving the UGB—infill and redevelopment in general with a focus on the City Center—seem to be working. As part of the Functional Plan,

Metro committed to monitoring infill and redevelopment rates—in part to meet the state law that requires a twenty-year land supply. Metro claimed that 25 percent of that land supply would come from redevelopment. In two separate studies, the measured redevelopment rate was 25.4 percent and 26.3 percent. Extrapolating over the next twenty years, more than 74,000 units are expected to be built through recycling developed land in the Portland area—with a good part of it in the City Center area.

Portland is one of the few places in the United States where new housing construction is increasing faster in its City Center than in its larger metropolitan region, as reported by the Brookings Institution in December 1999. The study classified the city of Portland and ten others as "hot" housing-construction cities because their share of the regional housing market had increased since 1986. Portland's share of housing in the six-county metropolitan region climbed from 7.6 percent in 1986 to 18.2 percent in 1998.

Because of these shifts, the region is growing in a more compact manner without causing a housing crisis. Contrary to common claims, the housing-price growth in Portland is not unusual for a western city experiencing a strong economic expansion. Both the Denver and Salt Lake regions, each free of growth boundaries or any regional interference with the housing market, have experienced the same doubling of the median home values in the 1990s. Only in Portland is the UGB blamed.

Meanwhile the Portland region is succeeding in "growing up not out." Two geographers, Jeffrey G. Masek and Francis E. Lindsay, at the University of Maryland are using the U.S. *Landsat* satellite system to analyze and compare the physical growth of regions. Using satellite data, they compared Portland with Washington, D.C., and found that Washington, D.C., developed at a rate of 8.5 square miles a year, compared with 1.2 square miles for Portland. On a per capita basis, each new person in the D.C. area used 480 square meters more space, compared with 120 square meters per capita for Portland, a 400 percent difference in efficiency. The development-industry-respected *1998 Emerging Trends in Real Estate* summarized Portland's investment and development prospects by stating, "Who says 'growth boundaries' are dirty words?"

THE SALT LAKE REGION

The regional planning for the Wasatch Front demonstrates that a regional plan is often more a process than a set of policies or a map. It is research, discovery, and education combined. The process itself can fundamentally reframe the issues of growth and community and create a new vision of the region's economic and environmental future. It allows people the rare opportunity to think in the long term and in a comprehensive way. Such a process is what the Coalition for Utah's Future set out to accomplish with their Envision Utah planning effort.

When average citizens are allowed to understand the aggregate effects of differing forms of development, they have a dramatically different reaction to the politics of growth than when confronting it project by project. Seeing the whole allows people to make different judgments about local development. And their participation in the geology of uncovering their own future is a powerful experience.

Each region is distinct in its ecology, history, economy, and culture. Identifying these distinctions is the foundation of any regional design or vision. Ecology, history, and economies can be studied, quantified, and mapped. Culture—the unique social and value structure of a place—is harder to nail down. But it is perhaps the most important.

The Coalition is a civic organization in the Salt Lake region made up of the region's business, political, and civic leaders. They took on the challenge of regional planning with a strong bias toward community participation and consensus building. To date, in a project called Envision Utah, they have had more than a hundred public workshops and have conducted many types of opinion surveys. When they started, few believed a region so conservative and so committed to low-density development could change. But change it has.

Envision Utah started its work with a survey of the "Values Framework" of the people of the region. Conducted by the Wirthlin Group, the survey was similar to those used to uncover the fundamental issues that guide people's political preferences. In fact, the Wirthlin Group had conducted such studies nationwide for the Reagan campaign. The Values Framework for the Wasatch Front resulted in a complex map of primary and secondary values that, on first investigation, seemed somewhat obvious (peace of mind and security headed the lists of values) but later proved to be central to the process.

Four "gateway values" were identified: *a safe and secure environment; personal and community enrichment; personal time and opportunity;* and *financial security.* Although these values may seem almost universal, the underlying issues and desires were very specific to the place. For example, *safe and secure* didn't simply mean more cops or stronger sentencing laws but actually represented a desire for stronger communities— communities in which people had a shared value system more than similar income levels, age, or class. The issue of crowding, which also related to a sense of security, translated not just into housing densities but more into the lack of accessible open space and congestion on the streets. Likewise, crime was linked more to concentrations of poverty than to density or lack of law enforcement.

Personal and community enrichment constituted another fundamental value and goal. This value was linked to a strong commitment to community and to the civic, religious, and open-space elements that form the "commons" of neighborhoods. Perhaps because of the Mormon Church, this commitment to community, shared values, and neighborhood kept emerging from the study.

Two big issues emerged in relation to *personal time and opportunity.* The first was the perceived loss of time and freedom attributable to congestion; the nemeses of sprawl. The second was cost of living—high costs meant more hours at work or the need for two incomes per family. Both lead to a subsequent loss of time for community and family. Each of the gateway values and their attributes provided a set of questions for the regional planning process to address and a set of criteria with which to measure the scenarios.

In the long run, the values study uncovered some basic and important differences about the region. Most significant, the people in the Salt Lake region valued family— not such an astounding revelation. But, as a consequence, they cared deeply about the quality of life for the next generation. This fundamental concern was manifest throughout the process. Open space, air quality, and, most important, the cost of living centered on a concern as much for the next generation as for themselves. Unlike those of many other regions in the country, the people of the Wasatch Front cared about the future because they hoped that the next generation would stay.

A series of hands-on public workshops were organized to encourage people to participate in a direct way in solving their unique problems of growth. Rather than asking questions and listening to general concerns, the workshops provided the tools for the

participants to literally plan their own future. The first workshop, called "Where Shall We Grow?," provided maps of the region with a stack of chips scaled to the maps. Side by side these chips represented the land area required to add another million people to the region at the current average density. The maps showed the existing developed areas and all the environmental assets of the region. Working with these simple realities of the region, the participants quickly understood that densities needed to increase and that redevelopment and infill had to play a major role in future growth, a process described in the Introduction. When the work of all the participants was averaged, between 42 and 77 percent of the chips were placed in infill or redevelopment sites, depending on the subregion.

A second workshop was held with the theme "How Shall We Grow?" In this case, the maps were the same but the chips became more refined and descriptive. Not only could the participants choose the location of future development, they could also choose the type of development. There were seven types from which to choose. Four of them consisted of standard development. Three types were new, consisting of walkable communities of different densities: village, town, and city. These new types were described as mixed-use developments that combined a range of housing, jobs, shops, and civic buildings in a pedestrian-friendly environment. The city chip averaged fifty dwelling units per acre over its residential portion, a density that could be easily achieved without high-rise construction. The town chip represented the qualities of a classic American small town with average densities of fifteen units per acre. This density could be easily developed with a combination of two-story apartments, townhomes, bungalows, and small-lot single-family homes. The village chip was similar to the town chip but had a lower average density of only eight units per acre.

The four "nonwalkable" development types were like the standard projects of our suburban landscape: large-lot subdivisions, standard-lot subdivisions, office or industrial parks, and activity centers. The first three were familiar to all workshop participants—they formed the environment in which they lived and worked. The activity-center type was like the now-ubiquitous suburban area that combines a shopping center or a mall with a few apartment complexes and office parks. Ironically, these suburban areas are mixed use and relatively dense but, because of the isolated quality of each use and the major arterial streets that bisect the areas, are not walkable. These activity centers combine the density of a town or city with a layout typical of the suburbs.

The results of the workshop were a complex and sophisticated placement of these seven development types over the region and a delineation of critical open space and transportation facilities. Envision Utah was looking for patterns and points of consensus to help it shape a series of regional alternatives for analysis and comparison. Rather than simply concocting these alternatives, the organization used the workshop maps as a guide. This second workshop showed that the walkable development types were preferred over the standard and more familiar types. It also demonstrated that people understood the relation between density, walkability, and transit. Most of the walkable types were placed along newly defined transit corridors. Participants also colored the maps with markers to indicate open-space areas and agricultural areas to be preserved. All of the material was studied and used to create two of the four future-growth scenarios.

In addition to the regional mapping workshops, other events were held to find out about people's attitudes concerning development in their own community. The "Community Design Options" survey was intended to engage more people than could participate in the map workshops and to get at the qualitative issues of development. What did people like and dislike about the built environment that surrounded them? In seven workshops spread throughout the region, participants were asked to rate a series of photographs on a scale of –5 to +5 for their overall desirability. They were also asked to fill out a survey by answering questions related to development and design. The results once again confirmed the desire for a new direction.

In responses to the photograph alternatives, the more walkable environments—porch-front homes rather than garage fronts, Main-Street retail area rather than strips, neighborhood parks, and mixed uses—scored consistently higher than traditional suburban alternatives. In many cases, places with high density scored high because they had historic architecture with more human-scale features or because they were more pedestrian friendly. Ironically, in a city laid out by Brigham Young to have very wide roads, the few narrow tree-lined streets were ranked very high. In all cases, environments shaped around the car got lower scores than those shaped for walking. Density didn't matter as much as design.

When responding to statements, a very high percentage of workshop participants agreed with policies focused on building a sense of community within neighborhoods.

Public gathering places, walkability, transit accessibility, mixed land uses, and a stronger sense of community were seen as positive attributes of a neighborhood. Although 70 percent preferred single-family homes, 79 percent agreed that housing within a neighborhood should be designed for a mix of ages and incomes. Only 7 percent of those questioned felt that neighborhoods should have exclusively single-family homes and open space. People felt that new development should be located near transit lines and that green "community separators" should be created to differentiate areas of growth. Only 36 percent felt that new cities should be developed in remote locations to accommodate growth pressures, and only 21 percent supported the development of farmlands.

The most shocking result, in an area known for its conservative bias against government regulation, was the proposition that government should act to bring about some of these changes. Cities and towns should control aspects of new growth but in a progressive manner. More than 85 percent of those polled agreed that government should encourage mixed-use development and reduced auto dependency. The survey seemed to confirm the direction set in the map-based workshops.

The Four Scenarios

Using all the input from the various workshops and opinion surveys, four hypothetical development scenarios for the region were created. Two were based on the standard postwar development patterns and two were based on more compact, walkable forms of growth. The goal was to offer people a comprehensive look at various options for their future along with the effects of each option. The four scenarios are described as follows, with the amount of new land area developed serving as a simple measure of impact.

Scenario A used a low-density version of standard suburban development patterns. It projected the current trend in cities to downzone development in order to keep out apartments, townhomes, and bungalows, while mandating large-lot development and ranchettes. This trend is driven primarily by citizens wanting to reduce the effect of growth in their community by simply having less of it. It is reinforced by the fiscal reality that lower-income residents and housing typically provide a lower tax level for the city—in many cases less tax revenue than that needed for the services required by the new housing. This trend had been producing densities lower than the historic averages and lower even than the existing zoning allowed. The historic average densi-

ties in the region are higher because they include the prewar housing stock. This older housing was more compact than most postwar subdivisions, not to mention the large-lot developments currently being approved. Scenario A resulted in 409 square miles of new development to accommodate the next 1,000,000 in population growth. Of that, 174 square miles was on agricultural lands. By way of comparison, the existing population of 1,600,000 covers approximately 320 square miles.

Scenario B also used the standard suburban patterns of subdivisions, office parks, and shopping centers, but at the density prescribed in the current zoning maps. Each city's general plan was coordinated into a regional land-use map, which was then used to absorb the future population growth on a county-by-county level. The growth did not use up all the land zoned for development, revealing the excesses in many general plans for tax-generating commercial zoning. This scenario was not considered the "trend" politically or the trend of the marketplace; it was a simple summation of the local planning efforts. The existing zoning was often denser than the downzoning trends of scenario A, but still did not meet market demand for multifamily and small-lot housing. This scenario used 325 square miles of new development of which 143 square miles consisted of farmlands.

Scenarios C and D were built from a mix of the "walkable" neighborhoods defined in the workshops and the standard development types. These scenarios envisioned clustered neighborhoods within a combination of infill sites and undeveloped sites close to services and other development. Each neighborhood provided a mix of housing opportunities, from multifamily through single-family homes. They also mixed commercial and retail development within walking distance of most of the homes. These neighborhoods were to be laid out on streets that invited walking to those local commercial destinations and parks. They represented a dramatic departure from standard development practice and zoning. But, as alternatives created from extensive community input, they seemed to be logical and feasible.

Because the walkable development types were more compact than standard suburban types, the alternatives offered variations both in gross land area used and in the mix of housing types available to the next generation. Scenario C provided housing in "walkable neighborhoods" for about 70 percent of the new population, and scenario D pushed this change in development practice to 83 percent. By way of contrast, scenario A had no walkable development, and scenario B had only 4 percent. The con-

trasts in developed land area were striking, scenario C using 126 square miles (only 30 percent of scenario A) with 65 miles of agricultural lands. Scenario D, having the greatest density, used only 85 additional square miles to accommodate the next 1,000,000 people.

The differing impacts of these futures were dramatic. The 300-square-mile difference in land area from scenario A to scenario D translated into striking differences in infrastructure costs and environmental impacts. For example, the per capita use of water dropped from 303 gallons a day in scenario A to 230 gallons per day in scenario C. The air-quality effects are less linear, because they are dependent on the type and quality of industry as well as on how spread out the region is. Rankings for the scenarios combined total emissions, distribution of emission, and proximity of emissions to population. These rankings then weighted the results relative to overall health effects. The analysis ranged from a score of 9 for scenario A down to a score of 6 for scenario C. Interestingly, scenario D scored an 8, demonstrating that density does not always decrease environmental impacts.

The traffic analysis was limited by the capacity of the computer software to model the effects of the "walkable" developments. But the trend (if not the absolute dimension) that resulted from the analysis was clear: more compact development leads to a reduction in vehicle miles traveled per capita.

The most dramatic and important difference that emerged from the analysis was in infrastructure costs. These costs included the expense for both private developers and municipalities to provide streets, highways, transit systems, utilities and water systems for the projected growth. They did not include the cost of land, the ongoing costs of public services such as police and fire, nor the cost of building construction. The costs ranged from $37.6 billion for scenario A to $22.1 billion for scenario C. Once again, scenario D showed that these are not simple linear relations. Its cost, $23 billion, was greater than that of scenario C because of increased spending on transit. Overall, however, the $15 billion difference between A and C got a lot of attention at the state house as well as by local governments.

Finally, the scenarios were summarized and published in the local newspapers with a mail-back survey. A qualitative description and a generalized listing of the impacts were accompanied by a visualization of each scenario. Envision Utah received 18,000

responses to the feature. Each person was asked to rank the scenarios and to indicate what he or she considered to be the most significant challenge facing the region. The response was overwhelmingly in favor of scenarios C and D. This preference was true regardless of which issue a person indicated concern about. When the results were corrected for income and demographic correlation to the region's means, the results were similar.

The Quality Growth Scenario

On the basis of the information obtained from these workshops, surveys, and analyses, Envision Utah in its second year developed the Quality Growth Scenario. An illustrative mapping of the scenario was analyzed for impacts and costs just as the other alternatives had been. The results showed that the Quality Growth Scenario performed slightly better than scenario C of the previous analysis in all categories.

Although a regional plan should not be too detailed, it must have clear goals and strategies, as well as a mapping that gives it a clear physical delineation. It must paint a picture of a specific spatial configuration while not prescribing too much. Too often, planning goals and policies alone are ambiguous and open to misinterpretations. More significant, they can become isolated programs lacking an integrated sense of the whole or the synergies that emerge only from a multilayered approach.

Envision Utah's ultimate product is not a simple map but a series of maps showing differing regional design "layers." These special layers [Plates 13–16] are complemented by a series of implementation strategies and policies. The layers identify regional geographic goals in three primary areas: open space; infill and new growth areas; and community centers and corridors.

The ideas behind each of these layers were the specific product of the extensive public workshops, citizens surveys, and alternatives analysis. For example, green pens were used at each workshop by participants to delineate a large range of open-space systems. These green maps became the basis of the open-space layer. At one workshop, many participants spontaneously cut up the village or town chips and pasted them at the center of each of their communities, which became the basis for the "centers, districts, and corridors" map. In almost all of the workshops, new growth and higher-density uses were placed along potential transit lines, thus guiding the corridors layer of the map. In addition, certain infill areas were universally identified for redevelop-

ment and reinvestment. The layers within the Quality Growth Scenario evolved from a combination of the most popular scenario C, specific insights of local planners, and this community input.

Within the Quality Growth Scenario, each map and layer is complete unto itself. These layers are not prescriptive, leaving much discretion at the local level. But they articulate the critical connections between communities and between issues. Treated separately, they are guides for political advocacy, but, as they telescope together they form an integrated picture of the region.

Each map or layer within the plan is built out of several components. The *Open Space* [Plate 14] layer is constructed from six: community separators, river corridors, farmlands, wetlands, lakefront setbacks, and the historic Bonneville shoreline of the Great Salt Lake. As with the layers themselves, these six elements can each become the focus of individual programs and implementation policies. Taken together, they form a comprehensive and powerful regional open-space system. The potential linkages between the open-space elements, such as trails or community separators, cannot be created without such a multidimensional approach.

The old shoreline of the historic Great Salt Lake lies at an altitude of 4,800 feet and is a symbolic (and practical) limit to development at the foot of the mountains. As well as providing a powerful constraint to the massive grading that hillside development would require, the Bonneville shoreline could provide space for a 100-mile public trail that would unify the region from north to south at the foot of the mountains.

A direct complement to this foothill preservation line would be a continuous lake shoreline protection area. Establishing a public open-space easement around both the Great Salt Lake and Lake Utah would ensure public access, wetlands preservation, and water quality. Open space at the base of the mountains and at the edge of the lakes would literally frame the two most significant natural features of the region.

Connecting these primary natural features are the region's rivers and streams. Although much of the land along the Jordan River is developed, preserving what is left and reclaiming what is possible are other important goals for the region. Throughout the workshop process, participants always showed the Jordan River and its tributaries as an important open-space or trail system. In addition, wetlands often extend this riparian system and link it to farmlands.

Preservation of agriculture in the northern and southern edges of the region was called for in almost all of the workshops. In many cases, preserving such working landscapes is difficult if not impossible without public investments. Luckily, the areas most typically marked for preservation were not in immediate threat of development.

More difficult to preserve than the natural lands or farmlands are the undeveloped areas between existing communities. These relatively unconstrained lands are vulnerable to development but desirable as community separators. One of the clearest goals that emerged from the public process was to prevent the wall-to-wall spread of suburban development and a corresponding loss of identity within each community. The strategy that Envision Utah came up with to create community separators employs market forces rather than public dollars. Large lots with clustered building sites and open-space easements were proposed that could create the separation between communities while satisfying a market demand for rural lifestyles. For example, eight 5-acre lots could be clustered around one rural cul-de-sac. Each parcel would have a half-acre site for a home and other buildings, leaving 36 acres of open space as leaseable rangeland or farmland. An open area between communities would be created and the demand for rural estates would be satisfied in a way that gives each home a connection to permanent open space.

The other two regional layer maps—*infill, redevelopment, and new growth areas,* and *centers, districts, and corridors*—each deal with the placement and quality of development advocated for the region. Once again, though these maps cannot prescribe land use to local governments, they can clearly advocate a new approach to development in both type and location.

This balancing act is accomplished by combining new and old ideas, as well as local and regional goals. In many cases, the Quality Growth Scenario incorporates the local community's existing goals and clarifies them in urban-design terms. In most areas, it allows significant flexibility, and, in some, it accommodates standard development. Infill development, transit corridors, and mixed-use centers were strategies identified in the public process as significant alternatives to standard development. To that end, the walkable, mixed-use development types accommodate approximately 52 percent of the future housing for the region and 57 percent of the jobs. Other, more typical development in the form of office and industrial parks and standard subdivisions will still be built, but not in critical transit-served areas or in the various community centers.

All three elements of the *Centers, Districts, and Corridors* map [Plate 15] overlap in significant ways. Transit corridors pass through infill areas, special districts, and, in most cases, community centers. Although not all community centers can be located on major transit lines, many are located on express bus corridors. Each aspect—centers, districts, and corridors—is therefore a separate element of the regional plan, but each will interact and overlay the others in significant ways.

The *Centers, Districts, and Corridors* map shows the fundamental armature of rail transit with optional branch lines and significant express bus corridors. It is a multi-modal system that would integrate bus, rail, and carpooling as an alternative to driving alone. The region's ultimate rail system could be built by extending the new light-rail system north and south along existing but underutilized railroad rights-of-way. The region's linear structure—part product of topography and part product of the historic rail lines themselves—is a perfect configuration for transit. And, luckily, the old rail rights-of-way are well positioned to be converted into transit because they run through the center of most larger towns and cities in the region.

Complementing the transit corridors and special districts is a range of community centers. It is interesting that many citizens in the workshops felt the need to place a village or town chip over their own existing community center. They were voting for a reworking of what was typically an auto-oriented center into a more walkable, human-scaled place at the heart of their town. From this impulse, the Envision Utah map delineates a broad range of such centers, from the most urban for sections of downtown Salt Lake to rural hamlets for outlying farmlands or mountain villages. Many of the proposed community centers are located in infill and redevelopment areas, such as an aging mall or a troubled historic Main Street. Many others are located at possible transit nodes.

Like the open-space map, this marking of community centers and their redevelopment has a powerful political following. It helps bring an abstract regional framework into local focus at the same time that it plays a critical role in structuring the region.

The third map of the Quality Growth Scenario shows new growth areas as well as the infill and redevelopment areas [Plate 16]. These infill and redevelopment sites in the Salt Lake region are ubiquitous. The region's low-density, hopscotch development patterns provide significant opportunities for infill from the center of Salt Lake City to the most distant small town. The tradition of big streets and big blocks started by

Brigham Young has left plenty of elbow room for intensification and reuse. Indeed, many of the original blocks in his plan have evolved by internal subdivision from ten 1-acre parcels into complex blocks of varied lot sizes.

Adding to the infill sites is the redevelopment potential of a seemingly endless strip of commercial areas and moribund industrial sites. Many of the region's brownfields are located in the same corridor south of the city through which the light rail passes. This confluence of old railroad rights-of-way and industrial zones is an almost universal opportunity in American cities. The massive potential for redevelopment was fore-shadowed in Envision Utah's first workshop when participants placed population chips on these areas.

Urban-Design Case Studies
As in Portland's 2040 Plan, Envision Utah understood that the quality and nature of local community design was an essential building block of the regional plan. Citizens had to work with and understand the local effects and implications of the regional vision. The "walkable neighborhood" was a comfortable expression, but what did it translate into on the ground? What would it look like? To answer these questions, six study sites were selected that represented a broad range of situations typical of the region. At each of these sites, the local citizens were invited to attend community workshops to develop their own plans for the sites. As with the region-scaled work-shops, they were grouped into teams of eight to ten and given the tools to create their own site plans. Each team had an "armature map" with all the information concerning the site clearly delineated. In addition, they had a wide selection of icon chips repre-senting every type of development feasible for the site.

In almost all cases, the teams responded with mixed-use plans. In no case did a team propose no development or a single use for the entire site. There were differences in emphasis and the proportion of differing uses, but all the teams seemed to innately understand the fundamentals of creating a walkable neighborhood: include a range of uses so that there would be local destinations and develop a human-scaled street system.

The four sites illustrated in Plates 17–20 can be grouped into the same simple land-use categories that were options in the regional workshops: villages, towns, and city. The Centerville site is villagelike in its mix and density. The West Valley City site and the Provo site were more townlike in their densities and each had considerable existing development. The other site, crossing the boundary of Sandy and Midvale, was

unique in being placed at a station of the new LRT line. The case studies not only represented a range of physical conditions in the region, they also represented a broad spectrum of social and economic situations.

Each of the case studies demonstrates a different form and intensity of urbanism. They are all mixed use and walkable, but vary dramatically—as they should. Each of the community workshops validated the fundamental principles of diversity and pedestrian quality, but each added its own special criteria to the process—as it should. Urbanism is not a formula or a rigid set of standards; it must always conform to its unique time, place, and community. Within a regional framework, these differences are the essence of choice and identity.

Impacts

The first year of the Envision Utah process culminated in the passage of the Quality Growth Act of 1999 by the Utah state legislature. The act establishes a thirteen-member Quality Growth Commission charged with providing assistance to local governments in the form of grant money, administering the LeRay McAllister Critical Land Conservation Fund, and researching several growth-related issues.

However, more important than a legislative act is the dialogue among citizens, public officials, and decision makers that the process has sparked through its public involvement process and coordinated media campaign. As the process continues, residents and local politicians in the Greater Wasatch Area are beginning to grapple with the varied issues and consequences associated with different forms of growth. Rather than focusing only on the piecemeal and local effects of projects and plans, Utahans are looking at the broader consequences and regional effects of development and policy decisions. Local communities are engaging in processes and projects to preserve their open spaces and revitalize forgotten centers, and they are even working with neighboring jurisdictions to coordinate growth and planning. At this point a vision has been created and a process is underway.

THE PUGET SOUND REGION

Like Portland, Seattle emerged as a true Regional City when the economic boom of the 1990s placed unprecedented urban growth pressures on the urban areas of the Pacific Northwest. And although Seattle "learned" from Portland, the process of transforming Seattle into a Regional City came about as the result of a longer, more incremental, and in many ways more difficult process.

Although Seattle is located in the same part of the country as Portland, its experiment in regionalism emerged from a much more intense crucible of growth pressure. With more than three million people, Seattle is the largest metropolitan area in the West outside of California. And with a supercharged regional economy driven by Microsoft, Starbucks, and other successful companies, Seattle has faced intense growth pressure far longer than has Portland.

The result is a somewhat different kind of regionalism than in Portland. Seattle's Regional City is built on a foundation of laws, plans, and policies that date back almost thirty years. The "visioning" effort that laid the foundation for regionalism preceded state legislation rather than followed it, but it was state law that provided the impetus to make the vision a reality. The plan for regional growth—and the resulting urban growth area—is much more complex and subtle because of the way it balances the goals of local communities with the goals of the region as a whole. Even so, a true Regional City attitude has had a revolutionary effect during the 1990s, transforming both region and neighborhood in exactly the manner described earlier in this book.

The Road to Regionalism

The roots of Seattle's regionalism lie in the environmental movement of the 1970s and the concern over congestion and overbuilding in downtown Seattle that characterized the real estate boom of the 1980s.

As in the San Francisco Bay area and some other western metropolises, residents and elected leaders in the Seattle area took steps beginning in the 1970s to halt the environmental degradation that had characterized the suburbanization of the postwar era. During this period, the state of Washington passed a coastal protection law that severely limited urban development in coastal areas, as well as an environmental review law (similar to the National Environmental Policy Act) that required rigorous environmental mitigation for development projects in greenfield locations. This law made environmental protection the preeminent concern of local planning in Washington.

In the late 1970s, King County—the county in which Seattle is located—undertook one of the most ambitious farmland protection efforts in the nation. In the postwar era, suburban development had consumed two-thirds of the county's prime farmland. In 1979, county voters overwhelmingly approved a $50 million bond issue to buy development rights from farmers—one of the first such programs in the nation. Over the next decade, the county purchased development rights on more than 12,000 acres of agricultural land from almost two hundred farming families. This program created the first outline of a "greenline" around Seattle—a regional boundary separating rural from urban areas.

During the 1980s, however, a new wave of growth overtook Seattle, which dwarfed the problems of the 1970s. The growth in international trade made Seattle one of the preeminent ports in the world. The birth of the personal computer quickly launched Microsoft as one of the nation's leading companies. And the office-construction boom created an unprecedented demand for skyscrapers in downtown Seattle.

As a result, Seattle in the 1980s got rampant development both "up" and "out." Downtown Seattle saw an office-construction boom. Developers threw up speculative buildings fifty, sixty, and seventy stories high—some of the tallest buildings on the West Coast—throwing this once-lively district out of balance. At the same time, a much bigger boom in suburban office development transformed some of the older suburbs, replacing their small, service–commercial base with large campuses and office parks. The growth of new jobs in the older suburbs—for example, Microsoft in Redmond—created a chain reaction of residential growth on the metropolitan fringe. As jobs decentralized and placed a great deal of commercial growth pressure on the older suburbs, housing decentralized even more, thus placing residential growth pressure on previously rural areas.

The "up and out" phenomenon gave Seattle the worst of both worlds—an imbalance of jobs and housing within the region, an oversized downtown that dwarfed surrounding neighborhoods, out-of-scale job centers in older suburbs, and low-density residential tracts in the hinterland. The negative effect was felt throughout the region in many ways, but the most obvious was traffic. Congestion grew to unprecedented levels, making Seattle—a water-oriented region filled with traffic chokepoints—one of the most congested metropolises in America. Seattle's population grew by 22 percent during the 1980s, but the total number of vehicle miles traveled in automobiles doubled.

The result was a near-revolution among the region's citizens—especially environmentalists, who went to the ballot box in the hope of halting the problems of both "up" and "out." In the late 1980s, Seattle voters approved an initiative that prohibited the construction of more high-rise office towers by cutting downtown zoning in half. Subsequently, environmentalists proposed a statewide initiative to create a very strict growth-management law—one that would have instituted centralized state control over land use similar to that in Oregon.

