Essential elements of smart growth

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Smart growth?

What a difference a day makes. I remember that look that we used to get, 13 or 14 years ago, when we would talk about smarter development or livable communities. You know that look. It's the gaze you get when you're describing the appearance of a UFO you just saw. But right here in this room today, 400 people have seen the same doggoned UFO — how about that?

What a difference a day makes. Not too terribly long ago, the planning director of a major metropolitan U.S. city turned to me in frustration after a roundtable and said, "No, Victor, we can't plan yet because we don't know what's going to happen."

But now we're talking seriously about smart growth in your state.

New York is now in a leadership position in the national conversation about how to make livable communities. And this conversation is taking place in the context of a terrible emergency, in which we are coping with harm to our environment, it's getting harder to move about, and in which we have concerns with efficient delivery of municipal services, infrastructure, and our tax base.

We have also been systematically transforming the continent in a way that is destroying our sense of place.

What kind of growth do you mean, sir?

Growth must be to blame, right? Sure, everybody knows that growth makes things worse rather than better, right? No, it's not true! At least it doesn't have to be true, and if we respond to the emergency intelligently, we can restore our human sense of place and at the same time restore our environment.

Now, I come to you from a place, South Florida, which is grappling with one of the greatest ecological emergencies ever recorded in the history of the planet. The region where the Everglades is dying, this is a place where rapid

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growth has transformed the landscape very, very quickly in this auto-oriented century into forgettable, unworkable sprawl. How fast did this occur? As fast as we built the highways, we altered the landscape around them. One can almost blink in Florida or California or Texas and see the before-and-after picture unfold before you, because we have grown so very rapidly and so poorly. It's no wonder at all that this growth has taken place in such an uncivilized way, given the haste with which it's been carried out. Like elsewhere in the nation, we also grew in a way that, with all the best intentions, was incredibly auto-centric. And like the rest of the nation we are now, of course, stuck in traffic.

We are also in a crisis of confidence about what kind of identity we'd like our country to have and what kind of legacy we will leave behind for our children. Are we creating, for example, the neighborhoods that are worth remembering and returning to, in the way that Lieutenant Governor Donohue described earlier today? Lots of people don't think so. And, in fact, the ranks of the dissatisfied have been growing rapidly. I recall a cartoon from Forbes that even seems a little bit quaint now. In the cartoon, a fellow is halfway through putting up a sign that says, "Coming Soon, The..." and there are two fellows watching, waiting, who've already got a protest poster part way finished, too, that reads "STOP The..." Even when we don't yet know what the new development will be, it seems we know we're against it. Whatever it is.

NIMBY is a word that has entered common usage, meaning Not In My Backyard, but now it's giving way to BANANA, which means, Build Absolutely Nothing Anywhere Near Anything. And NOTE (Not Over There Either). And, the latest, NOPE (Not On Planet Earth).

So, even NIMBY seems a little quaint. People are very angry about the deteriorating transformation that's been taking place and they're complaining about it. And that's why, at least in theory, they're sending people like you to conferences like this.

Study the Past

Now, the good news is that we know how to fix the problem. It is not at all mysterious. In fact, the old urbanism tells us quite a bit about how to create the new one. The dialogue is going on everywhere about returning to more intelligent or lasting patterns of development. The answers lie in looking back at development patterns which proved extremely workable and adaptable over the 5,000-year human experience in community building, and which have only very recently been discarded.

Now, why do I think that's important for New York? For one thing, because from Cold Spring Harbor, to Forest Hills Gardens, to Chautauqua, to Rockefeller Center, you have some of the continent's best examples of workable, livable, walkable, smart-growth communities. Here in New York you have fine stuff to study. Florida, Texas and California should be so lucky. You're able to take a measuring tape and camera to those places you have right here on your doorstep to study the essential principles of smart growth. You are entrusted with stewardship of these national treasures, and are under some obligation to learn from them.

Town and Country

Clearly part of this rediscovery is centered on our gradual loss of the concept of town and "town-not," or town-and-country. Our forebears built communities that were relatively compact, efficient, mixed use, walkable, and diverse, and which were the economic engines for whole larger territories and regions, and were connected by sensible transportation networks.

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Around these towns were the farmlands and wilderness, each quite distinct from the other. What humankind began to do, really in the last 50 years or so, was to undo the balance of that system — making it into one in which you can no

longer find "town" and "town-not."

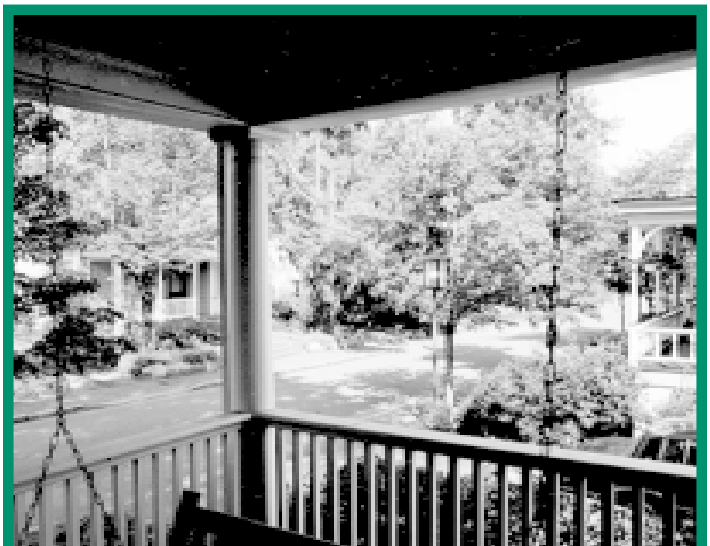
In places like Long Island, some municipalities' zoning, for example, contains one of those canon laws, where each lot must be acre-sized or even five acres big to be legal, and it is unthinkable to blend residential and commercial uses. These are "lots too large to mow, too small to plow," as the saying goes. But plowing and mowing aren't the motivations, of course. This large-lot, single-use zoning was put in place in an attempt to discourage riffraff, theoretically stem the tide of traffic (a theory which met with no success) and to push away the neighbors to theoretically create privacy.

What we now know is when you systematically build according to the detached and isolated large-lot technique, you don't preserve isolation at all. And this certainly makes it hard to grow communities that function well. Once this pattern spreads all across the horizon, the sense of living in the country is gone, plus a car trip is required to satisfy each and every need. For example, to the right is a subdivision of homes on large lots, which we know generate 10 to 12 car trips per day, per household. You can see that one road coming out of the subdivision, which all the vehicles will use. Do you still wonder why we're stuck in traffic?

A subdivision of homes on large lots can generate 10 to 12 car trips per day, per household.

The public realm

To be smart about growth, we need to learn to live in more compact ways. The key thing we have to grasp is the idea that what is between buildings matters just as much as what is inside them. Now, that doesn't sound hard to understand, but that simple principle was really forgotten for a long time. This whole notion of the public realm adding value between our homes was ignored during 40 or 50 years of industry research focused on the interior of the dwelling. Questions like how the floor plan is laid out, how



Both of these pictures would look the same on a zoning map, however, they are very different, and the difference is design, not land use.

the spaces inside supposedly adapt to lifestyles, and how the appliances work began to eclipse questions like "What kind of street?" And you can detect this when you open the newspaper on Saturday or Sunday and look at the real estate ads. They'll have the little floor plans with the diagonal walls, to help you visualize the cozy inside of your home, whether there is a Jacuzzi and a "bonus room," and so forth. The problem, of course, is that when one ignores the stuff between buildings, there won't be an anchor point of community.

Design matters most

For example, on the previous page are two communities: The one on the left has a skinny street with single-family detached houses at a given density of so many units per acre. The one on the right is also the same number of units per acre. So in a crude way, to a zoning official concerned only with land use, they would both look the same. And yet they are very different. The difference is design, not land use. How could these be the same on a map? Well, the difference is, of course, things like the design vocabulary of that public realm have been forgotten in the picture to the right.

For example, in the picture on the left, the grammar of front and back is applied in the design of the house and the way it's situated on its lot. In the one on the right, the front porch and the front door, once always enshrined on the fronts of our homes, has given way to something else we wish to celebrate as the primary important feature in our lives — storage for the car.

