Friendship Village
Case Study Summaries in Detail

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Chicago Area Case Study: Riverside, Illinois

Riverside today is an affluent suburb of Chicago. It covers two square miles and has a population of approximately 9,000. It is located 12 miles west of downtown Chicago (20–30 minutes by car). The city's original rail line is now part of Chicago's commuter rail service, the Metra.
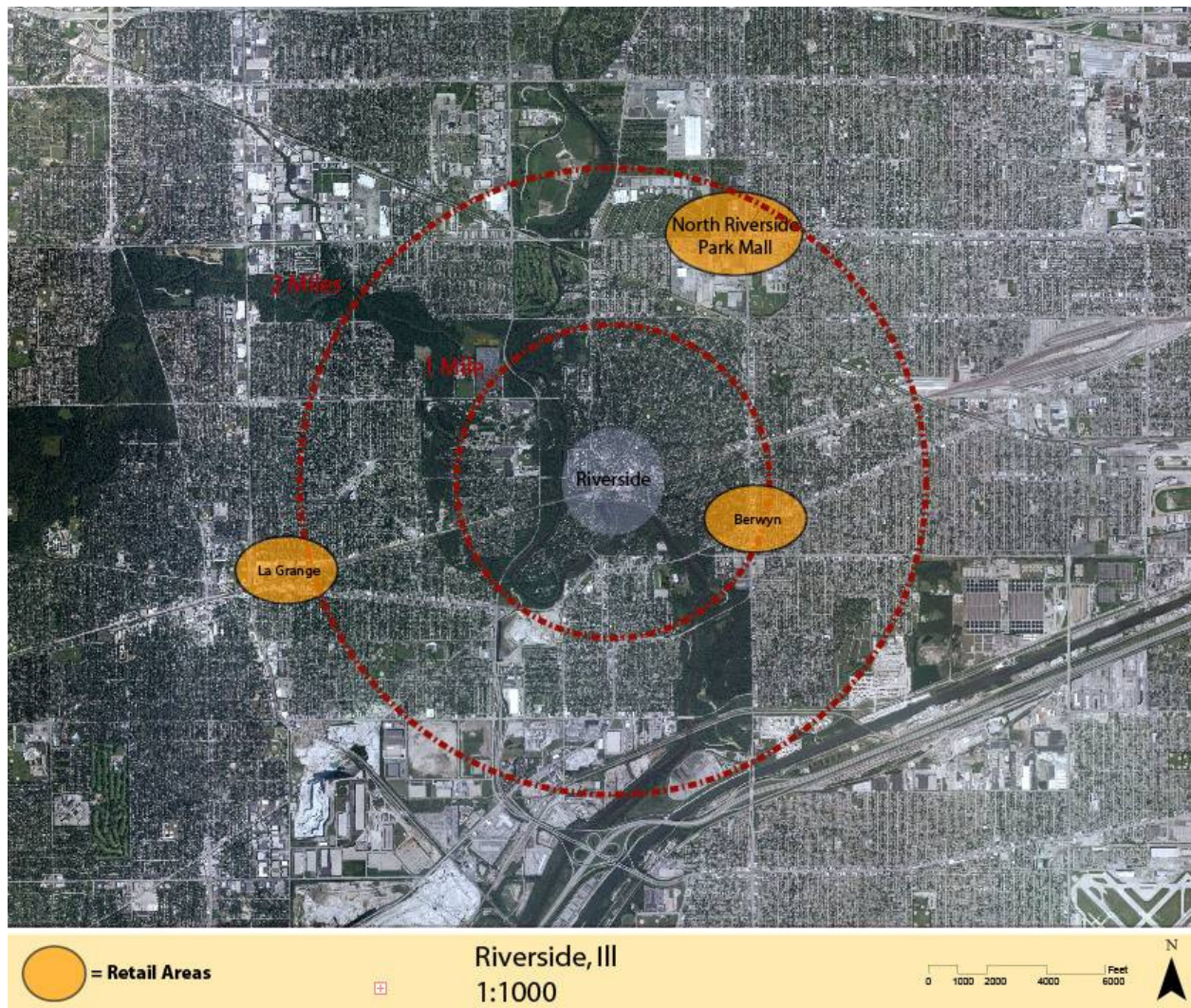
Figure 1: Riverside and surrounding area (based on data from Google Earth, 2008)[1]

Urban Design

Riverside, situated some ten miles west of Chicago, was designed in 1868 by Fredrick Law Olmsted. Olmsted, who designed Central Park, is regarded as the father of Landscape Architecture. In 1863, the land which would become Riverside, along the Des Plaines River,

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[1] Unless otherwise specified, all aerial maps in Appendix A were created by studio members, based on research data and map data taken from Google Earth.

was first reached by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. Given the attractiveness and accessibility of the site, a number of local investors saw an opportunity.

> Forming the Riverside Improvement Company, they purchased a 1,600-acre tract of land along the river and hired Frederick Law Olmsted of New York to design an elite suburban community. Olmsted and his partner, Calvert Vaux, were already famous for creating Central Park in New York City. Their reputation, plus the lovely curvilinear streets, open spaces, and attractive village center they designed for Riverside, attracted Chicago's elite (Arnold, 2005).

> Olmsted's vision was a fully suburban community, which, unlike the industrialized cities

of the day, would involve only the "most attractive, most refined, most wholesome form of

domestic life." In his words, Riverside would foster "harmonious cooperation of men in a

community and the intimate relationship and constant intercourse and interdependence between

families" (Riverside Historical Commission, 2000).

In the tradition of the City Beautiful Movement which he spearheaded, Olmsted thought

of city parks as an antidote to the polluted city ((Faiks, Kest, Szot, & Vendura, 2001, ch.2).

However, his intents were never utopian, nor did he want to "pre-package" a new community.

Olmstead was adamant that suburb and city functioned as a whole.

> The change in lifestyle following the Civil War was reflected in Olmsted's desire to produce landscapes with a separation of uses. This technique is visible not only in Central Park with separate pathways for people and vehicles that never cross paths, but also in Riverside. Olmsted envisioned the extension of the suburb from the city as an important component to the idea of separation of uses, though he was fully aware that one could not exist without the other (Faiks et al, 2001, ch.4, p. 6).

The original 1600-acre plan for Riverside was laid out in 1869. The design, which

Olmsted and Vaux considered "a village in a forest;" called for unprecedented amounts of public

land; indeed, "nature and landscape were to be of utmost importance" (Kunz, 2008). Lots

included building setback requirements, and residents could not fence off their yards. These and

other rules were codified in deeds (Faiks et al., 2001, ch.5, p. 7). Residents were also

encouraged to plant two trees in their yards. The waterfront was expansive, and the town's

famous curvilinear design led to several triangular islands amidst what were considered the "best engineered streets of the time," featuring cobblestone drainage gutters (Riverside Historical Commission, 2000). Water and sewer lines were also provided along with gas street lamps, and perhaps most importantly, rail access to Chicago (Riverside Historical Commission, 2000).
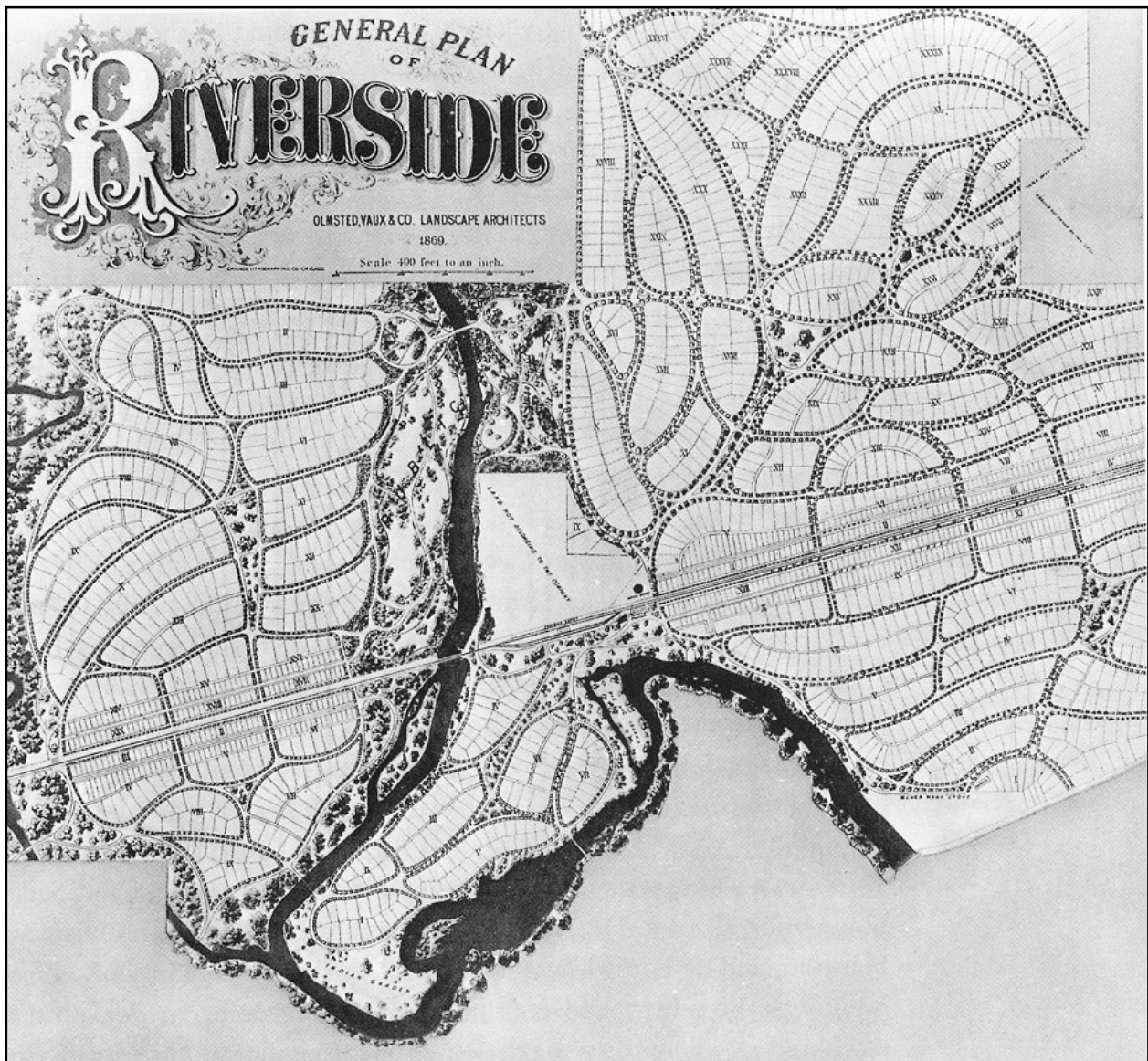
Figure 2: Original Plan for Riverside, IL, 1869

While only 1,000 acres of the original 1,600 would be built out, Riverside's design still garners attention (fredericklawolmsted.com, 2008). It specifically shunned right-angled intersections because Olmsted viewed:

> …the ordinary directness of line in town streets, with its resultant regularity of plan, would suggest eagerness to press forward, with out looking to the right hand or left, we should recommend… gracefully curved lines, generous spaces, and the absence of sharp corners, the idea being to suggest and imply leisure, contemplativeness, and happy tranquility (Faiks et al., 2001, ch.5, p. 3).

The overall design effect was to invoke a sense of mystery in residents and visitors, no matter where they stood in the community.

Figure 3: View of Riverside downtown circa 1900, including water tower

By 1871, some 50 homes were inhabited, and a 125-room hotel was in business. The community's first of two famous water towers were built. Despite initial success, the 1871 Chicago Fire and 1873 financial panic rendered the Riverside Investment Company bankrupt. However, Olmsted's original plan would remain in force, and by 1875 a Village Government

was created. "Frank Lloyd Wright, Louis Sullivan, William Le Baron Jenney, and several other prominent local architects drew the plans for houses that still stand in the village. A striking Romanesque village hall was built in 1895, and in 1901 the Burlington line constructed a charming stone railroad station" (Arnold, 2005). The village hall was built of quality materials and was built to last. The focal point of the village was and arguably remains the fairy-tale-like water tower.

The 1930 urban core, defined by the authors, included blocks averaging 4.6 acres each.
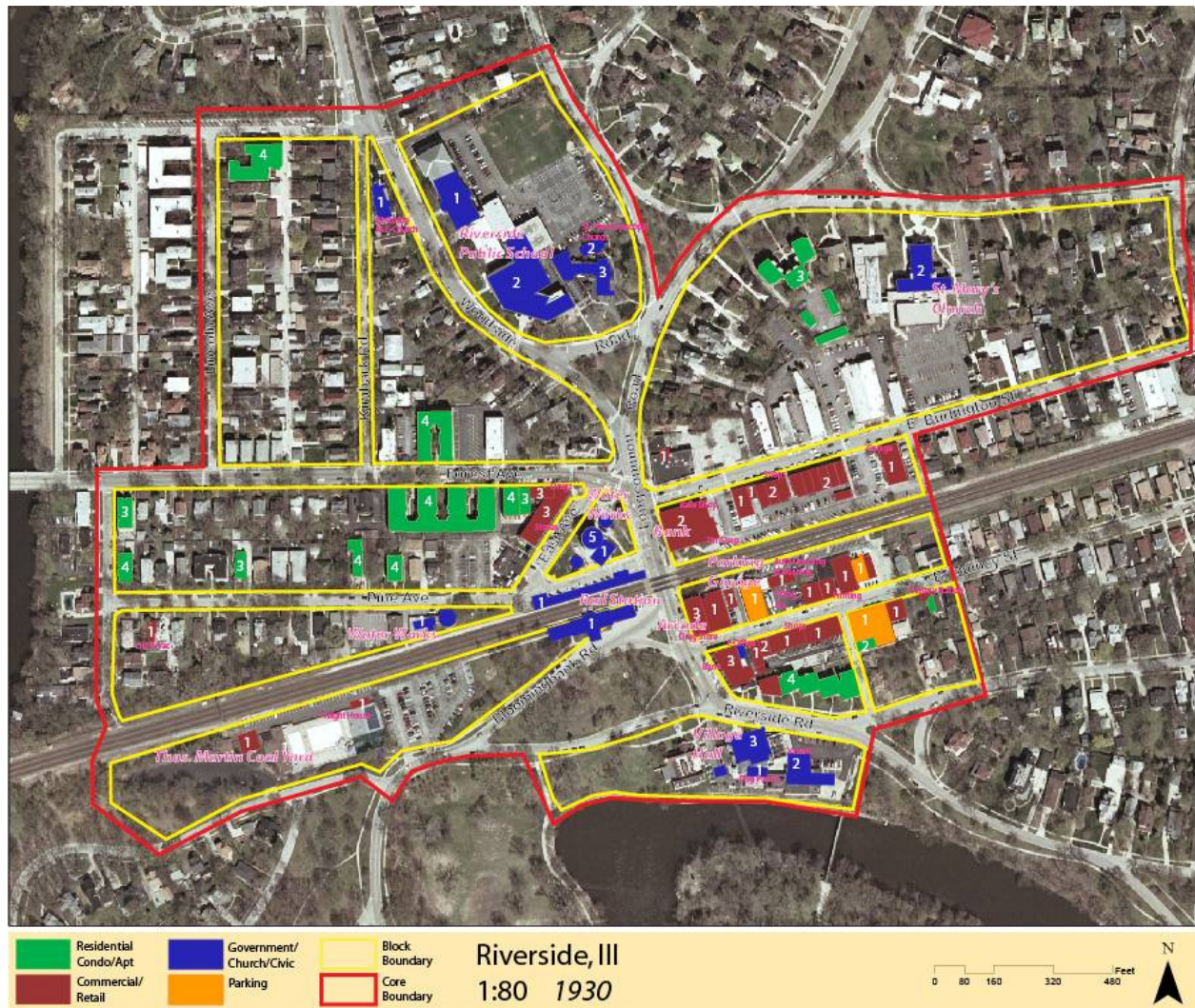
Figure 4: Riverside's Structure, 1930