Vision 2020

With all this citizen unrest, it was clear that a different and more regionally oriented approach to dealing with Seattle's growth was required. Beginning in 1987, local government officials and growth-management activists from throughout the region began working on a regional plan that eventually came to be known as "Vision 2020."

Vision 2020 was not exactly a grassroots effort, but it was a surprisingly ad hoc effort. It was not mandated by any state or federal law, and it was developed by the Puget Sound Council of Governments—a typical regional planning agency that had been so ineffective that, when regionalist critic Neal Peirce came to town in 1989, he recommended abolishing it.

Over a three-year period, however, Vision 2020 evolved into a blueprint for a dramatically different kind of region. As Gary Pivo, former chair of the urban planning and urban design department at the University of Washington, has put it, Vision 2020 responded to the need for "a shared vision . . . that fosters a range of strategies to achieve containment of growth and conservation of open space, better transit and ride-sharing use, reduced dependence on single-occupancy vehicles, more energy-efficient and less-polluting development patterns, and a more equitable distribution of economic growth that benefits all areas of the region."

In other words, Vision 2020 laid out the notion of Seattle as a Regional City by embracing several important concepts that we have already articulated in this book, including:

• Containing urban sprawl through the use of regional boundaries and a regional open-space system

• Organizing urban development into compact communities, focusing on a hierarchy of "central places" including urban centers throughout the region

- Protecting rural areas by promoting the use of rural lands for farming, forestry, recreation, and other rural uses

- Providing a greater variety of housing choices in all parts of the region, including accessory units, townhouses, and small-lot single-family houses

- Creating a regional transportation strategy that focuses on creating a high-frequency, high-speed bus and rail transit system connecting the urban centers

It is remarkable that the Seattle region's many local governments—which were accustomed to fighting with one another and acting without coordination—agreed to Vision 2020 at all. In an attempt to implement the vision, the local governments disbanded the Council of Governments and replaced it with a new entity: The Puget Sound Regional Council. The Regional Council gave existing urban areas more clout by using a weighted voting system. It also expanded representation by including the Washington Department of Transportation and the region's three major ports.

Even so, the Regional Council had no authority to implement or enforce the principles of Vision 2020. And the building industry resisted the idea of transforming Seattle into a Regional City. As architect Mark Hinshaw, a former planning official in Bellevue and now urban-design critic for the *Seattle Times,* pointed out: "The building folks continued to moan. Who in the Pacific Northwest would want to live downtown? Who would want to live in rowhouses? Who would want to live above shops? Who would ride transit instead of four-wheel drives?"

The Washington Growth-Management Act

At the same time as local government officials in the Seattle area were crafting Vision 2020, state officials were taking another important step that would eventually help transform Seattle into a Regional City. In the spring of 1990, the state legislature passed introductory growth-management legislation. Environmentalists placed a stricter initiative on the ballot in 1990, but it was defeated when the state's leaders promised to strengthen the growth-management law by legislative means instead—which they did in 1991.

Before the passage of the law, Washington had a planning system that emphasized home rule, permitted considerable growth outside municipal boundaries, and saw its state-level environmental review law regularly used by NIMBY (not in my backyard) activists to challenge individual projects no matter where they were located. The

growth-management law changed all that by establishing four basic policy goals:

- New growth must be concentrated in Urban Growth Areas that are contiguous to existing urban areas.

- New development may not occur unless transportation and other public facilities are provided "concurrently."

- Local governments must include affordable housing.

- Natural resource lands and environmental critical areas must be protected.

Especially important, however, was the way in which Washington approached the question of regional control. Unlike Oregon, Washington did not centralize land-use decision making at the same level. Rather, the four goals were to be implemented by the existing local governments, and disputes over local plans and policies were to be mediated by three regional appeals boards, including one for the Seattle area. The regional appeals board, whose members include urban planners, must often make difficult and unpopular decisions. But it does provide a structure that strikes the delicate balance between regional goals and local control.

The law also required three urban counties on the east side of the Puget Sound (King, Snohomish, and Pierce) to work together to craft a regional growth-management plan. This requirement provided a golden opportunity to make the Vision 2020 a meaningful document. The three quickly decided to use the existing Vision 2020 plan (Kitsap County, located on the west side of the Sound, joined as well) and to give the Puget Sound Regional Council more authority in crafting and monitoring growth in the region under the state law.

Implementing the Regional Plan

In less than a decade, the Seattle region has used the policies contained in Vision 2020 and the power contained in the Washington Growth Management Act to transform itself into a Regional City much faster than almost anyone could have imagined at the end of the 1980s. It has done so by focusing on implementation of several important regional policies and on linking local policies to the regional strategy laid out in Vision 2020.

The components of Seattle's success include:

1. The regional boundary, known in Seattle as the "Urban Growth Area"

2. A focus on identifying and reinforcing existing urban centers

3. A well-funded transportation strategy that emphasizes high-frequency, high-speed connections among the urban centers

4. A change in development standards and in the type and variety of individual development projects

5. An aggressive monitoring program that promotes public awareness of regionalism by measuring change and new development in the region against the regional policies articulated above.

The Urban Growth Area

The first and most important step undertaken by the Seattle region was a regional boundary-setting exercise that created a set of Urban Growth Areas, or UGAs. The local governments had agreed in principle on creating a boundary when they adopted Vision 2020. But the state Growth Management Act required the counties, working together with the cities, to formally adopt a UGA.

Seattle is a long and narrow metropolitan region oriented north and south. Most existing urban growth is located on the land mass along the east side of the Sound—in Seattle itself and the older suburbs to the north, south, and east. Increasingly, however, new suburban growth was scattering far into the Seattle hinterland—often leapfrogging over farmland and open space to locate in unincorporated county territory.

In designating the Urban Growth Area, the region's jurisdictions were required to reach agreement about what the physical form of the region should be. The process of creating a UGA was not a perfect one, but it suited Seattle's tradition of strong home rule on the part of local governments. With the assistance of the Regional Council—and the oversight of the regional appeals board, which made judicial-style decisions on irreconcilable disputes—the cities and counties in the region worked together and eventually agreed on an Urban Growth Area that includes about 1,000 square miles of the region's total of 6,000 square miles. The Urban Growth Area consists of about 15 percent of the region's land but accommodates approximately 85 percent of the region's population.

Although the boundary seems to meander when viewed on a map, in fact it makes a great deal of sense. For example, on the eastern side of Puget Sound, where most of Seattle's population lives, the boundary hugs the edges of dozens of existing cities and juts far out into undeveloped areas in only a few places. It also encompasses many existing towns that are not contiguous to Seattle and its suburbs. So, like the Willamette Valley's Urban Growth Boundaries, Puget Sound's Urban Growth Area acknowledges that the urban zone is not—and should not be—a continuous circle around the center city. Rather, it is a series of urban places, some connected and some separated by open space. Most important, like any regional boundary-setting exercise, the mere process of creating the UGA raised the consciousness of policy makers and activists of the fact that there *is* a physical form to the region that can be either strengthened or weakened by regional policies and new development.

For example, the vast majority of new housing units built each year are built inside the UGA. In 1997, only 19 percent of housing units were permitted outside the boundary, and that figure has been going down every year since the UGA was created as projects with "grandfather rights" have been completed.

Furthermore, the UGA has provided the backbone of both governance and policy for the local governments. Although the regional appeals courts resolve disputes, the local governments are primarily responsible for day-to-day development decisions that strengthen or weaken the Regional City. Seattle's regionalism effort has affected how these local governments operate in two different ways.

First, the state Growth Management Act encouraged the annexation or incorporation of urban communities that lie outside city limits. In the past decade, thirteen new cities have been incorporated and many other unincorporated areas have been annexed to existing cities. Overall, the percentage of the region's people living in incorporated cities has grown from 50 percent to 70 percent during that time. This trend toward incorporation doesn't automatically lead to more compact developments, but it does give more people a greater voice in shaping their communities and the region as a whole.

Second, the Urban Growth Area boundary—as does the Vision 2020 document as a whole—provides a strong regional framework for local governments to include in their own planning documents. For example, the comprehensive plan for the city of Redmond—a second-ring suburb where, as mentioned earlier, Microsoft is located—

contains firm language about the city's role in maintaining the UGA. The plan states unequivocally that "the city will not annex areas that are outside the UGA" and—equally important—commits the city to permitting growth on undeveloped land inside the UGA. Such firm language is typical of the Seattle area and reveals the strong connection between regional and local policies.

The Urban Centers Strategy

By itself, the Urban Growth Area is not sufficient to transform Seattle into a Regional City, just as Portland's Urban Growth Boundary was not sufficient on its own either. Equally important are a series of other policy tools that shape growth inside the boundary—including the Urban Centers Strategy

Vision 2020 called for the creation of a hierarchy of places. The Regional Council and the local governments have carried this policy out by designating twenty-one urban centers of regional significance, along with dozens of other town centers, as well as industrial and manufacturing centers important to the region. Regional policy calls for strengthening all of these centers, but the urban centers are particularly important.

The Urban Centers identified within the region are, in fact, job centers. The twenty-one Urban Centers include five Seattle neighborhoods (including downtown Seattle) and most of the older suburban downtowns such as Bellevue, Everett, and Issaquah. They also include emerging suburban job centers, including a half-dozen job centers located adjacent to regional malls.

Whether they are urban or suburban, old or new, these centers are more densely developed than the rest of the region and contain the lion's share of the region's jobs. Although they constitute only a tiny fraction of the region's land, they contain more than 400,000 jobs—30 percent of the regional total. In contrast, they accommodate a small number of residents (120,000 people, or 4 percent of the region's population). But they are densely populated, with double the average density of the region as a whole.

The goal of the Urban Centers strategy is to recognize which locations are centers and make those locations the focal point of new growth. Regional policy calls for a 50-percent increase in jobs in the Urban Centers in the next twenty years. But regional goals also call for a major increase in housing in these areas. According to the Regional Council, these areas could accommodate as much as 16 percent of the population growth in the next twenty years, thus increasing its percentage of regional population

from 4 percent to 6.5 percent. This goal seems achievable, because virtually all the land in the Urban Centers is designated for high-density housing.

The purpose of focusing both job and housing growth in the Urban Centers is to create more accessibility and a better jobs-housing balance in the region. Many residents will have short commutes if they live in one of the Urban Centers. In addition, however, the Urban Centers are expected to form the backbone of the regional rapid-transit system now being developed. Of the twenty-one centers, seventeen are designated to serve as either a bus transit center, a commuter-rail station, or a light-rail station by 2006. Thus, a concentration of jobs and housing in a few locations will not only preserve open land and shorten commutes, but also help make a regional transit system workable for the first time in decades.

Sound Move: The Regional Transportation Strategy

If the Urban Growth Area boundary and the Urban Centers strategy provide the skeletal framework for Seattle as a Regional City, then Sound Move—the regional transportation strategy—is the spine. The Metropolitan Transportation Plan was adopted by the Regional Council in 1995 and approved by voters—along with a $3.9 billion financing plan—the following year.

Sound Move is a regional transit system that includes express buses, a light-rail system, and a regional commuter-rail system. It is especially important to note that this regional system follows the contours of the Urban Growth Area and its principal purpose is to link together the twenty-one Urban Centers. All three Sound Move systems run north-south along the Everett-Seattle-Tacoma corridor, and the express bus system and future light-rail systems will run north-south and east-west through Bellevue.

Now that voter approval and financing is in place, the creation of this system is moving forward with great speed. Pa rts of the bus system have been in place for many years; buses use a network of special tunnels and high-occupancy vehicle lanes throughout the region. The commuter-rail system, using existing track, was to begin operation in 2000. At about the same time, regional officials agreed on an alignment for the light-rail system, which will focus only on the central part of the region, from the Seattle-Tacoma Airport north through Seattle to the Un i versity of Washington campus.

By linking existing urban centers and respecting the Urban Growth Area boundary, the regional express transit system is in many ways the final and most important

policy implementation in creating Seattle as a Regional City. When it is completed, it will provide a good part of the region with real transportation alternatives—and, by extension, with an opportunity for housing alternatives as well.

New Development Policies and Projects

Just as important as the shape of the region as a whole, however, is the marked change in the quality and character of Seattle's urban neighborhoods and inner-ring suburbs that has come about as a result of Seattle's transformation into a Regional City. These communities are more vibrant and successful than they have been in decades, and they are accommodating and managing the transition to a different way of life quite successfully. Like many other downtowns, downtown Seattle has evolved away from sterile office towers toward entertainment and retail venues that can serve the needs of both the entire region and the city neighborhoods immediately adjacent to it. Those city neighborhoods are also revived, as Seattle residents rediscover the value of living in urban districts—walking distance to neighborhood stores, a short bus ride to downtown, and a convenient drive to many of the region's greatest cultural and entertainment venues.

Perhaps the most significant change, however, has come in the older suburbs—communities forty or fifty years old that have considerable charm and convenience but could have died a long, slow death if the region's sprawling patterns had continued to drain investment and activity away from them out to the metropolitan fringe. In the 1980s, many of these suburbs were headed toward the "suburban activity center" model. It appeared as though they would be dominated by vast new auto-oriented business parks and shopping malls built near highway interchanges, while their original small-scale downtowns and neighborhood centers would wither. Over time, however, many suburbs have managed to redirect this commercial growth into their older cores.

Even before the Urban Growth Area was established, for example, Bellevue was able to take advantage of the market for suburban office development by channeling this growth into its original downtown. This changed the character of the downtown to some extent because many of the new buildings were of a larger scale than the original one-story suburban Main Street.

Similarly, path-breaking projects have proved that a high-density, mixed-use housing model can serve residents well even in a second-ring suburb best known for suburban

office parks. In seeking to transform its downtown into a more walkable area linked to the Regional City, Redmond made dramatic changes in its zoning policies.

As Roberta Lewandowski, the city's planning director, pointed out, Redmond has a detailed downtown specific plan that focuses on design rather than use, encourages mixed use, and reduces parking requirements by 80 percent. "After we did this," she said, "every vacant space downtown was suddenly filled with a restaurant." The changes have also stimulated the construction of innovative new projects such as Lionsgate, a mixed-use townhome project in downtown Redmond. Not only is Lionsgate a well-designed high-density housing project, it provides residents with commercial space for home businesses that front directly on the street. Similarly, a remarkable project called "Redmond Town Center" has successfully combined Main Street retail with major new office and apartment development.

By maintaining a village atmosphere, focusing on the fine-grained details of urban design, and making strong connections to a regional bus transit system that has grown rapidly, inner-ring suburbs such as Bellevue, Kirkland, Redmond and others have strengthened both their own communities and the regional structure and shunned the "suburban activity center" model.

Monitoring the Region's Progress

If the public perception in Seattle is that the metropolis has transformed itself into a thriving Regional City, this perception has emerged in large part from the region's own willingness to track and monitor its progress. No other region has done such a good job of monitoring progress and highlighting positive steps toward creating the Regional City.

Beginning in 1997, the Regional Council began publishing an annual report called "Monitoring Change in the Central Puget Sound Region." Using statistics, charts, and especially well crafted color maps, the Regional Council has provided a basis for discussion about Seattle's progress in becoming a Regional City. Simply by compiling and publishing statistics, the Regional Council has revealed important indicators, such as:

• The region's progress toward placing new development inside the Urban Growth Area

• The dramatic increase in regional transit passenger trips (50 percent since the mid-1980s)—a pattern that defies the national trend of declining transit ridership

- The fact that Seattle has more land in publicly protected parks, greenbelts, and open space (1,115 square miles) than in the urbanized area (985 miles)

Perhaps most important, the Regional Council has found that Seattle has achieved a dramatic reversal in the seemingly uncontrollable growth in auto traffic. In contrast with the 1980s, vehicle miles traveled in the 1990s has grown only 15 percent, approximately the same rate as that of the population at large.

Along the same lines, the Regional Council sponsors the annual "Vision 2020 Awards," which highlights policies and projects that help promote Seattle's transformation into a Regional City. Both the awards and the progress reports keep the Regional City goal on the "front burner" in the press and in the eyes of the public and regional political leaders.

Conclusion

The Regional City has not emerged in Seattle without controversy or conflict. Property owners and political leaders on the metropolitan fringe still resist the Urban Growth Area and argue in favor of sprawling development patterns. In fact, many rural areas outside the UGA have actually sought to secede from their counties in order to have the legal power under state law to create their own growth boundary. (These efforts have been defeated in court.) The building industry has consistently argued that the UGA is responsible for rising housing prices—though it is clear that the booming Microsoft–Starbuck's economy is largely the reason for this increase.

As in Oregon, the Growth Management Act has been the subject of repeated attacks in the legislature by political opponents. In particular, the concept of regional hearing boards comes under constant attack. But many of these attacks emerge from disputes in rural counties—not from disagreements in the Seattle area itself, where the concept of the Regional City has taken hold quickly and deeply. As in Oregon, the success of the UGA in the state's most important region has built enough political support that the law has not been weakened despite repeated attacks.

Unlike Salt Lake City, the Regional City in Seattle did not emerge as the result of a one-time, comprehensive examination of the long-term consequences of different scenarios in the region. Rather, it emerged over time as the principles of the Regional City—most significantly, boundaries, centers, and transit—emerged from an ongoing regional conversation that served much the same function. Nevertheless, in Seattle as

elsewhere, these three sets of policies together have given a long-term physical design vision for the shape and structure of the region that can serve as a model for many other metropolitan regions throughout the United States.

The bottom line is that the entire nature of the Seattle region has been fundamentally altered in the past twenty years. In the words of architect Mark Hinshaw, "Downtowns throughout the region are thriving, bustling with shops, theaters, and—yes—dense urban housing. All sorts of new housing forms are now being built and people cannot get enough of them. The robust regional economy of the late 1990s was now enriched by choices previously all but unknown. . . . We are finally coming to terms with what it means to live in an urban region."

Seattle was once known as a region with a declining older central city, a prosperous set of sprawling suburbs, and a population that was more concerned with outdoor recreation than with urban life. Today, the region has become more compact, livable, and manageable—a place where sprawl is receding—because both its people and its government agencies have been willing to shed the traditional metropolitan growth model and move in the direction of the Regional City.

CHAPTER 7:

THE SUPERREGIONS:
NEW YORK, CHICAGO, & SAN FRANCISCO

Impressive as the emerging Regional Cities of Portland, Seattle, and Salt Lake City are, they represent only one part of the spectrum of American metropolises—mid-sized regions with a population of one million to three million people. Far more difficult to deal with are what might be called the "superregions"—the five or six metropolitan areas in the United States with a population of six million people or more. In addition to having more people, these regions operate on a much different scale from that of their smaller counterparts. They are often 50 to 100 miles square in size—so large that it is often hard for people at one end to imagine that they are part of the same region as that of people at the other end. They also tend to be the most diverse regions—racial mosaics with a large and dynamic immigrant population. Thus, the superregions are far less likely than the mid-sized regions to have a cohesive structure or a common sense of identity on the part of its residents. Regional equity also is a question that looms large, because rich and poor are so geographically distant from one another.

Yet these metropolitan regions are our nation's true "world cities"—the world-class leaders in the arts and culture, in education, and in economic growth. Furthermore, they are home to more than fifty million people, or approximately 20 percent of the U.S. population. So tackling regionalism in these locales is important both to the nation and to the entire world. In considering superregions, we have chosen to focus on efforts in three of them: New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Each demonstrates an important aspect of the Regional City.

New York has the longest and proudest tradition of regional planning and has sought to renew its regional identity and regional vision in every new generation. Chicago has perhaps the nation's mostly deeply rooted problems of regional inequity and hyper-segregation, yet is now seeking to grapple with these problems anew from a Regional City perspective. The San Francisco region, which includes Silicon Valley and other outlying areas, developed a strong regional consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s but has struggled in the past twenty years to maintain its unified identity.

Within these three stories are important lessons for all American metropolises seeking to reshape themselves as Regional Cities. Among other things, corporate consolidation has eroded the base of civic leaders even in the largest cities because corporations are less wedded to specific geographical areas. As always, the physical-design vision plays a very important role in shaping the consciousness of the Regional City—physically, economically, and socially—and in superregions it plays the additional role of

knitting together a geographical area that is otherwise hard to identify with. Yet, even with a strong physical vision, it is still hard for residents and civic leaders in a super-region to identify with the entire region. Sometimes they are more successful if they define their "Regional City" as a federation of subregions—such as Silicon Valley—that are more manageable in size and shape than is the superregion as a whole.

NEW YORK AND THE THIRD REGIONAL PLAN

No American metropolis has a stronger history of viewing itself as a Regional City than New York. More than a century ago, in an early attempt to deal with regional matters, the city, then consisting only of Manhattan and the Bronx, annexed Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island to create Greater New York—an entity large and powerful enough to provide modern urban services and to oversee the construction of such region-shaping projects as the New York subway system. In the 1920s, when the metropolis began busting out of the city limits again, a remarkable group of civic leaders formed the Regional Plan Association (RPA) and spent an entire decade cre-ating the first comprehensive regional plan in American history.

Since then, RPA has completed two more regional plans, including one in 1996. All three clearly view New York as a Regional City, and all reveal both the promise and the difficulty of dealing with a world-class superregion on such a sweeping scale.

Stretching across 13,000 square miles in three states, encompassing everything from rustic watersheds to the skyscrapers of Manhattan, governed by eight hundred city and town boards, New York is not an easy region to grasp. Yet the Regional Plan Association has historically approached the task of regional planning and design with breathtaking sweep.

The first plan, which was released in 1929, anticipated the need to decentralize the region's population and promoted orderly residential and industrial growth throughout the region, taking into account metropolitan New York's natural features and its historic centers of population. Among other things, the plan called for the decentralization of residential areas out of Manhattan to make room for more busi-ness growth—an approach that drew the wrath of, among others, the great regional planning theorist Lewis Mumford, who believed the plan should decentralize both population and industry more aggressively out of Manhattan. As the historian James Wunch has documented, the 1929 plan was not completely implemented, but it did lay the foundation for massive regional investments in open space and highways,

which today provide the framework for the entire region.

RPA's second regional plan, released in 1969, dealt with a very different New York from the first one. The population of the region had indeed decentralized, but it had done so in a much more spread-out way than had been anticipated in the 1929 plan, which called for average urban densities of ten units per acre. Thus, the second plan was forced to confront the problem of suburban sprawl—or, as the plan called it, Spread City. To combat Spread City, RPA called for reinvestment in rapidly deteriorating older urban centers, such as downtown Brooklyn, Bridgeport, Stamford, White Plains, New Brunswick, and Newark.

Although some reinvestment in these older downtowns did occur, regional trends in the 1970s and 1980s worked against the effective implementation of the second plan. Despite a stagnant population—and an economic base far more uncertain that either of the two regional plans could have anticipated—the region in the 1970s and 1980s expanded outward almost as fast as Los Angeles did. Some 80 percent of the housing in New York from 1970 to 1990 was built on the region's outer ring. At the same time, the decline of manufacturing in the region gave New York a narrower economic base, centered on the volatile financial services sector. As economic growth slowed, the three states and the eight hundred local governments accelerated the process of raiding one another for businesses, increasing public subsidies for economic development.

In other words, despite its huge size and its great history, New York was becoming uncompetitive. Furthermore, immigration from Asia and Latin America was causing metropolitan New York's population to increase for the first time in decades. So in the early 1990s, the Regional Plan Association undertook to create a new plan for metropolitan New York called *A Region at Risk: The Third Regional Plan for the New York–New Jersey–Connecticut Metropolitan Area.*

The *Region at Risk* plan, released in 1996, offers an alternative vision for metropolitan growth in the New York area that is not substantially different from the visions presented in the first two plans. But, in contrast with the first two plans, the *Region at Risk* plan seeks to make New York competitive once again by creating, accommodating, and stimulating economic growth in the existing geographical area of the region.

The plan calls for five regional initiatives:

- *Greensward:* a parks and open-space plan

- *Centers:* a plan to focus growth on existing population and job centers

- *Mobility:* a transportation plan

- *Workforce:* a plan to focus on workforce education to improve the region's competitiveness

- *Governance:* a series of proposals to improve regional governance and coordination among the hundreds of governmental units within the region

A regional plan covering 13,000 square miles is necessarily broad in scope, but *A Region at Risk* made a significant effort to frame the issues in terms of regional design. In particular, the Greensward and Centers concepts provided a physical framework for the region's future growth.

The Greensward plan (which adopted the term used by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in describing their design for Central Park) identifies eleven key landscape-level ecosystems and open-space areas, totaling 2.5 million acres, that are to serve as the backbone of a "regional reserve" system. They include such important areas as the Catskill Mountains, the Atlantic seashore, the Long Island Pine Barrens, and the highlands to the north and west of New York City through which the Appalachian Trail meanders.

The Centers plan reflects the undeniable fact that, despite the overwhelming presence of Manhattan, metropolitan New York is a multicentered region—a metropolitan constellation with many strong and important downtowns. Just as the Greensward plan identifies eleven landscapes in need of protection, the Centers plan identifies eleven regional downtowns outside of Manhattan and Brooklyn—including Newark and Trenton in New Jersey, New Haven and Bridgeport in Connecticut, and Mineola and Hicksville on Long Island—and calls for heavy investment in these areas.

The Mobility plan builds on the Centers concept by proposing the so-called Rx system, or Regional Express Rail system, which will fill existing gaps in the regional system and make traveling throughout the entire New York region by rail a much more convenient proposition.

Although it has been only a few years since *A Region at Risk* was issued, it is already clear that the plan has had a major effect on the New York region in certain ways. The Greensward plan has proved to be a focal point for many regional efforts at open-space

preservation, including the acquisition of the 15,800-acre Sterling Fo rest pro p e rty in Orange County, New Yo rk, and the commitment of New Jersey Governor Christie Todd Whitman to spend $1 billion to ensure that 40 percent of the state's land is per-manently protected. Similarly, the Rx transportation plan has stimulated new action on important but long-stalled transportation projects throughout the region, such as the Second Avenue subway in Manhattan and rail links to New a rk and Kennedy air-p o rts. A number of new civic coalitions have emerged around specific recommenda-tions in the plan, including, for example, a business–civic–environmental coalition to examine transportation issues along the I-95 corridor in Connecticut.

At the same time, the experience of implementing *A Region at Risk* shows how diffi-cult it can be to deal with the entire panoply of physical-design issues at the level of the superregion. Though it is blessed with many handsome maps of the region, as well as important design ideas for how to handle increased development in the region's centers, *A Region at Risk* is not really a physical plan for the design of the entire region. And it may not be possible to create such a plan for an enormous geographical area such as metropolitan New York. *A Region at Risk* seems to reveal that, in superregions, it may be possible to stimulate compelling physical plans for subregions, as has been the case in New Jersey, but this accomplishment may come at the risk of losing the regionwide perspective, as has also been the case in New Jersey.

In assessing the *Region at Risk* experience, the RPA's executive director, Robert Yaro, has stressed the importance of what he calls "The Three T's" ("Things Take Time") and "The Three P's" (Persistence, Patience, and Perseverance). For example, the acqui-sition of Sterling Forest—a major component in shaping the physical form of the region—was first proposed in the 1929 Regional Plan, but it wasn't actually accom-plished for seventy years. The New York experience suggests that even though "things take time," a broad regional framework allows big-picture discussion of the physical framework of a metropolitan area.

CHICAGO METROPOLIS 2020

Like New York, Chicago is a mature metropolis with a distinguished planning history that has suffered in recent years from significant inner-city decline and suburban sprawl. But, as a Regional City, Chicago presents a somewhat different challenge than New York.

Similar to New York, Chicago has had a stagnant population and an uneven economy in recent decades. But unlike New York, economic growth in Chicago is driven by one strong downtown—the Loop—and a few other large job centers, such as the area surrounding O'Hare Airport, meaning that many parts of the region have been left behind economically. Metropolitan Chicago remains extremely segregated by race—the term *hypersegregation* is often used in reference to Chicago—and the region is extremely fragmented politically.

Although Chicago has often been a leader in urban design, it does not have the same rich history of regional visioning that the Regional Plan Association has provided to New York. It's true that Daniel Burnham's 1909 plan for the city of Chicago—prepared for a business group, the Commercial Club of Chicago—remains one of the finest documents of the City Beautiful era. By providing for a system of parks and parkways, especially along Lake Michigan, it brought urbane grace and beauty to a city where such amenities had been conspicuously lacking. Despite this achievement, however, metropolitan Chicago subsequently developed a uniquely fragmented urban structure that reinforced regional imbalances and worked against regional cooperation.

Traditionally, the region has been sharply divided between the city of Chicago—urban, high density, and heavily black—and some 260 suburban municipalities, mostly white with lower densities. Segregation and inequity are deeply embedded within this regional structure. Almost 1.5 million African Americans live in metropolitan Chicago, yet they remain concentrated in highly segregated neighborhoods. Three-quarters of the black population lives inside the Chicago city limits, and most of those residents live in neighborhoods that are almost entirely African American.