Now, my friend and developer, Vince Graham, who has made money by figuring this out before his competitors, has a good principle for this public realm idea, which may be the smartest thing I've ever heard said about real estate. He says, "If as a developer you base your marketing on the idea that you are selling isolation, then every time you add something it takes away from what you're selling. But if you market community, instead of isolation, every time you add something it makes the neighborhood more complete and adds to what you're selling." And that is the fundamental reason why after more and more of these subdivisions get built, the folks who were moving happily out to the former country in Phase I turn out in force to oppose development in Phase IV.

This is not just a Sunbelt phenomenon. We see this in places where they build with tile roofs and plant palm trees and we see this in places where they build with shingles and plant maple trees. It's not about architectural style — it's more basic than that. The public realm is crucial in every climate and every culture.

So here's smart growth reminder number one: land use is important, but design matters a lot more than the use inside the building.

Detailed plans, not just zoning diagrams

The design of the place will determine how we might use it and reuse it. If, for example, you take a look at the location pictured below left, from down on the ground you know immediately what it is. However, if you look at it on the official map, the color-coded Future Land Use map or the zoning map for that particular municipality, you will find that it is painted in a bubble diagram way exactly the same color as the place on the next page. Which one looks like smart growth to you? Which one do you suspect turns out to be more valuable and more significant to the local tax base? It's the one on the right. Which one do you suspect has allowed growth and

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change to be accommodated over a hundred years or longer? It's the one on the right. Which one has the higher sales per square foot? Which one is better for transit? Which one is more efficient for delivery of municipal services? It's the one on the right in every case.

Don't think you're done when you've made a color-coded zoning map. In fact, we all know this because back in school they made us study history and many of you probably remember that planning and design and architecture were once one discipline. At the time when Oglethorpe started Savannah, Georgia, for example, he had a plan already — a design idea. The essential genius of Savannah, the squares that you all remember from *Forrest Gump* or *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, was already in place. Savannah had those squares and a precise idea for blocks and streets, places for civic buildings, key vistas, how the land meets the water, and so forth. All of these things it had when it was still basically a single-family, detached, large-lot, subdivision! Yes, that is how it began, and then it evolved within that essential framework.

We built with those kinds of principles in mind from the founding of the Republic and before, and right into the twentieth century up until the 1940s. For example, the plans by John Nolen, a great city municipal planner and important figure in the 1920s, featured not the bubble diagram color-coded map, but instead real plans with streets and blocks and civic spaces and sites for schools and a design idea for how the pieces go together.

In what may be the pinnacle of American city planning, the 1909 plan for Chicago by Daniel Burnham, we see those ideas at the close-up neighborhood level. But we also see design ideas built into the plan at the scale of the region — the notion of town and country, greenspace, interconnected hamlets, villages, towns, and cities with a reasonable regionally thought-through transportation network. It's too bad this part of Burnham's big-picture plan wasn't implemented as aggressively as the Loop and the waterfront.

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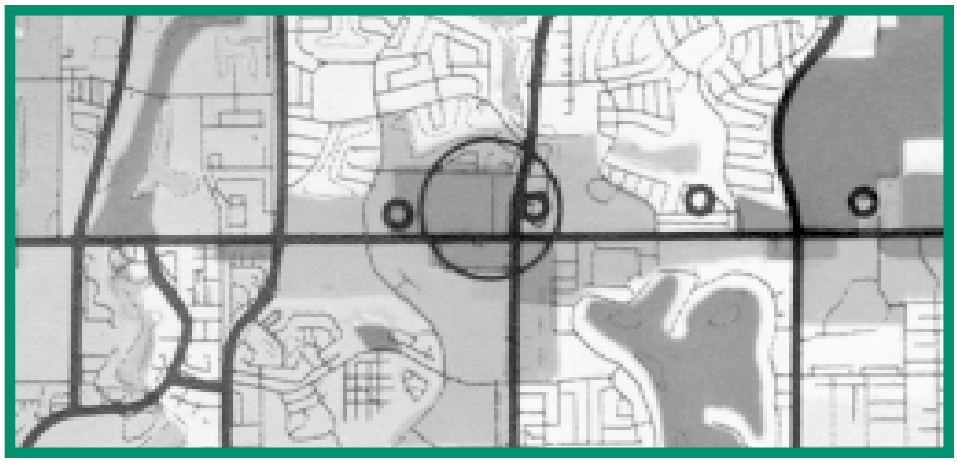
Now by contrast, to the right is the Future Land Use Map from the Future Land Use Element of the Comprehensive Development Master Plan for Metropolitan Miami-Dade County following Florida's Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act of 1985. Whew! The F.L.U.M. from the F.L.U.E. of the C.D.M.P., according to the L.G.C.P.A.

Instead of that design vocabulary we saw previously — streets, blocks, boulevards, parks, squares, greenbelts, designs for how the land meets the water, civic buildings — we have, in this Future Land Use plan, well, zones. We have a color for commercial — that's the red. We have a color for multifamily — that's the orange. We have yellow for single-family detached residential, and so forth, on and on. See how the vocabulary changed? Now we're talking about zones, "RU-this," and "BU-that." But wait: there are more layers.

That circle in the middle is an "Activity Center." And so we wondered what that means. So we went out there to take a picture at that intersection — and it turns out the key "activities" are driving and road widening. That's the way it's set up. (See picture below.)



The F.L.U.M. from the F.L.U.E. of the C.D.M.P., according to the L.G.C.P.A.

Because if you think you're done planning, when all you've successfully accomplished is the segregation of land uses into their own individual zones, separated like asteroids, you have made it a self-fulfilling prophecy that everyone will drive from one function to another, every single time, every single day.

Separating uses, fostering traffic congestion

Now, before you jump to conclusions, let me clarify: I'm not suggesting that everybody has to give up their cars and never drive again. But with 12 car trips per day per household, when only maybe four or four and a half are attributable to work trips, you have to ask, what's wrong with this picture? What's wrong is that every time we want an ice cream cone, or a popsicle, or to take a kid to daycare or to a piano lesson, or to buy a newspaper, or to rent a video, or to get a quart of milk on Sunday morning, we do so behind the wheel of our cars. We strap ourselves into 6,000 pounds of steel body armor, and go out on the strip.

It's designed that way. We fight our way out onto the jammed arterial road network where we elbow for space among the other cars. We circulate around and we make a series of arduous left turns. We turn into the parking lot and circle more looking for the space closest to the door. And eventually we find one, maybe farther from the ice cream cone than our home was.

You can see that same pattern just about everywhere continent-wide, so we know this is not a regional thing or an architectural-style thing. We know this is something that has to do much more fundamentally with the way we are operating the culture and the way we're planning our settlements.

The circle in the middle of the map above is called an "Activity Center" — and it turns out the key "activities" are driving and road widening.

Guaranteeing nobody can walk there

In certain Sunbelt states, for good measure, we require a 72-inch-concrete-masonry-unit-and-stucco wall separating any land uses — commercial from residential, workplace from school; in Florida there always seems to be a ditch or canal too, just to make it even harder to walk from one land use to the other! Sometimes there is lip service given to connectivity, but the details are darkly humorous. In the case pictured below, they actually included a sidewalk along the back of the grocery store, which we call the "dumpster walk." No human being has ever been spotted in this particular habitat. No human being ever will be spotted there, because if there was someone walking on the dumpster walk, he or she would be sunburned, embarrassed, a little bored, and maybe a little frightened. Certainly they'll not get any of the things pedestrians crave.

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What went wrong

How did things get to this condition? We did it on purpose, as a nation, although I think there were a lot of good intentions mixed in there with the bad ones. We were told "don't worry about it, you can drive more, it gets cheaper by the mile." That advertising slogan was brought to you by Ethyl Corporation in the same 1955 issue of *Collier's* in which they praised the Eisenhower administration for the enactment of the national interstate highway system.

We were told about the city of the future, which would be made of "plastic, metal and unbreakable glass" and would be "a city of science, of atomic power, of space travel, and of high culture" — that's the 21st century they were talking about. Frank Lloyd Wright, a brilliant person in many ways, essentially said, "Don't worry about it, plan for one acre per family, we don't need cities anymore — and if the traffic gets too bad we'll just fly from place to place." Just like George Jetson.

All of this was presented with an absolutely straight face — they just

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Americans conducted a massive experiment on an absolutely unprecedented scale, and they transformed an entire continent by building the interstate highway system. The highways worked like straws, sucking the economic power of the city out into the hinterland, and we moved our population behind the wheel.

didn't know it wasn't going to work. In the ad picturing GM's Futurama exhibit in the 1939 World's Fair, Norman Bel Geddes predicted that in the city of tomorrow, "Pedestrians, local traffic, express traffic, each will be given a clear path by 1960." But today four of every five miles are stop-and-go — because they haven't built that big road system yet. The ad was for Shell gasoline.