The community gradually built out over the 20th century. In the 1920s and 1930s a number of houses on smaller parcels would be added (Arnold, 2005). While a grid of largely residential streets were added just west of downtown (not owned by the Company), Riverside has otherwise adhered to Olmsted's design. It provided enough flexibility for the subdivision of many 100' x 200' lots into two. Full build-out would be reached in 1960. By this point paving had elevated the town's roads, and the original cobblestone was eventually replaced by concrete

curbs (Faiks et al, 2001, ch.6, p. 7).
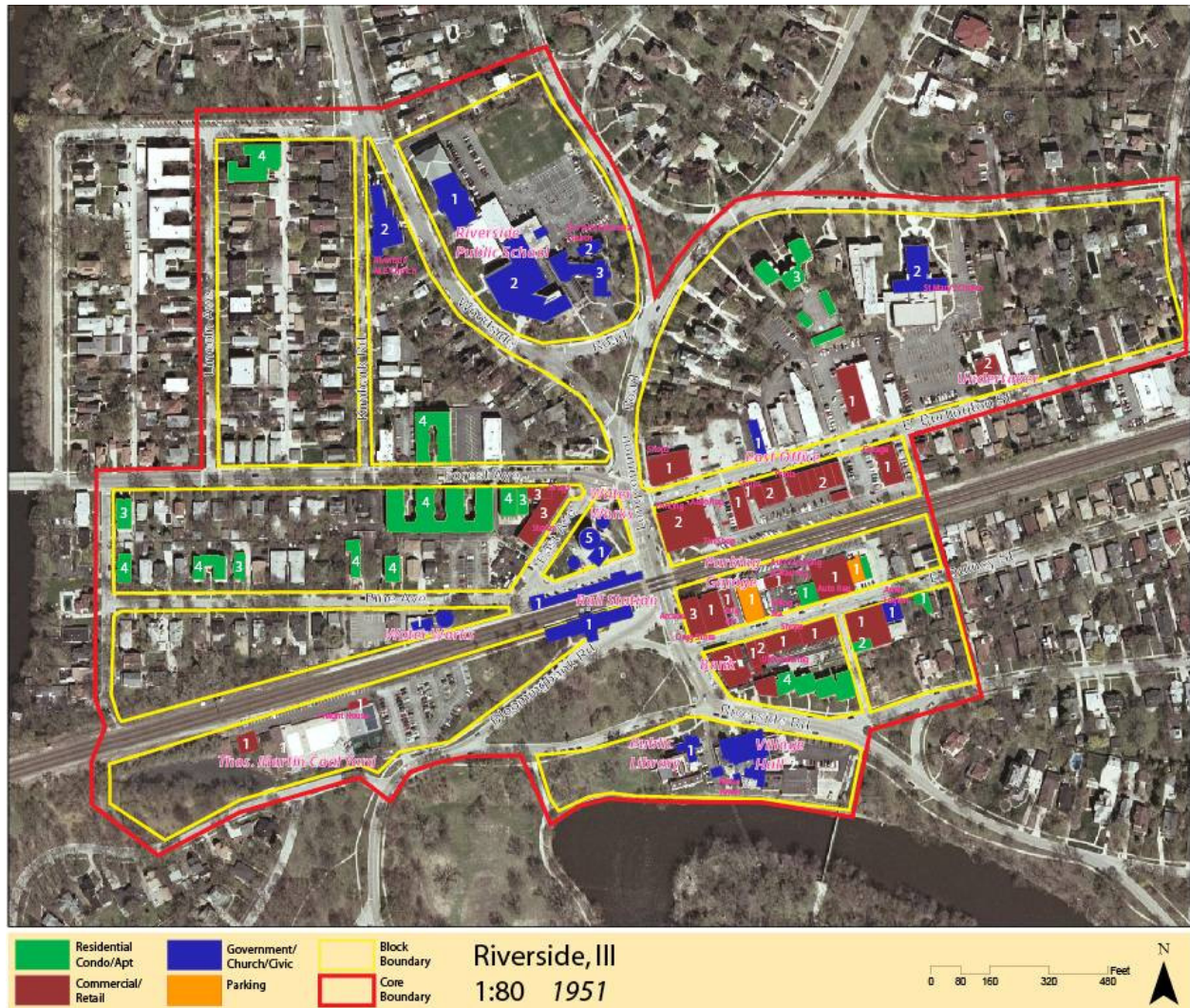
Figure 5: Riverside's Structure, 1951
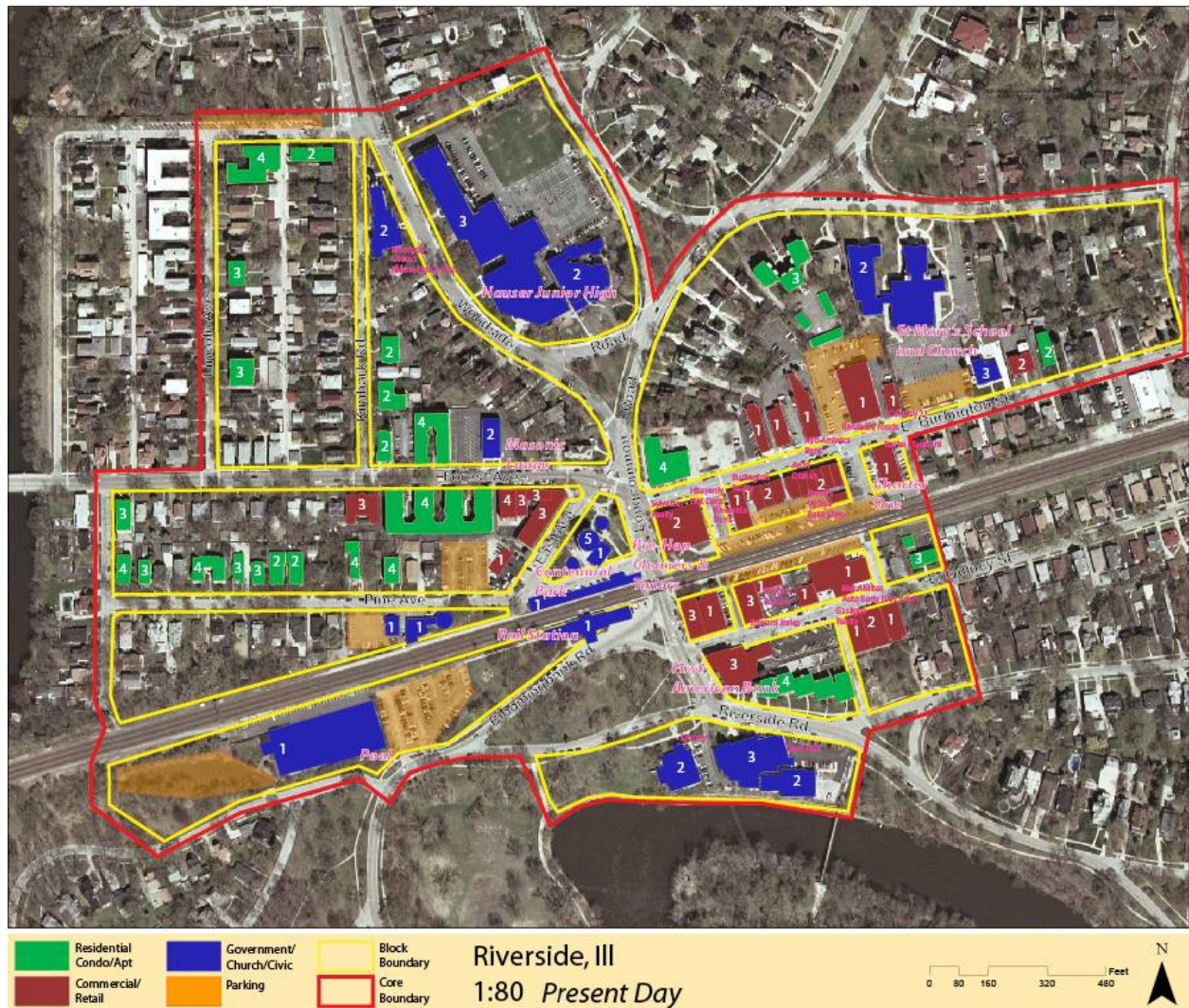
Figure 6: Riverside's Structure, Present Day

As the evolution maps above (Figures 4, 5, 6) confirm, blocks in the downtown were subdivided further between 1951 and the present day, and a number of building uses changed slightly. Perhaps the largest change was the conversion of several parking garages to commercial and retail spaces.

When the authors searched news archives for current events in Riverside, one which particularly stood out was a 1998 dispute over the brightness of new petunias planted in the business district. "'Everybody loves the schools here,' said Donna Ballarine, a resident for 10 years. Taxes? 'That's fine, too,' she said" (Jeter, 1998). However, when the new flowers were

planted, many in the community "nearly lost their minds." The Village's landscape advisory commission would eventually mediate a compromise with less-colorful flowers (Jeter, 1998).

Indeed, the authors recently called the village Historic society to ask if there were any new plans in the works. They affirmed that, aside from a mixed-use building going up in the downtown, they were adhering to Olmsted's plans. The flower affair, while on the surface quaint, demonstrates that the community at large is passionate about maintaining Olmsted's passion. In fact, Village leadership has maintained the original deed requirements on setbacks and fences, which has contributed to the community's consistency over nearly a century (Faiks et al., 2001, ch.6 p. 7). In Riverside, Olmsted's vision has had the unique opportunity to thrive. As the economic summary below will demonstrate, Riverside remains a successful community only. This validates the wisdom of Olmsted's ideas.

Economic development

Businesses in downtown Riverside are mainly of a boutique nature. In addition to the village library and village hall, there are 37 businesses in downtown Riverside. These include antique shops and candy stores, as well a locally owned grocery store: "The charming village center is replete with chic restaurants, cappuccino bars, and stores selling antiques and Victorian house fixtures" (Arnold, 2005). The number and types of stores are given in Table 5, below:

4	banks
4	real estate offices
3	restaurants
3	doctors' offices
2	hair salons
2	insurance companies
2	florists
2	law offices
2	auto repair shops
2	dance/fitness centers
1	dry cleaner
1	specialty store
1	grocery store
1	ice cream store
1	chocolate store
1	jewelry store
1	funeral home
1	financial analyst
1	dog grooming shop
1	plumbing/heating company
1	glass/art studio

Table 1: Businesses in Downtown Riverside (Moravecet, 2008)

Of the businesses listed above, 85% are local shops and services while 15% are chains or franchises (D. Moravecet, 2008). A breakdown of stores into different sectors is provided in Table 2.

Business Type	
Legal & Financial	23%
Food & Dining	15%
Shopping	13%
Real Estate	10%
Personal Care & Services	8%
Health & Medicine	8%
Automotive	5%
Sports & Recreation	5%
Community & Government	5%
Clothing & Accessories	3%
Business & Professional	3%
Home & Garden	3%

Table 2: Breakdown of Business Types in Downtown Riverside

Residential Population

- Riverside is an established older suburb and, as such, the median age in the 2000 Census was 40.5, five years above the national average (U.S. Census). In recent years, the number of older residents has increased (Arnold, 2005).

- Over 95% of the population was White in 2000. Less than two percent was Asian and only 0.3% was Black (U.S. Census). There were only 16 black people in the city in 1930, increasing to just 23 in 2000 (Arnold, 2005). Less than six percent of the population identifies themselves as Hispanic or Latino (U.S. Census).

- Eighty-five percent of homes are owner occupied (U.S. Census).

- Riverside is a highly educated community. Over 50% of the population holds a bachelors degree and approximately 23% of the population holds a graduate or professional degree. Less than 7% did not complete high school (U.S. Census) (Figure 17, below).

Educational Attainment

45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%

Did Not Complete High School | High School Graduate | Bachelors Degree | Graduate/Professional Degree
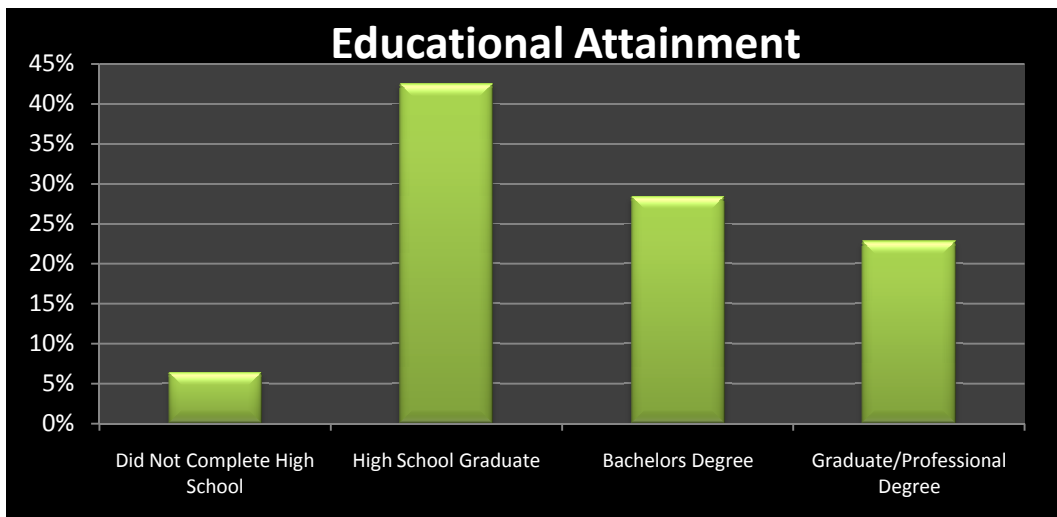
Figure 7: Educational Attainment of Riverside Population, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

- Riverside is composed mostly of family households. Only a quarter of households have one just one person (U.S. Census).
- Riverside is a highly affluent community. The median household income in 1999 was approximately $65,000 and close to 30% of the households had incomes above $100,000. Only 12% of households had incomes of less than $25,000 (U.S. Census) (Figure 18).

Household Income Distribution

Income Range	Percentage
$0 - $24,999	~12%
$25,000 - $49,999	~24%
$50,000 - $74,999	~22%
$75,000 - $99,999	~13%
$100,000 +	~29%
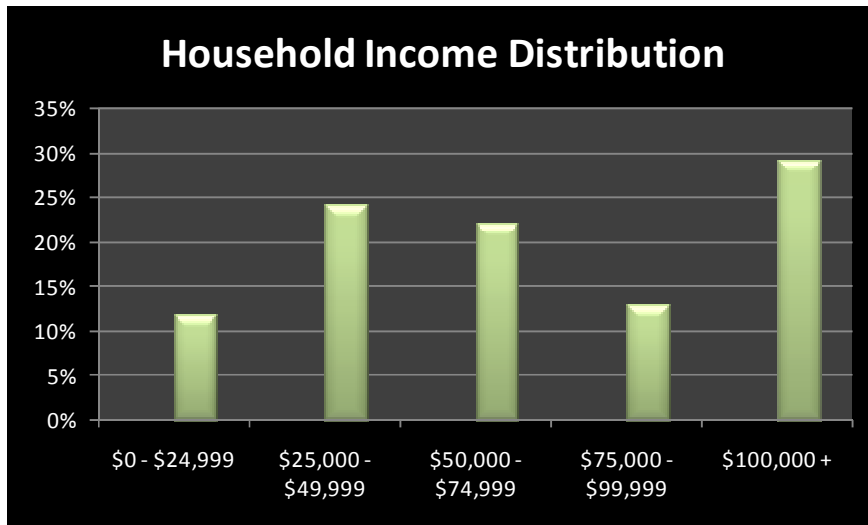
Figure 8: Household Income Distribution in Riverside, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Labor Force

Riverside serves Chicago as a bedroom community. Most people in Riverside work outside the village, either in area edge cities or in downtown Chicago. As stated previously, a Metra line provides convenient access to Chicago. Nearly 98% of those in the Riverside labor force are employed (U.S. Census). Many people work professional service jobs, such as law and finance (D. Moravecet, 2008).