At the same time, classic sprawl developed throughout the region. Between 1970 and 1990, metropolitan Chicago's population barely grew at all, yet the urbanized area increased by approximately 35 percent. The reason is simple: a large part of the region's population (especially white middle-class and upper-middle-class residents) fled to the metropolitan fringe. Chicago and the older close-in suburbs lost some 800,000 residents, whereas the outer-ring suburbs, such as Bolingbrook and Naperville, added nearly a million people. The resulting inequity was stark; the per capita income disparity between the richest and the poorest jurisdictions in the Chicago region doubled in the 1980s.

Although the black population has remained heavily concentrated inside the city

limits of Chicago, other minority groups—predominantly Latinos—have begun to move into older, inner-ring suburbs in large numbers. At the same time, these older suburbs—which have traditionally viewed themselves as nonurban because they wanted to separate themselves from Chicago—have begun to face typical problems of land-poor communities. Myron Orfield found that, by the 1990s, Chicago had fractured into at least five types of communities sharply divided by fiscal capacity. The city of Chicago had an average tax base per household of $83,000—only two-thirds of the region's average of $127,000. The inner suburbs and the communities on the metropolitan fringe also had low tax bases—approximately $100,000 per household. The only areas that exceeded the region's average tax base per household were the older affluent suburbs in the northwestern part of the region, including such communities as Shaumberg, adjacent to O'Hare Airport, and the rapidly growing suburban areas south of the city.

Both sprawl and inequity are well-known problems in the Chicago area. But, in the 1990s, local civic leaders and citizen activists began to understand the connection between the two for the first time—largely because the region's problems were getting worse. Chicago's population was increasing faster than it had in decades, thanks in large part to a rapid rise in the Latino population. Meanwhile, low-density growth in the outer-ring suburbs appeared likely to continue, mostly for the benefit of the white population. In the 1990s, a whole range of groups—business groups, grassroots organizations, and government agencies—began taking steps to address the twin problems of sprawl and inequity in Chicago.

In 1995, a citizen coalition led by the Center for Neighborhood Technology produced a Citizen Transportation Plan that called for regional tax-base sharing and emphasis on infill development and transit-oriented transportation investments. In 1998, the regional planning agency, the Northeast Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC), made a similar series of recommendations. But perhaps the biggest push toward the Regional City in Chicago came when the Commercial Club—the same group of business leaders that sponsored the Burnham Plan in 1909—undertook a regional assessment similar to New York's Regional Plan Association's *A Region at Risk.*

Just as the 1909 plan was spearheaded by Daniel Burnham, the Commercial Club's report was spearheaded by another civic leader—Elmer Johnson, a Chicago attorney (and now president of the Aspen Institute in Washington, D.C.) A former executive vice president of General Motors, Johnson is, ironically, a passionate advocate of

broader transportation alternatives. His prestige gave the Commercial Club effort a gravity that other regional planning efforts in Chicago simply didn't have.

Chicago Me t ropolis 2020 is different from *A Region at Risk* in that it is not especially focused on large-scale elements of physical design for the region. *Chicago Metropolis 2020* does an excellent job of identifying problems associated with geographical disparity and inequity and, most important, connecting the need for better regional policies on social and economic issues to the need for better physical design of the region as a whole. In particular, the plan highlights the need for reform in housing, education, and tax equity—three elements described in the preceding section as being at the core of regional equity issues.

On education, *Chicago Me t ropolis 2020* calls for both greater tax equity and more school choice. For decades, Chicago's property-taxation system—which provides the basis for school funding—has been unusually arcane, with local governments assessing and taxing property by using a bewildering array of percentages and fractions. At the same time, the inequity in local property-taxation systems has led to a vast gap within the region. In 1990, the richest 10 percent of school districts had thirteen times the tax base of the poorest 10 percent. Partly as a result of such statistics, the state legislature has now established a per pupil "floor" for school funding, but *Chicago Me t ropolis 2020* calls for a broader base of funding for schools, including the possibility of a statewide system of property-tax sharing. *Chicago Me t ropolis 2020* also recognizes the need for greater parental control of schools and greater school choice, at least among public schools.

Fair housing is probably at the core of the Chicago dilemma. As the preceding statistics suggest, few metropolitan regions have been as deeply harmed by housing discrimination as Chicago. *Chicago Me t ropolis 2020* identifies a series of fair-housing policies already underway in Chicago—as well as many others than could be implemented—and divides these strategies into "supply side" and "demand side" approaches. Under supply-side approaches, the plan calls for continued reform of public housing, which in Chicago has included razing unsuccessful high-rise "projects" and replacing them with smaller-scale, mixed-income projects such as the HOPE VI projects described in Part Four. Under demand-side strategies, the plan highlights the Gautreaux program described in Chapter 4 and calls for an expansion of housing vouchers to permit more mobility among lower-income families. The plan

proposes a much-expanded Section 8 voucher program to facilitate more Gautreaux-style efforts.

These proposed strategies are the very essence of the Regional City concept. By applying both supply-side and demand-side approaches, *Chicago Metropolis 2020* seeks to create a better balance of housing and incomes throughout the entire region. Although the plan contains many other proposals, including a link between land-use and transportation planning and the creation of a regional system of greenways, these proposals are designed to reinforce a regional solution to Chicago's most basic problem, the income disparity and hypersegregation. Now, *Chicago Metropolis 2020* has a group working to implement the ideas contained in the plan, under the leadership of George Ranney, an attorney and innovative developer.

As with the Regional Plan Association, the role of Chicago Metropolis 2020 in implementing the ideas in the plan has been to serve as catalyst and cajoler. Among other things, Metropolis's early achievements included bringing business executives together with social-service agencies to discuss how best to deal with early childhood education in the region and to reorganize the region's fragmented approach to regional transportation. Previously, several regional transportation agencies divided the pie on the basis of political clout; now, under a new agreement, they will work together and allocate more resources to regional planning.

Metropolis and other groups have not yet made much of a dent in the hypersegregation program, which is both the most difficult and the most intractable problem in metropolitan Chicago. A follow-up report on rental housing, funded by a variety of agencies, documented the tight rental housing market in Chicago and called for an expanded voucher program.

The Regional City effort in Chicago is still young, and it will probably take many years for it to mature. It is clear that both the physical-design approaches and the social-economic policies discussed earlier will be required in strong combination with one another to transform Chicago into a true Regional City. There is little question that the business community—a critical element in regional success—is poised to play a critical role in using Regional-City concepts to attack Chicago's most fundamental problems.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Other than New York, there is probably no metropolis in the United States with a longer tradition of regional planning—and a stronger sense of regional identity—than the San Francisco Bay area. Part of this strong sense of identity is clearly due to topography. The Bay Area is traditionally defined as including the nine counties that touch the San Francisco Bay—the most important natural estuary on the West Coast and the largest and most distinctive natural feature in the entire region. Part of it, too, is the fact that the Bay Area was a pioneer in fostering the notion among citizen groups, business leaders, and elected officials that they must think of themselves as a Regional City. Citizen activism on planning issues dates back to the 1950s, and, from the beginning, citizen groups took a regional approach, especially on open space and transportation matters.

Far more than that of New York or Chicago, however, the experience of regionalism in the Bay Area must be viewed as a decentralized and incremental effort—an accumulation of plans, ideas, implementation strategies, and community activism that has built up over a period of four decades to shape the Bay Area as a Regional City. This singular experience, which stands in contrast with most other regionalism efforts throughout the country, yields several important lessons—both for regionalism generally and for regional efforts in the superregions specifically.

First, dedicated action on the part of regional citizen and business groups has provided measurable results for the entire region. Second, it has been very difficult to bring government agencies, especially local government agencies, together to work on regional problems—in large part because the state government has failed to provide a strong growth-management framework. Third, citizen groups and local government agencies have worked together well at the subregional level, producing effective designs for such subregions as the South Bay (Silicon Valley) and the North Bay (the beautiful area of Marin County and the Napa and Sonoma Valleys). And, finally, all the successes and failures of the past forty years have not dampened the appetite of both citizen activists and business leaders for a stronger effort at the level of the entire region.

Other than the bay itself, what distinguishes the Bay Area—and, indeed, makes it a model for the twenty-first-century metropolitan region—is the fact that it is not dominated by only one central city. Although world-famous, San Francisco is merely the second-largest city in the region (behind San Jose, the largest city), and it is one of three cities (Oakland being the third) that can legitimately lay claim to being a "cen-

tral city." No one city contains more than about 13 percent of the region's population of more than six million people. But the three central cities together account for about a third of the region's population.

Perhaps for this reason, both citizen activism and government action to deal with issues on a regional scale date back to the 1950s, when postwar suburban sprawl was cutting into the hillsides south of San Francisco, the rich agricultural land around San Jose, and other such locations. Between the late 1950s and the early 1970s, citizen groups such as People for Open Space (now Greenbelt Alliance) and others agitated for regional action on such issues as preserving open space, and providing public-transit alternatives to then-common freeway projects. As a result, many regional government agencies were organized by local officials or created by the state government. The East Bay Regional Park District and the Midpeninsula Regional Open Space District created a magnificent open-space system in the eastern and southern parts of the region. The Bay Conservation and Development Commission reversed the alarming trend of "filling in" San Francisco Bay. The Bay Area Rapid Transit District was created to build BART, the first regional rail passenger system constructed anywhere in the United States since the 1920s. The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG)—the Bay Area's council of governments (COG)—was created earlier than almost any other COG in the United States and quickly began to advocate a city-centered regional plan that would focus new growth in existing urban areas.

As more than one city planning historian has pointed out, this list is far more extensive than almost any other region in the United States has accomplished, during this or any other era. Yet, despite these accomplishments, the Bay Area has not succeeded in fully shaping a Regional City. And the reasons are instructive. Perhaps most important is the fact that, for some twenty years, the Bay Area's efforts at regionalism got bogged down in a seemingly endless debate over what form a regional government should take. The debate was similar in many parts of the country, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. But in the Bay Area it was especially intense. A proposal to make ABAG a true regional government—with power over local authority—fell apart in the 1960s. Then, in the 1980s, a blue-ribbon commission proposed a new regional structure, but it focused on a merger of existing bureaucracies, including ABAG and the regional transportation and air-quality agencies. By focusing on rearranging bureaucrats rather than on regional visioning, the Bay Vision 2020 effort fell apart as well.

In the absence of either a regional vision or a true regional government, the Bay Area developed what might be called an "ad hoc regionalism." Citizen groups such as Greenbelt Alliance took it on themselves to draw up their own regional strategies and try to implement them piece by piece. Greenbelt, for example, devised its own plan to preserve open space by containing urban growth and focusing development on existing urban centers. Then the organization implemented its strategy by running initiative campaigns in individual cities throughout the Bay Area—almost all of them successful—to create greenlines around those cities.

At the same time, local governments worked with citizen and business groups to draft visions and implementation strategies at the subregional level. Largely thanks to the leadership of the computer industry, Silicon Valley has made enormous strides in the past decade in viewing itself as a true Regional City. The local governments in the area—including Santa Clara County and the City of San Jose, by far the two largest jurisdictions—have agreed on a Greenline urban growth boundary. San Jose and several other communities have greatly intensified their efforts to allow denser housing in existing neighborhoods. And, in an effort to free up more land for housing, many of the Silicon Valley cities have also jointly agreed to rezone industrial land for residential use. They have also constructed a new light rail, which complements a massive effort to urbanize the downtown of San Jose. In large part, these efforts have been successful because, in superregions such as the Bay Area, the subregion is a manageable unit, approximately the same size as Seattle or Salt Lake City.

All these efforts are commendable, and they reinforce the Bay Area's longstanding reputation as a leader in innovative regional efforts. But they also reveal the difficulties in trying to shape a Regional City in an ad hoc way. Citizen groups may pursue partial solutions or subregional cooperation may lead to progress, but the overall growth of the region as a whole is rarely addressed in a comprehensive way. As a result, local and subregional goals are often met, but the region as a whole has become more and more imbalanced. During the Silicon Valley Internet boom of the 1990s, for example, nine jobs were created in Santa Clara County for every house constructed. As the Silicon Valley boom stimulated housing construction in other parts of the Bay Area, many communities—including some that had already adopted greenlines—imposed further growth controls to restrict housing. These local actions created a "domino effect" that pushed needed affordable housing over the mountains into the Central Valley.

These new problems have created the latest additions to the Bay Area's ad hoc regionalism; recently, local officials in the Bay Area and Central Valley have together created an organization (the Inter-Regional Partnership) to deal with joint issues. But all these efforts, commendable though they may be, seek to deal with problems created by the fact that the region has not successfully grappled with the question of how to organize regional growth in physical terms. Despite forty years of activism by local governments, businesses, and citizen groups, the Bay Area still has not dealt head-on with the choices that the region must make in comprehensive and physical terms, as Envision Utah did for Salt Lake City.

In large part, these ongoing problems with transforming the Bay Area into a true Regional City have emerged from the fact that California has not provided strong state leadership for regional planning or regional visioning. To be sure, California has many, many laws dealing with land-use planning, transportation, and environmental protection. Unlike such states as Oregon, Washington, Florida, and Maryland, however, California has never taken a leadership role in setting strong statewide principles and policies for metropolitan growth. In the absence of a statewide framework, local governments—and even subregional coalitions—have been able to pursue their own objectives without considering the overall regional effects of their actions. (This lack of state leadership has also hindered regionalism efforts in the Los Angeles area, which has a much more troubled history of dealing with regional planning issues.)

Fortunately, many of the Bay Area's leading businesses and citizen leaders still recognize the need for this kind of full-scale regional design discussion. Recently, a broad coalition of leaders, including business and government leaders, environmentalists, and developers, signed on to a proposed "Compact for a Sustainable Bay Area."

In signing the compact, these regional leaders—called together by the Bay Area Council, a regional business group of long-standing credibility—committed themselves to ten regional principles. These included such goals as pursuing "a diversified, sustainable, and competitive economy," accommodating sufficient housing, focusing on preserving and revitalizing neighborhoods, and creating more cooperation among competing local governments.

The Compact for a Sustainable Bay Area will now serve as the basis for a regional design "visioning" process not unlike the one in Salt Lake City—setting the stage for the possibility of real progress in regional design in the Bay Area at last. Despite the Bay Area's historic inability to deal with regional issues in a comprehensive, design-oriented fashion, the Sustainable Bay Area effort is proof that the Bay Area superregion still holds the potential to be transformed into a true Regional City.

STATE-LED REGIONALISM:
FLORIDA, MARYLAND, & MINNESOTA

Ever since Oregon's growth-management law was passed in 1973, many planning and design leaders have argued that the only way to deal with matters of regional growth and design is through state legislation. Because regional governments are so often weak and toothless, the argument goes, only the state government has the political clout to impose regional goals and hold local governments accountable for achieving them. There is no question that, in many cases, ironclad state goals are required as part of the framework for the Regional City. Neither Portland nor Seattle would have succeeded in its metropolitan growth strategies without state laws. And New Jersey would not have embarked on an ambitious fair-housing effort were it not for state requirements—first from the courts and later from the legislature. By the same token, there is little question that the San Francisco Bay area would have had more success over the years in pursuing a regional strategy if such efforts had been supported by strong and clear state policies.

However, the mere existence of a set of laws and policies at the state level does not, by itself, ensure that an effort to shape a Regional City will succeed. The nature and character of those state laws and policies matter a great deal as well. And the recent experience of what we call "state-led regionalism" suggests that the bureaucratic, regulatory approaches that states have traditionally adopted cannot by themselves be effective. They must be supported by a whole panoply of affirmative efforts to promote the concept of the Regional City. In particular, they cannot succeed without a design concept that translates the policies and regulations into a physical vision of what the region should look like. This chapter focuses on three states—Florida, Maryland, and Minnesota—whose very different experiences in state-led regionalism all point to this same lesson.

FLORIDA

With more than fifteen million people, Florida is the largest state in the nation with a comprehensive statewide growth-management law. Yet fifteen years of experience under the Growth Management Act has not really led to a greater sense of regionalism in Florida's leading metropolitan areas. For this reason, the Florida experience is instructive in explaining what state legislation can and cannot do in helping to design the Regional City.

The 1985 growth-management law established a few important statewide growth goals, such as encouraging compact urban development, keeping growth away from Florida's fragile coasts, and requiring that infrastructure be put in place to accommodate all new development. It also required coordinated state approval of all local plans in each county. But, at its core, the Florida law was not really focused on the goals of the Regional City as we have outlined them in this book—to overcome sprawl and inequity. Rather, the law as it was written in 1985 focused mostly on managing future urban expansion and, especially, on ensuring that public infrastructure was adequate to accommodate urban growth.

The most important provision of the Florida law was a policy that came to be known as "concurrency"—a requirement that local governments identify funding sources and a construction schedule for all roads, sewers, and other public infrastructure required to accommodate new development. Concurrency is an important goal, and, by requiring a cost analysis for new infrastructure, the concurrency requirement lowered infrastructure costs that led, in many cases, to more compact development. But the law did not directly address the physical form of metropolitan growth—a deficiency that became all too apparent as sprawl became more important in the 1990s.

As one statewide commission reviewing the Growth Management Act recently concluded, concurrency "has been implemented almost exclusively as 'motor vehicle concurrency.'" As with federal transportation policy, the analytical tools used in analyzing concurrency were focused almost entirely on highways, automobiles, and traditional measurements such as "levels of service" without considering land-use alternatives, standards of community design, and public transit. Indeed, public-transit facilities themselves were subject to the state's concurrency requirements.

The result was more sprawl. With a system of analysis geared only toward cars, growth was encouraged on the metropolitan fringe (where highway capacity was available) and often prohibited in existing urban areas (where highway capacity was limited). In many cases, this situation also increased congestion and lengthened commutes, because residents living in new subdivisions on the metropolitan fringe often commuted to existing urban areas (where new development was prohibited) to get to their jobs.

The concurrency problem has been partly rectified by a series of incremental legislative changes in the past decade. The state now permits urban areas to create "concurrency exception areas," where infill development should be encouraged, and permits

local governments to designate "infill and redevelopment" areas, where a significant deviation from concurrency standards is permitted.

But, even after fifteen years of amendments, the Florida situation still suffers from a major flaw: the law does not encourage local governments to stop competing with one another and start working together from a regional perspective. This is especially true in metropolitan areas that consist of more than one county, as do all three of the state's large metropolitan areas (Miami, Orlando, and Tampa–St. Petersburg).

With the exception of large projects (known as Developments of Regional Impact, or DRI), the Growth Management Act creates little regional perspective. Indeed, it bypasses the regional perspective by creating a direct relationship between the state government and the local governments. Although the state's Department of Community Affairs is obligated to review a county's plan and the plans of all cities in that county at the same time, it still does not deal with large metropolitan areas in their entirety.

In some parts of the state, a regional boundary was established—but often at the county level, which was inadequate. For example, Orange County (where Orlando is located) created an Urban Service Area boundary. But developers responded by simply leaping over the county line into adjacent counties, which were more than happy to accept new growth.

These large "leapfrog" projects were subject to the regional DRI process, but they often won approval anyway if they were able to "capture" most of their traffic internally and therefore had a minimal impact on the surrounding highway system. Ironically, the state's growth-management law often favored New Urbanist designs for these noncontiguous "new towns." The New Urbanist plans were thoughtfully designed and could prove, at least in theory, that they would have minimal effect on the traffic of surrounding towns and highways. But this system of permitting new towns did little to address overall metropolitan sprawl. In fact, it perpetuated the myth that New Urbanism was promoting nothing more than a somewhat different kind of sprawl.

In short, the lack of a metropolitan perspective has greatly harmed Florida's efforts to manage growth. The result is great variation in the way in which different metropolitan regions deal with growth. As stated earlier, jurisdictions in the Orlando area—and other metropolitan areas that still perceive themselves to be land rich—can

comply with the requirements of the Growth Management Act without working together to combat sprawl or inequity. In contrast, in South Florida (Miami), urban sprawl has pushed metropolitan growth to the edge of the Everglades. The region cannot expand outward geographically without more environmental destruction of the Everglades, which has become a major—and extremely expensive—environmental priority for both the state and the federal governments in the 1990s.

For this reason, many local governments in South Florida were receptive to the state's efforts to promote sustainable communities, including the Eastward Ho! initiative, which took direct aim at protecting the environment, curbing suburban sprawl, and revitalizing urban neighborhoods as part of an integrated package. Rather than focusing on the bureaucratic requirements of infrastructure adequacy, Eastward Ho! focused on reshaping the entire South Florida metropolis physically so as to transform it into a Regional City. It did so by cleaning up brownfields, redeveloping existing neighborhoods, creating regional urban boundaries, and connecting urban-growth policy in South Florida to efforts to restore the Everglades.

Under Governor Jeb Bush, the state has cut back support for the Eastward Ho! initiative, and it is unclear whether the local governments in South Florida will "step up to the plate" to continue the area's movement toward a Regional City. But the lesson of Florida is clear: policy-based efforts to manage growth that do not focus on regional form and inequity will likely fail because of local government competition and unintended consequences that may lead to more sprawl, not less. Sprawl is not a problem that can be overcome simply by bureaucratic processes; rather, it must be addressed through a conscious effort of regional and neighborhood design that capitalizes on the potential of existing urban and suburban neighborhoods and districts.

MARYLAND

Whereas the Florida Growth Management Act deals largely with bureaucratic processes, the Maryland Smart Growth program focuses almost entirely on the question of regional form. Although it is still in its infancy (the law was passed in 1997), the Smart Growth program is a good example of how innovative state policies can support local efforts to overcome sprawl and can do so by using public investment, rather than state regulation, as the vehicle.

When Parris Glendening was elected governor in 1994, he decided to make anti-

sprawl policy a centerpiece of his campaign. Not unlike South Florida, Maryland is a region of great natural beauty and agricultural productivity that is deeply afflicted by problems of sprawl and inequity at the metropolitan level. Baltimore and Washington are among the strongest and most successful metropolitan regions in the United States—in many ways they constitute one prosperous superregion—but their central cities are mostly African American and extremely poor.

Determining to protect rural areas and stimulate investment in existing urban areas, Glendening, a former college professor and local government official, coined the term "Smart Growth" and proposed a series of state policy changes that would direct new growth away from agricultural land and toward urban neighborhoods in need of investment.

In most other states, beginning with Oregon, the effort to end sprawl and transform metropolitan areas had rested on heavy regulation. But, in Maryland, Glendening did not have the luxury of creating regulatory restrictions on urban growth. The property-rights movement had won many successes in court, giving landowners more power and making it more difficult—both legally and politically—for governments to create more regulation.

Glendening chose a different tack. He attempted to influence growth patterns by directing state investment into specific locations. As he later put it, "We decided to use our (state) budget as a $15 billion incentive for Smart Growth. And we have begun to use our tax laws as a disincentive to sprawl." He used the term *Smart Growth* largely for marketing purposes, believing that no political opponent would dare come out in favor of *Dumb Growth.*

The "Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation program," passed in 1997, has two major components. Both reallocate existing state funds to deal with the twin problems of sprawl and inequity. The first major component identifies Priority Funding Areas throughout the state and channels most state infrastructure money into those areas. Existing municipalities, for example, are automatically designated as Priority Funding Areas under the state law, as are areas inside the Washington and Baltimore beltways, enterprise zones, and state-designated revitalization areas. Some greenfield areas may also be designated as Priority Funding Areas, as long as they have a housing density of at least 3.5 units per acre—not enough density to support transit but enough to discourage large-lot "rural" subdivisions.

The second major component, known as the Rural Legacy program, channels the state's land-acquisition funds into designated conservation areas. Maryland already had one of the oldest and most generously funded land-conservation programs in the nation. The Smart Growth program ensured that this money was spent more strategically to protect key agricultural land, curb suburban sprawl, and direct growth into existing urban areas.

Maryland's Smart Growth law is far from perfect. The lack of regulatory teeth clearly makes it difficult for the state to achieve its goals. In addition, the counties are permitted to designate some of their own "Smart Growth" priority funding areas. They and have not always done a conscientious job, at least according to one report from 1000 Friends of Maryland, a watchdog group. But even short of perfection, the Maryland Smart Growth effort has already paid off.

Using Smart Growth criteria, Glendening canceled the construction of all highway bypasses in the state. (Meanwhile, the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., are connected to Washington's superior regional subway system, and Baltimore is building a light-rail system.) More than 80 percent of all state school construction money is now being spent in existing urban areas, compared with only 42 percent at the time that he took office. And the state recently reported that in 1999, for the first time ever, more land was conserved as a result of the state's efforts than was consumed by new urban growth. In a very short time, the Smart Growth approach has allowed both Baltimore and the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., to take an entirely new approach to dealing with metropolitan growth, one that is likely to reduce regional sprawl and inequity in the years ahead.

MINNESOTA

For almost thirty years, advocates of regional planning throughout the United States have pointed to the Twin Cities—the Minneapolis–St. Paul metropolitan region in Minnesota—as a shining example of regional cooperation designed to promote regional equity. In large part, however, this reputation is based on one regional policy: the regional tax-sharing policy, which redistributes of some of the growth in property taxes from tax-rich jurisdictions to tax-poor jurisdictions. This policy is an important national precedent, and it has done a great deal to bring more tax equity to the region. But, as the political and civic leaders of the Twin Cities have lately begun to recog-

nize, neither this single policy nor the region's long and impressive history of regional cooperation—impressive, at least, by American standards—has been sufficient to stem the tide of sprawl and inequity. A more comprehensive and design-conscious vision is required as well.

With approximately 2.5 million people, the Twin Cities region is on the high end of the midsized metropolitan regions that include Seattle, Portland, and Salt Lake City. Unlike most other Midwestern metropolises, the Twin Cities region is still experiencing considerable population growth and economic expansion. The population of the region has increased by more than 25 percent since 1980. Jobs have increased by 20 percent in just the past decade. And, whereas growth in the two central cities and older suburbs was stagnant, the population increased dramatically in newer, low-density suburbs such as Maple Grove, a small community located northwest of Minneapolis that became a focal point for debate about density, growth, and regionalism in the 1990s.

Like the San Francisco Bay area, the Twin Cities got into the business of regionalism early in the game—in large part because of the very practical need to better coordinate regional sewage problems. The Metropolitan Council, a regional agency covering seven counties, was established in 1967. Unlike the Association of Bay Area Governments and other regional agencies, however, the Met Council is not a loose and voluntary organization of local governments. Rather, it is a state-chartered entity, financed independently by a small part of the property tax, with a governing board appointed partly at the state level and charged with making important decisions about regional facilities such as airports. This state-led regionalism is an important distinction from the ad hoc regionalism of the Bay Area. Among other things, the Met Council was charged with creating and maintaining a Metropolitan Urban Service Area, or MUSA—an urban services line beyond which urban development was not to be permitted. Like other similar laws elsewhere, the MUSA law has many loopholes, but it does permit Met Council to draw a regional boundary of sorts.

Four years later, after the creation of the Met Council, the state added to its structure of regionalism by adopting the now-well-known tax-sharing law. Despite its widespread reputation as a shining example, the tax-sharing law is actually rather modest. It does not call for jurisdictions to share all property taxes within the region. Rather, it merely requires local jurisdictions to place 40 percent of the growth of their com-

mercial and industrial property-tax base into a regional pool, to be redistributed to jurisdictions on a per capita basis.

At first, this law produced a modest amount of money. Over time, however, the regional pool has grown, and now it redistributes several hundred million dollars a year from tax-rich jurisdictions to tax-poor jurisdictions. Furthermore, the wealth has not been uniformly transferred from the suburbs to the older central cities. In some years, the central city of Minneapolis—with a strong downtown and still-elegant residential neighborhoods—has been a net donor to the pool. And, as with most other metropolitan areas, the Twin Cities region includes dozens of older suburbs that have a modest tax base, which are net financial winners under the tax-sharing law. Overall, the law has reduced the fiscal disparity between the richest and poorest jurisdictions in the region from 50:1 to 12:1.

With a growing regional economy, an independent Metropolitan Council charged with regional planning, and the tax-sharing law in place, the Twin Cities region was viewed—and viewed itself—as a model of regional planning and cooperation. In the early 1990s, however, the question of regional equity was reopened, largely through the efforts of a young state legislator named Myron Orfield, who began to investigate the geographical patterns of public investment within the region. Using the emerging power of computer mapping, Orfield showed that, even under the Met Council system, transportation and other infrastructure investments were being invested disproportionately in fast-growing, high-income, low-density suburbs. Orfield introduced a series of bills calling for sweeping changes in metropolitan governance, fiscal policy, transportation, and land-use planning, with a strong emphasis on affordable housing in all regional communities. Orfield also published a nationally acclaimed book, *Metropolitics,* documenting the need for such policies.

Like his predecessors who had passed the original tax-sharing law, Orfield was called a communist and worse. But his ideas soon caught on with other prominent politicians, among them Ted Mondale, a well-known state senator and son of the former vice president. Encouraged by such political action, the Met Council drew up a new Regional Blueprint in 1994 that specifically calls for giving priority on regional infrastructure investments to communities that have "implemented plans to provide their share of the region's low- and moderate-income and life-cycle housing opportunities." This Blueprint, along with the Urban Service Area requirement, gives the Met Council

considerable power over local governments. For example, shortly after the passage of the Blueprint, the Met Council forced Maple Grove, an affluent, low-density suburb, to agree to the construction of higher-density housing, including some rental units, in exchange for the Met Council's approval of a $43 million sewer interceptor.