And so Americans conducted a massive experiment on an absolutely unprecedented scale, and transformed an entire continent. Now, previous cultures have done things like build pyramids, or the Coliseum, or the Panama Canal, or what have you. We built the interstate highway system. And it was really something to behold. We built it just as shown in the Futurama model. The example above left happens to be downtown Miami, but many American cities look like this now.

We built it, and we'll keep paying for it

The highways worked like straws, sucking the economic power of the city out into the hinterland, and we moved our population behind the wheel. Our leaders reassured us that more road-widenings and freeways would keep up with the demand. "Well, if the traffic gets too bad, we'll just build our way out of the problem." Of course, as we now know, that's not a sustainable model.

Does anybody want to guess how much the interchange pictured above to the right cost, where two interstates converge? Well, that little traffic-handling machine and its approach roads have so far cost $1 billion dollars — well, $990,000,000, but they're not finished yet — a billion! I am told a typical little off ramp might cost seven or eight million dollars, a cloverleaf $25,000,000 or more, and these numbers are going up all the time. And when you get to the big stuff, where freeways converge, they cost even more. How can one possibly say there's no money for education, yet spend our money like this?

Now, the bricks-and-mortar upfront cost and logistical challenge of building these highways in the first place was a big deal. To get it done, industrious Americans had to really get behind it and put their shoulders to the wheel, working as a team, employing all that had been learned about getting organized to win the Second World War. And being can-do Americans we figured out a way. But now we face the maintenance and the gradual replacement of these facilities that are now approaching 50 years old in many cases, one by one, over the next generation. The system is going to prove to be enormously more expensive to maintain than it was to create in the first place.

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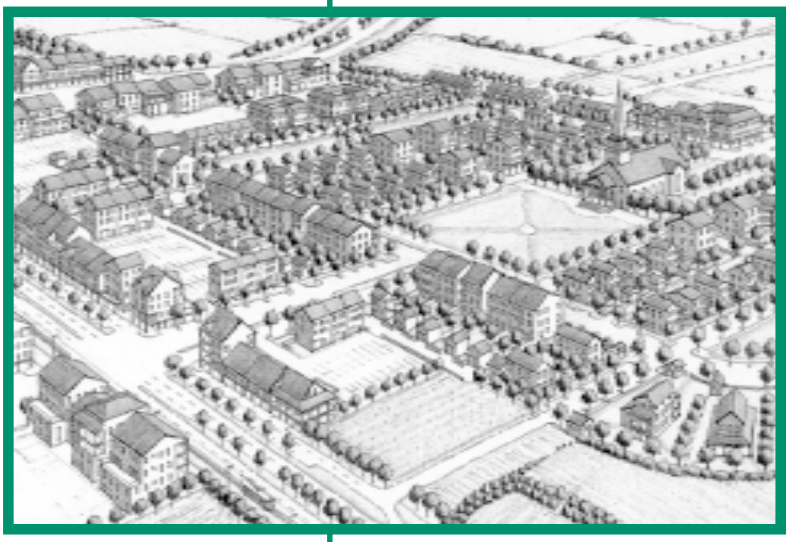
There are some other downsides to all this driving madness, like going bonkers as a society, killing one another over traffic. Road planners have neglected pedestrians, to the point where in Florida we have official number-one status for killing more pedestrians than in any other state (an embarrassing distinction). People literally fight over parking. Nationally there's a buzz about something our grandparents never heard of called "road rage." How did it come to this?

You must visualize

Now, if we're going to go do something about all this, you have to get people who can draw involved. Visions are visual — you can't do it with words. How many of you as planning directors could really pass this test: Suppose a citizen from your community walks into your planning department and leans over the counter and asks, "Could you show me a picture of what this community is supposed to be like in 10 or 12 years?" Could you sketch it, even on the back of an envelope? Does your community have an idea of what it is trying to become, or have you just got a "planning process?" If your municipality only has a process and no (visualized) vision, then you can't guarantee the results. Draw alternative pictures, and ask yourselves, where would you prefer to live, in the picture above or below?

Lots of communities now have comprehensive plans and they have goals, objectives and policies. Lots of citizen groups, including grassroots organizations, work very hard at drafting charters of principles and so on. I endorse that. I think you should articulate your standards in writing, but don't stop there. Because with the words, "Let's preserve this small hometown feeling," you get one picture in your head and I get another picture in my head. But what if I draw it and show you and say, "Do you mean like this?" You can correct my drawing and we work back and forth until we can describe physically what the neighborhoods we want will be like. Only when we do that can we truly have smart growth.

Now, the term "smart growth" is all over the media, and is used imprecisely, so I wish to focus on just one piece of it in particular, the physical way of how we design the human habitat.



Where would you prefer to live?

Neighborhoods: The essential component

Smart growth uses neighborhoods as the basic planning increment. That's where you should start, and conventions for this already exist. The neighborhood model has been evolving in drawings for four hundred years and we have a pretty good idea how it works. Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit," for example, is the classic diagram of a neighborhood with a mix of uses, connected streets, and a center and edge. His neighborhood model was based in part on the idea that schools — elementary schools — are the glue that holds a community together. So the neighborhood unit embraced a reasonable population in walking distance of one elementary school. It's been reincarnated as the TND, or traditional neighborhood development, now long since published in the standard manuals. The TND features, for example, an average five-minute walk from center to edge.

With smart growth, you know when you've arrived in a neighborhood and when you've reached the heart of it because it has a recognizable center and edge.

Great neighborhoods: Five basic principles

Is this rocket science? Is this hard to figure out? No. It really boils down to five key things. There are lots of other details of course, but here are the five key things you'll find in the great neighborhoods of yesterday and the great neighborhoods of tomorrow:

First, you know when you've arrived in a neighborhood and you know when you've reached the heart of it because it has a recognizable center and edge. It's limited in size. The neighborhood doesn't go on forever across the horizon. It's of a size at which people can come to identify with their neighbors, and that they can walk across, about five minutes' walk from center to edge.

Second, a great neighborhood has a good mix of land uses. It's not a complete neighborhood if it only has one type of development. And so we expect to see in a real neighborhood a diversity of activities. There can be residences, workplaces, shopping, and venues for entertainment, for example, all in the same neighborhood. There should be a mix in the housing as well, including a variety of sizes and prices and types of dwellings. Wouldn't it be nice if the young pharmacist from Long Island could come back to the neighborhood where he grew up after college, which is to say, wouldn't it be nice if there were more there than just a large house he can't afford on a large lot he doesn't need? Strong neighborhoods can include grand houses but also little cottages, urbane apartments, row houses, or flats above shop fronts, plus accessory apartments (or, to be politically incorrect, "granny flats") so that there is housing suitable for all kinds of people, from executives to student musicians and everyone in between.

Third is an integrated network of walkable streets. The first key word here is network (not necessarily "grid"). The streets need to connect to one another. This is a basic thing, and I realize it's opposite of what many real estate people have become comfortable with as they have invested so much over the years in marketing gated, cul-de-sac pod developments. Leaders across the board in every discipline from fire chiefs, to police chiefs, to security consultants, to transportation, to sociology, all say it's just not working to have all those streets that go nowhere. Traffic flows best and least harmfully in a network of blocks and streets, not in a hierarchy that goes from culs-de-sac up to collector roads to arterials and so on. That so-called "dendritic" (or branching, tree-like) pattern is one reason why the key streets of contemporary

suburbs are so jammed with traffic.

Now, connectedness doesn't mean every single street has to connect to a big regional road, and it doesn't mean a relentless Cartesian grid. It means creating the kind of livable street network that adapts to topography, just as in many older New York communities. Take a look at the plan of Chautauqua. It's a great example of connectedness.

The other key word is walkable. Design for pedestrians is not extra, but essential.

Fourth is the designation of special sites for civic purposes, like the square at the heart of the community, the park, the greenbelt at the edge and the civic buildings located in positions of prominence. The design should show how civic buildings will be given the importance they need as anchors in the community, as permanent elements. For example, you might position a community hall or a library where it terminates a vista down the street or anchors a public square. The same kind of geometric emphasis can be afforded a place of worship or a post office or a daycare center, to name a few examples.