Housing Profile

The median home value was $264,200 in 2000 (U.S. Census) Estimates for 2008 put home values at around $500,000, more than twice the Chicago area average (www.zillow.com, 2008). Nearly 70% of homes are single family units (U.S. Census). The single family homes range from modest bungalows to grand mansions; those include, as mentioned earlier, ones designed by famed architects like Frank Lloyd Wright. Riverside is almost completely built-out, but there are some new multi-family units being built in a mixed use building currently under

construction downtown. Only 2.4% of the housing stock in Riverside was vacant in the year 2000 (U.S. Census).

Institutional Structure

Students in Riverside attend schools in two different school districts, the Riverside School District, and the Riverside-Brookfield School District. Both school districts have a small percentage of students who qualify as "low income". Elementary school students perform above the average in statewide tests, while high school students only perform at around the state average (Illinois Board of Education, 2008) (Table 7):

School District Information				
District	Enrollment	Student/Teacher Ratio*	% Low Income**	Student Performance in State-wide Tests ***
Riverside	1,349	16.0 (elementary)	7.9%	91.3%
Riverside-Brookfield	1,487	17.4 (secondary)	6.7%	72.8%

* The statewide ratio for both elementary and secondary school is 18.8
** Low income students come from families receiving public aid; live in institutions for neglected or delinquent children; are supported in foster homes with public funds; or are eligible to receive free or reduced price lunch.
***This is the overall percent meeting or exceeding Illinois Learning Standards. The state-wide average is 73.8%

Table 3: Educational Statistics for Riverside School Districts (Illinois Board of Education, 2008)

There are a few hospitals close to Riverside, although the city itself has none. Loyola University Hospital in Maywood is 2 miles away. MacNeal Hospital in Berwyn is also close by. Both of these hospitals are major medical facilities.

Summary

Downtown Riverside has never been or tried to be more than a local services node for Riverside residents. Frederick Law Olmsted intended it as a bedroom community for people working in Chicago. It was always marketed toward upper middle class and wealthy individuals. As such, the town center has always been home to local service providers and shops, catering to the everyday needs of the city's residents. These include grocery stores, clothing shops, doctors' offices, etc. Today the town center has taken on more of a boutique niche. Residents' increasing

mobility since the advent and ubiquity of the car has made it is easier and more convenient for them to drive a little further to one-stop shop big retailers. Rather, the Village has become something of a tourist center in its own right. It offers "small, well-maintained bungalows, larger comfortable houses from the 1920s and 1950s, and huge Victorian and early-twentieth-century mansions that attract architectural tours" (Arnold, 2005).

There is little documentation to suggest that the downtown, which has changed little physically over the years, has ever fallen on hard times for long and the population has grown over time, from 6,770 in 1930, to 8,774 in 1960 to 8,895 in the year 2000 (Arnold, 2005).

The town's demographic makeup has also changed very little over the years, and is still a very White, very wealthy village. In 1940, Riverside was home to "primarily small proprietors, managers and professionals" (Arnold, 2005). Riverside is still home to mainly professional and managerial workers. While an aesthetically beautiful and affluent community overall, Riverside's range of home prices is more diverse than other wealthy communities in the area (Arnold, 2005).

Chicago Area Case Study: Park Forest, Illinois

Park Forest is a racially diverse, middle class suburb. It covers 4.9 square miles, has a population of approximately 23,000 and is located 36 miles south of downtown Chicago (about a 50 minute drive). The city did not develop around a rail line or freeway, but instead was developed several miles away from any such connection. Today, a Metra rail line does service Park Forest, but this rail line runs a couple of miles away from the Village downtown.
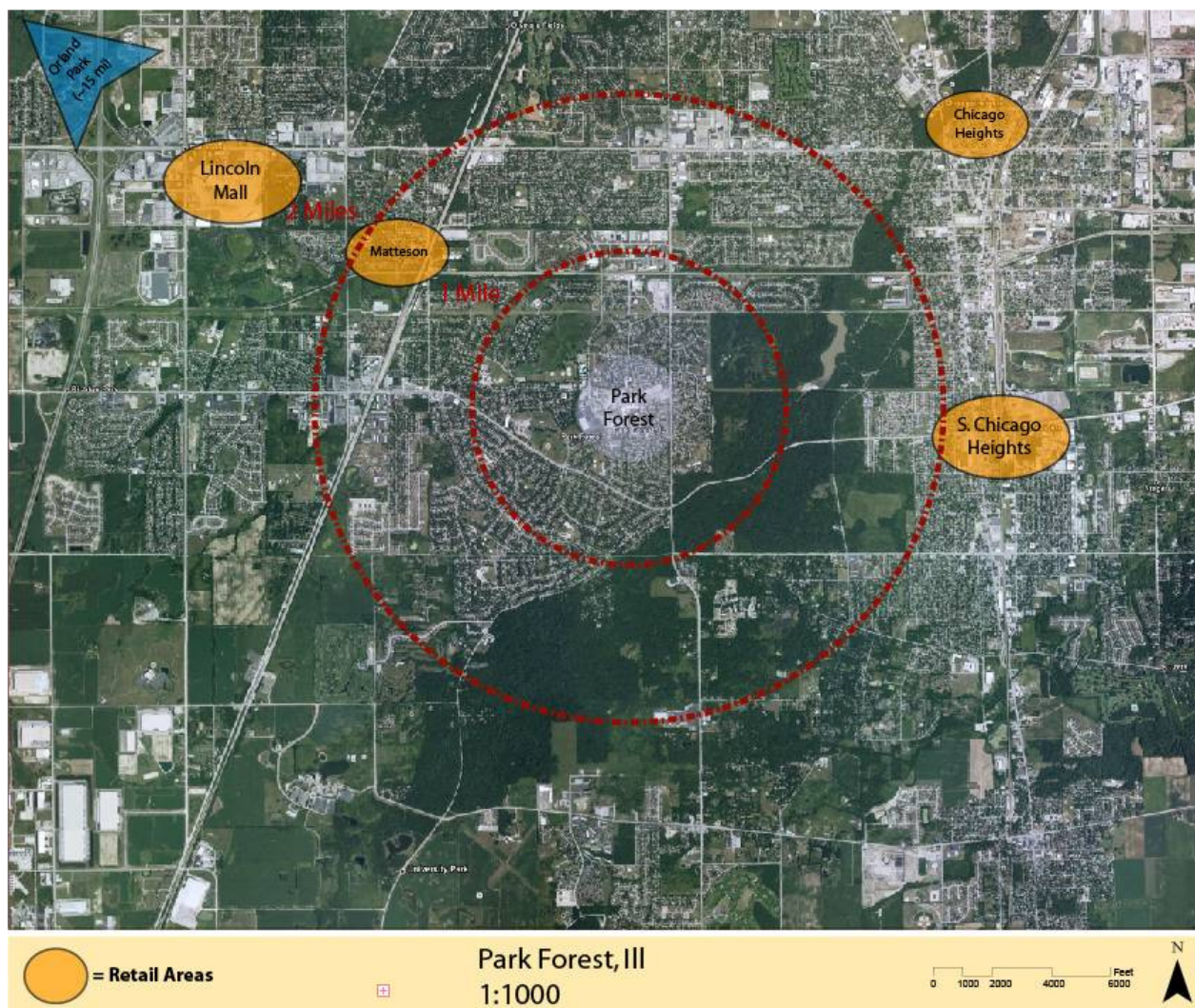
Figure 9: Park Forest and Surrounding Area

Urban Design and Economic Development History

The economic development, and ultimate decline, of Park Forest is intrinsically linked to urban design and architecture decisions made from its inception. The town and especially the Village center have been re-imagined numerous times. For clarity, urban design issues will be discussed as the history of the Village unfolds below.

The land which would become the Village of Park Forest was first inhabited in the 1830's. Much of the land was owned by the Batcheldor family, Methodist abolitionists offering their homes to escaped slaves along the Underground Railroad. By 1852 the Illinois Central railroad bordered the northwest fringe of the area, and the Michigan Central followed a year later to intersect with it in Matteson a few miles to the west. Up through World War II, South Chicago in general enjoyed healthy residential growth (Tubutis, 2005).

Planners such as Rexford Tugwell were heavily involved in the New Deal. Roosevelt chose him to lead the Resettlement Administration, the agency in charge of relocating urban poor out of decaying cities. In this role Tugwell proposed some 25 "Greenbelt" towns; along with the eponymous one in Maryland, only three were built.

"My idea," he wrote in 1935 is, "just outside centers of population, pick up cheap land, build a whole community and entice people into it. Then go back into the cities and tear down whole slums and make parks of them…" (Randall, 2000, p. 41). Furthermore, he "rejected the concept of individualism" and believed that "the Greenbelt community was closer to the habits and aspirations of the American people" (Randall, 2000, p. 42). Greenbelt, Maryland also drew inspiration from Englishman Raymond Unwin's Radburn, New Jersey. Following the dictates of the Garden City Movement, Radburn implemented a grid of residential "superblocks," plentiful green space, and among the first cul-de-sacs in the United States.

Philip Klutznick, director of the Federal Public Housing Authority during much of World War II, saw a prime market opportunity to house returning veterans. At the time, there was a

major housing shortage in the country. Architect Elbert Peets had previously contributed to
Wisconsin's Greendale and, in fact, worked for Klutznick's agency (Randall, 2000, p. 56).
Following the War, Klutznick resigned his Federal post and tapped Peets for the Park Forest
architecture team.
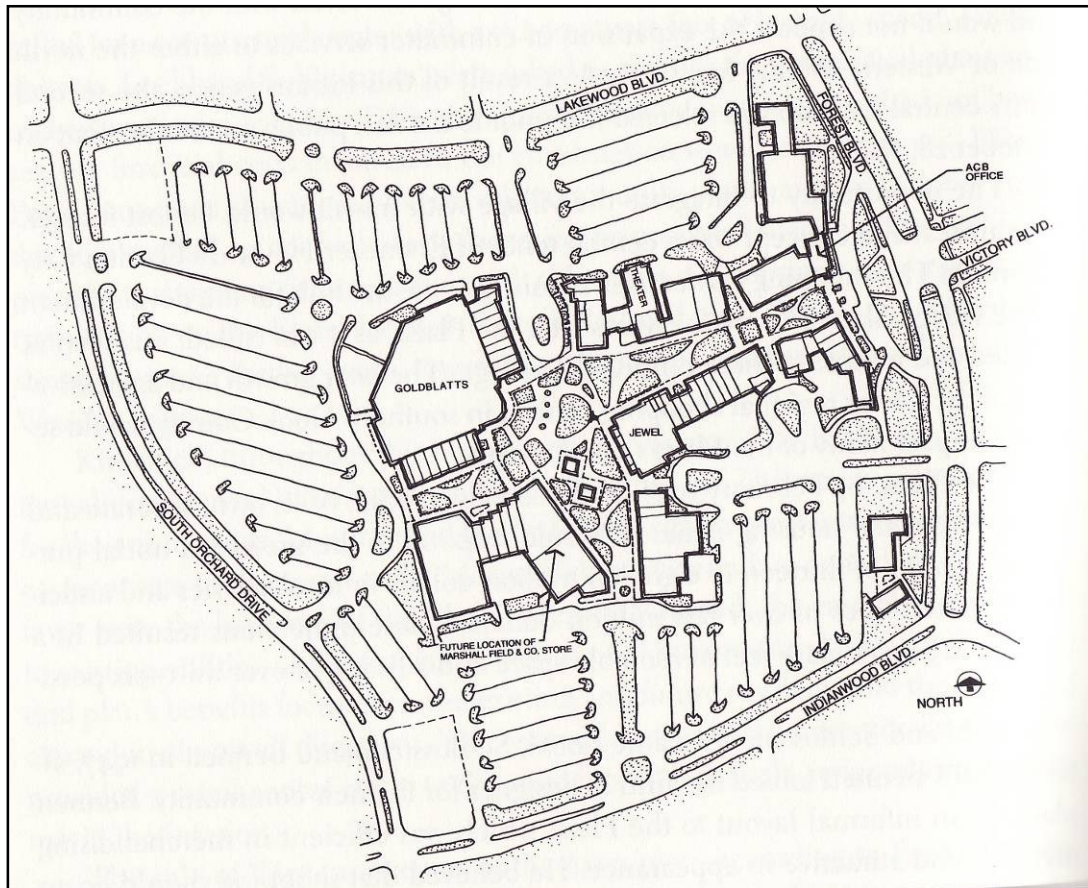
Figure 10: Park Forest Shopping Center, early 1950s (Randall, 2000)

Park Forest was envisioned as "a planned development where the landscape and the
rhythm of daily life revolved around the family car" (Smithsonian, 2008). Plentiful parking
would be provided in the town's retail core. Furthermore, the Village would reject the traditional
downtown with Main Street in place of an outdoor shopping mall—among the first of its kind in
the country. Furthermore, "as in many quickly growing communities of that era, village planners
eschewed the traditional grid streetscape in favor of winding, curvilinear streets punctuated with
wide swaths of green space" (Urban Land Institute, 2003, p. 2).
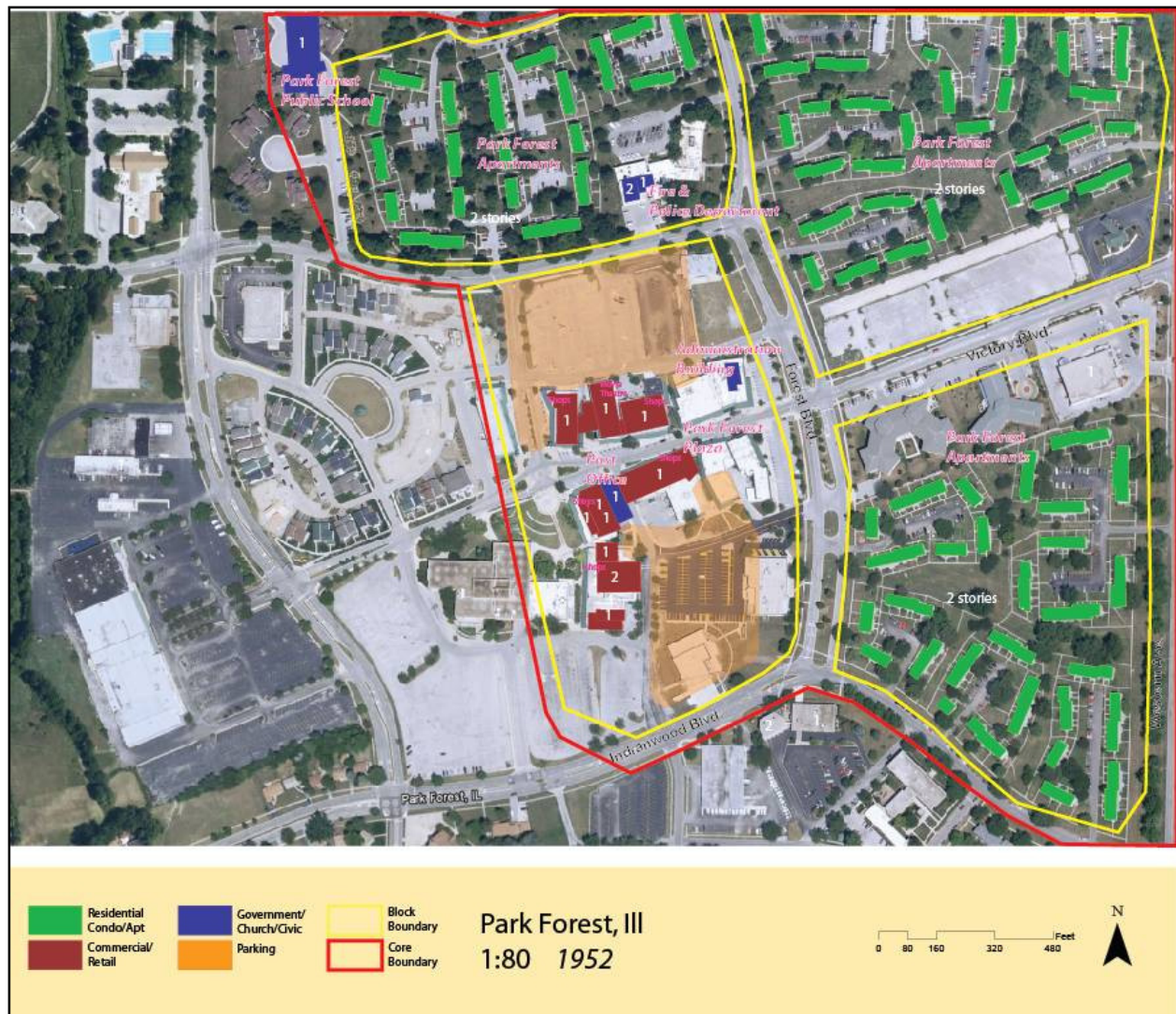
Figure 11: Park Forest Structure, 1952

Surrounding the core were extensive single-family homes and apartments. While early designs of Park Forest had some curvilinear blocks and other elements inspired by Riverside, by 1950 the design, along with superblocks, "became a community of streets and intersections." This occurred primarily based on the community's intense focus on cost cutting, and related requirements for utility layout (Randall, 2000, p. 164). The original urban core, as defined by the authors, contained four superblocks averaging nearly 13 acres each.