The Twin Cities' approach to regionalism suggests a steady, though gradual, movement toward consciousness as a Regional City. Recently, however, Minnesota leaders have recognized that, even with fairly strong state-led regionalism, they cannot truly transform their metropolis into a Regional City without a strong commitment to designing the region affirmatively. The tax-sharing law, the Regional Blueprint, and the Metropolitan Urban Service Area all provide the region with mechanisms to improve social and economic equity. But sprawl remains a problem, as does local resistance in affluent suburbs.

Therefore, as the millennium approached, Minnesota took the next step toward creating a true Regional City in the Twin Cities. The state's unconventional governor, Jesse Ventura—former mayor of the older working-class suburb of Brooklyn Park—announced a Smart Growth policy and appointed Ted Mondale to head the Met Council. Together, Ventura and Mondale began focusing on the hard-core physical-design issues associated with metropolitan growth in the Twin Cities—especially the idea of a regional rail system and compact, higher-density development in the region's many centers. In contrast with Salt Lake City, the Twin Cities regional design may be the final step, rather than the first one—building on three decades of regional policy making on growth issues.

All three state-led efforts at regionalism described here teach the same lessons. First, the transformation of our metropolitan areas into Regional Cities is unlikely to occur without strong state leadership on growth issues. Second, regional policies alone cannot do the job, even if they are promoted and supported by strong political leadership at the state level. Only if those policies (and the infrastructure investments that go along with them) are married to a regional and neighborhood design vision can the transformation into a Regional City succeed.

PART FOUR:
RENEWING THE REGION'S COMMUNITIES

The zoning maps that prescribe growth and redevelopment must be refashioned into documents that recognize and reinforce connections between uses. A new language is developing for town and city planning that uses the basic building blocks of community to create a map of places rather than zones.

INTRODUCTION

None of the regional visions, policies, or investments would mean much if they didn't shape our communities at the most basic level: neighborhoods. The transition away from sprawl and urban disinvestment requires rethinking the form and function of the places in which we live. Throughout any region, there are many types of neighborhoods, villages, and towns. Each will have a different dynamic of change. Each will need to develop its own vision of community and the built environment. And each will have to find a way to tap into the emerging Regional City. But all will progress toward greater diversity, more walkable environments, and a more compact, urban form.

This part of the book focuses on three primary conditions: the existing suburb, new growth areas at the edge, and distressed urban neighborhoods and districts. Certainly, many other places will need unique forms of change—such as rural villages or stable urban neighborhoods. The conditions and sites investigated here, however, go to three of the dominant opportunities for change in the region: Suburban Greyfields, Exurban Greenfields, and Urban Brownfields. The urban neighborhood and the regional edge have historically been the focus of many design and policy innovations. The maturing suburb is a relatively new topic and one that is pivotal in the creation of coherent Regional Cities.

The transformation of our existing suburbs, whether first-ring or newer areas, is fundamental to realizing a healthier regional form. In most regions, the existing suburbs now house more than 50 percent of the population. Changing the character of those places by rebuilding their most underutilized areas affords a necessary and rich opportunity. We believe that the most dysfunctional aspects of the postwar suburb can be repaired through infill and selective redevelopment. The housing opportunities can diversify, mobility can be enhanced, and the lack of connections can be mended. The core of the opportunity lies in redeveloping the suburb's strip commercial areas—the "greyfields" of asphalt that can be recycled into village and town cores that serve the adjacent neighborhoods while accommodating new housing.

In addition to the place-by-place remaking of the suburbs, larger institutional change and infrastructure shifts must take place. The zoning maps that prescribe growth and redevelopment must be refashioned into documents that recognize and reinforce connections between uses. A new language is developing for town and city planning that uses the basic building blocks of community to create a map of places rather than zones.

In addition to refashioning the codes, suburban transit will be necessary to weave the region together. The next generation of transit will have to connect suburb to suburb as well as suburbs to central cities. Transit is not only an end in itself, but a framework for organizing redevelopment and infill throughout the region and, perhaps more important, a way of enhancing the pedestrian life of individual neighborhoods and centers.

Regardless of Regional Boundaries and policies to support infill and redevelopment, many regions will continue to have some part of their growth at the exurban fringe. This growth must be integrated into the Regional City, by location, connection, and form. Greenfield development can follow the same urban-design principles so relevant in the city and the maturing suburbs.

Ironically, these edge sites probably will have a harder time achieving the urban qualities that seem to be gaining ground in other areas. They will have to struggle with market forces that push for uniformly low-density housing. They will have a harder time creating mixed-use centers because the need for retail and other commercial uses is weakest in the outlying areas. And they will be hard pressed to justify transit and truly walkable streets without the diversity and density enjoyed naturally by more central neighborhoods. However, in areas with strong regional policies to set limits to sprawl and clearly define the direction of growth, new greenfield projects can intensify in ways that areas without limits cannot support. The health of new growth, like the viability of infill, depends on a clear vision of the region.

The revitalization of depressed inner-city neighborhoods has been a long-standing goal for many administrations and civic groups. Partly through the lens of regionalism and partly through the design principles of groups such as the Congress for New Urbanism, a different approach is emerging. As demonstrated by HUD's Consolidated Planning and HOPE VI programs, this new approach builds on the age-old urban-design philosophy of diversity, human scale, and preservation while bringing into practice the notion that the city cannot be divorced from its surround-

ings. The economic and physical isolation of many inner-city neighborhoods must give way to a regionwide integration of opportunities in jobs and housing.

These, then, are the opportunities for change in the Regional City. Neighborhood by neighborhood, the brownfields and greyfields will redevelop in existing communities, adding a new layer of urbanism to places too often lacking diversity and human scale. Even at the edge, Greenfield development can reinforce the region's evolution toward a more compact, transit-friendly form. Each of these three opportunities is ultimately where the meaning and value of the Regional City expresses itself in our eveyday lives.

CHAPTER 9:

THE SUBURB'S MATURATION

Since their creation, the suburbs have been evolving and changing. From bedroom communities to Edge Cities, the trend has been toward more complex and complete places. In the past two generations, employment and retail have followed housing to the suburbs. Now market forces are diversifying the mix of housing types and calling for alternatives to the car. As we have pointed out, walkable neighborhoods and urban centers are emerging as socially desirable, environmentally sound, and economically profitable. The once-segregated places of the suburbs are beginning to be connected by strategic mixed-use projects on infill and redevelopment sites. A network of centers that are urban in the best sense of the word is beginning to overlay and transform the suburban landscape.

But suburban infill has a unique set of problems and constraints. Typically, no-growth and slow-growth advocates oppose infill projects with any density or mixed use—driving the cost of such development ever upward by delays and litigation. Local politics are often oriented to the status quo, and once an area's character has been established, it is hard to change without a powerful consensus. Furthermore, the existing suburban street systems and zoning codes block the creation of different types of developments even when such a consensus is achieved. Finally, the standard density and configuration of suburbia make transit a heavily subsidized safety net rather than a functional alternate to the car.

If we are to direct significant growth to suburban infill locations, much must change. Foremost, citizens must understand that there are options for growth other than more sprawl—and a clear picture of these alternatives must be communicated. Often the simple act of delineating the scale and character of walkable centers and neighborhoods is enough to relieve local anxiety about development. Local concerns must be tempered with regional needs for an equitable distribution of affordable housing and jobs, for the preservation of open space and agriculture lands, and for transit. This calls for a regional process that can both educate and guide the complex interaction of economics, ecology, tectonics, jurisdiction, and social equity. Without public education and clarity on the real alternatives, suburban infill options may be stranded between regional interests and local fears for some time to come.

Four areas must change for the suburbs to mature into more inclusive, complex places. First, each town needs to rework its comprehensive plan and zoning ordinance to allow mixed-use development and to encourage a wider range of housing.

Restructuring each town plan into places rather than zones is a fundamental imple-mentation step of any regional vision. Second, key infill and redevelopment sites must be identified and supported through infrastructure investment and policy. These infill sites are the keys to changing the character of our existing suburbs. Third, Greenfield sites that are determined to be appropriate areas for metropolitan expansion must be planned to be pedestrian friendly, transit accessible, and balanced. Finally, the sub-urban areas of the region need to be woven together with a diverse transit system, combining trunk-line rail systems with buses, bikeways, and walkable station areas. Each of these four areas of change is critical to the ongoing maturation of the suburbs.

RESTRUCTURING THE SUBURBAN TOWN PLAN

Towns have the same fundamental building blocks as those of regions, and need to use them to revise their comprehensive plans and zoning ordinances. The building blocks of towns are places and links not zones—neighborhoods, districts, corridors, centers, and open-space systems. The contrast between the standard zoning categories and these place-oriented building blocks is dramatic. Residential zones and subdivi-sions are transformed into neighborhoods scaled to a walk. Shopping centers and office parks are reconceived as mixed-use districts with walkable streets. Arterials and highways can become boulevards with integrated transit. Each of these transforma-tions is possible only when the town begins to see its elements in relation to whole places rather than isolated uses.

Reconceiving an existing town plan by using this structure of places begins to redirect and reshape the location and type of its infill, redevelopment, and new development. It provides a map for the location of neighborhood centers, major mixed-use areas, employment districts, and new open-space systems. Similarly, it reorganizes new growth areas into coherent places and centers. The updated general plan for Palo Alto, California, is a good example of this approach [Plate 35].

The process of remapping our towns requires extensive community participation. Citizens need to take part in the process of defining the town's structure of neighbor-hoods, centers, corridors, and open space. This process is necessarily a political one, and it must be conducted in a proactive manner. Community participation should be structured around hands-on workshops in which citizens become problem solvers and community designers rather than "problem staters" and armchair critics.

Like regions and neighborhoods, towns need a vital center, clear boundaries, robust circulation networks, and a powerful civic order. These fundamental principles apply across scales, from region to town to neighborhood. A town without a thriving center lacks the economic and cultural crossroads of its community. A town without boundaries soon becomes a sprawling expanse of subdivisions and malls. Without a sense of public space and civic focus, any town can lose its character and identity. Such boundaries, centers, and human-scaled public spaces are no longer the components of our land-use plans—but they need to be.

The suburban town has a hierarchy of centers similar to that of the region, with the addition of the "neighborhood center" to the region's village, town, and urban centers. The neighborhood center is the most basic and most problematic. A neighborhood that maintains a walkable scale is rarely more than 120 acres (a quarter mile or five-minute walk in any direction). In a suburban town, this area will typically include only three hundred to, at a maximum, eight hundred homes. Because the local grocery store is no longer a small mom-and-pop shop, it is hard to find a retail anchor for a market area so small.

Clearly, each neighborhood center cannot have its own full-service grocery store or the smaller shops that logically cluster around it. Smaller increments of retail must in some cases be subsidized as a community amenity if they are to succeed. The neighborhood center therefore must become a mix of civic uses (such as a day-care center, a senior center, or an elementary school) along with a neighborhood green and whatever stores are feasible. Often, a simple shared open space is enough to create identity for a neighborhood, even if it doesn't put shopping or jobs within walking distance.

The problem is partly due to the fact that the stores have grown so big and partly due to our rushed lifestyles. We need to be able to run many errands in one place because we are so pressed for time. This amounts to a retail center of at least 100,000 square feet, including a major grocery store, a hardware store, and a drugstore. These retail centers become what we call village centers if they are designed as walkable environments with civic and other uses mixed in. A town may have several village centers, depending on its population. Village centers are logical places for multifamily and senior housing. They also provide opportunities for smaller, local-serving office space: doctors, dentists, travel agencies, and the like. Some smaller civic uses, such as a branch library, post office, or youth center, also are appropriate. Village centers are the

smallest increment that would show up on a regional plan and have been described as one of the regional building blocks.

Town centers, too, are regional building blocks, but in a town plan they form the heart of the municipality. Whatever is most unique about a town should be expressed here. There are some traditional qualities that most town centers need. They must be twenty-four-hour districts with activities and services for day use and night life. They will typically have the greatest residential densities of the town and be the crossroads for the area's transit system. They should have the greatest concentration of jobs (but, given twenty-five years of building office parks at freeway exit ramps, they often do not). Walkable town centers are what all the homebuyer surveys indicate people now want to live near or in, but sadly such places are the exception and not the rule.

The other building blocks of the region need to be incorporated and reinforced in each town plan. Corridors, both natural and human-made, form the linkages within the town and to the region. They, along with the centers, are a prime opportunity for mixed-use infill within a new town structure—where strip commercial is replaced with walkable centers. Districts also are a part of the town structure. They provide for the special uses that cannot be integrated into neighborhoods or centers.

A Taxonomy of Suburban Towns

There are several types of suburban towns, depending largely on their age and location. The older first-ring suburbs produced towns before World War II that in many cases were connected to the city by streetcars or rail lines. This transit basis gave them an innate pedestrian orientation and scale. They were designed around people walking to the station and stopping at various places along the way. They had all the characteristics of good urban design without the challenges of contemporary lifestyles and economies.

Today, these towns are either very desirable or rundown and neglected. The difference lies in their location. Chris Lienberger, of the respected real estate economic firm Charles Lessor, has identified the "favored quarter" of a region: the quadrant of suburban growth emanating from the historic city that captures most of the new jobs and higher-income households. The favored quarter is easy to identify and map in any region of the country. Within these preferred regional quadrants, historic towns and streetcar suburbs become highly valued community centers. Such town centers are now beginning to attract all the uses that had been sprawling in the Edge City's office parks and retail centers. For example, in the San Francisco Bay area, the upscale shops

and start-up businesses would all rather be in downtown Palo Alto or Mountain View than out at the freeway.

In the other regional quarters, historic streetcar towns are not faring so well—they are the first-ring suburbs in decline. Home to blue-collar communities that first fled the city, they are in danger of repeating the city's downward cycle—fewer jobs, lower tax base, poor services, declining schools, and little investment. This decline is particularly threatening because these towns lack much of the intrinsic and historic value of the city. Here, Main Street is largely vacant, the train station is closed, and many historic buildings have been destroyed or are in decay. From an urban design standpoint, these towns had much that is desirable. But, from a regional standpoint, they are out of the economic flow. And without local economic revitalization or the regional policies previously described—tax-base sharing, regional boundaries, new transit investments, targeted employment centers, and better schools—no amount of good urban design will save them.

Moving outward in the region, we come to the suburbs that were built after World War II. These towns literally have no center or history. If you ask a resident to take you to the town center, more often than not you will end up in a mall. These towns are connected to the region and the city only by highways; little or no transit or rail works in such areas. Often, they were planned with large single-use zones knitted together with four- and six-lane arterials. Somewhere along the arterials is a civic center surrounded by parking. These are the towns that can be most easily transformed by redeveloping their greyfields of asphalt into town and village centers.

These centerless towns also take on different characteristics, depending on their location in the region. In the high-growth sections, these towns are riddled with gated communities, golf courses, upscale shopping centers, and massive office parks. These areas are the least likely to change, because of their wealth and desire to remain exclusive. The diversity advocated by a Regional City plan is too radical and inclusionary for most of these towns. Mixed-use centers with multifamily housing are falsely seen as inviting crime and undesirable elements into their communities. The strategy that these towns tend to prefer is to limit growth and build bigger roads.

Beyond the suburban edge are freestanding towns that are quickly being drawn into the economic constellation of the region. Historically, these towns were agricultural in the West and single-industry towns in the East. As those original economies have

waned, many of the towns have suffered population declines and economic stagnation. A few, largely with small colleges or universities, have become communities of choice for the ultramobile workers of the information economy. Their mix of higher education and a high quality of life is attracting high-end small businesses and independent workers.

These towns are particularly interested in controlling sprawl and rebuilding their town centers. To maintain their prosperity, they need to offer a different environment from that of the Edge City suburb. They need to preserve the natural features that are so desirable to most people with choice, and they need to create a vital town center that offers high-quality entertainment, shopping, and culture within a walking environment.

Most suburban towns are a mix of prewar core areas and postwar edges—they are a microcosm of the region. Each has a historic core with an old train station (now typically a restaurant), a run-down Main Street, and old grid-street neighborhoods close by. At the bypass highway is a mall or a power center, with some apartments across a big arterial and, just beyond, a series of subdivisions.

If you study the traffic patterns in this hybrid town, more often than not you will find that the worst traffic congestion is in the newer, low-density areas. The old street-grid part of town has parallel routes and distributes the traffic better. In the new parts, the arterials are congested because all trips are forced through them. And, as has been described, the strip is lined with parking lots and commercial ripe for redevelopment.

In the wealthier towns, the historic Main Street has been filled with new shops (but the train station is still a restaurant) and the older neighborhoods have been renovated. In the poorer towns, not much has happened in the center, and many of the older malls and shopping centers are closing. Without a regional plan that values the social capital of these towns, such places will continue in slow decline.

Some towns, especially the old freestanding towns about to be engulfed by the edges of the metropolis, are trying to construct Greenbelts to hold back sprawl. In some cases they vote for Greenlines meant to prevent the town itself from sprawling out into the next town. This strategy needs a cooperative county that will enforce a no-build policy on the lands outside of the line. These local Greenlines, or Community Separators, can be very effective at creating edges and identity for a town. And, if properly placed, they can become an important part of the regional open-space network. Access to the open space at the edge of a town can be one of the major attractions for infill and redevelopment within the town.

But often the towns with the political will to create a Greenline also have the political will to become exclusionary in their zoning. They block the infill that should complement the open space and push the development farther to the edge of the metropolis. Boulder, Colorado, is a good example. Its Greenbelt is beautiful and the town, with its university, is a very desirable place to live. But infill housing and commercial development are too often blocked, leaving the town with a poor jobs-to-housing balance and little affordable housing. This ultimately spreads more development into less-controlled neighboring towns and county lands.

A local Greenbelt without proactive infill policies actually fuels sprawl. Here a regional design can help with policies to create and protect the Greenbelts while supporting infill and redevelopment. A regional framework can tie the two, Greenbelt and infill, together in a way that local politics often cannot.

The typical suburban town is primed for a transformation that rebuilds its best parts and replaces its worst. All this can be best accomplished within the framework of a regional design that coordinates open-space networks, helps to support reinvestment where it is needed, and creates transit options that reinforce the town's creation of walkable places. When this framework has been set, infill and redevelopment of its Greyfields can contribute to both the town's health and the region's compact configuration.

SUBURBAN GREYFIELDS

Suburban Greyfields, the low-density commercial zones known for their relentless surface parking lots and single-story buildings, come in many forms and sizes ripe for redevelopment. Some are large parcels that contained major shopping areas now gone to seed—the dead-mall sites. Many are small individual parcels that line our highways and arterials—the strip commercial zones. And, increasingly there is a special form of suburban Greyfields—surplused military bases and other underutilized institutional areas. Each scale and location presents different challenges and opportunities. All represent one of the prime mechanisms for reshaping the suburban landscape.

Each Greyfield, because of size and location, can take on a different role in the making of a Regional City. Major sites such as a military base or a surplused airport (for example, the old Stapleton Airport in Denver [Plates 24 and 25] can become a series of new neighborhoods or urban centers. Old mall and commercial centers, normally twenty to forty acres, can become new village or town centers with a more complete

mix of retail, employment, and housing [Plates 28 and 29]. The smaller strip parcels, however, are more challenging because of their fractured ownership patterns [Plate 30]. In some cases, simply rezoning the smaller parcels for mixed-use buildings at higher densities can spark the redevelopment of a corridor one parcel at a time. In other cases, they need either a redevelopment agency to assemble lots or a cooperative "specific area plan" to develop a comprehensive plan [Plate 38]. One way or another, these corridors can intensify to provide more housing and retail choices for the surrounding residential areas.

In all cases, the goal is a type of infill and re d e velopment that creates a greater range of housing and services in the area. Adding jobs, civic facilities, and multifamily and senior housing to an area of single-family homes is a way to balance the neighborhood and create more choice—in housing and in commuting patterns. Adding a pedestrian-friendly focus to an existing auto-oriented environment is another important opportunity. This, in combination with housing, retail, and civic elements, can create a new center for neighborhoods once isolated by strip commercial and inhospitable streets.

The larger Greyfield sites such as military bases or other large institutional sites represent opportunities to create whole neighborhoods and commercial districts [Plates 21–23]. Because of their central location, their market can support a greater variety of housing and retail than can a similar-sized Greenfield site at the edge of town. Because of this locational strength, major infill sites are particularly important assets to a regional plan.

A ubiquitous redevelopment opportunity for most suburban towns is the reuse of old strip commercial areas and dead-mall sites. They have the advantage of being located centrally within each community and are easily accessible to transit. And they have the advantage of not being directly within the residential areas that they serve. They are often eyesores that few would defend and many would like to see transformed. Many of these strip commercial sites lining the suburb's arterials have outlived their economic life and market value but are hostage to single-use low-density zoning. They are available for redevelopment because retail is the fastest changing segment of the development industry.

Every decade seems to bring a new model of how we shop. After World War II, the downtown department stores and old town-center Main Streets were replaced by suburban malls, strip commercial arterials, and grocery-anchored "neighborhood" cen-

ters. As our housing shifted to the suburbs, the form of retail that followed it changed dramatically. Since that fundamental shift to the suburbs, the format, grouping, and scale of the shops continued to evolve—most typically into larger formats and more focused groupings. The Urban Land Institute (ULI) developed a taxonomy of suburban retail types that is constantly updated. The list now includes convenience centers, festival market centers, entertainment centers, community centers, neighborhood centers, outlet centers, power centers, discount centers, and, of course, malls.

Additionally, retail is typically overbuilt—but this is merely a manifestation of the rapidly changing types. The old centers are slowly being vacated as new centers gain their clientele. The resulting underutilized shopping areas can fester, leading to lost taxes and contributing to the ultimate decay of the neighborhood or town. This was the pattern for many inner cities, and it can easily become the pattern for many first-ring suburbs—lower retail tax revenues leading to poorer services with higher residential and business taxes.

Three new retail formats are currently displacing the present forms of suburban shopping: big-box power centers, e-tail, and the reemergence of Main Street. These new forms are undermining the older malls and strip centers, as they are changing the nature of our communities and our lives.

Power centers are the hypersuburban form, perhaps the climax stage of suburban retail, to borrow an ecological term. They are 100 percent auto oriented, megascaled, single use, and remote. Their size (often as much as 500,000 to 800,000 square feet for all the stores) means that they draw from a market area as large as seven miles. They are a format that offers value (lower-cost products) and convenience (easy parking). They are cannibalizing local hardware, grocery, stationary, pet, toy, and drug stores. At the same time, they are sucking up the dollars spent in most of the older strip retail centers. They are vilified by some community groups because they are often the death knell for many historic Main Streets and older local stores. But it is important to acknowledge that they serve an important need—especially for lower-income families.

Newer yet is e-tailing, shopping on the Internet. To date, it constitutes just 1 percent of retail activity and is projected by some to climb to just 3 percent by 2005. In a way, e-tailing is much like power-center retailing; both are backed up by huge warehouses stocking large volumes of products at low prices. But, instead of being picked up at a

warehouse, the products are delivered to people's homes. If the software works, it can offer the ultimate in convenience and affordability. It is much more energy efficient to move delivery vans than individual cars. And it will save people time.

Two factors will limit e-tail, however. First, people have a natural desire to see and feel the merchandise. Reinforcing this desire is the reality that, for many, shopping is a social experience and, in many cases, has entertainment value. The desire to browse in a real place rather than on-screen is powerful. Second, many, in fact most, of the lower-income households that now shop at the power centers are not on the Internet. If they get there, then start looking for the redevelopment of the power centers in the near future; they will be the next set of Greyfields. If they don't, then power centers and e-tailing will be bookends of the retail world.

The remaining retail will focus on the experience of shopping, a sense of place, and the entertainment aspect of going out. To lure people away from the convenience and values on the computer screen, shopping areas will have to relearn the lessons of historic Main Streets: beauty, human scale, diversity, sociability, and fun. And they will have to be mixed use, adding civic uses, housing, and offices.

In fact, the rebirth of Main Street shopping is well underway even without the fallout from e-tailing or power centers. It is the third major trend in retail currently affecting our communities. The rejuvenation of historic Main Streets and town centers is ubiquitous wherever average household incomes are high. In these upscale markets, new or redeveloped Main Streets are a natural evolution.

But, in lower-income areas, Main Streets are struggling—vacancies are typically high and maintenance is low. Given that many of the finest historic Main Streets are located in lower-income areas, support should be developed for their preservation and revitalization. In these struggling areas, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) can be employed to manage and maintain the street as if it were a shopping center. Under such cooperative management, the tenant mix can be designed to reinforce the whole experience, and empty shops, which can easily create a negative environment for nearby stores, are quickly filled. The historic architecture and natural human scale in older Main Streets are features that most people are drawn to if the street is safe, clean, and free of vacancies. The added security and maintenance paid for by the BID are critical to making the street feel safe and cared for.

Along with historic Main Street restorations, new Main Streets are emerging, but in hybrid configurations. Lacking the central location of historic Main Streets, the new Main Streets need major activity generators, such as a cinema complex, a cluster of "lifestyle" shops, or a large grocery store. The mixing of an auto-oriented anchor and a pedestrian-oriented Main Street is quickly becoming a new retail type. [Plate 38, Mountain Avenue Revitalization Plan, as an example of mixing cinema with a new Main Street.] In some cases, these hybrid Main Streets can be located in older commercial areas that are redeveloping. In other cases, they can form the town center of a new development. [Plate 37, Issaqua Highlands, as an example of a new Main Street town center.] In all cases, these new Main Streets need to be mixed use—office, civic, and residential developments need to be integrated and close at hand.

The Greyfields of suburbia will move in many directions. Some will evolve into mixed-use villages and town centers, others will become more intensive employment or residential areas, and still others will redevelop in more standard retail configurations at higher densities. But the fact remains that the Greyfields produced by low-density strip development and older retail formats are an abundant opportunity to reform the suburbs.

There are other opportunities for infill and redevelopment in the suburban environment—other types of Greyfields. Underutilized institutional lands located in key areas are major opportunities in some communities. Certainly, there are some purely residential districts in need of infill and redevelopment. Office parks also can be transformed by mixed-use infill development as their surface parking lots are shared or structured. Just as the city has its Brownfields of older industrial districts as a prototypical redevelopment opportunity, the suburb has its Greyfields. Transforming the character of the typical arterial with its apron of parking lots is not only an opportunity; it is the signature of the maturation of the suburbs.

EXURBAN GREENFIELDS

The controversy over the quantity and location of new growth is often at the heart of regional design. As has been described earlier in this book, the regional-design process must arrive at a complex trade-off between a hypothetical free-market ideal and other public concerns. In an ideal world, Greenfield development would logically follow transit and infrastructure opportunities while avoiding critical open-space networks. And it would be limited. But we do not live in an ideal world.

In many regions, infill and redevelopment cannot handle all the pressures for growth. Even with a healthy percentage of investment moving toward existing communities, new Greenfield areas for development need to be sensitively located and planned. An important "layer" of a regional design is the placement and size of such Greenfield development sites. The quantity of these sites must be delicately balanced between demonstrated growth demands and the need to make infill development a priority.

Some advocates of sprawl claim that few if any constraints should apply to Greenfield development—that the marketplace will effectively allocate the correct placement and size of new development. However, the free-market allocation of Greenfield sites is not without bias. Two forces often overextend development and distort the market-place's allocation.

First and foremost, land speculation on farmlands and open space is very profitable and there f o re tends to distort the allocation of development. In California's Sacramento County, for example, the price of farmland is often just $5,000 to $10,000 an acre, whereas the value of land zoned for development can be well over $80,000 an acre. A windfall profit margin. Speculators make a lot of money betting on which lands will be converted into urban uses without necessarily providing a comparable investment in infrastructure or public services. In some cases, they spend a lot of money on local elections.

Such speculation certainly distorts the location and size of development at the edges of the region. While speculators extract values created largely by the public's ability to rezone land, homebuilders and ultimately the homebuyers are left to cover the hard expenses of such development. Either the public should share in the incremental value created by the rezoning or the farmlands should be preserved.

The second force that pushes development to Greenfields in a distorted manner is the difficulty and expense of infill development. Building within existing communities and having to respond to fearful neighbors without a supportive regional consensus are often major barriers for developers. Because many citizens incorrectly believe that the answer to sprawl is to limit growth near them, the process of infill development is arduous, time consuming, risky, and expensive. For many builders, it is cheaper, more certain, and faster to buy land at the edge and pay for speculative land prices, new infrastructure, and services.

It is the supreme irony of our current political system that we subsidize Greenfield development by giving away the value created by rezoning open space or farmlands while we create disincentives to infill with a public approval process that is arduous and risky.

Regional design can help to reverse this pattern. The public "gift" of rezoning Greenfields and providing infrastructure should be compensated by significant contributions to public services and infrastructure costs. The cost and risk of infill should be reduced by zoning that supports redevelopment in appropriate areas. This reversal—increasing the difficulty of Greenfield development and easing the infill—can be one of the most significant results of the regional-design process. It can remove the open-market speculation on Greenfields and create a positive environment for infill.