Fifth is assembling the larger picture from the neighborhood unit. A village is one neighborhood in the countryside; a town is a grouping of several neighborhoods; Paris is also a city of neighborhoods based on the same model. So are the great suburbs from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as are the New Urbanist ones being created today. When you begin to think of that bigger picture, lots of good things become possible.

For example, where neighborhoods come together they can begin to afford things that one neighborhood by itself might not support, like a town center. For example, the little main street shown below is just one block long and is shared by two neighborhoods. With that main street, things get even more diverse, even more walkable, and even more interesting and economically potent.

Resuming work on existing towns

Realize that while smart growth is going to occur in rural communities, on farmland, on the working landscape, and in new suburbs, we need to

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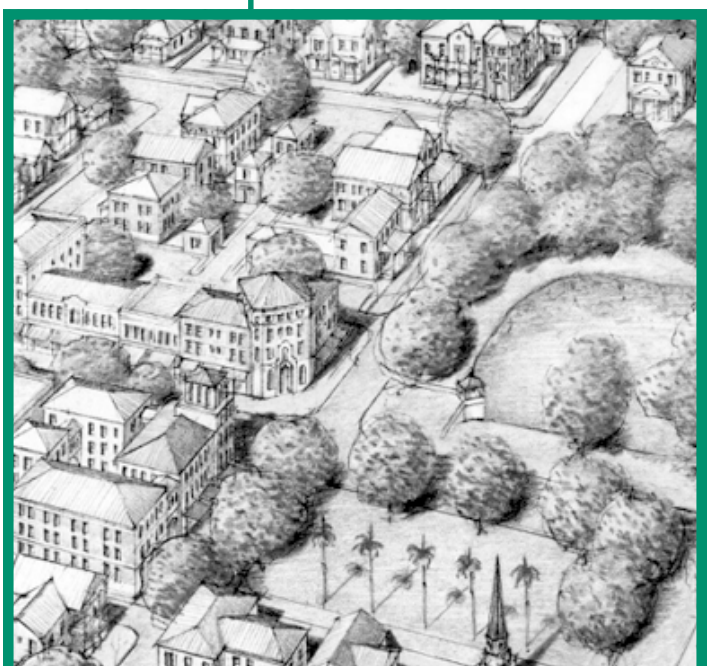


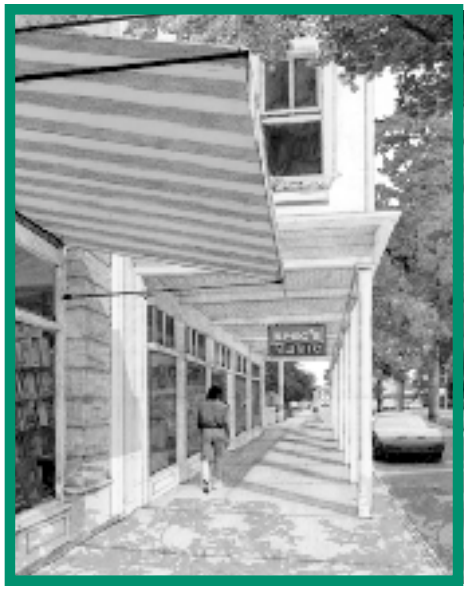
focus our emphasis in applying smart growth principles on the settlements we've already begun. That's priority number one.

Are our communities finished? No. There's lots of lost space to be captured in our communities. You need to stop thinking in terms of maps and start thinking in terms of movies; think like advertisers do about "before-and-after" pictures like the ones shown below. You'll see that our communities are far from complete and that there's plenty of work to do and room to build. The civic art of building quality streets is not finished on our rights-of-way, and in some cases civic art has been downright undone. Our generation gets to repair those situations. Given all the lost space in our cities, the land to accommodate growth has been there all along.

New cottages with front porches are based on the great building types of old Port Royal, S.C.

Small really is beautiful

Can you apply these principles even in old small towns? If Port Royal can do it, so can you. The proud old town of Port Royal is practically in the middle of nowhere in the South Carolina Lowcountry. They have only 3,800 people and a tiny municipal budget. Yet they have implemented a smart growth plan. It includes an official map called "The Idealized Build-out" that actually shows where streets should be created, where homesites should be filled in, and how their main street is to be reestablished. And they're building that vision rapidly, right now. They have, for example, new cottages with front porches like the ones shown above that are based on the great building types of old Port Royal. They're doing economic development at an almost unheard-of scale: a small one!



Our communities are far from complete, and there's plenty of work to do and room to build.

For example, there was a little white building, just a shack, sitting along the edge of their new town hall square. All of its windows were painted over; the front door was bolted shut. We wondered, walking by there one day, "What's that noise, what's going on inside this little shack?" One of the locals answered, "Oh, that's the ice cream churn." It turns out that inside was a little family business that makes ice cream for area restaurants. They had a handful of employees inside that boarded-up building churning superb homemade ice cream.

Well, it turns out that there are 800 people a day who go in and out of the town hall across the street. And so, urged on by the town, Plums Ice Cream Company now sells sandwiches, ice cream, coffee, and so forth, to people coming to and from the square everyday. I am told they now make good money on sales in that location in addition to their wholesale business, without adding a single employee. This is

"small is beautiful" economic development of the kind we all hope for, and all it really took was permission. Now it's the neighbors' favorite thing to walk over and get a cone at the little Plums store, but the impact is more profound: a town is coming back to life.

Greenfield sites

Neighborhood design principles should also be applied in new development. In Iowa City, you can see where a large-scale open space park has been integrated with a new village on a hilltop, as one design shown below. The new neighborhood is to be in many ways much like the great neighborhoods of older Iowa City, a very sophisticated college town. By design, they're integrating more affordable residences along with the market-rate ones.

In Iowa City, a large-scale open space park has been integrated with a new village on a hilltop as one design.

Mixing uses, by design

On the following page is a picture taken in Charlotte, N.C. You see a single-family house, and just nine feet away is an old corner store building. In fact, it is now operated as a tavern, right there in the neighborhood. This turns out to be one of the most desirable neighborhoods in town, the neighborhood that many home buyers would choose first if they have options about where they're going to move. And if they can't find one of the grand Victorian houses in that neighborhood at a price they can afford, they then turn reluctantly to the other neighborhoods in Charlotte. And yet, this scene is truly "mixed use," to the point where there's a commercial establishment corner store nine feet away from one of the houses, and the people who live nearby have an astonishingly functional privilege, which is that they can

> ' Are our communities finished? No. ... Given all the lost space in our cities, the land to accommodate growth has been there all along. '
>
> — Victor Dover

Design is the key factor, much more so than land use, in creating mixed-use neighborhoods. This store (the building on the right) is in a desirable neighborhood...

walk down a real sidewalk and stop in and buy a newspaper and a drink and visit with their neighbors. Think how many car trips are being eliminated or shortened on a daily basis by this little thing.

But if I turn to a town planner or homeowners association leader in many places and said, "I think you should put a little dab of red in the yellow on the land use map in your neighborhood, because a little commercial in your residential area would be good for you," you'd string me up, right? Almost nobody would go for that. The difference is design.

Note the position of the building, the storefront next to the sidewalk, the shade from the overhanging balcony, the tame traditional architecture, and the even tamer parking lot (it's in the back). Note that it's narrow along the street but two stories tall, and helps define the street and the whole intersection as a real space.

But if I said in the name of flexibility that this little thing needed to be set back an extra 60 feet, and you need to have a bunch of parking and the parking had to be in the front, and it had to be one story tall instead of two, and you need to have a big red plastic sign on the roof across the front, then I would be talking about a very different product. Suddenly this would not be such an amenity for the neighborhood anymore. Now I'm talking about something that people actively object to when it invades their neighborhood. (See photo below.) Design is the key factor, much more so than land use. Yet over the years, technicians have trained many members of the public to expect that good zoning should separate land uses into individual pods while design is a matter of taste — so we have regulations that are hindrances to good design yet demand separated uses and low densities, as if that is somehow better.

Similarly, we also encounter this kind of objection to mixing price levels of homes within the same neighborhood. It is taken on faith that somehow the more affordable dwellings will bring down the value of prices of the expensive ones. And that doesn't have to be true at all. For example, in Wyndcrest, in suburban Maryland, outside of Washington, in a design by DPZ, you'll see a little green, framed by $270,000 to $300,000 houses cheek-by-jowl with rowhouses that sell for $77,000. And if you go there and take a look, you'll see that the rowhouses have just as much dignity as the expensive detached ones. In fact, the rowhouses have brick on the front and look all the more permanent.