Park Forest developed in the late 1940s and by the early 1950's, residents were moving into the community. American Community Builders, formed by Klutznick and his co-developers, was the corporation behind the development of the Village. The corporation basically ran the town as a large type of condo association for its first couple of years. The idea was that American Community Builders would relinquish control after the city got up and running. The whole set-up was novel for the time.

The first residences constructed in the first few years were apartment units only available for rental. Potential residents of Park Forest had to apply for admission into the properties and thus the town: "[American Community Builders] screened applicants according to their income level, education, status as a veteran, and need" (Tubutis, 2005). So, when Park Forest first came about, there was an air of exclusivity about it. Residents felt this. They even wanted to change the name of the town, for fear that "Park Forest" sounded too "confusing and trite"—other suggested names for the town included Brynhurst, Westlyn and Ashford (Randall, 2000, 116).

Cooperatives and modest single family homes available for purchase soon followed the apartments. The majority of the GIs who would come to settle in Park Forest, which was nicknamed "GI Town," were young (under age 30) and married with small children. By the time Park Forest took off in the 1950s, many of these veterans had obtained college educations and good jobs (Randall, 2000, p. 116-145).

The development, however, was not without its problems. There was an extremely high turnover at first (about 1/3 each year) due to most of the early housing being rental units, and housing quality was often compromised in the pursuit of profit (Randall, 2000, p.128 & 158).

However, Park Forest Plaza, the outdoor shopping center—with its noteworthy 40-foot tall clock tower as a focal point—was booming. The development was also attracting national news (Urban Land Institute, 2003, p.3). The shops in the center faced inward onto grassy open-air pedestrian corridors and a central plaza. There were 43 businesses in Park Forest Plaza at the time. Forty of these were local and only three were chains. Large national department stores, such as Marshall Fields, would come to occupy major anchor positions in the Plaza. A list of business types in the Plaza as it existed in 1953 can be seen in Table 8.

Clothing & Accessories	21%
Food & Dining	21%
Shopping	21%
Community & Government	9%
Business & Professional Services	7%
Personal Care & Services	7%
Home & Garden	5%
Arts & Entertainment	2%
Legal & Financial	2%
Sports & Recreation	2%
Construction & Contractors	2%

Table 4: Business Types in Downtown Park Forest, 1953 (Randall, 2000)

Name of Business	Type	Address
Administration Building (American Community Builders)	Community & Government	2 Plaza
Amstadter Storage & Van Co.	Construction & Contractors	127 Plaza
Art Mart (gift shop)	Shopping	128 Plaza
Bakery	Food & Dining	107 Plaza
Bank of Park Forest	Legal & Financial	
Barber Shop	Personal Care & Services	101 Plaza
Beauty Shop	Personal Care & Services	119 Plaza
Camera Corner	Shopping	
Cleaners	Clothing & Accessories	109 Plaza
Cocktail Lounge	Food & Dining	115 Plaza
Delicatessan	Food & Dining	113 Plaza
Dr. Julian Rice (optometrist)	Business & Professional Services	
Drug Store	Personal Care & Services	105 Plaza
Dutch Mill Candy Store	Food & Dining	
Fidler's for Men (clothing and accessories)	Clothing & Accessories	201 Plaza
Fran's of Park Forest (women's apparel)	Clothing & Accessories	104 Plaza
Goldblatts' Department Store	Clothing & Accessories	
Hickory Hill Farms (cut chicken shop)	Food & Dining	
Hobby & Sports Center	Sports & Recreation	102 Plaza
Hofmann Florist	Home & Garden	103 Plaza
Holiday Theater	Arts & Entertainment	120 Plaza
Jewel Foods	Food & Dining	125 Plaza
Karmel Korn Shop	Food & Dining	129 Plaza
Laundromat	Clothing & Accessories	121 Plaza
MacArnolds (women's apparel)	Clothing & Accessories	122-126 Plaza
McClurg's Book Shop	Shopping	132 Plaza
Park Forest Currency Exchange	Business & Professional Services	135 Plaza
Park Forest Hardware	Home & Garden	111 Plaza
Park Forest Insurance Company	Business & Professional Services	
Park Forest Jewelers	Shopping	131 Plaza
Park Forest Liquors	Food & Dining	106-108 Plaza
Park Forest Shoe Repair	Clothing & Accessories	133 Plaza
Park Forest TV & Record Center	Shopping	
Park Forest Water Company	Community & Government	2 Plaza
Pick-N-Save Food Store	Food & Dining	215-225 Plaza
Post Office	Community & Government	
Prince & Princess Toy Shop	Shopping	
Public Service Company	Community & Government	100 Plaza
S.S. Kresge Company (dollar store)	Shopping	211 Plaza
Seifer's of Park Forest (appliances/furniture)	Shopping	110-114 Plaza
Shapiro's Shoe Shop	Clothing & Accessories	116 Plaza
Vistain's News Agency (magazines and party favors)	Shopping	138 Plaza
Youngsters (children's clothes)	Clothing & Accessories	117 Plaza

Table 5: Downtown Park Forest Business Names in 1953 (Randall, 2000)

Park Forest lacked major industry, however, and many of the men in the community commuted to Chicago. In fact, by 1960, more than half of Village residents were traveling to downtown by car (Smithsonian, 2008). According to the Park Forest Historical Society, the first people who moved into the Village worked at companies including "Argonne, Swift, Fifth Army, Standard Oil in Whiting, Indiana, and later also in Naperville. [The] University of Chicago was also a big employer. [There were] doctors and lawyers, nuclear physicists and lots of school teachers. [Many] worked for the national insurance companies…" (Nicoll, 2008). This type of company man was critiqued in *The Organization Man*, a book by William Whyte which took a harsh look at suburban, capitalist culture and specifically took issue with Park Forest.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Village of Park Forest began to stumble. A mere decade into its existence, the design of Park Forest Plaza would change. In 1963 Sears opened a store on the eastern end of the development, right at the entrance of Victory Boulevard. "This construction would damage the integrity of the Plaza and the Village's internal circulation more than any other modification to the Elbert Peets Plan." (Randall, 2000, p. 149).

Furthermore, the Village, which provided an excellent environment for young families just starting out, lacked the type of housing these families wanted and needed as they and their incomes expanded. In essence, there was no larger, more affluent housing for families to move into as their circumstances changed. As a consequence, these families were forced to leave Park Forest if they wished to improve their lifestyle (Randall, 2000, p. 193).

The developers negotiated with Illinois Central for a direct spur to serve the community, but the railroad turned them down because it was not profitable enough (Smithsonian, 2008). O'Hare Airport and major interstates eventually bypassed south Chicago, hastening the area's decline.

During the mid-70's, two competing malls, Lincoln Mall and Orland Park Mall, opened up within a couple of miles of Park Forest Plaza. The Plaza, a small regional shopping destination, had to compete with larger competitors with better transportation access. The Plaza struggled in the 1970s and 80s, as stores moved out and as residents fled and demographics changed.

From 1960 to 2000, Park Forest went from almost all White to 55% White, as the number of African Americans went from a total of 8 in 1960 to 9,247 in 2000 (or, 39% of the population). The city's population has dropped dramatically in recent years as the demographics have changed, from around 30,000 in 1960 to around 23,000 today (Tubutis, 2005).

In 1987, the Plaza was re-developed and re-branded as "The Centre" but this name change failed to draw customers back for long: "After the 1987 development, [it] had many chain stores, but many left within three years, when that developer left" (Nicoll, 2008).

In 1993, the Plaza was sold to Parkside Land Co., who

> unveiled plans to convert the decaying mall into the traditional downtown the village had never had. The Village contributed $3.8 million to this effort, but by late 1994 it was clear no progress had been made—and the Village learned the developer had not paid current taxes. The Village sued and, in late 1995, purchased the back taxes. Based on its minority ownership position, the Village then asked the courts to place the property in receivership. The owner offered to sell the property for $100,000 plus the remaining back taxes, $764,331. The Village quickly accepted. In the meantime, however, Park Forest received more bad news: Sears [one of the last major remaining anchors] announced it was leaving… (Urban Land Institute, 2003, p. 3)
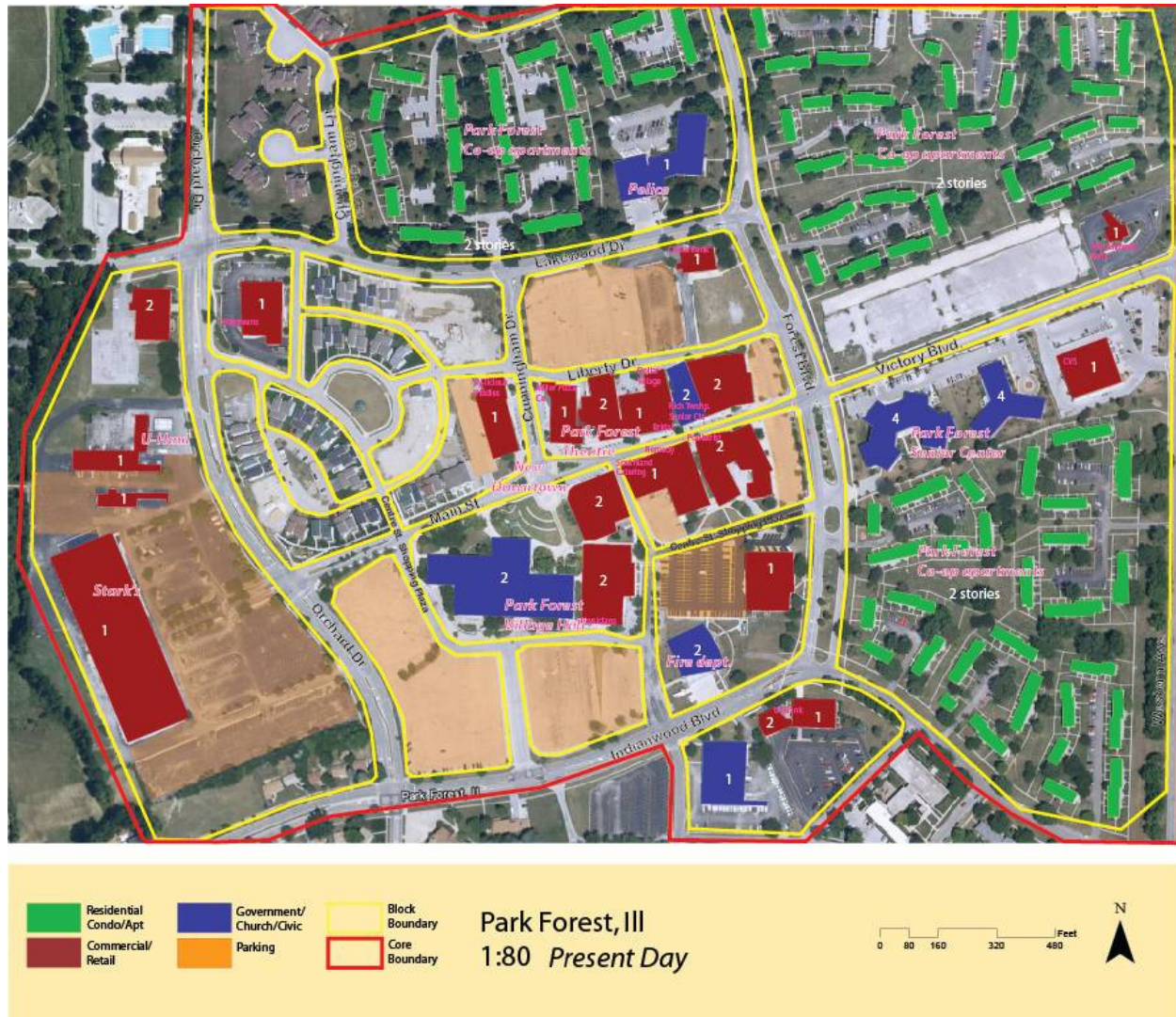
Figure 12: Park Forest Structure, Present Day

In the late 1990s, the Village consulted several urban design and planning firms. These firms made several recommendations, including radical changes to the downtown grid system (or lack thereof). The old downtown, which had faced inward to its pedestrian center, has since been converted into a traditional, "proper" downtown. The pedestrian plaza was removed and conventional streets have replaced it.

The Urban Land Institute (ULI) conducted a study of Park Forest in 2003. The ULI study looked into how to revitalize the city. Their recommendations were as follows.

- Reduce the 300,000-plus square feet of retail space to approximately 150,000 to 200,000 square feet, recognizing that Park Forest is no longer a regional shopping destination.

- Market DownTown as a specialty convenience center with niche retailers as well as service businesses and entertainment destinations, building on its already thriving arts community.

- Package three parcels of land together — totaling 18 to 20 acres — for residential development, and investigate the market for increased density of 10 to 15 dwelling units per acre, creating the potential for approximately 325 housing units and 700 new residents.

- Preserve the historic façade of the former Marshall Field's site, but consider razing at least a portion of the outdated building to claim space for housing (Urban Land Institute, 2003).

The report also suggested that "concentrating 'like' tenants in certain areas of the DownTown can generate more foot traffic and help draw additional retail users" (Urban Land Institute). Ms. Kingma, the Economic Development Director for the Village of Park Forest, states that "most of the recommendations have been or are being implemented" (Kingma, 2008). For example, large parking lots that had once surrounded the Plaza have been slated for new use, per the ULI recommendations. Already, several areas where there were once only parking lots are now new single-family homes. Also, the downtown is being marketed as a niche destination.

Today, the Village "acts as the leasing agent and property manager for those properties which [it] own[s]" (Kingma, 2008). The Village owns most of Park Forest Plaza but the Village plans to "sell most of the buildings…and get them back on the tax rolls" (Kingma, 2008). Hildy Kingma had this to say about the Village's incentives to lure and keep retail in the Plaza:

> For retail that will occupy existing Village-owned space we use our ability to
> negotiate the lease terms and build-out as the incentive. We typically provide a
> 'vanilla box' for a new tenant (hvac, floors, walls, one ADA bathroom, etc) and
> the tenant has to do the build-out to meet their specific needs. Market rent is $9-

12/square foot base rent plus $4.50 for taxes and common area maintenance. We will negotiate the base rent below market value for a tenant who fills a gap in our tenant mix, and sometimes will provide a month or two free rent to assist with start up and marketing costs. For new development, from the ground up, we would likely use TIF benefits to incentive-ize (sic) it as the downtown is in a TIF district. We have a new grocery store coming to Orchard Park Plaza, which is a shopping center in the downtown area (not part of the former Park Forest Plaza, but across the street from it) and the property owner was given a sales tax rebate to assist with the build-out for that store.

She went on to say the following: "[We] would likely not sell the building that houses most of our cultural arts venues because they get very favorable rents that a private owner would not likely honor" (Kingma, 2008).

Economic and demographic profile

Today, there are approximately 70 businesses in Park Forest Plaza. Of the types listed below (Table 6), all are local businesses except one, which is a branch of Chase Bank (Kingma, 2008).