Where Greenfield development is appropriate, its design should follow the same principles that we have articulated for infill development—walkable neighborhoods that are diverse in everyday uses and housing opportunities. Ironically, achieving this diversity in use and housing is often more challenging in more remote areas. Greenfield sites, because there is little around them, have a hard time creating a critical market for retail. They also have a difficult time capturing a market for townhomes and apartments, because the desirability of such housing is nurtured by proximity to job centers, services, and mature urban environments. In too many cases, Greenfield developments end up with a void in which the town-center retail, jobs, and multifamily housing wait for market demand to catch up.

Greenfield new towns are more likely to succeed as complete places when their numbers are limited. A good example is Issaquah Highlands [Plates 36 and 37], located seventeen miles east of Seattle. Because Puget Sound's regional plan limits such sites, the market will support a full range of housing and commercial types. In fact, 60 percent of the housing is multifamily, and one-third of all the housing will be affordable. Its commercial development is strengthened by public investments (a major new north-south arterial) and by the fact that Microsoft is planning its second major campus for approximately 15,000 employees in its town center.

In fact, the developer of Issaquah Highlands, Port Blakely Communities, believes that the market for the planned community's more compact form, mixed uses, walkability, and higher densities is a healthy result of the state's growth-management law. Without regional growth management, it would undoubtedly be a very different place. If competing commercial development were allowed to sprawl, the townlike form of

Issaquah Highlands would not be possible. If housing were unconstrained in the area, this site might have become a large-lot subdivision complete with golf course and gates. Instead, a diverse, compact new town is under construction.

A particularly instructive aspect of the project is the way in which it deals with a major arterial passing through its town center. The problem of such roads subdividing a town or bypassing them is endemic in much of the suburbs. Major retail centers need arterials (often four to six lanes) for access and visibility, but such roads are barriers to the pedestrian and breed standard strip retail configurations. At Issaquah, the intersecting arterials are split into four one-way streets to form an urban grid. In this way, they maintain a pedestrian-friendly character at the same time that they carry similar volumes of traffic. Because of the smaller scale of the one-way streets, the buildings of the town can front directly on the sidewalks and reinforce the urban identity of the place. Additionally, this configuration allows more of the major stores visibility from the high-volume streets. It is an urban street strategy brought to the suburbs to help in town making.

A surprising result of this road system is that it moves traffic more efficiently than does the standard arterial intersection. In detailed traffic modeling, the couplet resulted in a shorter overall travel time through the town center, because all the left turns are "free"—they turn from a one-way street onto another. As we have all experienced, the waiting time at a standard intersection is long because of the time needed to clear the left-turn pockets. The left-turn pockets also widen the intersection at the expense of the pedestrian. The couplet has no need of them; it offers a better pedestrian environment, better traffic flow, and better retail visibility.

At 30,000 acres, the Southeast Orlando Plan [Plate 34] is a larger example of planning for a greenfield site. This area surrounding the Orlando International Airport is a logical and perhaps an inevitable development area for the Orlando region. The airport and its dependent industrial area form a major employment center, and the existing infrastructure provides an efficient framework for new growth. As they should be, the jobs and infrastructure were primary factors in selecting the area for new development.

The process used in developing the plan is as instructive as the results. First, the site's extensive wetlands and habitat were mapped and designated as preserves. Greenbelts were added to these preserved lands to connect them into a continuous open-space network, drainage system, and habitat-protection area. This open-space network then

formed the primary framew o rk for the rest of the development. The circulation system, including rail transit, was laye red onto this framew o rk. Finally, these two network s , natural and circulation, formed the foundation for a series of districts, neighborhoods centers, village centers, and town centers. The design proceeded from environmental opportunities to infrastru c t u re planning to the urban design of the centers.

The urban design of each center was controlled by a flexible new planning technique called *block standards.* These standards gave the developers flexibility in design and mix of uses while ensuring that each center would develop into a walkable, mixed-use place. The standards identified four block types that could make up any center: residential blocks, civic blocks, commercial blocks, and, most important, mixed-use blocks. They gave a range of uses and densities for each block type. The mixed-use blocks we re intended to incorporate most of the significant retail in each center along with housing and office. Commercial blocks we re intended primarily to accommodate office and other employment uses but allowed some ground-floor retail. Residential blocks also allowed some other uses but focused primarily on a range of residential densities. The civic blocks provided for parks, public uses, and civic institutions.

The standards gave a range for the proportion of each type of block in each type of center. A neighborhood center would have proportionately more residential blocks, whereas a town center would have more commercial and mixed-use blocks. A village center would have enough mixed-use blocks to provide for a grocery-anchored retail area. Each type of center was given an approximate size in relation to its expected uses and intensities. Varying the density of the blocks and the proportion of the four basic block types enabled virtually any type of urban environment to be created.

In addition, each type of block was assigned other simple standards: a maximum block size, building height limits, maximum parking limits, and, most critical, a minimum amount of "build to lines"—that is, the proportion of the block that must have a building at the sidewalk. Each of these standards was meant to reinforce the urban quality of the centers. Blocks cannot grow to a size uncomfortable for a pedestrian; building heights are in proportion to the scale of the center; parking cannot overwhelm the site; and the buildings have to shape the urban space of the street with active edges. The following table describes the block standards adopted for the Southeast Orlando Plan.

EAST ORLANDO BLOCK STANDARDS

	Town Center	Village Center	Neighborhood Center
Mixed-Use Blocks	20%–80% of Center	25%–70% of Center	12%–25% of Center
Mix of Uses*	Retail, Services, Restaurants, Office, Cinema, Grocery, Hotel, Residential, Civic, Park/Plaza	Grocery, Local-Serving Retail, Restaurants, Professional Offices, Residential, Civic, Park/Plaza	Small Retail/Market†, Restaurant/Cafe, Civic, Residential, Park/Plaza
Maximum Block Size	7 acres	7 acres	3 acres
Minimum FAR	FAR: 0.5	FAR: 0.4	FAR: 0.4
Minimum Frontage	65% of each street	65% of each street	65% of each street
Parking Ratio	3 spaces : 1000 sf.	3 spaces : 1000 sf.	3 spaces : 1000 sf.
Building Height	2 to 10 story	1 to 3 story	1 to 2 story
Commercial Blocks	0%–55% of Center	0%–40% of Center	0%–12% of Center
Allowable Uses	Office, Retail (10% Max)	Office, Retail (10% Max.)	Office
Maximum Block Size	7 acres	3 acres	3 acres
Minimum FAR	FAR: 0.5	FAR: 0.4	FAR: 0.4
Minimum Frontage	65% of each street	65% of each street	65% of each street
Parking Ratio	3 spaces : 1000 sf.	3 spaces : 1000 sf.	3 spaces : 1000 sf.
Building Height	2 to 10 story	1 to 3 story	1 to 2 story
Residential Blocks	15%–70% of Center	25%–65% of Center	52%–78% of Center
Allowable Uses	Apartments, Condos, Townhouses, Bungalows	Apartments, Condos, Townhouses, Bungalows, Small-Lot Single-Family	Apartments, Condos, Townhouses, Bungalows, Small-Lot Single-Family
Maximum Block Size	3 acres	3 acres	3 acres
Density Range	7 to 50 du/ac	7 to 30 du/ac	7 to 25 du/ac
Minimum Frontage	65% of each street	60% of each street	60% of each street
Parking Ratio	1.5 spaces/unit	1.5 spaces/unit	1.5 spaces/unit
Building Height	2 to 5 story	1 to 3 story	1 to 2 story
Civic Blocks	10% of Center	10% of Center	10% of Center
Allowable Uses	Parks, Recreation, Civic, Day Care	Parks, Recreation, Civic, Day Care	Parks, Recreation, Civic, Day Care
Maximum Block Size	3 acres	3 acres	3 acres

*30%–80% retail, cinema, or hotel required each block, 20%–70% other. †Max 10,000 sf/block

These block standards mimic the essence of most American cities: a system of complete blocks, a tradition of sidewalk-oriented buildings, and flexibility in use and density. In the eyes of most developers, this flexibility of use and density is a great trade-off for the required "urbanism" of the standards. The beauty of this approach is its simplicity and flexibility.

Greenfield development presents many complex and interesting challenges for the Regional City. Where it is located, how much should be built, what mix of uses should be included, and which urban form should be used are all critical questions. Some can be answered through the regional-design process. Others must be addressed on a local level. In all cases, Greenfield development can and should be configured into walkable neighborhoods, villages, and towns. It should respect and reinforce the regional open-space system and transit opportunities. It should seek to provide a reasonable balance of jobs to housing, along with a fair proportion of affordable housing. If these simple (if politically challenging) prescriptions are met, Greenfield development can be transformed from sprawl into a healthy component of the Regional City.

SUBURBAN TRANSIT: NOT AN OXYMORON

Since the demolition of America's streetcars in the 1940s and 1950s, transit, particularly in the suburbs, has been more a safety net than a true alternative to the car. The common belief is that the density and urban form of most of our communities cannot support transit in any convenient form or frequency. Rail transit is believed to be too expensive and ill suited to the contemporary metropolis. Our suburban destinations are too dispersed and our primary bus transit systems, running on congested arterials and highways, are too slow to be an attractive alternative to the auto. As a result, overall transit ridership across the country today is no higher than it was in the 1960s. However, in places that combine land-use policy with transit expansion, such as Portland, transit ridership has increased. Transit is essential to healthy regional growth and neighborhood revitalization. It can and should create the armature for the next generation of more compact and walkable development at the regional scale.

Most traffic engineers now agree that we cannot build enough new road capacity to significantly reduce congestion in many of our major metropolitan areas. Many areas lack the budgets or the available rights-of-way to add significant road capacities. Even if we could afford massive road building and widening, the land-use patterns that such roads propagate quickly generate more traffic. As Maryland governor Parris Glendening has said, "We cannot fool ourselves—or the public—any longer: we can no longer build our way out of our highway congestion problems. It is not an environmentally or financially feasible solution."

In many areas, citizen groups have emerged to oppose highway expansion. Their gut sense is that more capacity will only breed more development and traffic, under-

mining air quality, access to open space, and the economic vitality of their communities. Not believing a significant shift in travel behavior is possible, many now advocate limiting growth rather than expanding capacity. But such growth limits often drive development farther to the regional edge, leaving behind exclusive suburban pockets of affluence or declining neighborhoods starved for investment and redevelopment—more economic segregation and more sprawl.

Changing land-use patterns alone cannot solve this problem. Walkable neighborhoods without transit, though an improvement over auto-only subdivisions, are incomplete. Convenient suburban transit linking the multicentered regional fabric evolving today is essential to a healthier pattern of growth and redevelopment. But our contemporary transit systems have problems—the costs of new light-rail systems are often too high for the demand in many corridors, commuter trains are too limited in service times and too disruptive to neighborhoods, and the operational expense of expanded bus systems is great. This is the Gordian knot of our next generation of growth: how to coevolve community form and transit in an affordable and convenient relationship. How can we make transportation investments that are cost effective, that support walkable neighborhoods, and that focus economic energy on the revitalization of existing communities?

Transit Choices for the Regional City

Unlike road systems, transit should be conceived in a hierarchical form; starting with walkable and "bikeable" streets supporting local bus routes feeding into trunk transit lines with dedicated rights-of-way. This hierarchy is essential to transit's success. Leave out any element and the system becomes inefficient and inconvenient, resulting in what we now have—systems that need more subsidies than possible and systems that cannot attract a growing ridership. Each element—walkable places, local buses, and convenient trunk lines—is critical. Without walkable and bikeable destinations and origins, transit riders are stranded at each end of their trip. Without local and feeder bus routes, people beyond the walking distance of a station are forced to "park and ride" or just use their cars. Without trunk lines with dedicated rights-of-way and frequent service, the travel time for a transit trip extends to a noncompetitive level.

In the suburbs, walkable neighborhoods are feasible and, as we have demonstrated, are expanding. Local bus service is increasingly effective in the context of these walkable neighborhoods, and feeder bus routes gain efficiency when connected to trunk lines

that offer convenient service. Although each system depends on the others, walkable e n v i ronments are the foundation, and convenient trunk lines are the catalysts. It is impo rtant to build every link in the transit chain, yet light rail or its equivalent and walkable destinations are often the critical missing elements in this hierarchy of service.

There are those who would falsely pit bus investments against rail. They claim that when rail-based transit is built, investment in buses is limited and the bus riders them-selves are deflected to the rails; thus no net gains in transit ridership are achieved. This argument is plain wrong. In Portland, bus ridership increased with the expansion of the new light-rail systems. More trains enhance bus ridership because the whole system becomes more convenient for the transit rider.

Core routes should have dedicated rights-of-way, either by rail or busways, that allow the transit rider to move more quickly than cars stuck in traffic. Routes with lower ridership that cannot justify the expense of private lanes or tracks will move more slowly but can reach more destinations. Combining feeder buses, express buses, and trunk-line rail is critical to providing a convenient alternative to the car. In some unfortunate cases, the bus and rail systems are managed by independent agencies. Here, the lack of coordination and timing can lead to a system in which each element competes with, instead of enhances, the other. But this is not a justification for the "either/or" mentality of some transit advocates. It merely highlights the imperative to integrate the transit network.

Futuristic systems such as monorails and personalized rapid-transit systems are often held up as the next generation of transit. But we believe the future may lie in simply reinventing the streetcar or light-rail trains of the past and shaping them to the modern suburb. Urban form has always configured itself around transportation sys-tems and innovations. From foot and horse through rail to car, our cities have scaled themselves as much to technology as to culture. If we are rediscovering some of the timeless qualities of our older urban forms and updating them to contemporary situ-ations, perhaps the same will be true of our transit systems. The next revolution in transit may not be high-tech; it may be old-fashioned rail updated to be environ-mentally clean and scaled to the modern metropolis.

Recently a "new/old" rail technology was developed in Europe under government pressure to reduce transit costs in less-dense areas and rural towns. It effectively com-bines light-rail cars with on-board engines, eliminating the major construction cost of

overhead electrification on new routes. When placed on existing but underutilized track, these light-rail cars can reduce the capital cost of a new transit system dramatically. State-of-the-art technology for the engines allows them to run quietly and pollution free with natural gas or diesel fuel. The lightness of the cars allows them to accelerate and stop more like light rail than heavy commuter trains, and their turning radius allows them to operate in urban environments. Additionally, this new light-rail car is a fuel-efficient and comparatively low-maintenance vehicle. It is a form of transit affordable to the maturing suburbs and perfectly suited to linking suburb to suburb as well as suburb to city.

In addition to its affordability, the most significant aspect of this technology is that the cars can be used on existing tracks. With the consolidation of our old train and freight network, much of our historic track is underutilized or abandoned. These lines are particularly important regional assets because they link the centers of historic small towns and they radiate from the city center. These lines were often the formative network of our regions and now connect the areas that provide the greatest opportunities for redevelopment and infill: our old town centers and underutilized industrial areas. By combining this new technology with these old rights-of-way, we create an opportunity to recycle and reuse industrial Brownfields and older town centers. This combination of technology and track is affordable; it works at the densities appropriate to the maturing suburb; it can be more convenient than driving because of its right-of-way; and it focuses investment into areas that need it the most.

There are two key barriers for such systems and for light rail in general: costly federal standards and inappropriate land use. The allowable systems are too expensive because they are burdened with outmoded federal requirements, and land use in many cases is not integrated effectively. Each constraint reinforces the others to produce systems that are complex, expensive, and slow to realize. Light-rail projects in America are on average twice as expensive as similar systems abroad.

A primary problem is that the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) applies standards developed for heavy-rail systems to light-rail technology. The so-called 2G standard for buff load requires that a vehicle withstand crash impact energy equal to twice the car's weight. The result is that cars are heavier than they need be. This results in a range of negative consequences: higher capital costs, higher energy use, and higher rates of wear and tear. According to a study by consulting engineer Joe Lewalski, American

light-rail vehicles are almost four times as heavy as their Eu ropean counterparts, with a similar difference in life-cycle costs. And the modifications re qu i red by the FRA to meet these standards means that the technology developed elsew h e re cannot be used "off the shelf"—a dramatic loss in production efficiency and cost savings.

Even with this higher crash worthiness, light-rail vehicles are not allowed to share tracks with freight trains and other heavy-rail vehicles. Sophisticated control and switching systems that allow joint use of track have been operating in Europe for decades. But, because such an approach is not allowed in the United States, new systems often have to bear the burden of developing their own exclusive rights-of-way rather than sharing existing underutilized track.

The cost and disruption of acquiring and permitting new rights-of-way are part of what makes new transit systems prohibitively expensive. Whereas old tracks often h a ve many existing grade-separated intersections, the cost of building new ones drives the cost for a new light-rail system to $50 million per mile or more. In addition, old tracks are typically less disru p t i ve to existing neighborhoods because they evo l ved with large setbacks and are typically surrounded by industrial and commercial areas—prime opportunities for re d e velopment and infill. In short, existing tracks are perfectly located to pre vent the disruption of neighborhoods, to provide safe intersections, to connect historic town centers, and to become catalysts for Brownfield redevelopment.

Suburban transit systems that only chase existing development in hopes of finding riders always come up short. The density and walkability is not there. Instead, new systems should connect prime infill and redevelopment areas within existing town centers to allow more transit-oriented development to evolve. In fact, the land-use pattern in a corridor should be designed to coevolve with the system, both to attract higher ridership and to direct the growth that the added transportation capacity will inspire. Many suburban corridors can achieve a ridership that will make the system operationally efficient only through Transit Oriented Development.

Indeed, every increase in circulation capacity will generate new growth potential, but the type and placement of the growth varies with the technology. We understand how new highway capacity generates new sprawl, but not how some forms of transit can help generate walkable neighborhoods and centers. Ironically, heavy-rail commuter trains and high-speed transit with large park-and-ride facilities often provide an

opportunity for more sprawl. Stations accessed primarily by cars, when placed in out-lying areas, can generate sprawl in much the same manner that a new beltway does. For this reason, land use and the transit system must be integrated—and the selection of transit technology and operations is critical to the land-use implications. Transit Oriented Development rather than stations surrounded with parking lots can increase ridership and control the growth effects of new transit systems.

Sonoma–Marin Corridor Study

A perfect example of this approach is provided by a land-use–transportation corridor study for Sonoma and Marin Counties just north of San Francisco. Historically, this area developed first along a single rail line and later along a single highway. The eight towns in the corridor each have historic rail stations at their centers, having grown primarily around the train service that served the area before the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge. The 54-mile corridor has low-density sprawl in most of its new areas, but there is a core of traditional urbanism at the center of each town. It is an interesting footnote that Marin's historic neighborhoods, walkable areas such as Mill Valley and Sausalito, command the greatest real estate values. The older Transit Oriented Developments are now popular in the marketplace.

Because of the area's history, the Sonoma–Marin area's urban form resembles a string of pearls, rather than the sprawl that typically develops around suburban beltways. Its one freeway, however, is very congested and will remain so. The linear regional form that works well for transit doesn't favor the freeway, because auto trips are not dispersed in many directions. In addition to the fact that all the subregion's trips are concentrated onto the single highway, there are few routes parallel to the freeway. This means that short local trips often combine with longer through trips to chronically congest the freeway.

The study looked at five alternative land-use–transportation strategies. The Base Case provided for some highway improvements and modest investments in bus service but for no use of the underutilized tracks and no land-use changes. The second alternative was road oriented and added a new HOV (high-occupancy vehicle) lane for the length of the freeway with increased bus service. It was the most expensive alternative at $834 million. The other three alternatives combined rail service with bus, some HOV, and varying land-use scenarios—each an integrated proposal that combined many transportation strategies.

The first of these integrated proposals included a minimal rail service with commuter-style timing of the trains, some HOV construction, and no land-use changes. This option was the least expensive at $276 million but captured only 5,800 train riders. Adding TODs to this minimal service of trains (every half hour during mornings and evenings) surprisingly doubled the ridership to 11,250 and cost little more at $296 million. The changes in land-use policy to locate more development near the stations was quite modest, representing only a 5 percent shift in housing allocation in Marin and 6 percent in Sonoma. This option showed that supporting transit with development did not require a massive change in land-use policy—but it did greatly enhance the effectiveness of the system. The final option studied the possibility of increasing the rail service to fifteen-minute headways at peak and thirty-minute headways in middays, at night, and on weekends. The ridership doubled again to 24,250, and the capital cost moved to $430 million, still close to half of the highway-only option.

This level of ridership is comparable to that of many new light-rail systems in major cities such as Portland or Sacramento. The surprising difference, given the ridership numbers, is that the Sonoma–Marin system is a suburb-to-suburb system without a downtown destination to anchor it. Such a high ridership demonstrates that the old assumptions about transit—that it needs a major city destination and that its corridor must be high in density—can be revisited. Suburban environments can support rail transit if aided by TODs, if the technology employed is affordable, and if the alternates are congested.

Regardless of the alternative, the freeway remained congested—even in the option that widened the freeway for its entire length. None of the options studied could free the freeway from congestion because of its tendency to attract local as well as long trips. Regardless of the amount of highway expansion or transit alternatives, the highway's capacity was always filled with a combination of trips generated by new development or an endless reserve of local trips eager to use any excess capacity created on the freeway.

This is a hard and critical lesson: transit does not necessarily fix highway congestion. But nothing else can either, for the simple reason that if freeway capacity is available, people will use it. Even with massive road building in quantities well beyond the budgets of most regions, congestion will recede only temporarily. Transit is necessary to give people an alternative to congested highways, not as a means to eliminate auto

congestion. The fundamental goal of our transportation policy must shift from free-moving cars to access and mobility.

The technology proposed for the Sonoma–Marin system was a type of light, self-propelled car recently developed in Europe and described earlier. Critical to the Sonoma–Marin corridor, such light-rail cars can move through neighborhoods easily and quietly, they can fit into town streets, and are safe because they can stop like a bus, not like a locomotive. And, unlike the light-rail vehicles typically built in the United States, they are affordable. Whereas the new Portland Westside LRT is projected to cost about $50 million to $60 million per mile, the Sonoma–Marin system would cost about $5 million to $10 million per mile—affordable technology using existing tracks.

Unfortunately, the FRA regulations preclude this technology without substantial modifications—modifications that drive up the cost of production and the cost of operation and maintenance. Nonetheless, the proposed system, similar to a system recently proposed for Pittsburgh, provided very affordable operations, especially when compared with express bus. The study showed that express-bus operation and maintenance would be about $6.80 per trip, whereas rail would be about $2.90. This difference is primarily because the rail allows a higher driver-to-passenger ratio (driver costs are typically as much as 70 percent of operation costs for a transit system). Additionally, trains use less energy and require less maintenance. And the HOV lane construction necessary to make the bus a reasonable alternative to the automobile costs approximately $700 million more than the rail system.

Walk, bike, bus, and rail options were all critical to the Sonoma–Marin system, as was an integrated system. Too often the elements of a complete system are operated by separate agencies that not only fail to coordinate the timing of service, but also compete for funding. Such fractured systems are just another manifestation of the lack of regional coordination and its resulting inefficiencies. Like land use, transit must be designed as an integrated system at a regional scale without artificial jurisdictions.

Much was learned from the options in the study, and this information was used to fashion the final proposal. The preferred system combined investments in each layer of the transportation system. New bikeways, expanded feeder bus service, the new train system, and critical HOV links were included in a ballot initiative for a new sales tax. In addition, money for open-space acquisition and a program for zoning changes

was included. However, California had just passed a conservative initiative to limit new taxes by requiring a two-thirds supermajority for any local tax increases. This proved to be too great a hurdle in Sonoma and Marin, as it has in every other similar attempt. Integrated land-use–transportation plans such as this one are still rare and need a supportive state and regional political infrastructure to succeed.

The lessons are clear, however. Land-use policy can have a large effect on transit ridership and the cost effectiveness of transit investments. Suburb-to-suburb patterns of travel can support rail transit. And most auto congestion cannot be solved with more roads or with more transit. What is needed is an integrated solution that provides access and mobility. The goal is to provide more choices in modes of transportation and in types of communities, not more asphalt.

GREYFIELDS/GREENFIELDS

MOFFETT FIELD

[PLATE 21]

Central to constraining sprawl and building coherent regions is the reuse and redevelopment of Suburban Greyfields—underutilized institutional and strip commercial areas. The following projects range from major sites such as decommissioned airports, dead malls, and underutilized military bases to the small-scale redevelopment of individual parcels along decaying arterials. Common to all is an effort to diversify the housing opportunities, mix land uses, and create more pedestrian-friendly environments. Along with such infill sites, each region will need a reasonable proportion of Greenfield development, in appropriate areas, to extend similar urban design traditions.

Moffett Field (shown above) was a major Defense Department facility and airport spread across approximately 1,000 acres along the San Francisco Bay in the heart of what is now Silicon Valley. It is shared by several federal agencies including NASA. The master plan calls for the reuse of a portion of the site near
a new light-rail station that connects to downtown San Jose.

[PLATE 22]
MOFFETT FIELD
MOUNTAIN VIEW,
CALIFORNIA
The redevelopment plan
calls for a mix of housing
and retail along with the
addition of a major
university partner for NASA.
In addition, the historic WWI
blimp hanger will be turned
into an Air and Space
Museum to function as a
regional civic attraction.
This is an example of inte-
grating three scales: a
national research center, a
regional civic facility, and a
local mixed-use community.

OPEN SPACE · CIVIC SPACE · EMPLOY-MENT · SINGLE-FAMILY · MULTI-FAMILY · COMMERCIAL · = 200 FEET
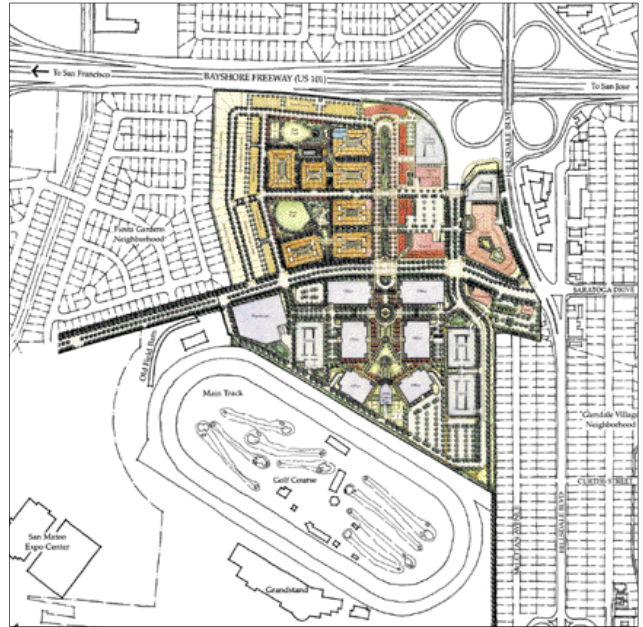
[PLATE 23]

BAY MEADOWS
SAN MATEO, CALIFORNIA
The reuse of the old racetrack's surplus land provides a 30-acre site for the consolidation of Franklin Fund's headquarters and 40 acres of mixed-use development. Franklin Fund's million-square-foot facility is developed at considerably higher density than a typical suburban campus, but it has the advantage of being in a mixed-use area served by transit. The area is completed with 750 units of housing, parks, hotel, cinema, and retail. This is a powerful example of the changing attitudes of many major corporations to favor locating in mixed-use urban centers.

Part Four: Renewing The Region's Communities

[PLATE 24] STAPLETON
AIRPORT REUSE
DENVER, COLORADO
Stapleton is the 4,700-acre
airport for Denver that was
closed when the larger and more
remote Denver International
Airport opened in 1995.
Following eight years of pro-
gressive planning by the
Stapleton Development
Commission, a major national
developer, Forest City, acquired
the site. One key to the plan is
the structure of its 1,100-acre
open space system. The 'day-
lighting' of buried creeks and
waterways, and their use for
water treatment, storm deten-
tion, ecological restoration, and
human recreation is
a powerful complement to
the new Stapleton's walkable
neighborhoods and major
employment centers. The larger
open space system includes a
series of town greens, neigh-
borhood parks, and pocket
parks. The site will ultimately
provide 12,000 units of
housing and up to ten million
square feet of commercial
space. At this scale such infill
and reuse has a
major impact on the direction
and extent of regional growth
patterns.

OPEN SPACE   CIVIC SPACE   EMPLOY-MENT   SINGLE-FAMILY   MULTI-FAMILY   COMMERCIAL   = 200 FEET

[**PLATE 25**] STAPLETON AIRPORT REUSE
DENVER, COLORADO
Following the traditions of the historic neighborhoods and commercial districts of Denver, the master plan shows multiple new mixed-use neighborhoods, several town centers, and a range of commercial
districts. Central to both its residential and commercial districts is an urban design philosophy that creates a comfortable walking environment with a complex mix of uses.

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[PLATE 26]

NORTHAMPTON
STATE HOSPITAL
NORTHHAMPTON,
MASSACHUSETTS

The reuse of the old mental hospital site in Northampton is another example of the history of an area defining the scale and character of infill development. The hospital, founded in 1850, became obsolete but retains significance as a regional landmark. The site is to be redeveloped with a mix of housing, retail, and office uses. True to the traditional community that surrounds it, a connective pedestrian environment and a mixed-use center are the genesis of the new plan. Parts of the

historic buildings will be used for a new mental health education center and a hotel with conference and banquet facilities. A traditional Main Street connects these elements and the surrounding town.