How do they get this variety? First, they in effect just lowered the per-unit land cost by letting some little lots occur in the same neighborhood with large ones. Pretty simple. And they decided one gets a garage, but another just has a place to

...where as this store is something that people actively object to when it invades their neighborhood.

add its garage later if the owners want. And some have more square footage than others. And some are three stories tall and others are two. And bingo, they've got a $77,000 house and a $300,000 house in the same neighborhood, and the world did not come to an end. In fact, it all sold well and quickly, too.

So we see that variety in prices is possible, by design. Why does this variety matter? Because that's the way you build neighborhoods when you want them to provide for the real human population. We need somewhere for grandmothers to live, somewhere for the schoolteachers to live, and somewhere for that young pharmacist.

Density by design, not by default

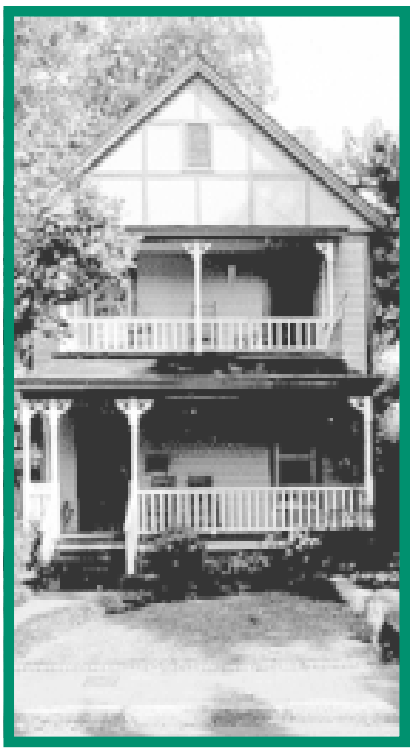
Now, on the other hand, the photo below illustrates what people fear when they hear a developer wants to bring some higher density, more affordable units to their neighborhood. No wonder the NIMBY's turn out in force — this is a completely confused development model that reflects no understanding of the public realm idea. There are no clearly understood front sides or back sides to these buildings. The dumpsters face the street and the street is just a boring nowhere, not a "place." The parking is on the wrong side. There is no private outdoor open space. And when all those things start to go wrong, immediately the first instinct of the architects is to say, "That's okay, I'll stagger the apartments or rotate them at odd angles to create visual interest." The picture shows how little is accomplished by those moves. (Please, drive a stake through the heart of that pathetic idea.) The picture shows precisely why people fear what multi-family housing will do to the image of their communities.

An example of what people fear when they hear a developer wants to bring higher density, more affordable units to their neighborhood.

As an aside: the example in the picture is from Arcata, Calif. It is called Fawn Creek Apartments. This label bears out Joel Garreau's theory, from his "Edge City" book, about how modern developers like to name their work. Garreau's theory says, "One should name the development after the first species driven out and the most obvious natural feature eliminated by building there."

Well, compare the Fawn Creek complex to the picture of old Dilworth on the following page. This traditional apartment building is sitting next door to single-family detached homes on both sides. But this one has front porches and a front door, and it's positioned on the street where it even adds something nice to your experience of walking by on the sidewalk. You can't say that about the Fawn Creek example.

So creating livable, beneficial higher-density development has actually always been part of making a more complete community, and despite what some may tell you, higher-density residential development can occur with great



Variety in prices is possible, by design, because that's the way you build neighborhoods when you want them to provide for the real human population.

Above and at the bottom of this page are examples of livable, beneficial higher-density development, which is an important part of making a more complete community, and can occur with great dignity in modern times.

Audiences are asked to rate snapshots taken in their town and surrounding places and to grade each picture on a scale from negative numbers (hate it) to zero (neutral) to positive (love it).

dignity in modern times. Below is a photo of brand new Georgian rowhouses in Celebration, Fla., which have proven very popular. They back right up to single-family homes, which have sold quite well, too.

Pictures, not just words

One of the things that I recommend to city leaders is to get away from planning with just words. Words don't suffice, yet most comprehensive plans are more verbal than visual. Words like "multi-family" get bad responses, terms like "historic neighborhood" get smiles. How is that possible, since there is usually lots of multifamily housing in historic neighborhoods? You need to use pictures to get to the core issues in planning and reach consensus. Yes, this is a little subversive: zoning's sacred cows are usually slaughtered when you use pictures instead of words.

For example, in the Community Image Survey, which is something we do in partnership with a nonprofit organization called Communities By Design, we ask audiences to rate a series of different snapshots taken in their town and surrounding places, and perhaps a sprinkling of photos from other places. Participants grade each picture individually, on a scale from negative numbers (hate it) to zero (neutral) to positive (love it). Afterward, we pair some of the pictures and compare their scores, and have a dialogue with the audience to learn why they preferred one over the other.

As the above example pair shows, one picture scored a high positive rating, and the other a pretty negative one. But wait...isn't the more preferred of the two the one that is denser, is mixed-use, and has a shallower setback from the street? Isn't it the one that has less parking, and that parking is in the back instead of the front? Isn't it the one that has a greater height and visual impact? How could that be the more preferred option of the two?

The answer is all of those measures in conventional suburban-style zoning ordinances — the deep setbacks, the high parking requirements, the height limitation, the prohibition on mixed use — usually generate the less satisfying place, and certainly don't guarantee positive results. They are not very useful when you're trying to craft delicate,

complete communities of the kind you find in Huntington Village or Forest Hills Gardens.

Completeness

The example of the town of Huntington on Long Island shows this idea of completeness in action. The pedestrian-oriented main street in Huntington Village has long been a great place to study.

By the way, though, now Huntington teaches with more than just the pictures you can shoot there; they are leading by example. The folks who founded Vision Huntington have set a model for other communities in New York state. They went out and put together their own "declaration of smart growth principles," and the town council adopted them, officially making Huntington the first smart growth community in Long Island. They deserve a lot of your attention over the next few years as they implement those ideas, hopefully building on the start in that declaration, and then going beyond words into pictures, and then to built results.

When I look at pictures of some of the older towns on Long Island, I can see why they are fine places to grow up or grow old. They embody this idea of completeness, offering, for example, a high quality of life even to those who are too junior or too senior to drive everywhere. Cold Spring Harbor and Huntington Village don't just have houses or shopping centers, they have the full range of life's activities, attractively packaged up in a pedestrian-supportive, economically dynamic format.

Cold Spring Harbor and Huntington Village don't just have houses or shopping centers, they have the full range of life's activities, attractively packaged up in a pedestrian-supportive, economically dynamic format.

Civic presence

In the finest New York towns, the civic buildings relate to the whole in each situation. One can't imagine Cold Spring Harbor without that little place of worship or Huntington without its library and town hall, yet permanent symbols like these are among the things missing from unsatisfying contemporary sprawl.

But can you build civic buildings today, that really are civic in their architecture? The answer is yes.

For example, in Port Royal, the US Postal Service was coaxed out of their standard format into a real civic building. Port Royal leaders wouldn't take no for an answer. They simply said, "You know, that Post Office standard prototype 30-A is not good enough for historic Port Royal. We can do better." And they did. They just stood their ground and supported the idea until the Postal Service agreed. And the town actually ponied up the money for the redesign and created a Post Office that is a genuine civic building. Internally it's identical to the standard model. Externally, and in terms of its

Civic buildings can be civic in their architecture, like this church in Huntington Village on the left. To the right, the U.S. Postal Service in Port Royal, S.C. has been coaxed out of their standard format and into a real civic building.

impact on the community, it's worlds apart from the standard prototype.

You must go to those agencies and corporate bureaucracies — whether it's the Postal Service or the Department of Transportation or a fast food restaurant chain — and tell them, "We are a smart growth town, we're Huntington or we're Albany or we're Melville, and we can do better than your standard prototype, if you'll work with us." They will go along with you, if your alternative is logical and they really want their post office or road or restaurant to be there.

Rethinking mobility

Next we need to explore mobility. Moving about is a big issue for people in America. As we have seen, if traffic is your worst nightmare, brace yourself. One reason our roads and parking lots are so packed is our preference for so-called single-occupant car trips. We simply take up a lot of space.