Business Type	
Shopping	20%
Business & Professional	19%
Health & Medicine	17%
Community & Gov.	9%
Legal & Financial	7%
Comp. & Electronics	7%
Real Estate	4%
Food & Dining	4%
Sports & Recreation	4%
Personal Care & Services	3%
Clothing & Accessories	1%
Construction	1%
Education	1%
Media & Comm.	1%

Table 6: Business Types in Downtown Park Forest, 2008 (Kingma, 2008)

Residential Population

- Fifty-five percent of the population was White in the year 2000. In comparison, as stated above, the Village was almost 100% White in 1960. In 2000, thirty-nine percent was Black and less than 1% was Asian. Five percent of the population identifies themselves as Hispanic or Latino (Tubutis, 2005, and U.S. Census).

- Seventy-six percent of homes are owner occupied (U.S. Census).

- Over 27% of the population holds a bachelors degree and approximately 10% of the population holds a graduate or professional degree. Around 12% did not complete high school (U.S. Census) (Figure 13):
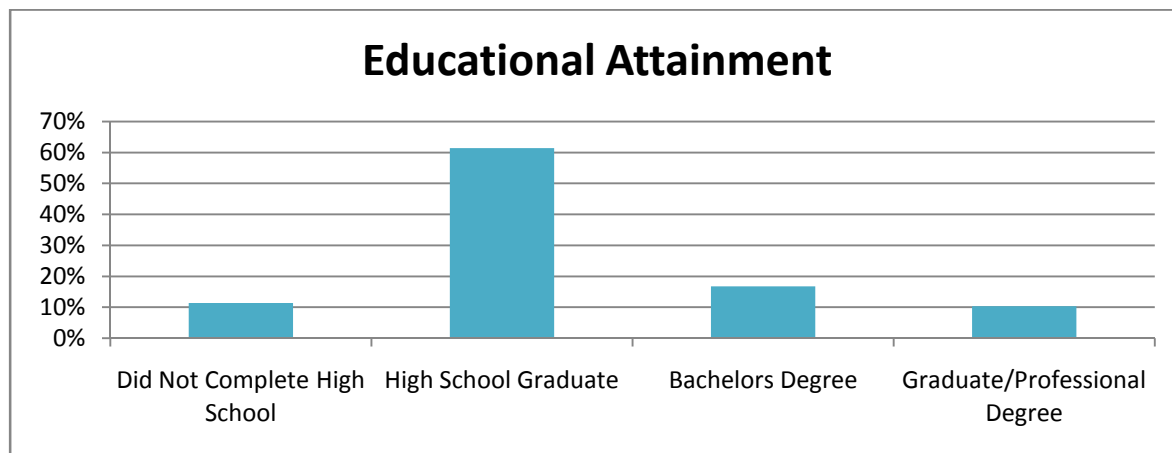
Figure 13: Educational Attainment of Park Forest Population, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

- Around 70 percent of households are occupied by families (U.S. Census).

- The median household income in 1999 was approximately $47,579 and close to 9% of the households had incomes above $100,000. Almost 20% of households had incomes of less than $25,000 (U.S. Census) (Figure 14):
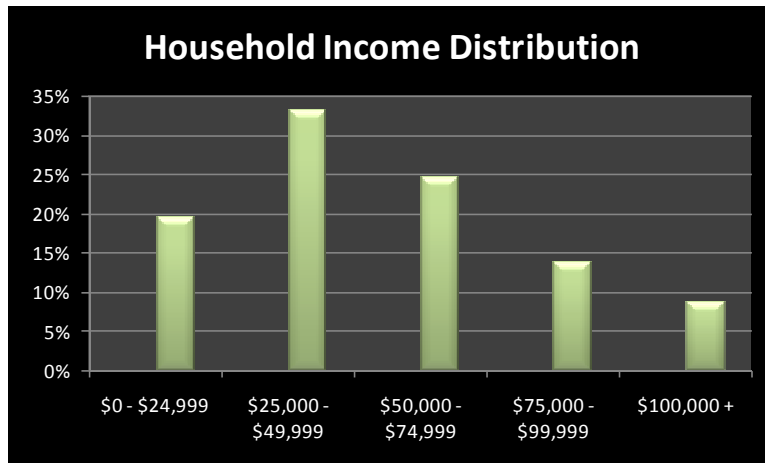
Figure 14: Household Income Distribution in Park Forest, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Labor Force

Many people in Park Forest work in downtown Chicago. A large number also work in surrounding suburbs in the local hospitals, the Village of Park Forest and the local boards of education (Kingma) (Table 11):

Name	Type	# of Employees
Continental/Midland	Makes screws for automotive	250
Ludeman Center	Mental health institution	580
Rich Township HS Dist 227	Education	206
Village of Park Forest	Municipal gov't	162
Hadady Corporation	Railroad parts	50
Homewood Disposal	Waste management	85
Imageworks	Printing	50

Table 7: Largest Employers of Park Forest Residents (Kingma, 2008)

A Metra line away from the downtown provides access to Chicago. Ninety-five percent of those in the Park Forest labor force are employed (U.S. Census).

Housing Profile

The median home value was $84,400 in 2000 (U.S. Census). Estimates for 2008 put home values at around $129,000, significantly less than the Chicago area average (www.zillow.com, 2008). Sixty-six percent of homes are single family. Park Forest is quite built up and, despite a declining population in recent years, new homes are being built near the downtown area. Three percent of the housing stock in Park Forest was vacant in the year 2000 (U.S. Census).

Institutional Structure

Students in Park Forest attend schools in one of four different school districts: Crete, Matteson, Park Forest and Rich School Districts. Each school district has a large percentage of students classified as "low income". Of these school districts, only Matteson performs better than the state average on statewide school exams. Rich township scores significantly lower than the statewide average (Illinois Board of Education, 2008):

School District Information				
District	Enrollment	Student/Teacher Ratio*	% Low Income**	Student Performance in State-wide Tests ***
Crete	4,797	22.2 (elementary), 26.0 (secondary)	38.9%	71.3%
Matteson	3,333	18.4 (elementary)	50.0%	80.1%
Park Forest	2,085	20.1 (elementary)	78.5%	68.2%
Rich	4,190	17.9 (secondary)	51.5%	29.6%

* The statewide ratio for both elementary and secondary school is 18.8
** Low income students come from families receiving public aid; live in institutions for neglected or delinquent children; are supported in foster homes with public funds; or are eligible to receive free or reduced price lunch.
***This is the overall percent meeting or exceeding Illinois Learning Standards. The state-wide average is 73.8%

Table 8: Educational Statistics for Park Forest School Districts (Illinois Board of Education, 2008)

St. James' Hospital has branches in both Olympia Fields and Chicago Heights, each located between 3 and 5 miles from central Park Forest (Kingma, 2008).

Summary

Whether Park Forest Plaza can completely recover remains to be seen. Many shop fronts are still vacant. No longer, however, is Park Forest Plaza trying to compete as a regional center: "[When] the Village bought the Downtown…[it] began to market it to small service companies" (Nicoll, 2008). National department stores are long gone and goals have been scaled back. The Plaza, however, has turned into a focal point for local artists and galleries. It also includes numerous theaters and performing arts venues, including the Illinois Theater Center and the Illinois Philharmonic Orchestra. Fitness and exercise studios have also filled in a lot of the Plaza

(Kingma, 2008). Many buildings in the downtown are multi-storey: "Most of the second floors are occupied by studios, accountants, counselors, etc." (Nicoll, 2008).

Park Forest's other concern remains in the residential units, still largely locked into place with their original one-family and apartment designs. In 2003, Village President John Ostenburg noted that "There is never a problem marketing the co-op [apartments]" but that their 2-3 bedroom configuration with one bath made them a hard sell for families (Urban Land Institute, 2003, p. 10).

As Greg Randall, author of the historical critique of Park Forest, *America's Original GI Town*, astutely pointed out, neighborhoods—even "traditionally planned" ones—evolve with the times and attain housing diversity. Unfortunately, "Park Forest for the last fifty years has protected itself from these pressures" (Randall, p. 200). Whether the Village can, instead, accept those pressures and continue to change for the better will ultimately determine its fate.

Chicago Area Case Study: Prairie Crossing, Illinois

Prairie Crossing is an affluent enclave located in the Chicago suburb of Grayslake. It has a population of approximately 800-1,000 on 1 square mile of land and is located 45 miles north of downtown Chicago. This is between 60 and 80 minutes by car. The development is located at the intersection of two Metra lines. The development began in the mid-1990s, and the last single family home was constructed in 2005, giving the development a total of 359 single family homes. Recently, thirty-six condominiums were completed in Prairie Crossing.
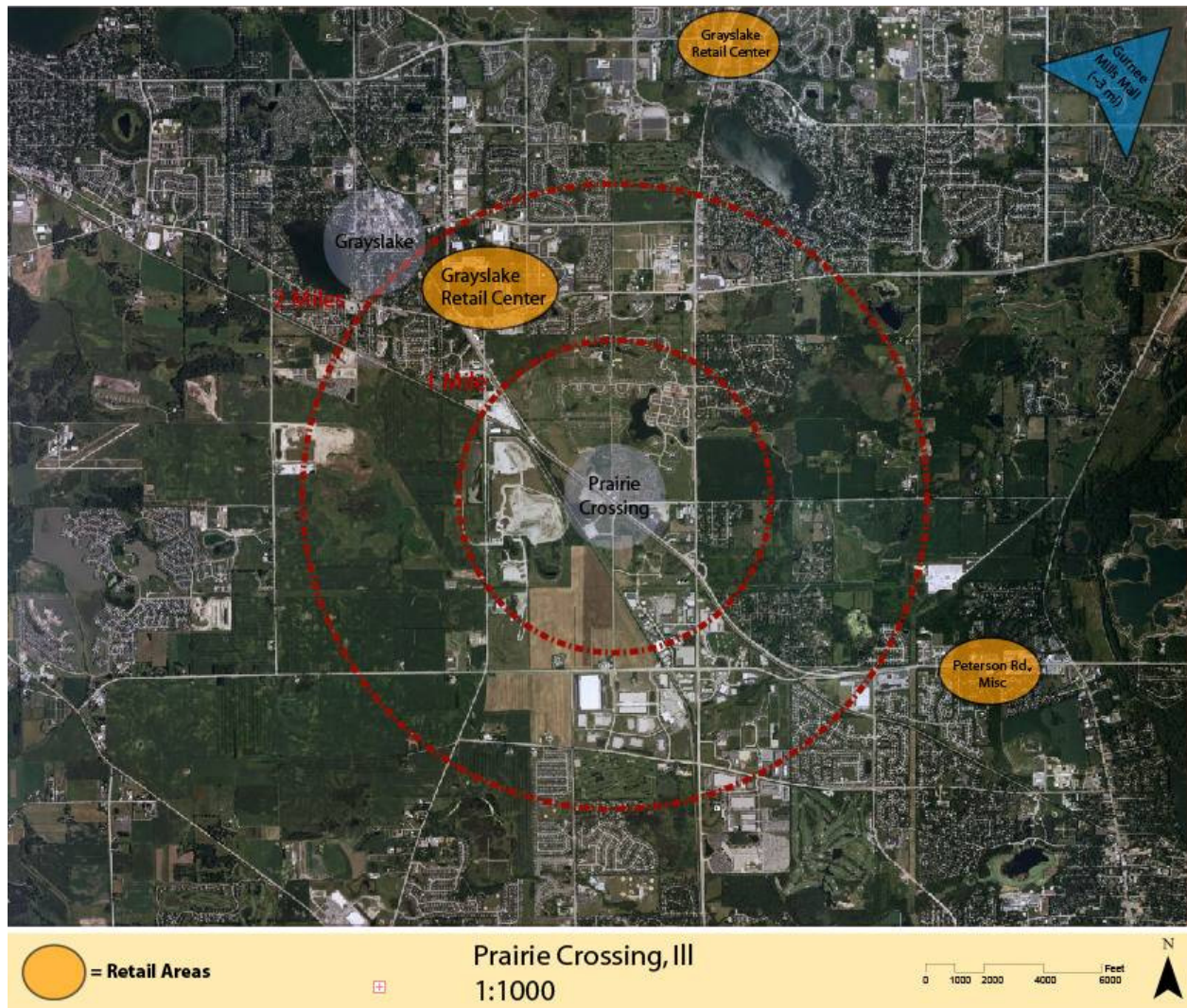
Figure 15: Prairie Crossing and Surrounding Area

URBAN DESIGN

Prairie Crossing is best understood as the vision of George A. Ranney, Jr. and his wife Victoria for a "Compact, Transit-Oriented Development" (Dunlap, 1999). The land where the development now sits originally supported a rotation of corn and soybeans. By 1986 it was slated to become a 2400-house subdivision. However, in 1987 (Dunlap, 1999) Gaylord Donnelly, "a conservationist and chairman of RR Donnelley, a large Chicago-based printing

company founded by his grandfather, had a different idea. He and other area property owners successfully opposed the plan and, as Prairie Holdings Corporation, purchased a 677-acre parcel" (Kane, 2003). Donnelly owned some 2500 acres in the neighboring Liberty Prairie Reserve; he and seven other families subsequently formed Prairie Holdings Corporation to develop the land (www.terrain.org, 2001). Their new plans would call for a mere 359 single family homes and 36 condos (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008).

When Donnelly passed away in 1992, his nephew George Ranney, a partner in the law firm Mayer, Brown and Platt took over the company. Victoria Ranney is the author of *Olmsted in Chicago* and has served as editor of Olmsted's papers (Kane, 2003). Both would strive to carry out Donnelly's vision.

> To plan the land for Prairie Crossing, Donnelley and the Ranneys began by interviewing landscape architects from around the country. When they met Bill Johnson, FASLA, of Berkeley, California, who had spent his childhood summers in 2003 ASLA Awards nearby Long Lake, Illinois, they knew that they had found someone who understood their piece of Midwestern land. Stilled unnamed, the project in 1987 was "just an idea of a community based on preserving land, a small, compact village character," Johnson recalls (Kane, 2003).

Working closely with Johnson, the developers laid out Prairie Crossing's *Ten Guiding Principles*, which are clearly delineated on the development's website (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008). These are:

1. Environmental protection and enhancement.
2. A healthy lifestyle.
3. A sense of place—Architecture shall be inspired by "the prairies, marshes, and farms of the area. Streets are named after native prairie plants and the early settlers who frequented the site"
4. A sense of community—There is a "belief that community and conservation can go hand in hand…the trails and gardens of Prairie Crossing are designed to be places where people can meet to enjoy and care for the land"
5. Economic and racial diversity.

6. Convenient and efficient transportation.

7. Energy conservation.

8. Lifelong learning and education.

9. Aesthetic design and high-quality construction.

10. Economic viability—"Prairie Crossing is being developed by families who wish to see the conservation community concept replicated elsewhere" (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008).