OPEN SPACE   CIVIC SPACE   EMPLOY-MENT   SINGLE-FAMILY   MULTI-FAMILY   COMMERCIAL   = 200 FEET
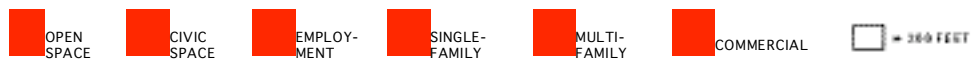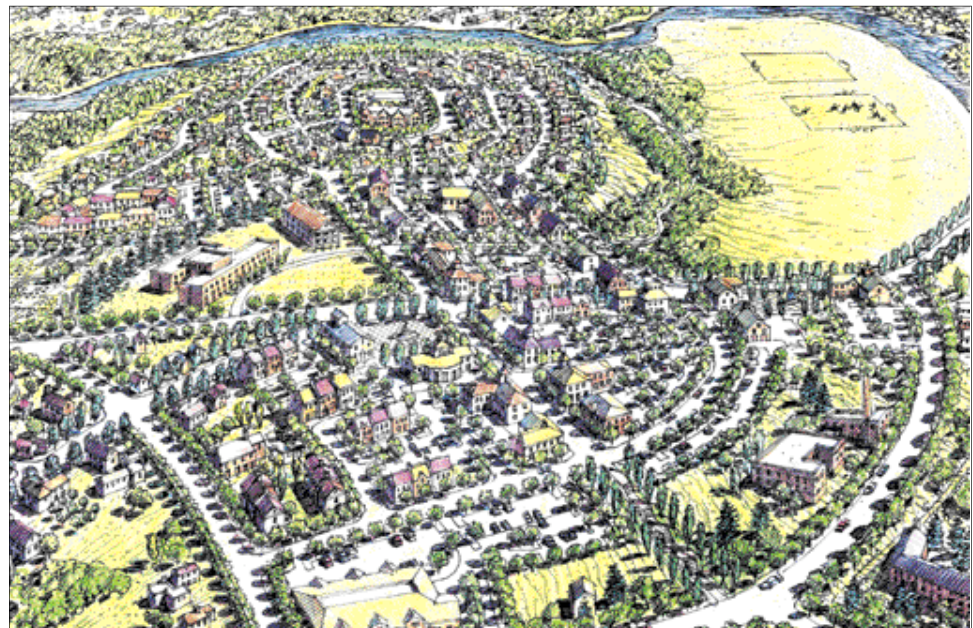
[PLATE 27]
HIGHLAND'S
GARDEN VILLAGE
DENVER, COLORADO
The reuse of an old amusement park, Elitch Gardens, is an example of Greyfield redevelopment that reflects the pattern of its surrounding neighborhood while preserving critical historic buildings. An old theater and carousel, through adaptive reuse, will become the focus of the new development. The site will ultimately contain a full range of housing opportunities: single-family, townhomes, live/work lofts, apartments, senior housing, and even a
"co-housing" area. Retail, office, community buildings, and a small private school will complete the mix.

ROW HOUSES

TOWN HOUSES

APARTMENTS

[**PLATE 28**] THE CROSSINGS
MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIFORNIA

One of the most plentiful infill opportunities in the suburbs is the redevelopment of dead or underutilized malls. This surplus is partly the product of overbuilding and partly the product of changing retail economies. In some cases, such as the Old Mill site in Mountain View, California, the format became outdated and complete demolition and redevelopment was appropriate. The old development (above) was adjacent to a healthy regional retail center and a new transit stop.

OPEN SPACE   CIVIC SPACE   EMPLOY-MENT   SINGLE-FAMILY   MULTI-FAMILY   COMMERCIAL

COTTAGES

POCKET PARK

COTTAGE AND TOWN-

[**PLATE 29**] THE CROSSINGS
MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIFORNIA

The new neighborhood (above), called The Crossings, provides a range of housing not previ-
ously available in the neighborhood. The new housing is complemented by the surrounding
office, retail, and single-family homes. At 20 acres it is a small site that could easily have
become a gated condominium project. Instead, a series of small city blocks contain a range
of housing from small-lot bungalows to high-density townhomes and multistory apartments.
Ground-floor shops are located next to the train station, and pocket parks provide gath-
ering places throughout the neighborhood.

= 200 FEET

232

Part Four: Renewing The Region's Communities

[**PLATE 30**] UNIVERSITY AVENUE STRATEGIC PLAN
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

The strip commercial buildings that line most major arterials are ubiquitous in America. Given the proper zoning, most of these areas could redevelop into mixed-use boulevards. The challenges of creating high-quality places out of these wastelands include the fractured property ownership patterns and the typical shallowness of the properties. The University Avenue Strategic Plan demonstrates that even on a parcel-by-parcel basis (see right middle), such streets can be remade into what can become grand residential boulevards. University Avenue
terminates in one of the great Universities of the nation, but it is currently lined by single-story retail, parking lots, and motels. Sections of it have the highest crime rates in the city (see right below). The rezoning allowed denser buildings of up to four floors with retail required at the street level. Along with urban design guidelines, this density bonus is creating significant redevelopment along the Avenue (see far right) and bringing a much-needed residential community to the area.

ZONING OVERLAY
- Avenue Nodes
- Avenue Residential
- Transition

OPPORTUNITY SITES
- Significant Change is Expected over the next 10-15 years

CRIME RATE
High ▮▮▮▮▮▮ Low
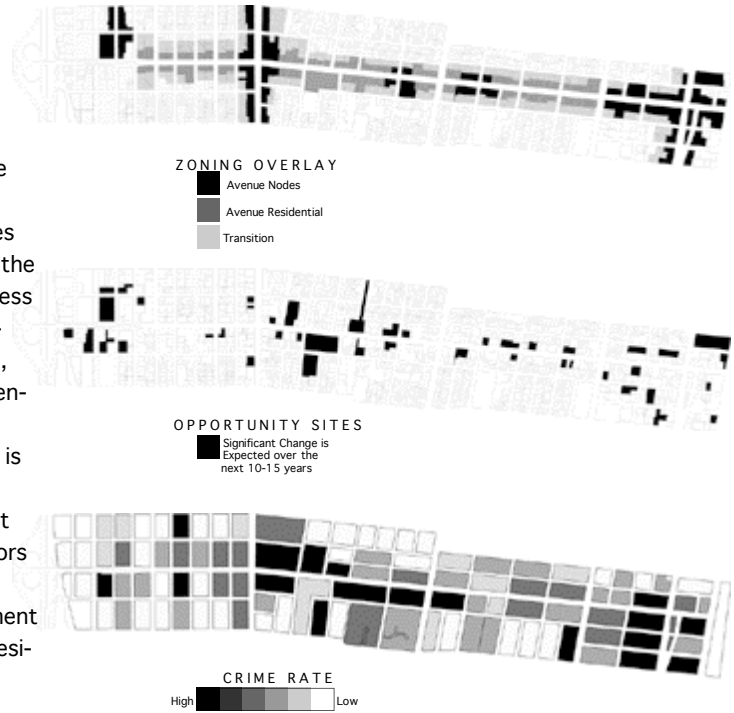
HOUSING OVER RETAIL

OPEN SPACE	CIVIC SPACE	EMPLOY-MENT	SINGLE-FAMILY	MULTI-FAMILY	COMMERCIAL	= 200 FEET

[**PLATE 31**] AGGIE VILLAGE
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA

The character of suburban infill development must relate to the nature and identity of the surrounding community, especially when in a small historic town. The design of Aggie Village reflects the scale and

character of the historic fabric of Davis. The tradition of old larger homes set on a grid street pattern is extended into the site and reflected in scale by new duplex dwellings. Each single-family home is architecturally distinct and has a "granny flat" in the rear. A pedestrian way at the center of the project provides access to these cottages.

OPEN   CIVIC   EMPLOY-   SINGLE-   MULTI-   COMMERCIAL
       SPACE   MENT   FAMILY   FAMILY

← 200 FEET

COTTAGES

DUPLEX

SINGLE-FAMILY

MAIN STREET SHOPS

[PLATE 32] AGGIE VILLAGE
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA

A small retail area is developed around a
neighborhood green, preserving a grand old
oak tree and placing all the parking to the
rear. A café, restaurant, bookstore, and
other specialty shops line the arc and are
split by a passageway to the parking. Two
major stores have front and back door
access, an important strategy in providing a
more pedestrian-oriented retail configura-
tion. The community green in front of the
retail connects the new neighborhood to the
surrounding town and forms a gateway to
its Main Street.

NEIGHBORHOOD GREEN

Part Four: Renewing The Region's Communities

BEFORE

AFTER

SITE PLANS

NORTH ST. PAUL   □ = 200 FEET

LAKE ELMO   □ = 200 FEET

NEW RICHMOND   □ = 200 FEET

[**PLATE 33**] ST. CROIX VALLEY
MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN

The St. Croix Valley region, which spans the Minnesota–Wisconsin border just east of the Twin Cities, is facing increasing growth and development pressure. Outward development from the Twin Cities region, including major highway improvements, threatens the predominantly rural and small-town character of the Valley, and is placing increasing pressure on the land on and around the St. Croix River. Projections for job and household growth in the St. Croix Valley anticipate an almost 50 percent increase in the number of households by 2020. Citizens in the study area were invited to participate in a regional workshop to solicit input on growth and development issues.

To illustrate the potential for smart growth and walkable development in the study area, six "opportunity sites" on both the Minnesota and Wisconsin sides of the St. Croix River were selected for further study. These are sites or districts with real development potential, spanning a range of conditions, from older downtowns to rural countryside. These three designs (left) show the types of development and infill that could be applied to other communities in the St. Croix Valley. The study helps to show communities how they can develop in ways that are friendly to transit, pedestrians, and the environment and will preserve their community character for coming generations.

[PLATE 34]

MOUNTAIN CORRIDOR
SPECIFIC PLAN
ONTARIO, CALIFORNIA

To the northwest of this site was
a high-crime housing project, and
at the south was a failing power
center. The Ontario redevelop-
ment agency sponsored
a plan to rebuild this critical
gateway to the town. A Main
Street, anchored at the top by
a major cinema, runs parallel to
the arterial and connects the
reconfigured power center. Now
constructed, the cinema at the
head of the Main Street is a clear
indication of a trend in entertain-
ment retail toward pedestrian-
friendly environments. The
housing is to be rebuilt and two
gateway parks flank the arterial.
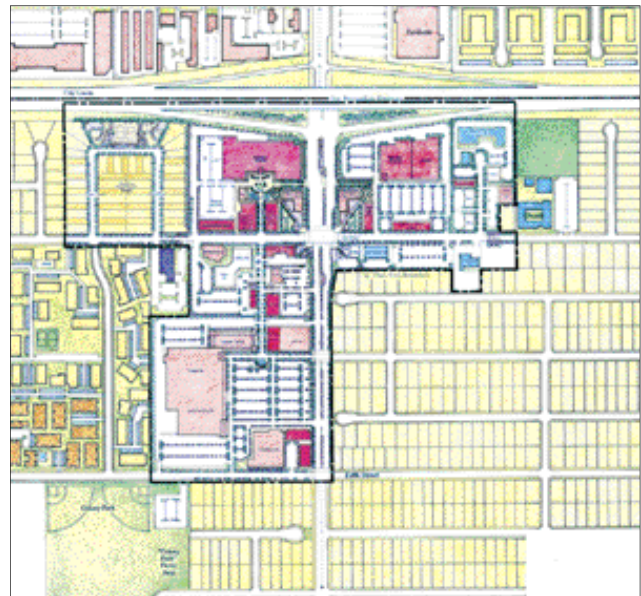
OPEN SPACE CIVIC SPACE EMPLOY-MENT SINGLE-FAMILY MULTI-FAMILY COMMERCIAL = 200 FEET
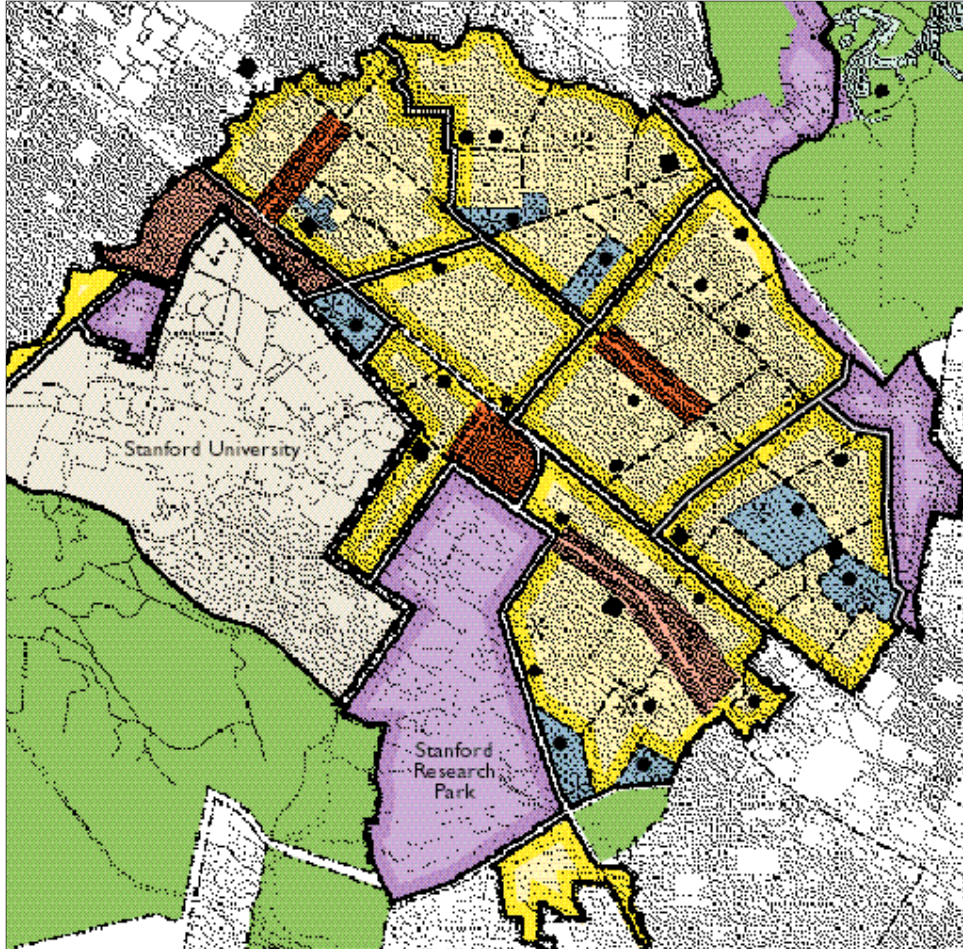
[PLATE 35]
PALO ALTO GENERAL PLAN
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

This small city's General Plan is a clear expression of how to rewrite our planning codes in order to transition from typical isolated single-use designations to increments that support mixed-use place making. The plan shows a framework of walkable neighborhoods, each anchored by commercial centers and public facilities. The dashed lines show the "subneighborhoods" identified by residents in community workshops. In addition to the neighborhood designations, there are three major special districts (including Stanford University and the famous Stanford Research Park) and two mixed-use town-center areas. Finally, the plan shows two "corridors," one human-made along the city's major strip arterial, El Camino Real (now rezoned for mixed-use development), and one natural along the creek at the north edge of the city. This structure of neighborhoods, districts, and corridors forms the framework for a more community-oriented planning system.

TOWN CENTER   MIXED-USE CORRIDOR   NEIGHBORHOOD   EMPLOYMENT   CIVIC SPACE   OPEN SPACE   ✱ = SCHOOLS ● = PARKS   ☐ = 200 FEET
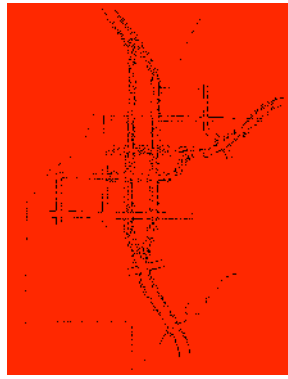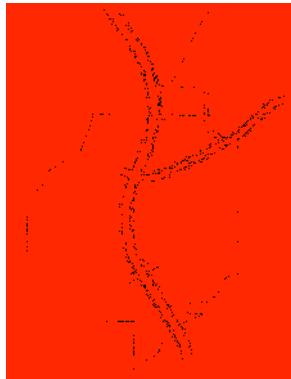
[PLATE 36] ISSAQUAH HIGHLANDS
ISSAQUAH, WASHINGTON

The design for Issaquah Highlands is unique in several ways. It developed a complex open-space system based on natural drainage and aggressive clean-water standards. It was largely the quantity of impervious surfaces that led to the land-use patterns, open-space networks, and designated densities. This new town of approximately 3,200 units also has a very diverse housing program with a high percentage of affordable housing. More important, these affordable units are not segregated into one section of town and will be indistinguishable from the market-rate units.

OPEN SPACE   CIVIC SPACE   EMPLOY-MENT   SINGLE-FAMILY   MULTI-FAMILY   COMMERCIAL   206 FEET

[PLATE 37] ISSAQUAH HIGHLANDS
ISSAQUAH, WASHINGTON
One particularly instructive aspect of the project is the way it deals with a major arterial passing through its town center. The problem of such roads subdividing a town or bypassing them is endemic in many suburbs. At Issaquah the intersecting arterials are split into four one-way streets to form an urban grid. In this way they maintain a pedestrian-friendly dimension and carry similar volumes of traffic. Because of the smaller scale of the one-way streets, the buildings of the town can front directly on the sidewalks and reinforce the urban identity of the place. It is an urban street strategy brought to the suburbs to help in town making.

[PLATE 38] SOUTH EAST ORLANDO SPECIFIC PLAN
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

Covering over 21,000 acres and planning for a population exceeding 80,000 people, the Specific Plan establishes a framework for mixed-use development in the area surrounding Orlando's International Airport. The site's extensive wetlands and habitat were mapped and designated as preserves. Greenbelts were added to these preserved lands to connect them into a continuous open-space network, drainage system, and habitat-protection area. The circulation system, including rail transit, was layered onto this framework. These two networks, natural and circulation, formed the foundation for a series of districts, neighborhood centers, village centers, and town centers. The urban design of each center was controlled by a flexible new planning technique called "block standards." The standards identified four block types that could make up any center: residential, civic, commercial, and, most important, mixed-use. Each type of block was assigned simple standards: a maximum block size, building height limits, maximum parking limits, and, most critical, a minimum amount of "build-to lines" at the perimeter.

TOWN CENTER | VILLAGE CENTER | NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER | EMPLOYMENT | GREEN-WAYS | WETLANDS | RESIDENTIAL

RENEWING URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Our metropolitan areas cannot become true Regional Cities through the maturation of the suburbs alone. Urban neighborhoods must be transformed as well. As we have pointed out repeatedly in this book, the days when the suburbs can succeed separately from the city are over. The communities in the metropolitan constellation are too deeply intertwined to operate independently of one another. Certainly, urban revitalization, infill, and redevelopment have been prime objectives for most cities for some time. There have been some successes but too many failures. The list of problems is long: racial bias, economic stagnation, gentrification, ossifying bureaucracy, cheap suburban alternatives, deteriorating schools, and red-line appraisals, to name a few. Many strategies for resolving or reducing the magnitude of these constraints are currently in use. But it is clear that these strategies are falling short and that additional means to advance the urban agenda are needed.

Physical design plays a central role in the long-term effectiveness of many efforts to renew urban life, at the same time that essential social and economic programs remain essential. More and more cities are valued for their overall urbanity, rather than singular features. It is not just the new convention center, downtown mall, or a growing central business district that make a city workable in today's economy, it is the simple urbanism of its historic neighborhoods, mixed-use districts, and civic places that sets it apart. Businesses and people in a mobile economy choose location as much for quality of life as for functional assets. Although cities will never compete with suburbs for open-space amenities, parking convenience, and single-family housing opportunities, they can provide the vitality, mix, human scale, history, and excitement that cities traditionally offered—and that are increasingly in demand. To compete, cities must be urban in the best sense, not just dense suburbs.

The disincentives of the city cannot be overcome by urbanism alone; concentrated poverty, poor schools, and a decaying tax base can undermine any urban revitalization effort, no matter how well designed. These primary problems must be addressed at the regional scale as well as locally—they were not created by the city itself and must not become the problems of the city by itself. On the tilted board of today's regional geographies, urban bootstrap efforts are not always enough; they need to be married to a regional vision and a set of regional policies that address affordable housing, schools, and tax-base equity. Given a healthy regional framework, city renewal can successfully reengage the opportunity of traditional urbanism even in the most distressed neighborhoods of the inner city.

The challenge of the city must become the opportunity of the region. As we have stated before, many regional strategies naturally reinforce a movement back to the city. Regional boundaries can make investments in existing communities—even distressed urban neighborhoods—competitive with new growth areas. Regional fair-share housing programs can help deconcentrate the poverty that distorts the culture and future of many inner-city neighborhoods. Regional tax-sharing schemes can rebalance the capacity of cities to provide services and reduce tax burdens on businesses. Regionally targeted school vouchers can make many areas of the city acceptable for middle-class households while empowering lower-income families. And regionally linked transit systems can provide much needed job access for lower-income city residents to the new suburban commercial centers, as well as the reverse. Such regional policies can change the social, economic, and physical chemistry of urban neighborhoods dramatically.

Just as the suburbs are primed for reconfiguration, the possibility of revitalizing many inner-city neighborhoods is emerging in the context of this regional perspective. Under both Secretary Cisneros and Secretary Cuomo, HUD began to understand that the relationship between the city and the region was a two-way street. While regional policies can help the city, the city can help the region overcome sprawl: "HUD supports revitalization efforts and encourages the recognition that many [inner city] communities have untapped markets—labor, purchasing power, and land—which could serve as an alternate to sprawl and fuel the region's economic growth."

Any serious urban revitalization efforts will require rethinking the way in which we approach the long-debated problems and opportunities of the city. Three strategies have emerged as key for HUD and others. First, as has been stated, the opportunities and challenges of urban renewal must be seen in a regional context rather than as problems of an isolated neighborhood, district, or city. Second, the policies, designs, and programs must be conceived as whole systems—whole neighborhoods—rather than isolated programs with separate initiatives. Third, the process to bring about change must be inclusive and from the ground up. Regional design, suburban infill, and urban renewal have these basic strategies in common.

Community participation is as critical to urban revitalization as it is to developing a regional vision. Creating a vision and a way of realizing that vision cannot be a top-down process. The process must simultaneously educate and engage the public as the

planners themselves learn from the community. Struggling with the problems is the best way to understand the issues and develop a consensus. The process needs to go well beyond option polls, wish lists, and gripe sessions. It needs to give people the tools to create their own vision and challenge them to formulate their own answers. Community input is rarely enough—simply asking citizens about needs and hopes often feels good but doesn't engage them in creative problem solving. People need hard facts, they need the means to struggle with the problems, and they need to understand the trade-offs of real limits.

In addition to grassroots participation and a new regional perspective, urban revitalization efforts need to be conceived as whole systems. The "social ecology" of a neighborhood needs to be addressed with strategies that unify now disconnected programs, institutions, and policies. The myriad federal and state programs, local city initiatives, local civic groups' efforts, and, most important, neighborhood community group's efforts must be integrated. A unified vision for a neighborhood or urban district that clarifies the connections and possible synergies is at the heart of this type of revitalization effort. All are coupled with a deeper understanding that the physical form of the neighborhood plays a critical role in connecting and facilitating many social and economic programs.

Two federal programs are manifestations of this type of rethinking. First, HUD's Consolidated Planning initiative started in 1993 with the goal of prompting urban districts to develop a neighborhood vision that integrates all the department's programs with local and citywide efforts. The initiative provides the tools, the incentives, and the means for neighborhoods to streamline their applications for support at the same time that they create a unified vision for their future.

Second, HUD's HOPE VI program provides long-needed money to rebuild and redevelop many of the nations worst public housing projects—areas that not only have become tragic crime zones for their inhabitants, but are a drain on surrounding neighborhoods. This program challenges the neighborhood to seek grassroots direction and to think about the larger neighborhood framework while redesigning the public housing projects. It rejects the notion of concentrating subsidized housing by requiring that each rebuilt project integrate housing opportunities for a range of incomes and household types while providing a seamless extension of the historic urban fabric around it.

The federal government is not the only important player in revitalizing urban neighborhoods, and Consolidating Planning and HOPE VI are not panaceas for all urban woes. We focus on these two programs because they target the toughest neighborhoods and represent an acid test for the feasibility of urban revitalization. In these areas, poverty and social decay will not be easily eradicated. Schools, family structure, crime, economic opportunity, and race must all be addressed with new ideas as well as more money—with individual responsibility as well as public commitment. In the next decade, a new alliance of public policy, regional vision, neighborhood consensus, and personal commitment must be forged to rebalance the ecology of our most dysfunctional urban landscapes. HUD's two programs do not provide all the answers. But we believe they contain the seeds of this new alliance.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS ECOSYSTEM: HUD'S CONSOLIDATED PLANNING

Ever since the War on Poverty began almost forty years ago, HUD has been deeply involved in urban revitalization through a whole range of programs. Bureaucratic red tape, inefficiency, and even corruption have been the image of HUD programs to many people. Even when programs avoided those pitfalls, they had unintended negative outcomes. The urban-renewal efforts of the 1960s and some public housing projects are good examples of efforts that, even though well intentioned, were ultimately destructive to urban neighborhoods.

In a powerful statement at the beginning of its Consolidated Planning handbook, HUD acknowledged this negative legacy as a first step in redirecting its approach to neighborhood revitalization: "We suggest that the guiding concepts of Consolidated Planning can remedy a long list of past mistakes, including programs that fractured and isolated social services, destroyed community history and identity (both architectural and institutional), isolated income groups, family support systems, and housing types, created "no man's land" open space and buffers, permitted freeways and major roads to dissect neighborhoods and isolate communities, failed to coordinate transit investments with new housing and jobs, dispersed civic facilities and destroyed community focus, displaced small local businesses, and damaged natural systems."

Federal dollars and programs need not corrupt and undermine cities, however. Whether they are helpful depends on the philosophy and the process. In the early 1990s, HUD

created the Consolidated Plan process as a way to get both the federal agency and local community groups to think of revitalization as a holistic process. In strictly bureaucratic terms, the purpose of the Consolidated Plan is to combine and consolidate the application process for four federal programs: Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), Home Investment Partnerships (HOME), Housing Opportunities for Persons with AIDS (HOPWA), and Emergency Shelter Grants (ESG).

But the Consolidated Plan also has a broader purpose: to encourage localities to create a broad-ranging neighborhood vision based on extensive community participation. In addition, the Consolidated Plan is meant to look beyond HUD programs and show how other state and federal programs, such as empowerment zones, enterprise zones, and the ISTEA flexible transportation funding, fit into the vision and its implementation. As the HUD handbook points out: "Narrow functional programs cannot solve complex problems of the individual, family, or neighborhood. Our approach must be holistic, linking economic, human, physical, environmental, and design concerns to build viable communities of opportunity."

Community groups were encouraged to look beyond the housing needs generated within the neighborhood to examine strategies that could diversify its population. In many cases, that meant market-rate housing in low-income areas or ownership opportunities in areas dominated by rental housing. As part of their strategic planning, community groups were asked to imagine how the social services in the neighborhood—health, day care, schools, adult education, job training, policing, and civic and religious institutions—could be integrated in ways that would increase efficiencies and strengthen community. And they were asked to look beyond the standard subsidies for economic development to think about regional access to jobs and innovative local business incubators.

In the creation of a Consolidated Plan, the first step is to assess the community assets and needs in a methodical manner, once again looking at the whole picture rather than one dimension at a time. Armed with this overview, a series of community workshops could produce a comprehensive vision for a three- and five-year time frame. This vision, called the Community Partnership Strategy, becomes not only the core of the funding applications to HUD for its once-segregated programs, but also a plan of how all the agencies, community groups, civic institutions, nonprofit organizations, and (most important) individual people and families can coordinate their

efforts. Finally, Consolidated Planning calls for the creation of benchmarks to measure progress over time. The benchmarks become a means to keep the vision on track, to provide a self-correcting mechanism and allow the vision to evolve and adapt as it progresses.

Making Connections

The essence of Consolidated Planning is a focus on reestablishing lost connections—connections between people, connections within communities, connections across neighborhoods, cities, and regions, and connections among seemingly unrelated government programs. As HUD's guidebook on Consolidated Plans points out, many of the problems of urban neighborhoods came about when important connections were destroyed, such as community history and identity, physical connections within the neighborhoods, and connections to critical social services and job opportunities.