I am reminded of some clever photography published in the *Tampa Tribune*, which actually showed just how much space. In the first picture, all the motorists were sitting individually in their own cars in a traffic jam. In the second, the cars were taken away, and the drivers were sitting in chairs spaced out along the road. In the next picture, their chairs are moved closer together, as if the same number of folks were on a transit vehicle. The last picture shows a whole mix of things — walking, biking, using transit, and driving. This sequence shows both why our road network is jammed and why there is hope for using these important public facilities in much more efficient, dignified ways.

Our citizenry has drifted into ever larger, more insular, more comfortable and more armored SUVs because our public realm, especially on our regional arterials and corridors, has become so ghastly that we can't face it. We want to surround ourselves with better air conditioning and a better sound system because what's outside the windshield is so terrible and we're going to be stuck in it for more and more hours everyday. It's time to rethink mobility and the facilities we build to support it.

Once upon a time, here on planet Earth, the public works officials who built those very facilities were heroes in their community. Shown on the following page, for example, is a nineteenth century road-widening project. It seems odd to attach the term "road-widening project" to such a beautiful work of civic art, but that's exactly what it was. The road is the Cours Mirabeau in Aix-en-Provence, and now we look upon it as the postcard picture for that town. We have streets this good in America, too.

It's the scene of their cafe society and their galleries, and important government buildings are situated there in positions of prominence. We stroll along by the cafes and storefronts, under the trees. This is possible because the grand avenue was conceived as more than a road-widening project. They didn't forget all the other details — buildings and landscape helping shape the public realm because great addresses require these things; wide sidewalks to provide for the pedestrians, not just lanes for the motorists; on-street parking because merchants need it. How different this is from the mean-spirited image your mind immediately conjures when I say the words "road-widening project."

Today there is a lot of traffic engineering logic that is returning to the fore, in a kind of recovery from amnesia. One of the principles the engineers are beginning to rediscover is that as one tries to pump more cars through a road by increasing the so-called "design speed," there is a tipping point beyond which the efficiency is lost. That point graphs out at about 28 miles an hour, proving that wider roads are not necessarily better roads for moving traffic. And yet for many years the design speeds universally applied to suburban arterials, and even our main streets, were higher than that. Engineers used to work as if redesigning the streets for higher and higher theoretical speeds was the way to solve traffic problems. It is now becoming widely understood that mixing land uses, making highly livable streets and interconnecting streets are the better ways to address traffic congestion.

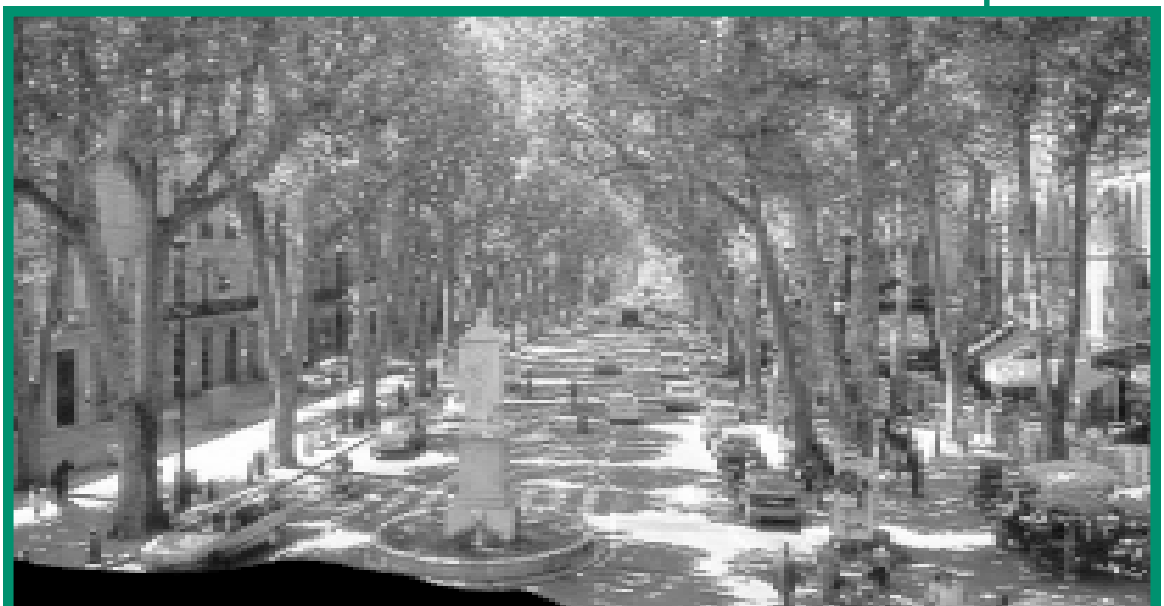
Even in their own publications, engineers are indicating their new thinking. "Taking Back Main Street" and "Traffic Calming" are now the headlines on the covers of magazines engineers put before one another, like *Engineering News-Record*.

Walkable streets: you can make them

If we do nothing else, let's make our streets walkable. Transit-supportive development is pedestrian-oriented development, mixed-use development is pedestrian-oriented development, and the tax base is strongest in pedestrian-oriented environments.

You must provide what pedestrians need, and they're a demanding species.

> ' Our citizenry has drifted into ever larger, more insular, more comfortable and more armored SUVs because our public realm, especially on our regional arterials and corridors, has become so ghastly that we can't face it. '
>
> — Victor Dover



The grand avenue was once conceived as more than a road-widening project.

You must provide what pedestrians need. Pedestrians prefer to have protection from the elements and feel safe from the movement of rushing vehicles.

They absolutely have to have a place that feels watched over and is well-shaped, because they don't like to be in the middle of nowhere. That's why no one likes to walk along the edges of parking lots even when a sidewalk is provided. Pedestrians also prefer to have protection from the elements. The scene has to be memorable and beautiful. They have to feel safe from the movement of rushing vehicles. Shaped, connected, safe, interesting and shaded: that's not too complicated a list of requirements. You have all those on the old main streets in your great towns.

Shown below is another view of Route 25A from my collection of images from Huntington. Let there be no doubt: New Yorkers know how to build these kinds of streets. You've been doing it brilliantly for hundreds of years. It's a bit disgraceful, given that history, that so much of your newest stuff doesn't show that intelligence. Of course, you are not alone in your straying, as all the other states also have fine historical examples and disappointing new material; let us hope New York will lead the way back.

Smart growth can be lucrative

Now, who is going to do it? Developers, that's who. Town builders also used to be heroes in their communities, not the pariahs they have become recently, and can recover their status. And they can make a lot of money by applying smart growth principles, particularly when they seize the first-mover opportunities in cities where frustrated marketplaces are just waiting hungrily for it.

You can make smart growth both affordable and lucrative for developers to implement. People like Dan Camp, from Starkville, Miss., have been doing it for 25 years. Vince Graham, our developer client of whom I spoke earlier, and his partner earned this headline in *The Wall Street Journal*: "Developers Find Old Values Bring Astonishing Returns." The National Association of Home Builders recently chose Graham's latest development as the "Best Community in America." The village is called I'On and if you get to the Charleston area, go take a look at it.

The community of I'On near Charleston, S.C., developed by Vince Graham, was recently chosen by National Association of Home Builders as the "Best Community in America."

Developers of commercial property are also getting more confident. To hear shopping center developers tell it now, main street is back in vogue and "mall is a four-letter word."

Designing in public

Public participation ought to be part of being smart about smart growth. Why go off into some back office, by yourselves, to come up with a smart growth plan? If you invite the public to help design, it's amazing what can be done, if you get that discussion going around visuals and maps.

Shown at the top of the following page is a group of citizens helping work out details for a new neighborhood in the notoriously contentious

New Yorkers know how to build pedestrian-friendly streets, like this example of Route 25A in Huntington.

Public participation ought to be part of being smart about smart growth.

community of Davidson, N.C., which is a very sophisticated college town. Although there was controversy with this project, a clear group of supporters understood and defended the proposal, and it was approved. This success must be traced, at least in part, to the bravery of the developer, who agreed to design the plan in a public charrette.

Transit-supportive development

Smart growth ideas don't stop at the scale of a building or block or street or neighborhood. They can be implemented at the scale of the region. Smart growth is being applied all over the country at this range of scales. Issues like public transit and storm water management and ecosystem protection are best addressed in the big picture.