Consequently, when *The New York Times* reported on the development in 1999, writer David Dunlap reported that "the five-year-old Prairie Crossing project already breaks so many rules of conventional development that it has drawn national attention far out of proportion to its small size" (Dunlap, 1999).
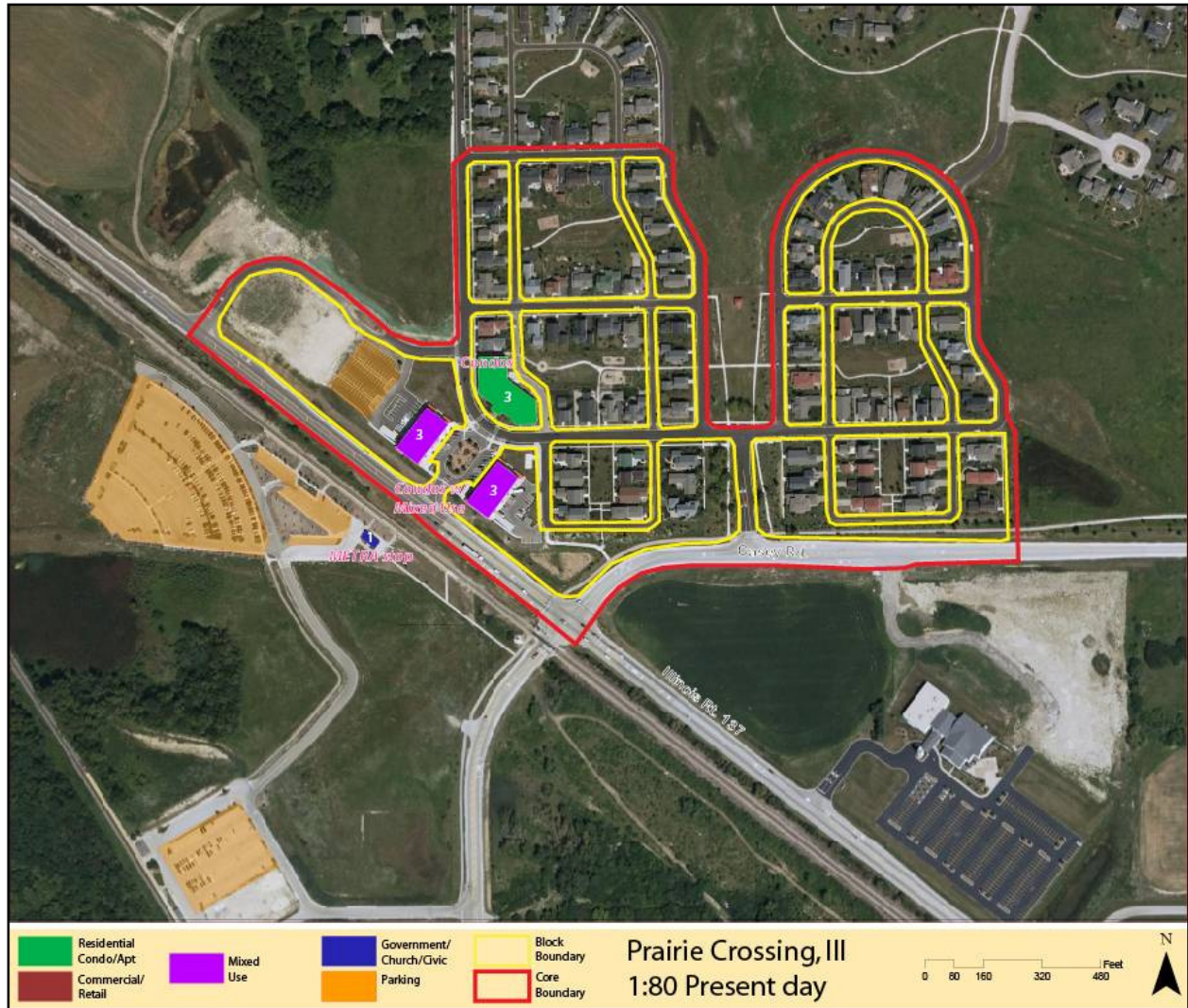
Figure 16: Prairie Crossing Structure, Present Day

Prairie Crossing's design innovations indeed build on the guiding principles. More than 60 percent of the development is open land dedicated to wildlife and ten miles of multi-use trails. The onsite Lake Aldo Leopold, according to the developers, is naturally filtered and clean enough for swimming. It also "serves as a refuge for four fish species (blackchin and blacknose shiners, the Iowa darter, and the banded killifish) that are on the Illinois Department of Natural Resources list of 'at risk' native species" (Kane, 2003).

Furthermore, "to reinforce the community's sense of its Lake County roots, historic buildings were preserved for current use. One of these is the Byron Colby Barn, a dairy barn

built nearby in 1885. It was taken down timber by timber and transported to Prairie Crossing, where a barn raising and renovation took place in 1996. The barn now serves as a community center and site for weddings, parties, concerts, school assemblies and conferences (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008). Prairie Crossing instills a strong historic character in its new houses. There are twelve prototype units, all painted in "the earth tones and warm colors of the native prairie landscaping" (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008). *The New York Times* added that, "with gabled roofs, jaunty pediments, deep porches, clapboard siding, sash windows and white trim against a palette of rustic colors, they exude so much Americana they almost bring an Aaron Copland melody to mind" (Dunlap, 1999).

In 2003, *Landscape Architecture* likened the development layout to New Urbanism (Kane, 2003). Eschewing cul-de-sacs, the houses are arranged in clusters with average block sizes of 1.3 acres as defined in the urban core. The town of Grayslake, which contains Prairie Crossing, has waived the minimum one-acre residential lot size in favor of "lots as small the developer cares to build, as long as 50 percent or more of the property is set aside as contiguous open space and there is no increase in the overall number of houses" (www.terrain.org, 2001). Only a fifth of the land, or 132 acres, has been developed. Prairie Crossing also prides itself on its direct rail connection to Metra, Chicago's transit system. Many homes and condos surround Prairie Crossing's transit oriented development town center plan (www.terrain.org, 2001). This mixed-use town center sports 14,000 feet of retail space (LoopNet, 2008).

According to the development's website, all of the 359 single-family homes, which are "50% more energy-efficient than comparable homes in the Chicago area," have been sold (www.prairiecrossing.org, 2008). Earlier this year, *Chicago Life* magazine confirmed that a 'hypothetical' Prairie Crossing family would consume 164 million yearly BTU's, compared to 240 million for a normal suburban dwelling. It cast a skeptical eye on the community at large, however, contending that due to transportation costs, urban communities close to work consume far less energy (Valerio, 2008).

However, the community's residents appear to love the development: "They participate in prairie burns and construct rain gardens in their side yards to decrease runoff into the stormwater treatment system. They are keen about the compost containers integrated into their

kitchens. In summer, they stop by the nearby farm market to pick up fresh vegetables for dinner. And they like the fact that a windmill generates electric power for the irrigation pumps, lights, and computers of the organic farm" (Kane, 2003).

Indeed, Victoria Ranney feels Prairie Crossing's design is true to Olmsted's conception of landscape as a "layering of uses, meanings, and views."

> In this case, those layers of meaning—the land's history, nature, and stewardship—allow residents to grow into a community, to become attached to the land that surrounds them, and to have the landscape shape them as well. Their appreciation of this landscape can expand and deepen when they learn how it functions. And so when Prairie Crossing residents look out onto a flowering prairie at dusk on a soft June evening, they can't help but admire the beauty. But they can also reflect upon the fact that the prairie is cleansing the water that they'll swim in the next morning (Kane, 2003).

Economic development

Businesses in Prairie Crossing are mainly of a boutique nature. They are located at Station Square. There are only spaces for 8 businesses. Seven of these units are occupied. These shops include upscale clothing stores, a café and some art and specialty stops (www.prairiecrossing.com, 2008) (Table 9).

Business Name
Prairie Croissant Café
Little Skye
Ten Thousand Villages
Prairie Sunshine Yoga Studio
Affinity Boutique
Prairie Arts & Fibers
Earth Wild Gardens

Table 9: Prairie Crossing Business Names (prairiecrossing.com, 2008)

There are plans to develop two parcels around Station Square for additional retail/restaurant facilities.

Residential Population

Since Prairie Crossing is an unincorporated neighborhood in the city of Grayslake, ascertaining demographic data specifically to Prairie Crossing is not possible. Prairie Crossing straddles two census block groups with a total population of approximately 7,000 (U.S. Census). For the purposes of this analysis, unless otherwise noted, statistical data for this area from the 2000 U.S. Census is used to be representative of Prairie Crossing.

- Eighty-nine percent of the population of the two census blocks is White. About 6% is Asian and 2% is Black. 5% of the population identifies themselves as Hispanic or Latino (U.S. Census). As for the Prairie Crossing development itself, as of 1999, when half of the single family units in Prairie Crossing were complete, the development was approximately 8% Black (Dunlap, 1999).
- Ninety-one percent of homes in the census block groups are owner occupied (U.S. Census), but the percentage is higher in the Prairie Crossing development itself (Pogson 2008).
- The area is highly educated, as is most of surrounding Lake County, and 45% of the block group area population holds a bachelors degree and approximately 17% of the population holds a graduate or professional degree. Only 7% of the population of the area did not complete high school (U.S. Census) (Figure 17):
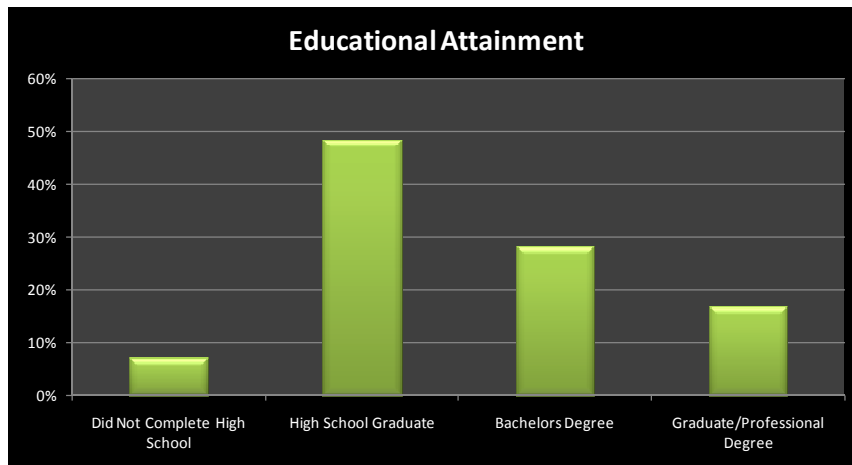
Figure 17: Educational Attainment of Prairie Crossing Area Population (US Census, 2000)

- Family households constitute almost 80% of households in the two block groups (U.S. Census).

- In addition to being highly educated, the area is also quite wealthy. Twenty-five percent of households in the block group areas had incomes above $100,000. Less than 10% of households had incomes of less than $25,000 (U.S. Census) (Figure 18):
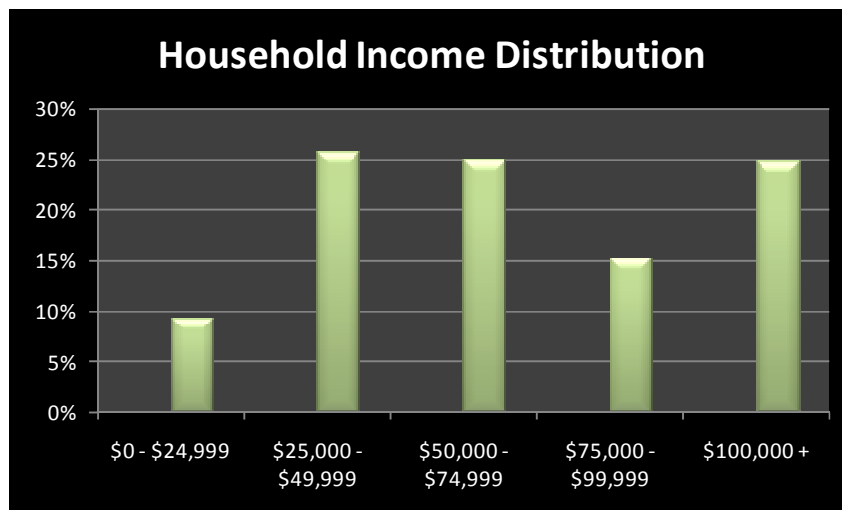
Figure 18: Household Income Distribution in the Prairie Crossing Area (US Census, 2000)

Labor Force

Prairie Crossing is a bedroom community of Chicago. Almost all people in Prairie Crossing work outside of Prairie Crossing, either in surrounding Lake County, the northern suburbs of Chicago, or downtown Chicago. As stated above, Metra lines provides transit access to Chicago. Almost 98% of those in the Prairie Crossing area are employed (U.S. Census). Major employers in the area are Baxter Pharmaceuticals, Abbot Labs, Kraft Foods, the headquarters of Walgreens, Computer Direct Warehouse and the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. There are quite a few lawyers, doctors and PhDs in the development (Pogson, 2008).

Housing Profile

The median home sales price for the Prairie Crossing itself in 2008 through August 2008 was $449,000 (www.zillow.com, 2008), more than twice that of the Chicago area. The development consists of 359 single family homes and 36 condominiums. So, 91% of units are single family. Ninety-seven percent of the single family units in the development are occupied (Pogson, 2008).

Institutional Structure

Students in Prairie Crossing attend the development's charter school, which is K-8. It provides space for 200 students. Children living in Prairie Crossing also attend school in Woodland and Fremont School Districts. Both have small percentages of "low income" students and both districts perform well above the statewide average (Illinois Board of Education) (Table 10).

School District Information				
District	Enrollment	Student/Teacher Ratio*	% Low Income**	Student Performance in State-wide Tests ***
Fremont	2,046	17.6	4.7%	91.2%
Woodland	7,001	17.1	16.5%	86.7%

* The statewide ratio for both elementary and secondary school is 18.8

** Low income students come from families receiving public aid; live in institutions for neglected or delinquent children; are supported in foster homes with public funds; or are eligible to receive free or reduced price lunch.

***This is the overall percent meeting or exceeding Illinois Learning Standards. The state-wide average is 73.8%

Table 10: Educational Statistics for Prairie Crossing Area School Districts (Illinois Board of Education, 2008)

A branch of Lake Forest Hospital is located in Grayslake, about a mile from Station Square in Prairie Crossing. It provides acute care facilities and acts as the local emergency room. Clondell Hospital, the nearest full hospital, is in Libertyville and is about 5 miles away (Pogson, 2008).

Summary

Prairie Crossing has prospered due to its location in the affluent northern outer suburbs of Chicago and due to its relatively risk-averse existence, as Prairie Crossing is a traditional neighborhood development in the loosest sense. Yes, it is a walkable community with easy access to parks and transit. However, there is little commercial or retail infrastructure in place and, without these elements, it is little more than a well-designed residential neighborhood with a collection of upscale amenities.

Chicago Area Case Studies: Conclusion

Of all the Illinois case studies, Riverside, the most historic town in our study, is in a league of its own. Riverside's original design has stood the test of time. Its curving, often narrow blocks are modestly sized and the downtown has a quality, timeless architecture. Riverside, designed before zoning, was built out gradually and has evolved very slowly and with great calculation. Very few missteps or blunders were made in Riverside's history. It has developed housing for several price points (from condominiums to grand mansions), albeit all middle class to upper middle class ones, and its neighborhoods are filled with beautiful, wide, tree-lined curvilinear streets. Olmsted was well aware that city and suburb needed each other. That holds true even today and Riverside has benefitted from its relative proximity and direct transit access to downtown Chicago. The city's central business district has never tried to compete regionally. This downtown, with its boutique stores and local restaurants and grocers, has been less susceptible than the downtowns of other towns, such as Park Forest, to big box retailers, strip malls and regional shopping centers.

Park Forest, by contrast, has fared the worst of the Illinois towns in the study. The city was laid out in enormous blocks (approximately 13 acres in some cases) where the buildings faced into an open-air pedestrian mall. These large, inward facing blocks and the downtown's spacious parking lots served as barriers between the community and the city center. Shopping simply was not attractive to local residents after the novelty of the mall had worn off. The city's location, far from Chicago and far from Metra lines and major freeways, coupled with Park Forest Plaza's relatively small size, meant that the city was not attractive as a retail destination to those outside of Park Forest, either. The opening of two large, regional malls with freeway access in the 1960s and 1970s doomed Park Forest Plaza. Park Forest has also suffered from its Southside Chicago location, as this area has become decidedly down-market over the years. There has been something of a white-flight to other suburban neighborhoods to the west and north of Chicago.

Inexpensive, quickly built housing was also a factor in the town's decline. As stated previously, there were problems with construction from the very beginning. A lack of a variety of housing choices and price points has also historically been a problem in Park Forest, as there

was nowhere to 'move-up' to once one's familial or income status changed. There was nowhere to go but out for budding families or families with a growing income.