In laying out how Consolidated Plans might be drawn up, HUD proposed the use of four principles as the foundation. The first, not surprisingly, was "Neighborhood and Community," recognizing that neighborhoods form the foundation of both the community and the region and—as we stated earlier—that many urban neighborhoods have been torn asunder by past urban policies. The other three are similar to the principles that we articulated in Chapter 3:

- *Human development and human scale*—recognizing that individuals and families, not remote institutions, should be the measure of a community

- *Diversity and balance*—recognizing that heterogeneous communities have qualities that can generate the social capital that creates opportunities and growth

- *Sustainability, conservation, and restora t i o n*—recognizing that communities should nurture and restore not only their natural environment, but also their built environment and social fabric

We used these principles previously because we believe they provide a solid foundation for approaching entire communities and regions in a holistic way. For urban neighborhoods in particular, they suggest a very powerful shift in the way that revitalization efforts move forward. With these principles in mind, we can focus on building public programs and economic development strategies around neighborhoods rather than governments. We can replace public housing projects and bureaucratic institutions with human-scale communities and local services. We can advance

the idea of diverse communities over functionally isolated government programs and segregated land uses. And we can focus on conserving and restoring human and natural resources rather than squandering them.

In thinking about an urban neighborhood holistically, it's important to understand that all these principles operate on many levels simultaneously. Each applies equally to the social, economic, and physical dimensions of community development.

For example, to apply the principle of *Neighborhood and Community* to all three dimensions—social, economic, and physical—at once requires coordinated efforts that reinforce one another. In relation to this principle, repairing the social fabric might call for a focus on the reclamation of neighborhood institutions, on community policing efforts, on site-based school management, or on building new cultural centers. Economic development might require a focus on strengthening local merchant organizations, on creating community banks, and on determining how jobs in civic and cultural institutions can provide an economic foundation for the neighborhood. The physical-design aspects might require urban design that focuses on reinforcing the neighborhood's civic spaces and supporting safe streets.

Similarly, applying the principle of *Human Development and Human Scale* may mean more policemen walking a beat in social terms; the economic implications may mean supporting small businesses; and the physical implications may be realized in paying greater attention to walkable neighborhoods or in creating buildings with more identity and variation.

When these four principles are applied to all three dimensions, the integrated, well-rounded nature of the Consolidated Plan idea becomes more obvious. Unlike the standard government categories of economic development, housing, education, and health services, the Consolidated Plan attempts to integrate programs and strategies. The idea is to invest in neighborhoods and people, rather than in programs and institutions.

Making Holistic Planning Work

The Consolidated Plan idea is important not because it is a new way to meet federal bureaucratic requirements, but because it illustrates a healthier and more integrated way of examining the problems of urban neighborhoods. Indeed, the consolidated planning philosophy and process would provide a good basis for creating a vision for

any neighborhood—urban or suburban—or, indeed, for any region. But, because distressed urban neighborhoods are perhaps the most difficult challenge to the Regional City, holistic thinking is *e s p e c i a l l y* important in this context.

Since HUD introduced the concept of the Consolidated Plan, many communities throughout the United States have used the ideas therein as a basis for a successful strategy to revitalize urban districts and even entire cities. In some cases, a community's action was stimulated directly by the Consolidated Plan process. In other cases, a community was already attempting to create more integrated plans to revitalize urban neighborhoods and used the Consolidated Plan process as a framework.

The seaside community of Ventura, California, for example, used the Consolidated Plan to create an integrated vision for a low-income and mostly Latino neighborhood—and then used that plan as a guide for how to make the vision a reality.

Ventura is a mostly Anglo, middle-class city. Decades ago, its prosperity depended on oil production around the city's "Westside," one of Ventura's original neighborhoods. In recent decades, however, oil production declined and the Westside was left behind. Although it was a lively and diverse older neighborhood in many ways, the Westside had become largely Latino, mostly poor, and suffered from a lack of attention from the city government.

Working with city funds, a neighborhood association in the Westside neighborhood held a series of public workshops in 1996 at a local elementary school and then presented the City Council with a bottoms-up vision of the neighborhood that focused on urban design, economic development, and revitalization of historic buildings. The centerpiece of the program was the restoration and reuse of the neighborhood's signature building, a handsome brick 1920s "oilman's" hotel.

Federal Community Development Block Grant funds were used to renovate the building. Affordable apartments were created on the top floor, whereas the bottom floor—originally designed for retail shops—provided a new home for the neighborhood's popular community library, which had been located across the street in a run-down minimall for thirty years.

Based on the strength of the Consolidated Plan, the city received a waiver from HUD rules to permit the use of CDBG funds to pay for library operations. The library is now the focal point of the community. It is the most heavily used neighborhood

library in the county and the only one where a majority of patrons arrive on foot rather than by car.

The Westside effort received a special "best practices" Consolidated Plan award from HUD, and rightly so. The library project in particular achieved all of the four goals of the Consolidated Plan process. The project focused on *Neighborhood and Community* by working on nuts-and-bolts matters of significance to the Westside neighborhood, including affordable housing and library services. It achieved the goal of *Conservation and Restoration* by renovating the neighborhood's landmark historic building. It focused on *Diversity and Balance* in two ways: by working with the city's most diverse neighborhood and by encouraging a range of uses in close proximity to one another. And it achieved both *Human Development and Human Scale* by providing a library to improve the minds of the community's children that was located within walking distance of most houses and apartments in the neighborhood.

Rochester, New York, has used many of the ideas contained in the Consolidated Plan process to create a whole new neighborhood-oriented vision for the future of the city. Once a leading industrial and corporate center, Rochester is still the home of many important corporate and civic institutions, and it has not suffered from wholesale hollowing out, as many northeastern cities have. Still, the city has suffered from an ongoing decline in population. After peaking at close to 400,000 people four decades ago, Rochester today has only about 200,000 people. And this decline has been accompanied by an increasing concentration of poverty.

Seeking to revitalize the city, Mayor William Johnson created an initiative called Neighbors Building Neighborhoods, or NBN. In the NBN effort, all the city's neighborhoods worked together to create a plan for economic development and renewal, which focused on such nuts-and-bolts matters as cleaning up streetscapes and enforcing city codes more strictly. In 1997, after HUD released its Consolidated Plan guidelines, Rochester undertook a second round of planning—the so-called NBN2 effort, which led to a revision of the city's twenty-five-year-old comprehensive plan. The Renaissance Plan, as it is called, focuses Rochester's efforts on three themes: responsibility (dealing with such matters as education and the environment), opportunity (dealing with economic development), and community (dealing with physical form and a strategy of centers and urban villages).

All these planning efforts have been folded into the city's Consolidated Plan for

HUD, and in fact they form an excellent example of the holistic approach contained in the Consolidated Plan idea. The city's Consolidated Plan serves as the basis for ongoing public involvement in the Community Development Block Grant process, and HUD funds are used for—among other things—preparing an annual monitoring report called Priorities on People. Furthermore, the Renaissance Plan and the Consolidated Plan continue to be used as the basis for implementing the priorities of both the city and the community. For example, when the Rochester United Way decided that six neighborhood centers were in desperate need of renovation, it helped to create a Union Neighborhood Centers Foundation to raise $18 million. The city contributed $1 million in block grant funds under the Consolidated Plan.

However, in keeping with the holistic approach of Consolidated Planning, the city required each neighborhood center to show that it had the support of community residents, including the sector planning group that had written the NBN plan for that geographical area. One old-line neighborhood center that had lost touch with the residents refused to secure the support of its sector planning group—a group known as a the Southwest Common Council, which consisted of five official neighborhood groups. As a result, a new group was soon created—far more representative of the neighborhood—and it now occupies a brand-new community center located on the campus of a new middle school.

Rochester also won a HUD best-practices award. Its combined effort—NBN, the Renaissance Plan, and the Consolidated Plan—also is a realization of the Consolidating Planning idea. Residents in the city's neighborhoods were intimately engaged in setting goals and priorities for their communities—and those ideas were incorporated into the city's overall plan. When it was time to use city financial resources to support true community representation, the Consolidated Plan idea provided the foundation to do it.

These are only two examples of success with the use of the Consolidated Plan; there are dozens more. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, twenty-five miles north of Boston, the city began a "visioning" process after being designated by HUD as an Enterprise Community. The Consolidated Planning process was a joint partnership between the city and Merrimack College, and it has been carried out in conjunction with many community groups, including the Lawrence-Metheun Enterprise Partnership.

In Albuquerque, the city initiated a Consolidated Plan process as a way of using other federal funds to "leverage" the city's designation as an Enterprise Community. The

city established a twenty-four-member Citizen Advisory Group to oversee the Consolidated Plan—and, in the second round in 1998, the Consolidated Plan created detailed subarea plans for parts of the region.

In Nashville, the city formed an advisory committee to prepare a Consolidated Plan that included public housing residents, homeless persons, staff from the state community development department, and other people who have traditionally been left out of the process.

Several cities have been recognized for their innovative use of computer mapping to create Consolidated Plans. In Glendale, California, a first-ring suburb of Los Angeles, the Consolidated Plan targeted the business community, social-service providers, and residents of low-income neighborhoods. The result was a joint effort to build a school, park, and community center in which all stakeholders took part.

All these examples represent efforts by distressed neighborhoods to view urban revitalization as a process that requires an integrated vision at the neighborhood level connected to the assets of the surrounding city and region. As stated earlier, it is not the mere fact that HUD encourages Consolidated Planning for the purposes of federal funding that we believe is important. The important point is that the program moves beyond the traditional boundaries of urban revitalization to two fundamental goals: first, to create a vision that, at the neighborhood level, integrates the social, economic, and physical dimensions of community building; and, second, to reinforce connections to the surrounding city and region. In the next section, we will describe one of HUD's most important attempts to carry this idea forward in the nation's most troubled neighborhoods: the HOPE VI public housing program.

REBUILDING THE GHETTO: HUD'S HOPE VI PROGRAM

The federal government's program to rebuild the most troubled public housing in America is an appropriate strategy with which to conclude this book. It is the most challenging test and perhaps the most successful realization of the principles and practices that we have described.

HOPE VI addresses the problems of redevelopment in some of our most economically and socially disadvantaged neighborhoods by rebuilding their decaying public

housing projects. It is the ultimate expression of the need as well as the moral obligation to repair and reuse rather than abandon our decaying historic urban neighborhoods. The HOPE VI program demonstrates that our cities, even in their darkest corners, can be revitalized and that we can repair the damage done by misguided urban renewal and housing programs. It shows that we can bring zones once dominated by violence and despair back into the social, economic, and physical fabric of the city. And it proves that economic integration is possible even at the extreme end of our social spectrum.

HOPE VI is replacing more than 60,000 units of the nation's worst public housing in 129 of its toughest neighborhoods. To do so, it has fundamentally rethought the nature and identity of public housing. It calls for public housing to be designed as neighborhoods rather than projects, as housing for many different incomes rather than ghettos for the poor, and as sensitive extensions of a city's urban history rather than the "brave new world" of superblocks and high-rises. In many cases, the housing is razed and the site is reconfigured with a human-scale street pattern and rebuilt with traditional housing forms.

The HOPE VI redevelopment plans design for direct connections to the surrounding neighborhoods, for safe streets, for integrated civic places, and for homes that confer identity and pride. The program supports simple things such as private yards rather than unsafe and ambiguous common areas; street addresses and front porches rather than building numbers and dark halls; and traditional building types and materials rather than modernist apartment blocks. These design shifts create places where each resident, either public housing tenant or working family, share the same residential identity. The visual and functional stigmas of "the projects" are eliminated and replaced with homes, streets, and blocks that fit the character and history of the area. The goal for HOPE VI is always to destigmatize public housing and reconnect it to its surroundings—to make it appear and function as part of the urban neighborhoods that had thrived nearby.

Beyond its physical design, HOPE VI calls for a process of community participation that reconnects public housing occupants not only with nearby neighbors, but also with the larger opportunities in their cities and regions. It asks stakeholders to think about the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of their communities, not just the housing. It challenges them to integrate social services such as health care, day

care, security, and after-school programs with job training, local retail, and transportation—to think holistically about their problems and their possibilities.

Just as it goes beyond housing to these social services, Hope VI often goes beyond the boundaries of the "project." Housing authorities are asked to team with tenants, private developers, city officials, and neighborhood groups to develop plans for the public housing site and its surrounding area. The goal is to reestablish a seamless connection to the larger neighborhood and not only repair the discontinuities that the public housing has created, but also address the long-term decay of the entire neighborhood. Off-site infill housing is often used to help repair neighboring blocks and streets—streets that through neglect and proximity to the public housing have often become unsafe and abandoned. This scattered-site housing also serves to further disperse low-income households while it provides more choices for the public housing tenants.

At the heart of HOPE VI is the goal to end poverty's isolation by reconnecting the new housing with its neighbors and by integrating its occupants with market-rate renters and owners. Close to 40 percent of the housing in the program is market rate or subsidized for low-income working households. Home-ownership units are mixed with the rental housing to create a stronger sense of personal investment in the community and provide yet another housing choice. Approximately a quarter of the units provide ownership opportunities, with a third of those going to public housing tenants who are "moving up."

Housing design and construction standards high enough for those with choice have to be met throughout each new development because the public housing units cannot be segregated or differentiated in any way. Mixing affordable and market-rate housing with public housing begins to create a social ladder within the neighborhood. Kids have the kinds of social experiences too often missing in the projects, as new role models live next door and the social standards shift.

To be successful, the new neighborhoods must be supported by high behavioral standards, adequate social services, and reasonable economic opportunities. To this end, the public housing tenants can be screened and, if warranted, they can be evicted. Drug dealing, prostitution, crime, or lack of civil order can be controlled to everyone's benefit. In the few instances when the screening and standards could not be enforced, the viability of the neighborhood as a mixed-income area suffered.

In some cases, the combination of adding the affordable and market-rate units along with building at an appropriate (but lower) density means that all the public housing is not replaced on-site. However, in all cases, scattered-site housing or rental vouchers are made available to the public housing tenants to make up the difference. Close to a third of the 60,000 units scheduled for demolition are unoccupied. Approximately 38,000 new or rehabilitated public housing units have been built or are under construction, along with 24,000 additional units for working and mixed-income families. The gap for public housing tenants has been filled with 15,000 Section 8 rental vouchers. For some, an opportunity to leave the project area is attractive, an opportunity to make a new life in a new place. Many others choose to stay in the community that they know and return to one of the new housing units.

In sum, the goals of HOPE VI are complex. They are to create mixed-income neighborhoods in the place of projects; to rebuild public housing to fit an area's history and surrounding character; to support self-sufficiency and independence through a continuum of social and economic programs; and to promote private- and public-sector partnerships to leverage public investments and increase economic development. These are honorable goals that are now being achieved. A sampling of the kinds of results that HOPE VI has created follows.

Centennial Place, Atlanta

Over the past five years, Centennial Place in Atlanta has become one of the HOPE VI program's showcases. In Centennial Place, the reconstruction of a major public housing complex has succeeded in deconcentrating poverty, restoring a sense of community, and creating a focal point for a holistic and integrated mixed-income revival of an important inner-city neighborhood in Atlanta.

Located adjacent to the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology, Techwood Homes was the first public housing project ever constructed in the United States. As part of the original, New Deal–era federal public housing program, it was originally aimed at white working-class families, most of whom could not afford adequate housing during the Great Depression. At the Techwood Homes dedication, on the day after Thanksgiving 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt declared: "Here, at the request of the citizens of Atlanta, we have cleaned out nine square blocks of antiquated squalid dwellings, for years a detriment to this community. Today those hopeless old houses are gone and in their place we see the bright cheerful buildings of the Techwood Housing Project."

A half century later, Techwood Homes had deteriorated into a typical public housing p roject, characterized by racial segregation (mostly black), an extreme concentration of pove rt y, and a rapid physical deterioration. The Techwood neighborhood (which included the adjacent Clark Howell public housing project) is located not far fro m d ow n t own Atlanta, bounded on the north by Georgia Tech and on the south by the corporate headquarters of Coca-Cola, one of the nation's most successful companies. Yet the Techwood neighborhood was so empty of life that it was known locally as "The Void." The Atlanta Housing Authority, which ran the facility, was considered one of the most poorly run public housing authorities in the nation as recently as 1993. Citywide, several thousand units of public housing we re boarded up and vacant.

As Atlanta prepared for the 1996 Summer Olympics, however, local officials decided to use the opportunity to create a dramatic turnaround of its public housing projects, focusing first on the Clark-Techwood neighborhood. In 1995, HUD provided the Atlanta Housing Authority with a $42.5 million HOPE VI grant.

In a remarkable turnaround, the Housing Authority then pieced together another $160 million in public and private financing to create the first mixed-income project under HOPE VI and the first major partnership with private developers. Other than the HOPE VI grant, all of the rest of the money came from private investors. Most of the funding came from a private development company, The Integral Group. The rest came from investors taking advantage of the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, which provides investors with tax credits for investing in affordable housing projects.

The Housing Authority razed almost 1,100 units of public housing in the Clark and Techwood projects. On the 57-acre site once occupied by these projects, the Housing Authority constructed Centennial Place, a 900-unit mixed-income project that has served as the centerpiece for the revitalization of an entire neighborhood.

Centennial Place itself has become a testament to the success of the mixed-income concept. Under the agreement among HUD, the Housing Authority, and private developers, 360 units in Centennial Place (40 percent) are traditional public housing units. Another 180 units (20 percent) are available to low- and moderate-income re s- idents under the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit program. The final 360 units (40 percent) are market-rate units renting for between $500 and $900 per month.

The current group of residents is a remarkable mixture. The people who currently live there relocated from some seventy different zip codes in the Atlanta area. Almost half of all residents have incomes greater than $35,000 per year, whereas one in five has an income greater than $55,000 per year. At the same time, Centennial Place remains home to many extremely poor and working-poor families. Their own sense of identity was so dramatically altered that the tenants changed the name of the Tenants' Association to the Residents' Association.

Importantly, however, the Centennial Place project is not a single-use project focused on housing. It serves as the centerpiece for an entire neighborhood revitalization effort that has taken advantage of the project's location and its proximity to Georgia Tech. The project also includes a new YMCA, a branch bank, a Holiday Inn Express Hotel, a bicycle police patrol substation, and a day-care center. A library dating from 1909 and a community center dating from 1941 have been renovated. The project has been designated as a "Campus of Learners." It includes a new elementary school with an innovative technology-based curriculum designed in collaboration with Georgia Tech (with which the school has special computer connections).

The local Workforce Enterprise Program provides job and computer training in the neighborhood for Centennial Place residents, who also receive state-of-the-art computer wiring in their apartments. Many of these services are provided by a partnership between the Atlanta Housing Authority and three historically black colleges. But perhaps most important is the fact that the traditional public housing residents cannot simply draw on Centennial Place as an entitlement indefinitely. They must be working part time or participate in a work-training program to continue to live there.

The Terraces, Baltimore

Few American cities suffer from such extreme concentrations of poverty and regional imbalances as Baltimore. In general, the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area is one of the richest and fastest-growing in the nation. In downtown Baltimore, decades of careful urban revitalization planning have finally paid off, as the Inner Harbor area has emerged as a strongly revitalized business and tourist environment. The rest of the city of Baltimore, however, has suffered from an extreme cycle of white flight, racial segregation, concentrated poverty, and lack of investment.

From the beginning of the HOPE VI project, Baltimore has been an important participant in the program, securing grants for the renovation of several projects. One of

the most successful has been The Terraces, a mixed-income and mixed-tenure project constructed on the site of the former Lexington Terrace public housing project.

Lexington Terrace was a typical 1950s high-rise public housing project built in West Baltimore, where a group of public housing projects have created an extreme concentration of poverty. With a $22 million HOPE VI grant, the Housing Authority of Baltimore undertook a $45 million plan to create 303 new housing units—including 100 townhomes for sale. As with Centennial Place, The Terraces included a partnership between the Housing Authority and private developers, as well as private financing—in this case, some $10 million from NationsBank (now Bank of America), the nation's largest bank.

The for-sale townhomes were priced at between $43,000 and $65,000, and half were set aside for families with annual incomes of less than $27,000—thus making home ownership possible for the first time for many working-poor families. The buyers were required to make a down payment of only $1,000 and they received a favorable interest rate of 6.6 percent. Many of the buyers were working-poor families that had never before lived outside of the projects.

As at Centennial Place, however, the real success of The Terraces lies in more than just the housing project itself. Other aspects of The Terraces project seek to connect its residents to a broader economy, which simply did not exist in West Baltimore before HOPE VI. The Terraces project includes what local officials call "an e-village," where project residents can obtain as much as two weeks of free computer training; they also obtain computers at no cost or buy them at a greatly reduced rate. The Terraces includes the first combination business and retail center (including a Rite Aid pharmacy) contained within a HOPE VI project.

To people who live in the suburbs, it may seem odd that the developers of a "housing project" place such high priority on access to computers, to jobs, and to a pharmacy. But these are exactly the types of community-building activities that have been lacking in inner-city neighborhoods. By introducing them into West Baltimore and elsewhere, HOPE VI has helped to restore the community fabric that was torn asunder decades ago when high-rise public housing projects were built.

These community services are especially important in places like West Baltimore, where several public housing projects stand in close proximity to one another, thus

creating an extreme concentration of poverty. Several other HOPE VI projects are moving forward in West Baltimore, and together they hold the potential to break the concentration of poverty and restore a sense of community.

First Ward Place, Charlotte

Like so many other American cities, Charlotte, North Carolina, has a concentration of poverty and public housing that sprung up on the outskirts of its downtown as the result of several generations of urban-renewal efforts. The First Ward Place project is an attempt to use HOPE VI to restore a true community in a desolate area that was once one of the city's most vibrant and integrated neighborhoods.

Once a city of handsome and diverse neighborhoods surrounding the downtown, Charlotte was especially hard hit by the federal bulldozer. In the 1950s, the city's urban-renewal program razed the Brooklyn neighborhood, a mostly black neighborhood that contained some of the city's worst slums. More than a thousand families were displaced, but the land was sold off mostly to office developers and not a single residential unit was replaced.

Under pressure from the federal government to build replacement housing, Charlotte then razed the black residential core of the First Ward. According to Charlotte historian Thomas Hanchette, the First Ward had historically been a neighborhood that was integrated both racially and economically. On some streets, whites and blacks lived side by side all through the Jim Crow era, and whites did not leave the First Ward until urban renewal in Brooklyn led to a huge increase in housing demand by displaced black families. After a part of the First Ward was razed, the old neighborhood was replaced by Earle Village, a 400-unit low-rise public housing development.

Although Earle Village received great acclaim for its design, it did not alleviate pressure for housing. And, over time, it became a classic center of poverty. In the 1970s, the rest of the First Ward surrounding Earle Village also was cleared, leaving this once-proud district bereft of community. In 1994 alone, more than 700 crimes, including two murders, were committed in the area.

Under HOPE VI, the Charlotte Housing Authority and NationsBank began working together to revitalize the First Ward. (NationsBank's corporate headquarters is located only a few blocks away.) Using a $41 million HOPE VI grant as the foundation, the Housing Authority and NationsBank Community Development demolished Earle

Village, replacing it with First Ward Place, a mixed-income housing project with almost the same number of units.

As with other HOPE VI projects, First Ward Place is a mixture not only of incomes but also of housing types. It includes 282 rental units, 68 senior apartments, 17 for-sale single-family units, and 6 for-sale townhouses. As with Atlanta's Centennial Place (which served as a model for the project), First Ward Place is 40 percent market-rate units, 40 percent traditional public housing units, and 20 percent units for the working poor eligible under the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program. The project has drawn many suburbanites looking for proximity to their downtown jobs, and crime has dropped dramatically. In 1997, in First Ward Place 88 crimes were committed but no murders, a drop of almost 90 percent from only three years before.

The Housing Authority and Bank of America are now building on the First Ward Place success, both in the First Ward and elsewhere in Charlotte. Two other HOPE VI projects are underway in Charlotte, and other projects are moving forward in the mostly vacant First Ward. An Episcopal church is constructing a school in the First Ward, and Bank of America is moving forward with a project to build 80 single-family homes and more than 100 condominium projects—all market rate—on an adjacent plot of land.

Conclusion

Impressive as the HOPE VI and the Consolidated Plan success stories are on their own, it is important to place them in the context of the Regional City concept as a whole. As we have stated from the beginning of this book, the Regional City cannot thrive unless all of its neighborhoods thrive as diverse and vibrant places. HOPE VI is an important step in transforming our poorest and toughest urban neighborhoods into strong communities that play an important role in the city and region. It has provided an opportunity for the federal government, local governments, local institutions, tenants, local citizens, and private businesses such as developers and retailers to work together to repair the long-damaged fabric of inner-city neighborhoods.

Yet just as it is wrong to view inner-city revitalization as a separate problem from regional problems of sprawl and inequity, it is wrong to view even the successes of HOPE VI as an isolated exercise only in inner-city revitalization. HOPE VI is only one tool—albeit an important one—in transforming our metropolitan areas; it must be seen as part of a larger program partly defined by Consolidated Planning and partly

defined by the larger regional programs for tax equity, fair-share affordable housing, and economic development.

HOPE VI has been criticized by some as simply another attempt to remove low-income people from neighborhoods now viewed as desirable by developers, business interests, and the upper-middle class. This criticism is derived mostly from the fact that, by reducing densities and mixing incomes, HOPE VI has reduced the number of housing units available to low-income people in the neighborhoods where they have historically lived. These critics simply do not believe that the low-income units will be replaced elsewhere in the metropolis, and therefore poor people will "lose out" yet again in an urban-revitalization effort supposedly designed to help them.

Given the dismal record of urban renewal in this country—as revealed especially in the Charlotte experience—this skepticism is perfectly understandable. That is why successes such as HOPE VI cannot be pursued by themselves but, rather, must be pursued as part of a regional approach. In the past, urban-revitalization efforts failed because they focused simply on housing the poor in poor neighborhoods, rather than creating healthy and diverse neighborhoods throughout a region. The result has been a greater concentration of poverty than ever before and therefore a greater metropolitan inequity than ever before.

That is why HOPE VI must be married to all the other federal, city, regional, and local efforts. Section 8 vouchers and other regional housing initiatives, such as the inclusionary housing requirements of New Jersey and Montgomery County, Maryland, must provide housing opportunity for people of all income groups throughout the Regional City. Transportation and land use policies must be altered to provide more locational and mobility choices for poor people who have little choice (and for middle-class people chained to their automobiles). Private investors must be motivated to look at all neighborhoods and districts in the region, not just the "favored quarter." Choices for jobs and education must be as attractive throughout the region—including inner-city neighborhoods—as they are in affluent suburbs.

By themselves, HOPE VI and all the other innovative and exciting efforts that have emerged in the past ten years will make marginal improvements in our metropolitan neighborhoods. But, by working together on a regional basis, they can become much more powerful. They can create—and bring about—a new vision of the Regional City, one in which the twin problems of sprawl and inequity can at last be attacked at their roots.

TRANSFORMING THE EDGE CITY INTO THE REGIONAL CITY

The real-world task of transforming our metropolitan regions into Regional Cities is not an easy one. This is so not because the concept is hard to grasp or because the tools that we need are unavailable, but because the special interests aligned against the Regional City are many and the bureaucratic bias is institutionalized. In the real world, vested interests and inertia often block needed change. The list of special interests that believe sprawl benefits them is virtually endless. Many developers, builders, engineers, and contractors want the chance to repeat past successes, despite changing times and untold consequences. Many local governments look for growth and an expanded tax base without regard for development quality or regional implications. Neighborhood groups and homeowner associations hope to enhance property values by exclusionary practices. Even environmental groups sometimes promote sprawl by encouraging low-density development or no development at all, at least in the localities where they operate.

Not surprisingly, the advocates of suburban "business as usual" bring with them a series of strong and seemingly persuasive arguments in favor of sprawl and against the Regional City. In strident fashion, they make four major pro-sprawl arguments. First, they say, land in America is plentiful. Urban growth takes up less than 5 percent of the nation's entire land area, and even if we preserve environmentally sensitive areas, there is more than enough land to sprawl as we like. Second, they claim, we can solve the problems created by sprawl simply by building more roads. Automobiles are a truly democratic form of transportation, allowing ordinary people to travel when and where they wish. Because most people drive most places, they claim, the answer is simply to provide them with more roads. If access to these roads must be restricted, it should be restricted by "congestion pricing"—the idea that people should pay a premium to drive on highways at peak periods. Third, the pro-sprawl advocates argue that everybody wants to live in a detached single-family house in the suburbs. Traditional suburban subdivisions, like additional road capacity, simply give people what they want. Finally, the argument goes, private-property rights should be respected.

People should be able to do what they want with their property without intrusive interference from government agencies engaged in regional planning.

There is some truth in each of these statements. In the aggregate, land is plentiful in America. Most people will probably continue to drive most places, and we must pay attention to maintaining and using our roads well. Many people prefer to live in detached single-family homes. And the rights of property owners must always be respected when dealing with matters of land use and land development.

Even though each point is partly true, all four of them miss the larger point about ending sprawl and transforming our metropolitan areas into Regional Cities. And, as the larger truths in each of these areas emerge, they are helping to lay the groundwork for a new coalition capable of overcoming the vested interests and helping to make the Regional City a reality.