Logical connections between places can be established when you think ahead about them. To solve our mobility dilemma, many American metropolitan areas will need to be refocused in transit-supportive development. In New York, much of what you need to do is to complete and repair the pattern, putting public transit back into the picture.

Take the lessons learned from that little square in Forest Hills Gardens. That idea is applied in the picture to the right on a project in Tampa where the idea is that you join the center of the neighborhood with the future transit stop, making transit part of normal community life.

We're all excited about light rail, "new start" cities, trolleys, streetcars, even the newest buses — I love all those things — but don't stop with the vehicle or the technology. It's what's outside the window that matters most. Don't get your community so focused on buying a certain kind of choo-choo train that they forget to do the much more important task of growing communities worth riding to.

The idea in this example and the one at the top left of the next page is to join the center of the neighborhood with the future transit stop, making transit part of normal community life.

Shown below is a transit stop on Metrorail line in South Florida.

This is a inner ring suburb known for no-growth politics, a place where it seemed for a few decades that groups communicated about land development mainly by suing one another over each round of new top-down policies. But in 1992 they came together as a community and designed a very ambitious "hundred-year plan," using a participatory process. As a result, private reinvestment began anew in the downtown, and pedestrian life has been revived.

An *Eastward Ho* movement is now occurring in South Florida; we're hoping to lure people back to the infill opportunities instead of moving further and further west into the Everglades. The old towns are gradually being transformed into positive, walkable environments. We've seen main streets sprout white-tablecloth restaurants where once they had boarded-up windows.

The "small is beautiful" aspect of this incremental development requires some regulatory reform. Do everything you can to your local zoning and building codes to make small-scale infill and redevelopment feasible for the developers. They'll respond. They'd much rather build where infrastructure is already in place.

Look for places with forgotten real estate. To the right above, for example, is a little strip of land along the edge of a big ugly public garage where a developer is now attaching a little "liner" of live/work lofts onto its side. This will improve the streetscape immensely. (See sketch below.)

The new retail

Retail is a changing thing, and customers are no longer satisfied with the banal shopping centers that seemed sufficient a few years ago. We see evidence of this in the Community Image Survey. (See pictures at the top left of the following page.)The very environments once thought to be the most leasable, lucrative retail venues get consistently low marks from survey participants and they are emptying out. The walkable, delightful places are winning big; people are choosing to be there. It shouldn't come as a surprise, then, that suburbia's shopping centers are being reworked to resemble real downtowns.

Winter Park Mall in Central Florida is one of those dead malls that has been transformed. They had the standard Battlestar-Galactica-style mall, one big building surrounded by its parking, and customers fled when something more interesting opened elsewhere. Now the property has been reconfigured as a series of city blocks. A first phase has been constructed, and it's fully leased. It's the real estate story of 1999 in that part of the world. (See sketches on the following page.) In the construction snapshot of the mall, redubbed Winter Park Village, you can see that the architecture is rather cheesy and its proportions are flawed, but you can also see that there are streets with doors and windows facing the sidewalk where blank boxes and an immense parking lot used to be. (See the bottom right photo on the following page.)

To the right is a strip of land along the edge of a big ugly public garage. Below, a developer is now attaching a "liner" of live/work lofts onto the side of the parking garage, which will improve the streetscape immensely.

In the Community Image Survey, the environments once thought to have the most leasable, lucrative retail venues get consistently low marks from survey participants, and the walkable, delightful places are winning big.

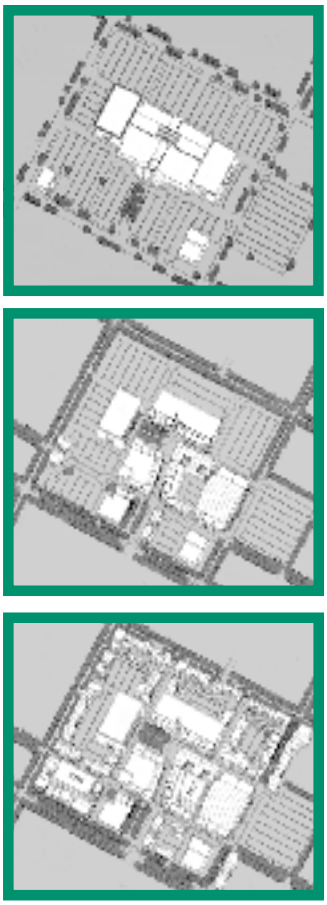
Change over time

Thinking in terms of movies, rather than static maps, is key to these transformations. Help people visualize how you're going to get to smart growth, step by step. People get frustrated when you present a master plan of the end state without explaining the sequence of events that occurs in between.

One needs to draw a lot to create such plans. Please, don't call something you do with a flip chart in two hours on Thursday afternoon a "charrette." You've probably heard that term abused a lot. A real charrette ought to result in realizable, detailed, visualized plans. The one pictured at the top of the following page is in Chattanooga, Tenn., and resulted in a plan for turning an old dead mall inside out. This event did more than produce a plan; it reestablished this "greyfield" address as good real estate. (See sketches at the top right of the following page.)

It must not have escaped the notice of the politicians among you that the mayor of Chattanooga, Jon Kinsey, found himself on the cover of *Parade Magazine* this past year as a result of just this kind of initiative. He and his predecessors have turned what was once reviled in the national press as "the dirtiest little city in America" into the poster-town for smart growth.

Should we just work on these dead malls or other isolated opportunity sites? No. Let's work on the corridors between them, too. The image survey shows bad marks for the strip arterials, the great public works achievements of the mid-1900s. In the new millennium, we should really go back and



Winter Park Mall in Florida is one of those dead malls transformed. A first phase has been constructed, and it's fully leased.

Streets with doors and windows facing the sidewalk are now where blank boxes and an immense parking lot used to be.

A charette process in Chattanooga, Tenn., at left, resulted in a plan for turning an old dead mall inside out, at right. This event did more than produce a plan; it reestablished this "greyfield" address as good real estate.

rework these unfinished corridors. Why leave them as they are? We can turn the dowdy strips into the proud grand boulevards of their regions, if we're willing to grow our way out of our problems.(See photos below.) Of these pictures, where would you prefer to live?

Unfinished America

There is lost space all over our cities. We probably have a two hundred year backlog of urban development and improvement, just going back to the settlements we've already started and filling in the rest of the picture. Some of these opportunities occur along high tech corridors and in so-called "edge cities."

It helps to get the media involved. In the Dadeland Mall area in South Florida, the local NBC affiliate indicted the scene with just a few visuals; they turned their cameras on the fact of how pedestrian-hostile that place is, and how much better it could be. (See right-hand photos on the opposite page.)

The pictures below those explain the new plan for what the area is now slated to become. Where would you prefer to walk? On top is the one that embodies that self-fulfilling prophecy that Americans won't walk anymore. Notice the fellow walking down the street; he's a block from the transit station and has already kind of given up. He's loosened his collar, he's loosened his tie. Why would anyone walk in this environment? In the picture below, we show how that environment should change (and through the miracle of television, we've also retied the gentleman's tie).

Compact growth: Better for the environment

Why can't our ditches turn into our waterfronts? Why can't our forgotten and aging apartment complexes find rebirth as real urban

We can turn the dowdy strips into the proud grand boulevards of their regions, if we're willing to grow our way out of our problems. Of these pictures, where would you prefer to live?

Why can't our ditches turn into our waterfronts?

Why can't our forgotten and aging apartment complexes find rebirth as real urban quarters?

quarters? And why can't we fix some of our bad habits with regard to the environment in the process? We all know that non-point source runoff pollution is the big enemy of water quality — sprawl is threatening the rivers. It's not a mystery. But are we actually assessing how much more valuable it is for the quality of our watersheds to build in a more compact manner?