The Village is working hard these days to correct poor past design and economic development decisions and has made a hardy attempt to regenerate and redefine its downtown. The Plaza, with a complete makeover (tearing down/construction of buildings and turning the old pedestrian mall into streets) and a revised, scaled-down purpose, has only recently begun to somewhat bounce back. Still, Park Forest Plaza looks like a 1950s shopping center, a design which has not aged well and, to many, lacks the prestige of old-world, European designs (such as that of downtown Riverside).

Prairie Crossing draws uncommon inspiration from its natural surroundings in the tradition of Riverside, and its Metra access is a definite plus. The development also has all of the benefits of location, as it is surrounded by upper-middle class, educated areas, and there is little danger of it going the way of Park Forest in the very near future. Its blocks are also comparatively small. This, coupled with the large amount of open space at Prairie Crossing, gives one the feeling of being in a small town far from a big city. However, in the end, Prairie Crossing may prove little more than a conservation-minded subdivision due to its lack of a real commercial core.

Kansas City Area Case Study: Country Club Plaza, Missouri

Prior to the 20th Century, Brush Creek Valley was merely a swampy unappealing tract of land. This land was later to be developed into one of America's first shopping centers: Country Club Plaza by J.C. Nichols. Nichols traveled the world at a young age but was inspired particularly by a visit to Europe. Surprisingly, the initial plan for Country Club Plaza didn't actually start with the Plaza itself. Nichols focused on developing neighborhoods in the surrounding areas of the proposed shopping center. It was only after housing and neighborhoods were established that Nichols began to focus on the shopping center. Nichols carefully constructed a master plan that was planned many years in advance. Nichols believed that it was important to establish strong neighborhoods and increase population and demand for retail in the areas surrounding Country Club Plaza. "Nichols had his architects and landscape designers plan the whole project in advance so future buildings would be part of the total environment" (Worley, 1997). Looking back on his travel experiences Nichols leaned towards a Spanish theme for the Plaza. Nichols hand-picked works of art to beautify the Plaza's streets and sidewalks; antique sculptures, columns, tile-adorned murals, wrought iron and fountains were all carefully placed by Nichols himself. The plaza was also designed for the automobile. In the early days there were 8 gas stations, an abundance of parking garages and parking lots. The Plaza was successful from the very beginning. Many more businesses moved to the Plaza location after seeing how successful it was.

JC Nichols died in 1950. Upon his father's death, Miller Nichols became company president. Miller expanded upon his father's dream. He added hotels and apartments to the Plaza's landscape. Local stores expanded and new stores continued to come. Miller believed in the same values as his father. He believed that people desire a better place and will take great pride in it (Gillette Howard). Miller personally sought out the finest works from around the world to be incorporated into the Plaza. The Plaza grew and flourished until September 1977 when Brush Creek flooded Country Club Plaza. This flood destroyed blocks of stores and merchandise. But the Plaza was persistent and made an even stronger come back.

Ironically the timing of the flood could not have been better. Miller Nichols looked into way to make Brush Creek a asset to Country Club Plaza instead of a issue. Nichols found restructured blocks and retail so that they lined and shaped the creek. In the 1980's and 90's, consumer demand was changing. This allowed Country Club Plaza to accommodate this change in demand since it was in a rebuilding stage. Upscale shops were opened for more fashion-conscious consumer; restaurants were renovated and their menus revised; and a standard of quality was raised to higher heights. In 1998, Highwoods Properties bought the Plaza from the Nichols Company. Along with new ownership came more changes lead to even more changes in Country Club Plaza. In the year 2000 Valencia Place was added to 47th street. Highwoods has preserved the character of Country Club Plaza while adding a substantially more retail and dinning to the area.

Design vision

There are a number of critical design elements within Country Club Plaza that makes it what it is today. County Club Plaza is a town center that has been very flexible and able to grow and change overtime. The reasons for these changes will be discussed in more detail in the following section. The key components to Country Club Plaza are elasticity of design, subdivision of blocks, parking methods and private ownership.

Year	1960's	Present Day
Sq/Ft Commercial	70,000	100,000 +
Housing In Town Center	No	No
Housing Types Surrounding Center	Single Family	Single/Multifamily/ Hotel
Average Block Size	550X550	450X490
Mixed Use	No mix with housing and commercial	No mix with housing and commercial

Table 11: Design Characteristics of Country Club Plaza
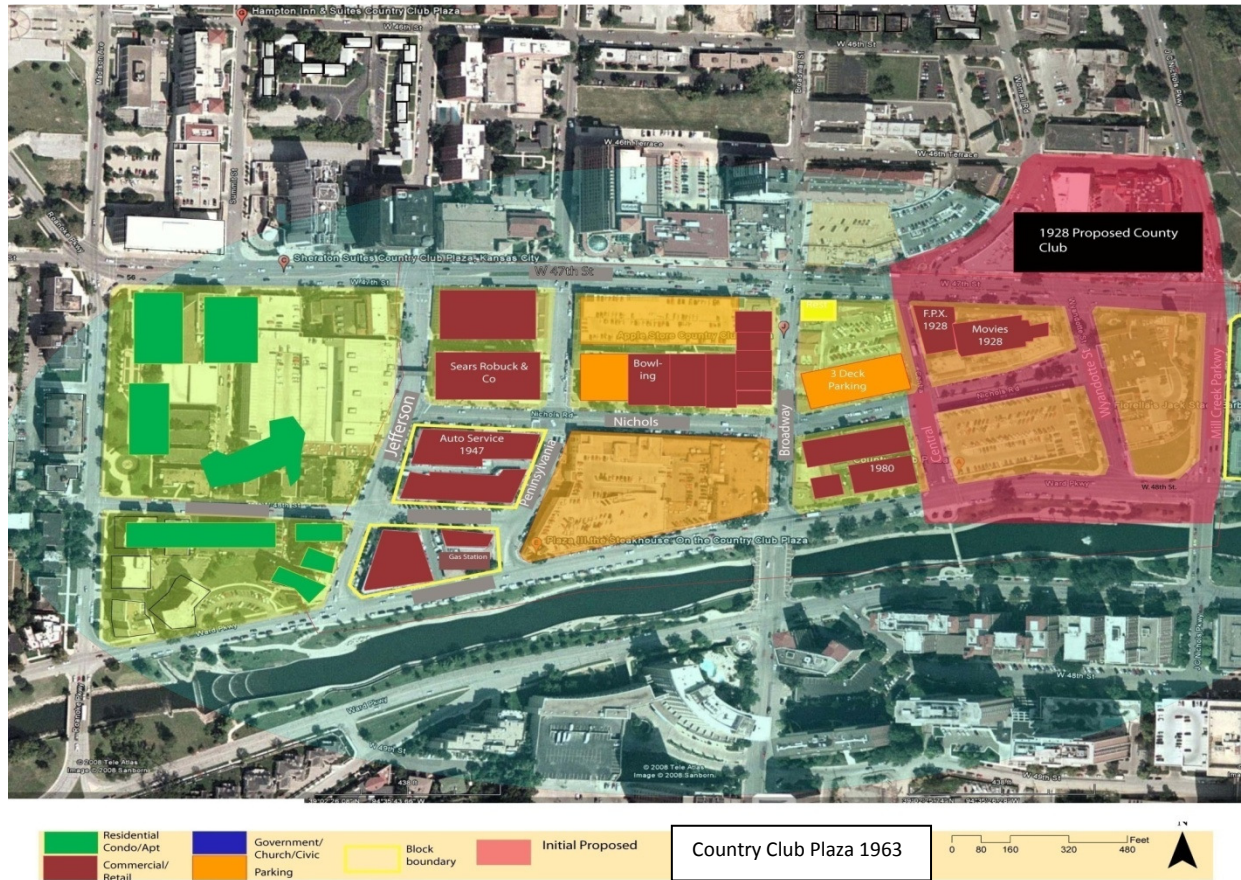
Figure 19: Country Club Plaza Structure, 1963

Figure 20: Country Club Plaza Structure, Present Day

Figure 21: Nichols Memorial Fountain (Wikimedia Commons, 2006)

      Country Club Plaza has grown tremendously over the years. Much of this growth can be credited towards the Nichols family and their ability to fulfill their vision for Country Club Plaza. Although Prairie Village and Country Club Plaza were both designed by JC Nichols, Nichols had two very different goals for these town centers. Nichol's dream for Country Club Plaza was for it to become one of the premier shopping center in the regional area of Kansas City Missouri. This was clearly not the case with Prairie Village. Nichols wanted Country Club Plaza to be able to grow and change with demand. Whether good or bad there are a number of key components to Country Club Plaza that allowed it to change and remain quite successful even to this very day. These components include the following, elasticity of design, subdivision of blocks and block size, parking methods and private ownerships.

Elasticity of Design

      Today, one will find that Country Club Plaza is full of rich architecture and art. Early influences and experiences inspired Nichols to choose a Spanish Mediterranean theme for the

Plaza. This type of design scheme allowed for great elasticity of design. The design, character and style of building could vary greatly from one building to the next and still be considered to be part of the overall design scheme. In other words, this type of design scheme both allowed and challenged architects and developers to be creative and produce not just buildings but buildings that could be considered a work of art. However, this design theme did not just focus on buildings. Dressing the streets with great pieces of art, sculptures and including fountains and courtyards was also a huge part of this Spanish theme. Initially Nichols handpicked antique sculptures, columns, tile-adorned murals, wrought iron and fountains were placed in select locations by Nichols himself. This created an atmosphere that supported pedestrian activity. Even though the Plaza was the first major shopping center structurally designed to accommodate the automobile, with the abundance of parking structures, gas stations and street parking, the Plaza was still a friendly place for the pedestrian. The overall plan allowed for great diversity in both the design of building and street atmosphere. Although it can be argued that the true important factors are urban design interventions such as block size, street and sidewalk width, having the frame work to encourage and handle such diversity in design is also important.

Parking Methods

Many may have a hard time believing that the Plaza is nearly 50% parking. This is because Country Club Plaza doesn't seem to be plagued with an abundance of massive concrete parking lots, like many of the shopping centers that were designed for the automobile. One of the greatest fundamental differences between Country Club Plaza and Prairie Village is the methods used to deal with parking. Nichols chose to use parking structures and on street diagonal parking to accommodate the automobile. In Prairie Village he chose to solely use parking lots. Naturally, the Plaza became a place where one can park their car and have a number of places to dine shop and enjoy, less than minutes away. Today there are 9 parking garages in Country Club Plaza. However, many of them are hidden behind store fronts, murals or vegetation. This is another example of how attention to detail in design had an overall positive effect on the Plaza. As demand grew these parking structures were expanded. However they were expanded up instead of horizontally. This was to maximize space. Over time the area became denser.

Nichols chose diagonal parking at the time because traffic volumes weren't extremely high. So there wasn't a need to have large multiple lane streets. However, he wanted to be able to accommodate people. Therefore, the streets were designed to be wider to incorporate diagonal parking on both sides of the street. Because of this Country Club already had the proper infrastructure to accommodate growth and higher traffic volumes later if need be. One of the major streets, 47th street was later converted into a boulevard in the 1980's and many of the other streets were converted to parallel parking to accommodate higher traffic volumes.

Subdivision of Blocks and Block Size

Over time more streets were added and blocks became smaller, thus making the Plaza more walk able. Unlike Prairie Village the Plaza was not designed as one large block. Generally, dividing larger sites into blocks permits a unified street design in which transitions between incompatible uses or building types occur across rear or side property lines. The pattern also allows for distinction between the public areas of the street, other public places, and the private/service areas in the middle of the block. There is a strong argument that block size affects both how services are dealt with and the appearance and experience of the space environment as well. Clear subdivide block structure makes it easier for development and infill. Although, the Plaza does not follow a strict grid-design, there is a strong resemblance. Initially there were streets odd shaped streets in the original design. Those streets were later changed to form east and west angles with other streets so that more regularly shaped building could be built on the blocks.

Private Ownership

One of the unique characteristics of Country Club Plaza is that up until the mid 1980's it was predominately owned and run by the Nichols family. This is extremely important because in essence the Country Club Plaza was not being operated in the same arena as most other town centers which were predominately public entities. The Nichols family had the ability and money to pursue their own family goals and vision for the Plaza. This is significantly different from how decisions are made in the public realm. Many of the decision that need to be made, in terms of urban design, can be lost or overlooked due to the tedious public process. This was a process, that for many years, the Nichols did not have to go through. It is quite interesting to track how

Country Club Plaza changes overtime with changes in leadership. What was once a place of independent businesses and shops eventually became an upscale shopping center with predominately nationally known chains.

Demographics

Country Club's population has remained stable over a sixty year period from 1940, to the last census in 2000. Table 16 shows a significant increase in population from 1950 to 1960. Country Club's population increased 63% over a ten year period. The age groups that experienced the greatest increase from 1950 to 1960 were the 20-24 cohort, increasing 149% and those in the 65 and over cohort, with an increase of 262%.

	Age ≤19	**Age 20-24**	**Age 25-44**	**Age 45-64**	**Age 65+**	**Total**
1940	15.4%	9.2%	42.8%	25.8%	6.9%	3,132
1950	12.4%	6.0%	34.2%	35.2%	12.2%	3,223
1960	4.5%	9.2%	23.4%	35.8%	27.1%	5,264
1970	3.3%	11.6%	13.4%	25.7%	46.0%	4,851
1980	1.8%	12.7%	26.5%	15.9%	43.1%	4,270
1990	2.8%	13.6%	42.2%	12.9%	28.5%	3,096
2000	4.0%	16.9%	46.4%	18.4%	14.2%	3,068

Table 12: Country Club Plaza Population by Age Cohorts, 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

	Total Population			Race					
		% Change	% 65+	Black	White	Other	Asian	Hispanic	American Indian
1940	3,132		6.9%	2.0%	98.0%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950	3,367	7.5%	18.7%	1.2%	98.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1960	5,264	56.3%	22.9%	1.5%	98.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1970	4,851	-7.8%	46.0%	0.8%	98.7%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1980	4,270	-12.0%	78.2%	1.3%	96.8%	1.1%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%
1990	3,096	-27.5%	28.5%	4.8%	92.4%	1.2%	1.2%	0.0%	0.4%
2000	3,068	-0.9%	9.6%	4.7%	88.8%	3.1%	2.8%	0.0%	0.6%

Table 13: Racial Composition of Country Club Plaza, 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

It is also important to note that the district's population has remained relatively racially homogenous from 1940 to 1990. This lack a diverse population has been attributed to the restrictive covenants that J.C. Nichols placed on each property. This restrictive covenants or deed restrictions were used to place limitations on how a property owner could use land and could be enforced on any future owner of the property. The initial intent of the restrictive covenants was to maintain the integrity of the communities (Schirmer, 2002). These deed restrictions were also used as a means of restricting Jews, African-Americans and other ethnic minorities from owning property in the Country Club district. These deed restrictions were in an attempt to keep the community exclusive while securing property value (Schirmer, 2002). Nichols deed restrictions accompanied the original deed to the property (Schirmer, 2002). Older homes that did not have a restriction placed on them during construction had to also have a deed restriction attached (Schirmer, 2002). It was not until 1948 that the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Shelley v. Kraemer made the restrictive covenants unenforceable. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 also prohibited future use of deed restrictions, but there were restrictions still placed in deeds to Country Club's properties (Haskell, 2007). Though these practices were outlawed many communities, including the Country Club Plaza district continued to use deed restrictions. It is not until 2000 that we see a 3% decline in the white population.