Yes, land in America is still plentiful in the aggregate. But this simplistic quantitative statement overlooks the qualitative problems that most citizens confront eve ry day. The fact that vast tracts of land might be available thousands of miles away in rural America matters little to the dwellers of today's growing metropolis. In the areas of greatest population growth, America's coastal areas, 53 percent of the population is jamming into only 17 percent of our nation's land area. Regions require well-functioning natural systems and open-space networks in the areas where growth and change is taking place, not far away. Such open-space networks also can serve to maintain local agricultural p roduction, provide a framew o rk for metropolitan form, and give those who live in metropolitan areas a respite from the asphalt that dominates their daily lives.

Similarly, it is theoretically possible to alleviate traffic congestion temporarily by building more roads, but, again, this begs the question of how to get ahead of the growth curve. More roads lead inevitably to more auto-oriented development and therefore more congestion. As traffic engineer Walter Kulash has said, "Adding roads to cure congestion is a little like loosening one's belt to cure obesity."

Perhaps the most erroneous notion among all of these arguments is that most people "want" to live in low-density, single-family subdivisions and that regional planning will frustrate this "natural" market for single-family homes. In fact, the market is far more diverse than this antiquated view would suggest, and most often local zoning codes—not regional planning—frustrate the market by reducing the choices available.

Transforming the Edge City into the Regional City

As we have stated before, only a quarter of all American households consist of families with children at home. Yet many communities now practice exclusionary zoning by allowing only large-lot homes to be built in their jurisdictions, thus excluding housing that meets the needs of many nonfamily households and seniors. It's true that many consumers seem to prefer single-family homes, but often that apparent preference is due to a lack of significant choices. In a market constrained by zoning to single-family subdivisions, isolated apartment complexes, or age-restricted condos, it is no wonder that single-family housing is preferred. If there were more choices, such as bungalows in walkable villages, townhomes in real towns, or lofts and apartments in exciting cities, the housing market would reflect more diversity. Indeed, in cases when such choices are available, they almost always outperform the overall real estate market.

The private-property rights argument has also grown in popularity in recent years, as property owners and ideologically committed property-rights lawyers have sought to reduce the power of government to restrict the use of land. But, at the same time, it has become increasingly clear that individual property owners, no less than welfare mothers, have responsibilities as well as rights. Planning has always been a way of balancing individual rights with community needs. To operate in a metropolitan environment, any property owner requires highways, roads, sewers, water systems, and other public services that will be provided at least in part from tax revenue. It is a defensible and conservative policy to seek out and implement the most cost-effective set of public investments to support growth, as Maryland's Smart Growth laws have done.

The apologists for sprawl always seem to resort to oversimplifications and stereotypes that sidestep the challenge of finding new forms that expand choices. What if we could conserve accessible open space and provide a full range of housing options? What if we expanded the flexibility of the car by adding the choice to walk, bike, or use transit? What if people had choices more expansive than gridlocked suburbs or crime-ridden cities? What if we began to define a new metropolitan form—one that was not black or white, car or train, high density or low, suburban or urban? What if we got past the rhetorical extremes and set to work designing complex, multifaceted communities that fit the postindustrial society that we are becoming.

The American Dream is changing. The future is not necessarily a linear extension of the past, and yesterday's market is not necessarily tomorrow's. The issue is not density

but design, the quality of place, its scale, mix, and connections. The alternative to sprawl is not a forced march back to the city but a hierarchy of places—each walkable and diverse—of various densities and in various locations.

The real challenges are quite different from those articulated by the advocates of sprawl. They are the tough choices and difficult political trade-offs that set a course for fundamentally different futures. Where and how much greenfield development is appropriate? Which transportation investments are best? How do we overcome local opposition to infill and redevelopment, and how do we prevent gentrification when such development becomes overly successful? How do we redirect job growth and investment into communities that need it the most? How do we ensure a sufficient supply of affordable housing and its appropriate location? These are some of the difficult questions that must be answered by a regional vision and a new model of development at the neighborhood scale.

History teaches us that when circumstances become ripe enough—and choices for the future become clear—it is possible to overcome vested interests or even bring them together in new coalitions. In the past few years, even as many vested interests have continued to battle in favor of the status quo, we have begun to see new coalitions arise in support of the Regional City and the ideas that underlie it as a concept.

This new set of coalitions goes by many names and represents many groups. Most often, it is called Smart Growth—a recognition that the question today is not whether growth occurs, but how. The New Urbanism is clearly at the heart of this movement, as are concepts such as "Sustainability," "Livable Communities," and "Metropolitanism." Whatever it is called, we believe that this movement is an important breakthrough in overcoming the institutional inertia and vested interests supporting sprawl and inequity.

Independently, many special-interest groups are joining this movement. Some environmental groups and developer institutions such as the Urban Land Institute (ULI) have embraced the concept of Smart Growth. Inner-city advocates have begun to recognize the regional context as a necessary part of their strategies. Inner-ring suburbs have begun to recognize that they have much in common with older urban areas. Many business leaders have come to see affordable housing and long-distance commuting as real workforce problems, and, after a half century of suburban growth, some developers have begun to value infill opportunities in city neighborhoods and maturing suburbs.

Beyond the organized groups is a general sense by the public at large that change must come. A recent national poll by the Pew Center on Civic Journalism showed that concerns about sprawl were now edging out the more traditional local issues such as education and crime. Surprisingly, those polled seemed to have the answer as well as the worry; of all respondents, 40 percent agreed that "local government should try to limit growth in less-developed areas and encourage growth only in areas that are already built up."

As this movement gathers momentum, new alliances are forming. By thinking broadly, a large range of constituencies—forward-thinking environmentalists, enlightened commercial interests, inner-city advocates, thoughtful elected officials— are finding common purpose. Regional City strategies unify environmentalists for open space with inner-city advocates for economic development. They link developers interested in infill projects with environmentalists seeking to increase transit use and reduce auto pollution. They help elected officials in inner cities and older suburbs work together to revive their communities. Even political partisanship is often left behind in these new alliances. At the state level, Democratic Governor Parris Glendening of Maryland and Republican Governor Christie Todd Whitman of New Jersey have often stood ideologically side by side to advocate for a change in our approach to metropolitan growth

As the movement toward the Regional City gains strength, it is important to remember its most basic tenets. They are the summation of three important trends in metropolitan growth that we identified at the beginning of this book—the emergence of the region, the maturation of the suburbs, and the revival of urban neighborhoods. Its direction is set by goals that are in some cases very simple and measurable: to save land, to reduce the need for cars, to use investments efficiently, to conserve resources, and to reduce pollution. In other cases, its goals are complex and immeasurable: to create more inclusive human habitats; to foster connections across age, income, and class; to support social equity and opportunity; and to create beauty in the human-made environment.

But its realization cannot be achieved on a piecemeal basis; nor can it be successful if it operates entirely "inside the box" of the local jurisdictions and the weak-kneed regional policy frameworks that have been used in the past two generations. For example, urban-revitalization strategies are not likely to succeed in the absence of a

regional strategy to combat sprawl and inequity—because we cannot truly overcome urban decay if the poor continue to be concentrated largely in urban neighborhoods. Similarly, the reshaping of older suburbs cannot take place in a vacuum. Efforts to reduce auto dependency everywhere and reduce environmental destruction on the fringe cannot succeed unless they are tied to regional transportation and open-space strategies and a new design ethic at the scale of neighborhoods. And the region—even if it is the basic economic unit in the global economy—cannot thrive unless it is consciously designed with strong physical and economic connections between the city, suburb, and countryside.

In other words, we cannot treat these different aspects of metropolitan life—poverty, inequity, sprawl, traffic congestion, loss of open space, and so forth—as if they are separate problems. We must weave them together into a cohesive whole that recognizes both the region and the neighborhood as the building blocks of our daily life.

Throughout this book, we have argued that America is changing—that sprawl no longer fits our population, our demographics, or our economy and that most of our nation would be better off with a new approach. What is remarkable about the movement that has emerged is that it shows a growing awareness across the board—among special-interest groups, politicians, businesses, and average people—that more of the same will not work.

The Regional City is not a utopian construct. Although it projects a future that is quite different from what would emerge from present trends, it does not assume that we must start all over again in creating regions and communities that work. Instead, it builds on the reality of the existing metropolis with all its complexities and contradictions. The Regional City has more to do with repair and revitalization of our existing urban and suburban environment than with creating new places.

We cannot provide a simple road map for the Regional City. Each place and time will produce a different process and a different combination of policies, designs, and laws. We have tried through examples to demonstrate a range of the possibilities. A strong governor such as Parris Glendening may use the statehouse to launch a new vision of growth. An old bit of legislation such as Oregon's UGB may be expanded into a more comprehensive regional vision. A regional planning agency such as the Puget Sound Regional Council or the Metropolitan Council in the Twin Cities may begin the process. Even litigation, such as that which led to New Jersey's fair housing, may put

in place a critical element of regionalism. Civic groups such as Envision Utah, the Regional Planning Association of New York, or the Commercial Club of Chicago may lead the way.

However this effort begins, the issues of the Regional City are arising irresistibly throughout the country. We are at a turning point in the life of metropolitan America. We have outgrown the old suburban model. Virtually all aspects of metropolitan life—our population, our economy, and our ecology—are changing at an accelerating rate. The question is not *w h e t h e r* our metropolitan areas are going to change but *h ow.* The status quo will lead us toward a continuing spiral of sprawl and inequity that will surely drag our society downward. American metropolitan regions can recapture their livability and maintain the precious qualities that we cherish in everyday life, even as they grow and change for the future.

APPENDIX

THE CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM

New Urbanism is a relatively recent entry into the long-standing debate about sprawl. Beginning in 1993, this movement has grown to include urban designers, architects, planners, environmentalists, economists, landscape designers, traffic engineers, elected officials, sociologists, developers, and community activists, to start an incomplete list. It represents the interests of a broad coalition of environmentalists concerned with farmland preservation, habitat enhancement, and air quality as well as inner-city advocates concerned with urban reconstruction and social equity. It weds these groups and interests with a design ethic that spans from region to building.

Put simply, the New Urbanism sees physical design—regional design, urban design, architecture, landscape design, and environmental design—as critical to the future of our communities. While recognizing that economic, social, and political issues are critical, the movement advocates attention to design. The belief is that design can play a critical role in resolving problems that governmental programs and money alone cannot.

The "new" in New Urbanism has several aspects. It is the attempt to apply the age-old principles of urbanism— diversity, street life, and human scale—to the suburb in the twenty-first century. It is also an attempt to resolve the apparent conflict between the fine grain of traditional urban environments and the large-scale realities of contemporary institutions and technologies. It is an attempt to update traditional urbanism to fit our modern lifestyles and increasingly complex economies.

The Charter of the New Urbanism specifically structures its principles at three telescoping scales: the region, the neighborhood, and the building. But perhaps most important is its assertion that the three scales are interconnected and interdependent. The Charter is simply twenty-seven principles organized by these three scales. The three elements of this book—the emerging region, the maturing suburb, and the revitalized urban neighborhood—each benefit from the principles articulated in the Charter.

The regional section of the Charter posits principles similar to those described in this book as the foundation of the Regional City. Its neighborhood-scale principles go to an urban-design philosophy that reasserts mixed-use, walkable environments. Its principles of design at the scale of the street and building seek to recreate places in which continuity and public space are reestablished for the pedestrian.

Urbanism advances the fundamental policies and goals of regionalism: that the region should be bounded, that growth should occur in more compact forms, that existing towns and cities should be revitalized, that affordable housing should be fairly distributed throughout the region, that transit should be more widespread, and that local taxes should be equitably shared. Each of these strategies is elaborated in this book as fundamental to the Regional City. Each of these strategies has become central to the larger agenda of New Urbanism.

This larger agenda gives clarity to the precarious balance at the regional scale between inner-city investments, suburban redevelopment, and the appropriate siting of greenfield development. This balance is one of the least understood aspects of New Urbanism and one of its most important. It addresses the question of where development is appropriate at the regional scale.

New Urbanism is best known (and often stereotyped) for its work at the neighborhood and town scale. At this scale the Charter's principles describe a new way of thinking about and structuring our cities and towns. Rather than the simplistic single-use zoning of most contemporary city plans, the Charter proposes a structure of three fundamental elements—neighborhoods, districts, and corridors. The Charter does not sidestep the scale of modern business and retailing. It simply calls for their placement within special districts when they are not appropriate to the scale and character of a neighborhood. In this taxonomy, the special-use district and the corridor (natural, auto, or transit) provide complements to and connections for the basic urban tissue—complete and walkable neighborhoods.

It is at the scale of the city block, its streets, and individual buildings that the test of integrating the auto and the need for more pedestrian-friendly environments is resolved. The Charter does not call for the simplistic elimination of the car, but instead challenges us to create environments that can simultaneously support walking, biking, transit, and the car. It outlines urban design strategies that reinforce human scale at the same time that they incorporate contemporary realities. Jobs no longer need to be isolated in office parks, but their integration into mixed-use neighborhoods calls for sensitive urban design. Differing types of housing no longer need buffers to separate and isolate them, but they do need an architecture that articulates a fundamental continuity within the neighborhood. Retail and civic uses do not need special zones, but they do need block, street, and building patterns that connect them to their community.

The Charter calls for an architecture that respects human scale, respects regional history and ecology, and respects the need for modesty and continuity within a physical community. Traditional architecture has much to teach us about these imperatives without prescribing nostalgic forms. And these imperatives can lead to the use of historical precedents, especially in infilling and redeveloping areas that have a strong and preestablished character. On the other hand, climate-responsive design that honors the history and culture of a place, when combined with new technologies, can lead to innovative rather than imitative design. The "seamless" integration of new and old, and a respect for existing urban patterns and scale are the imperatives of the Charter.

Too often, New Urbanism is misinterpreted simply as a conservative movement to recapture the past while ignoring the issues of our time. It is not understood as a complex system of policies and design principles that operate at multiple scales. To some, New Urbanism simply means tree-lined streets, porch-front houses, and Main Street retail—the reworking of a Norman Rockwell fantasy of small-town America, primarily for the rich.

But nostalgia is not what New Urbanism is actually proposing. Its goals and breadth are much grander, more complete and challenging. Many of the misconceptions are caused by focusing only on the neighborhood-scale prescriptions of the Charter without seeing how they are embedded in regional structures or understanding that those neighborhoods are supported by design principles at the street and building scale that attend more to environmental imperatives and urban continuities than to historical precedent.

The Charter shares its central thesis with that of this book—sprawl and social inequity must be addressed comprehensively. A fundamental tenet of the Charter speaks to the critical issue of affordability and social integration through the principles of economic diversity and inclusive neighborhoods. Economic diversity calls for a broad range of housing opportunities as well as uses within each neighborhood—affordable and expensive, small and large, rental and ownership, single and family housing. This is a very radical proposition. It implies more low-income and affordable housing in the rich suburbs at the same time that it advocates more middle-class opportunities in urban neighborhoods. It advocates mixing income groups and ethnic groups in a way that is very frightening to many communities. It is a principle that is rarely realized in practice and, given the current political climate, is almost always compromised. But it is a central tenet of the Charter and *The Regional City*—and it sets a direction quite different from most new development in the suburbs and many urban renewal programs.

New Urbanism outlines a set of design and policy principles that provide the means to reintegrate the segregated geography of our cities and suburbs. In so doing, it raises a complex set of issues. When does "economic diversity" in a distressed inner-city neighborhood become gentrification? What is the appropriate mix of inclusionary housing in a suburban town? These are tough questions that only have local answers. Gentrification may be mitigated by more affordable housing at the regional level, but what of the coherence and identity of the old neighborhood and its unique culture? There are no simple solutions. Perhaps the appropriate amount of economic diversity for a low-income neighborhood is reached when success doesn't mean moving out. Perhaps the definition for a rich neighborhood is when the schoolteacher and the fireman no longer have to drive in.

The Charter sees the physical design of a region—like the physical design of a neighborhood—as either fostering opportunities, sustainability, and diversity or inhibiting them. Such design cannot mandate a civil and vibrant culture, but it is a necessary framework. Much like healthy soil, the coherent design of a region and its neighborhoods can nurture a more equitable and robust society—or it can stunt them. This is not environmental determinism. It is simply an attempt to find a better fit between our current realities and their physical armature.

THE CHARTER

The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community building challenge.

We stand for the restoration of existing urban centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighborhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy.

We recognize that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems, but neither can economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health be sustained without a coherent and supportive physical framework.

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.

We represent a broad-based citizenry, composed of public and private sector leaders, community activists, and multidisciplinary professionals. We are committed to reestablishing the relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design.

We dedicate ourselves to reclaiming our homes, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, districts, towns, cities, regions, and environment.

We assert the following principles to guide public policy, development practice, urban planning, and design:

The Region: Metropolis, City, and Town

1. Metropolitan regions are finite places with geographic boundaries derived from topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, regional parks, and river basins. The metropolis is made of multiple centers that are cities, towns, and villages,

each with its own identifiable center and edges.

2. The metropolitan region is a fundamental economic unit of the contemporary world. Governmental cooperation, public policy, physical planning, and economic strategies must reflect this new reality.

3. The metropolis has a necessary and fragile relationship to its agrarian hinterland and natural landscapes. The relationship is environmental, economic, and cultural. Farmland and nature are as important to the metropolis as the garden is to the house.

4. Development patterns should not blur or eradicate the edges of the metropolis. Infill development within existing urban areas conserves environmental resources, economic investment, and social fabric, while reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas. Metropolitan regions should develop strategies to encourage such infill development over peripheral expansion.

5. Where appropriate, new development contiguous to urban boundaries should be organized as neighborhoods and districts, and be integrated with the existing urban pattern. Noncontiguous development should be organized as towns and villages with their own urban edges, and planned for a jobs/housing balance, not as bedroom suburbs.

6. The development and redevelopment of towns and cities should respect historical patterns, precedents, and boundaries.

7. Cities and towns should bring into proximity a broad spectrum of public and private uses to support a regional economy that benefits people of all incomes. Affordable housing should be distributed throughout the region to match job opportunities and to avoid concentrations of poverty.

8. The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence upon the automobile.

9. Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services,

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housing, and community institutions.

The Neighborhood, the District, and the Corridor

1. The neighborhood, the district, and the corridor are the essential elements of development and redevelopment in the metropolis. They form identifiable areas that encourage citizens to take responsibility for their maintenance and evolution.

2. Neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian friendly, and mixed use. Districts generally emphasize a special single use, and should follow the principles of neighborhood design when possible. Corridors are regional connectors of neighborhoods and districts; they range from boulevards and rail lines to rivers and parkways.

3. Many activities of daily living should occur within walking distance, allowing independence to those who do not drive, especially the elderly and the young. Interconnected networks of streets should be designed to encourage walking, reduce the number and length of automobile trips, and conserve energy.

4. Within neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types and price levels can bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.

5. Transit corridors, when properly planned and coordinated, can help organize metropolitan structure and revitalize urban centers. In contrast, highway corridors should not displace investment from existing centers.

6. Appropriate building densities and land uses should be within walking distance of transit stops, permitting public transit to become a viable alternative to the automobile.

7. Concentrations of civic, institutional, and commercial activity should be embedded in neighborhoods and districts, not isolated in remote, single-use complexes. Schools should be sized and located to enable children to walk or bicycle to them.

8. The economic health and harmonious evolution of neighborhoods, districts, and corridors can be improved through graphic urban design codes that serve as pre-

dictable guides for change.

9. A range of parks, from tot-lots and village greens to ballfields and community gardens, should be distributed within neighborhoods. Conservation areas and open lands should be used to define and connect different neighborhoods and districts.

The Block, the Street, and the Building

1. A primary task of all urban architecture and landscape design is the physical definition of streets and public spaces as places of shared use.

2. Individual architectural projects should be seamlessly linked to their surroundings. This issue transcends style.

3. The revitalization of urban places depends on safety and security. The design of streets and buildings should reinforce safe environments, but not at the expense of accessibility and openness.

4. In the contemporary metropolis, development must adequately accommodate automobiles. It should do so in ways that respect the pedestrian and the form of public space.

5. Streets and squares should be safe, comfortable, and interesting to the pedestrian. Properly configured, they encourage walking and enable neighbors to know each other and protect their communities.

6. Architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice.

7. Civic buildings and public gathering places require important sites to reinforce community identity and the culture of democracy. They deserve distinctive form, because their role is different from that of other buildings and places that constitute the fabric of the city.

8. All buildings should provide their inhabitants with a clear sense of location, weather, and time. Natural methods of heating and cooling can be more resource-efficient than mechanical systems.

9. Preservation and renewal of historic buildings, districts, and landscapes affirm the continuity and evolution of urban society.

PROJECT CREDITS

The illustrative plans shown in the color plates are selected from Calthorpe Associate's projects. There are many other available examples—so many, in fact, that the task of reviewing and selecting from others' works seemed overwhelming. This abundance is, of course, a blessing and a vindication that many of the ideas expressed here are becoming more and more commonplace. The plans are intended to illustrate certain ideas and possibilities. Some have been built, some have been modified before realization, some are still in process, some have been abandoned, and some (the case studies) were only intended to illustrate and educate. The selection criteria was to demonstrate the design philosophy in as many different scales and contexts as possible.

In addition, each project is a product of a large design and consultant team as well as an extensive community process. The community process in each case involved a hands-on workshop technique in which the participants were provided the tools to make their own designs, to struggle with the trade-offs, and to work as teams instead of as special interest groups. The credits for each project follow.

plate	project	date	client	team	illustrations
PORTLAND CLACKAMAS HILLSDALE ORENCO BEAVERTON	Region 2040	1994	Metro	**Calthorpe Associates** *(for all Portland projects)* *Shelley Poticha (PM), Joey Scanga,* *Matt Taecker, Sue Chan,* *Catherine Chang, Tom Ford*	C. Tolon, Mark Mack C. Tolon, Mark Mack C. Tolon, Mark Mack Mark Mack
UTAH REGIONAL PLANS	Envision Utah	2000	Coalition for Utah's Future	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joe DiStefano (PM)* **Fregonese Calthorpe Associates**	
PROVO	Intermodal Corridor Plan	1999	Provo City	**Calthorpe Associates** *Tim Rood (PM), Redger Hodges*	Thomas Prosek
WEST VALLEY CITY	Jordan River Neighborhood Plan	1999	West Valley City	**Calthorpe Associates** *Tim Rood (PM), David Blake,* *Kathryn Clark*	Thomas Prosek
CENTERVILLE	Town Center Plan	1999	Centerville City	**Calthorpe Associates** *Tim Rood (PM), David Blake,* *Kathryn Clark*	Thomas Prosek
SANDY/MIDVALE	Sandy/Midvale Transit Oriented Development Plan	1999	Sandy City and Midvale City	**Calthorpe Associates** *Tim Rood (PM), Danno Glanz* *Chad Johnston*	Thomas Prosek
GREY/GREENFIELDS BAY MEADOWS	Bay Meadows Specific Plan	1997	California Jockey Club	**Calthorpe Associates** *Bruce Fukuji (PM), Danno Glanz,* *Sue Chan, Matt Taecker, Clark Williams* **Fehr & Peers:** Traffic **Brian Kangas Foulk:** Civil Engineering **Ken Kay Associates:** Landscape Architecture	Thomas Prosek

(PM) Project Manager

plate	*project*	*date*	*client*	*team*	*illustrations*
STAPLETON	Stapleton Airport Redevelopment Plan	2000	Forest City Stapleton	**Calthorpe Associates** *Danno Glanz, Rodger Hodges, David Blake, Tim Rood* **BRW, Antero, Matrix:** Civil Engineering **EDAW:** Landscape Architecture **KA Architecture, Cox, Wolff Lyon, Urban Design Group, Johnson Fain:** Architecture	Stanley Doctor
MOFFETT FIELD	Vision Plan for NASA Ames	1998	NASA Ames	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga (PM), Danno Glanz, Hillary Bidwell* **Arcadia Land Company:** Developers **Fehr & Peers:** Traffic	Thomas Prosek
NORTHAMPTON	Northampton State Hospital Redevelopment Plan	2000	Community Builders	**Calthorpe Associates** *Matt Taecker (PM), Roger Hodges*	Thomas Prosek
HIGHLAND'S GARDEN VILLAGE	Highland's Garden Village	2000	Affordable Housing Development Corp.	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga (PM), Kathryn Clark, David Blake, Roger Hodges, Chad Johnston, Danno Glanz, Tom Ford* **Lee Weintraub:** Landscape Architecture **OZ Architecture:** Architecture **Civitas:** Zoning and Entitlements	
THE CROSSINGS	The Crossings Neighborhood Plan	1995	TPG Development Corporation	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga (PM), Matt Taecker (PM, Phase 1), Danno Glanz, Tom Ford, Cleve Brakefield, Clark Williams* **HST Architects:** Apartment Architecture **Guzzardo and Associates, Gary Strand:** Landscape Architecture **Sandis Humber Jones:** Civil Engineering	
UNIVERSITY AVE.	University Avenue Strategic Plan	1996	City of Berkeley	**Calthorpe Associates** *Shelly Poticha (PM), Danno Glanz, Pietro Calogero, Catherine Chang, Isabelle Duvivier* **Bay Area Economics:** Market Analysis	

(PM) Project Manager

Project Credits

plate	project	date	client	team	illustrations
AGGIE VILLAGE	First Street & Aggie Village Master Plan and Design Objectives	1993	University of California at Davis	**Calthorpe Associates** *Philip Erickson (PM), Joey Scanga* **Bob Segar, Campus Planner:** Residential Masterplan **Pyramid Construction:** Architect/Builder **Mark Dziewulski Architect:** Retail Architect **Fulcrum Capital:** Retail Developer	
ST. CROIX	The St. Croix Valley Development Design Study	2000	Metropolitan Council	**Calthorpe Associates** *Tim Rood (PM), Diana Marsh,* *Joe DiStefano, Ariella Granett* **Urban Advantage:** Photo Simulations	Steve Price
ONTARIO MOUNTAIN AVENUE	Mountain Village Specific Plan	1997	City of Ontario, Ontario Redevelopment Agency	**Calthorpe Associates** *Matt Taecker (PM), David Blake,* *Roger Hodges, Sue Chan,* *Danno Glanz, Bruce Fukuji*	Thomas Prosek
PALO ALTO	Palo Alto Plan	1994	City of Palo Alto	**Calthorpe Associates** *Shelley Poticha, Catherine Chang,* *Tom Ford, Joe Scanga,* *Elizabeth Gourley* **Economic & Planning Systems:** Fiscal Analysis **MIG:** Public Involvement and Planning	
ISSAQUAH	Issaquah Highlands	2000	Port Blakely Communities	**Calthorpe Associates** *David Blake (PM), Kathryn Clark* *Shunji Suzuki, John Beutler* *John Moynahan, Chad Johnston* **Fehr and Peers:** Traffic **David Evans and Associates, Inc.:** Civil Engineering	Thomas Prosek
SE ORLANDO	Southeast Orlando Development Plan Development Guidelines and Standards	1997	City of Orlando	**Calthorpe Associates** *David Blake, Joey Scanga,* *Clark Williams,* *Philip Erickson (PM)* *Shelley Poticha (PM)* **Glatting Jackson Anglin** **Lopez Rinehart, Inc.:** Transportation **Economic & Planning Systems:** Market and Fiscal Analysis **Market Perspectives:** Market Analysis **WBQ Engineering:** Civil Engineering **Lotspeich and Associates, Inc.:** Land Use, Law	

(PM) Project Manager

plate	*project*	*date*	*client*	*team*	*illustrations*
URBAN REVITALIZATION					
HOLYOKE/ CHURCHILL	Churchill Neighborhood Revitalization Plan	1999	Holyoke Housing Authority The Community Builders	**Calthorpe Associates** *Matt Taecker (PM), Danno Glanz, Shelly Poticha* **Dietz & Co.:** Architecture **Denig Design:** Landscape Architecture	Dietz Architecture
CURTIS PARK	Curtis Park Hope VI Housing	2000	Housing Authority of the City and County of Denver Integral Development Corporation	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga (PM), Chad Johnston, Danno Glanz* **Abo-Copeland:** Architect of Record **Wong Strauch Architecture:** Architecture **THK Associates, Inc.:** Landscape Architecture **Martin & Martin:** Civil Engineering	Thomas Prosek
COATESVILLE	Neighborhood Revitalization Plan	1998	Housing Authority of the County of Chester Pennsylvania The Community Builders	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga (PM), Danno Glanz, Matt Taecker, Clark Williams* **Kelly/Maiello Inc.:** Architecture	
HORNER	Horner Neighborhood Plan	1995	Chicago Housing Authority	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga, Matt Taecker, Tom Ford* **The Habitat Co.:** Development Consultants **Solomon Cordwell Buenz & Associates:** Architecture	
NEWPORT	North End Revitalization Plan	1999	City of Newport Rhode Island	**Calthorpe Associates** *Matt Taecker (PM), John Beutler, John Moynahan, Danno Glanz, Tom Ford* **Newport Collaborative Architects:** Architecture	
NOMA	North of Massachusetts Avenue (NoMa) Redevelopment Plan	2000	Cultural Development Corporation	**Calthorpe Associates** *Joey Scanga* **Urban Design Associates:** Urban Planning and Architecture **Economic Research Associates:** Market and Fiscal Analysis	Urban Design Associates

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