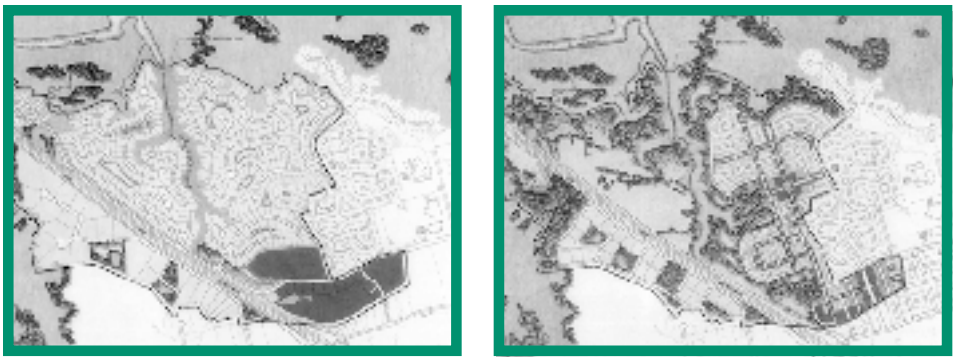
On the following page (top left) is a site in the Charleston harbor watershed built out as conventional sprawl. To the right is the same place with the same amount of development under a compact town scenario. The scenario to the right is adding on and filling out what's started instead of just extending the pattern. It has the same number of developed units, the same number of square feet, the same number of parking slots, and so on. But when you put the drawings in the computer and get the water quality model, that's when the really astonishing thing happens because, guess what, the sprawl scenario on the left is four or five times worse on all the basic measures of water quality than the compact scenario on the right.

Fixing the rules

And you just do all this because you decide it's a good idea? No. You have to fix the genetic code by which growth occurs. I mentioned Cold Spring Harbor earlier, which is appropriate, since that's the place they discovered DNA. Well, the genetic code for how we grow our communities is in the dumb growth zoning that's been adopted all over the place and has

By getting the media involved to highlight how pedestrian-hostile the two pictures above are...

...the Dadeland Mall area in South Florida now has a vision of how much better it could be, as shown here.



To the left is a site in the Charleston Harbor watershed built out as conventional sprawl. To the right is the same place with the same amount of development under a compact town scenario, which contributes to higher water quality, as well.

been embedded in the ordinances of many communities here in New York. Better regulations won't fix everything, mind you; we also need good manners and good habits. But regulatory reform is essential.

Little Port Royal managed to do it. Now, how did they make it work? First of all, the elected officials didn't just have this plan in a drawer, they have it at their desk and they use the plan, "the idealized build-out plan," everyday. And the plan itself embodies their basic goal, which is to partner with the builder community and build more of what Port Royal is, adding the kinds of houses and building-to-street relationships that have been shown to work well. They built that notion into the code, which is visual and illustrated, not just written. It has both written policies, the numbers, and diagrams that show exactly how to build the stuff. It's like a coach's playbook. Everybody knows that just because a team knows the rules of football, they won't necessarily win games — the team that wins is the one with the best plays. So the Port Royal code doesn't just tell you what not to do, it shows you how to make good urbanism, in an illustrated manual organized by building type. There is the cottage play, a rowhouse play, a main street play, and so on, right in the code.

There are lots of different ways to organize these codes. Below is a visual of a town that has organized this code by street type — the main street, the boulevard, the neighborhood streets, and so on. You find all sorts of things legalized by the illustrated codes that were prohibited by its predecessor. Things like building over the sidewalk as a basic way of dealing with the climate in South Florida, for example. You have your own regional variations on those ideas. (See colonnade and porch sketches on the following page.)

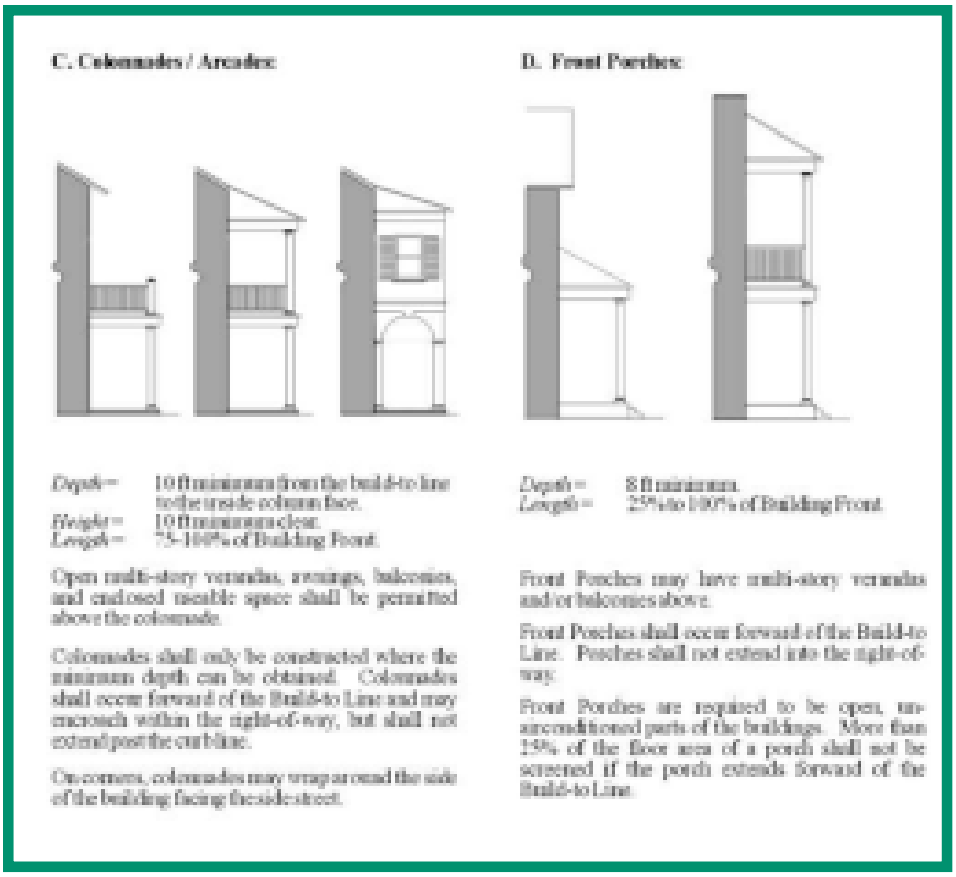
And why not, for that matter, return to using meaningful Official Maps as regulatory tools? The new Downtown Kendall code (see map to right) has a streets and blocks plan, and actually also has a plan of where the public squares are to be created.

It communicates precisely where the municipality expects to see the required open space, instead of settling for any old useless leftover triangle. Future streets are to be where the streets are shown on the map. Then it goes on to explain where doors and windows have to face the streets. So instead of building the blank and unfriendly places, as illustrated at the bottom of the following page in the left-hand sketch, they build the livable example to its right.

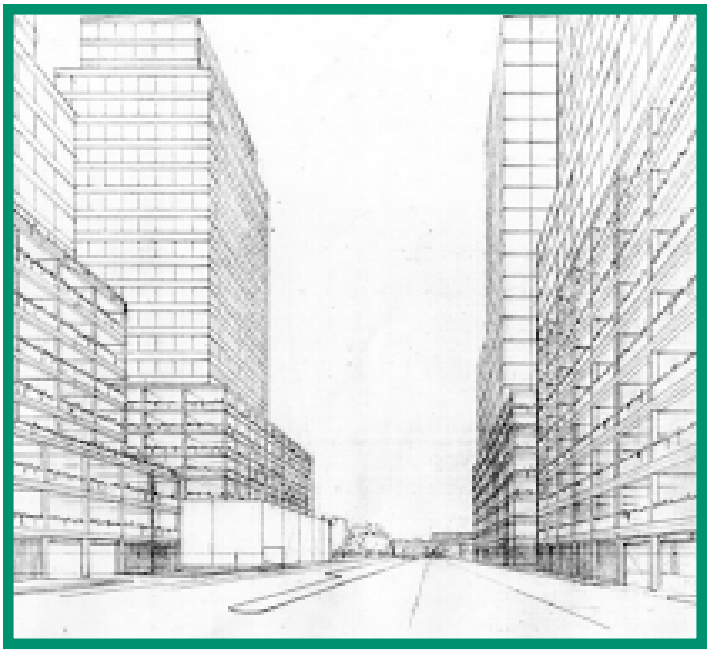
The bottom line

New development and redevelopment can be more marketable, more profitable, more livable and more approvable. Don't accept second best.

Above, The new downtown Kendall, Fla., zoning code has a streets and blocks plan, and actually also has a plan of where the public squares are to be created. Below, A visual of a town that has organized their zoning code by street type — the main street, the boulevard, the neighborhood streets and so on.



An illustrated zoning code allows for things like building over the sidewalk as a basic way of dealing with the climate in South Florida, for example, that were prohibited by its predecessor.



With an illustrated zoning code, instead of building the blank and unfriendly places example on the left, you can build the livable example on the right.