Educational Attainment and Income

The educational attainment of residents increased substantially between 1940 and 2000. In 1940, 17% of the population attained a bachelor's degree or higher; as of 2000, over 60% of persons over 25 years old received a bachelor's or post bachelor's degree. According to the 2000 Census county data 23% of Jackson County residents have received their bachelor's degree or post bachelor's degree.
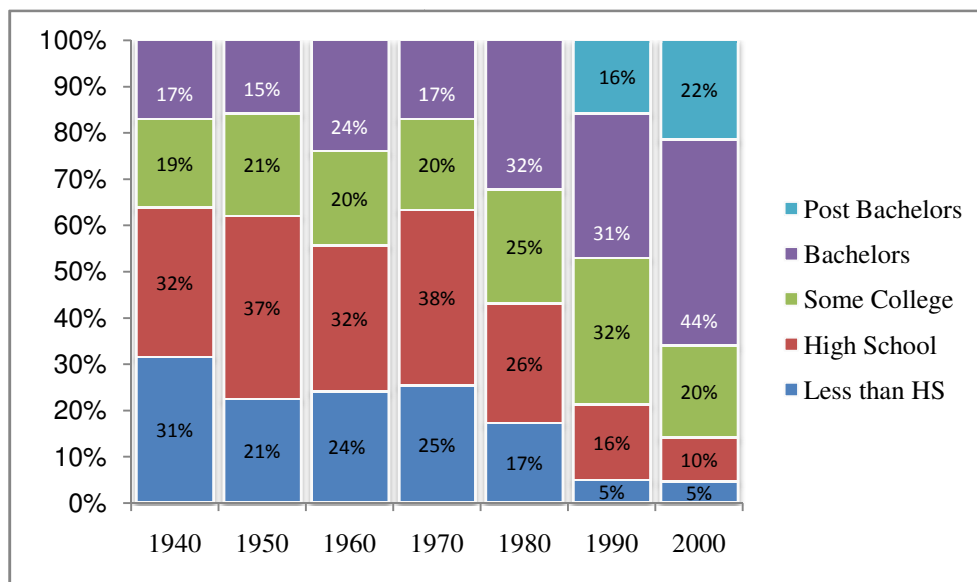
Figure 22: Educational Attainment in Country Club Plaza (US Census 1940-2000)

Per Capita Income

Per capita income in 2000 was $41,650, only 3% more than in 1990 ($31,445). Jackson County's per capita income in 2000 was only $20,788, 50% lower than Country Club district's per capita income during that same year.

In 1990, Country Club District's per capita income was $31,445. The area's median household income was quite modest at $32,460, in 2000. Real per capita income has increased from $41,429 in 1990 to $41,650 in 2000, only 1%.

The median home price in 2000 was much higher in Country Club District than in the county. In 2000, median home price was $216,700 as opposed to the county's median home

price of $84,900, a difference of $131,800. In 2000, the total housing units for Country Club district was 2,964 with 16.9% of all housing units vacant.

Housing

In 1940, there were 1,425 housing units many of which comprised of rental units. This has been an ongoing trend over the past sixty years. Ninety-two percent of residents in the Census tract in which Country Club Plaza is located rented as opposed to 63% of Kansas City residents that rented. Housing unit structures in the Country Club District have been predominantly multi-family units, further reinforcing the large number of renters in this area. However, renter occupancy decreased by about 1% from 1990 to 2000.

Total Structures	1,425
Total Dwelling Units	838
Owner Occupied	112
Tenant Occupied	1,119
Vacant, for sale or for rent	187
Vacant, not for sale or rent	7
Occupied by Nonwhite	0
Needing major repairs	11
No private bath	7
Average monthly rent in dollars	57.33

Table 14: Housing Information, Country Club Plaza, 1940 (US Census, 1940)

	Total Occupied Housing Units	Percent Rental	Percent Owner Occupied
1940	1,425	92.1%	7.9%
1950	1,359	82.4%	17.6%
1960	3,461	87.9%	12.2%
1970	3,895	87.2%	12.8%
1980	3,695	90.6%	9.4%
1990	3,009	83.4%	16.6%
2000	2,434	93.9%	6.0%

Table 15: Country Club Plaza Housing Occupancy, 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

The table below illustrates the household structure of Country Club and Jackson County.

	Jackson County	Country Club District
Total:	288,231	2,964
1, detached	67.5%	1.8%
1, attached	3.9%	0.3%
2	4.0%	0.0%
3 or 4	5.0%	1.9%
5 to 9	5.2%	2.9%
10 to 19	5.0%	11.4%
20 to 49	3.1%	25.9%
50 or more	5.0%	55.9%
Mobile home	1.2%	0.0%
Boat, RV, van, etc.	0.1%	0.0%

Table 16: Household Structure, Country Club Plaza, 2000 (US Census, 2000)
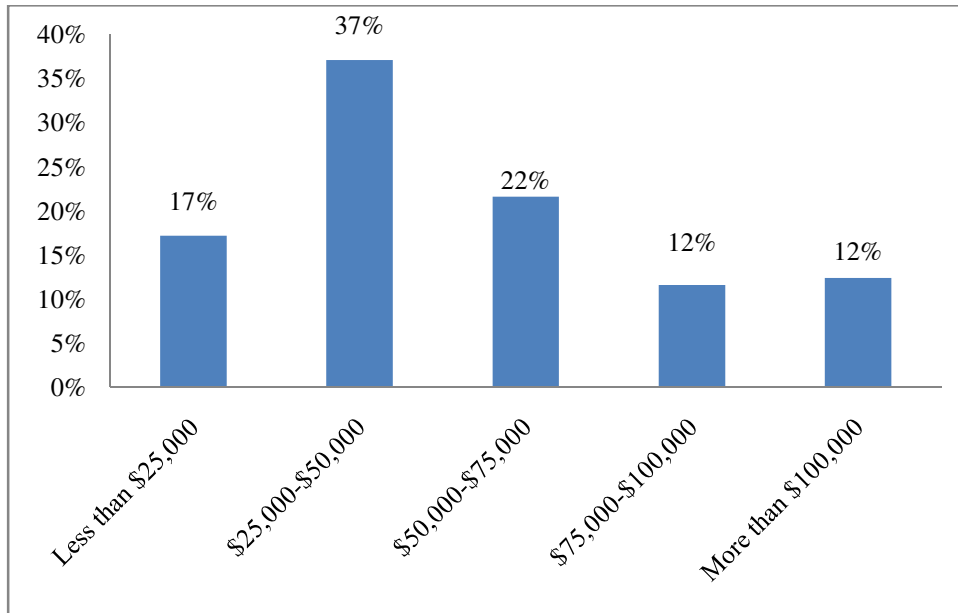
Figure 23: Median Household Income, Country Club Plaza, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

The median household income in 2000 was $41,650, a decrease of about 23% from 1990's median household income of $51,161. The overall median household income for the county was $39,277, 21% higher than Country Club.

Fifty-eight percent of all occupations in the Country Club District are management, professional and other related occupations. These occupations are usually associated with higher paying wages. Median household income was between $25,000 and $75,000. Only 17.2% of the residents make below $25,000. According to the 2000 Census, about 15% of residents are below the poverty line.
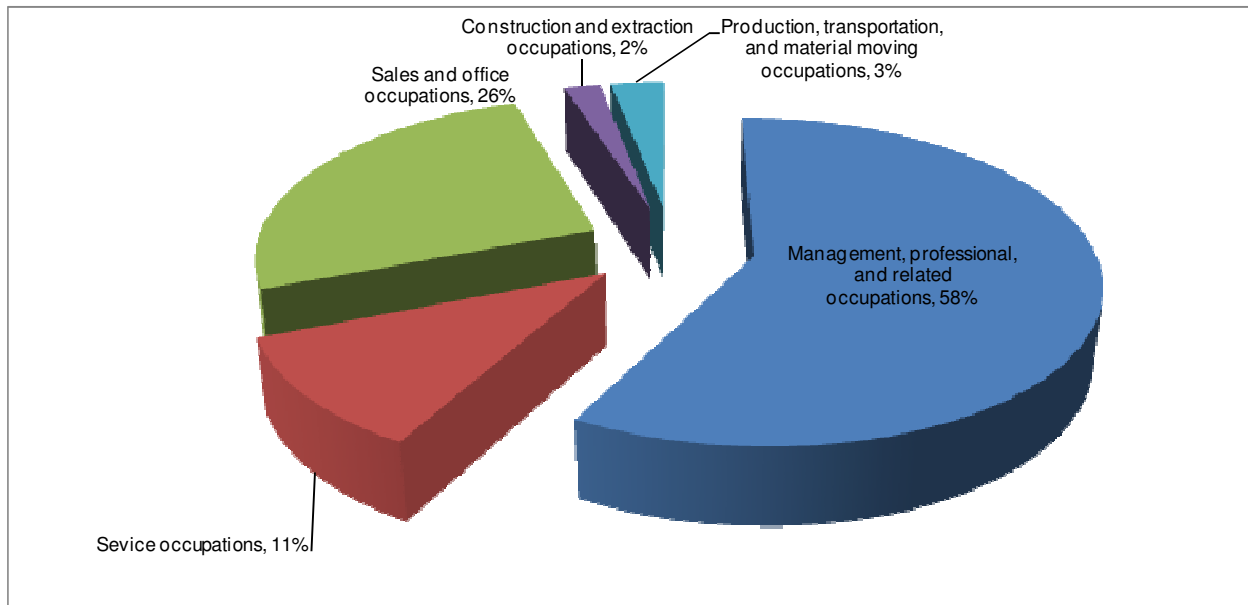
Figure 24: Country Club Plaza Occupational Groups, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Seventy percent of Country Club's population 16 and over is employed and only 1.6% of that population is unemployed.

Total Population Aged 16+	3,089
Employed	72.9%
Unemployed	1.6%
Not in Labor Force	17.0%
Unemployment Rate	3.0

Table 17: Country Club Plaza Employment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Business

Country Club Plaza was designed to be a destination shopping center. It was J.C. Nichols plan to divert business from the downtown area to his new development. J.C. Nichols understood the

important role that women played in market place and kept them in mind when developing the center. He knew how often women shopped for groceries and apparel and wanted to make shopping more convenient for women (Worley, 1997). A large portion of the businesses in the Plaza are geared towards shopping and dining, making up the bulk of retail and services in the area. Shopping accounts for 53% of the retail. Food and dining establishments are second, consisting of about 28% of all the retail in the Plaza. During the 1940's most of the Plaza's businesses were locally owned, with just one or two national chains. J.C. Nichols also had a few businesses that were owned by women to help encourage and support woman shoppers (Worley, 1997). The first four tenants to sign leases were business women (Worley, 1997). Nichols thought he could attract more women to the area by having women owned businesses. A German woman, Ms. Reineke, owned Photography Studio. Other businesses included Mrs. Chisholm's Millinery Shop, Mrs. J.C. McGavran's Marinello Beauty Shop, and the Lu-Frances Baby Shop. Overtime, Country Club Plaza moved away from locally owned business to more upscale national chains. Sixty-percent of Country Club's businesses are national chains with only about 40% local businesses. Much of the Plaza's retail is made up of restaurants and clothing stores, which consists of 81% of businesses.

3%	**Business & Professional Services**
0%	**Computer & Electronics**
28%	**Food & Dining**
6%	**Personal Care & Services**
1%	**Real Estate**
53%	**Shopping**
8%	**Travel & Transportation**
60%	**National Chain**
40%	**Local Business**

Table 18: Business Types in Country Club Plaza

Kansas City Area Case Study: Prairie Village, Kansas

In many ways it is hard to believe that Prairie Village Shops was developed by the same man, JC Nichols. Whether one is better than the other is a matter of opinion. After all arguing that the majority of Prairie Village's residents would prefer not to live in an atmosphere like Country Club Plaza or Country Club residents would not be dying to move to Prairie Village, could be a very compelling argument. Initially Prairie Village was designed to be like a village within a prairie. The shopping center was to be the center of the town. It was a place designed for World War II Veterans. Prairie Village was to be a place where veterans could come home and raise their families. From the very beginning Prairie Village was more like a tightly knit. Unlike Country Club, Plaza Prairie Village Shops was not designed to be the main attraction. Prairie Village Shops was only one of 4 shopping centers. Actually parks and golf courses was the main feature of Prairie Village. Like Country Club Plaza Prairie Village Shops was originally designed to accommodate the automobile as well. However, parking lots were used instead of parking structures. Prairie Village focused on incorporating arts and design features to enhance the pedestrian experience as well. However, they were not as abundant or diverse as what one may find in Country Club Plaza. Today Prairie Village still remains much like it was when it was built.

Design Vision

Year	1960	2000-Today
Square Feet	186,785,280	186,785,280
Sq/Ft Commercial	432,846	490,000
Housing In Town Center	No	No
Housing Types Surrounding Center	Single Family	Single Family
Average Block Size	600X650	600X650
Mixed Use	No mix with housing and commercial	No mix with housing and commercial

Table 19: Prairie Village Urban Design Structure

One of the key differences between Country Club Plaza and Prairie Village is the overall size and scale of the development. Prairie Village Shops is designed at a much smaller scale and was designed in a way that has produced a style and character very different from that of Country Club Plaza. The key components to Prairie Village Shops are scale, block size and block structure. Visual evidence clearly demonstrates that Prairie Village has not changed much since it was built.
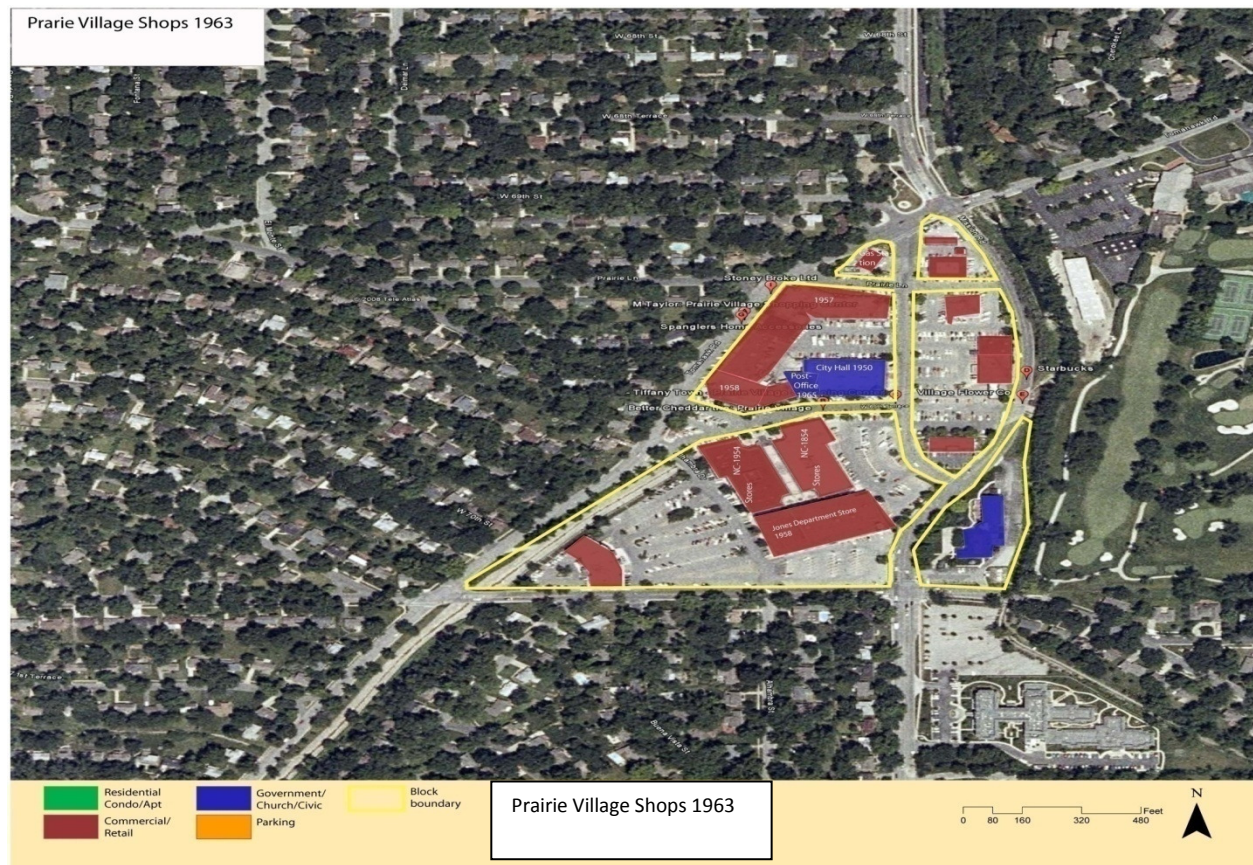
Figure 25: Prairie Village Urban Design Structure, 1963
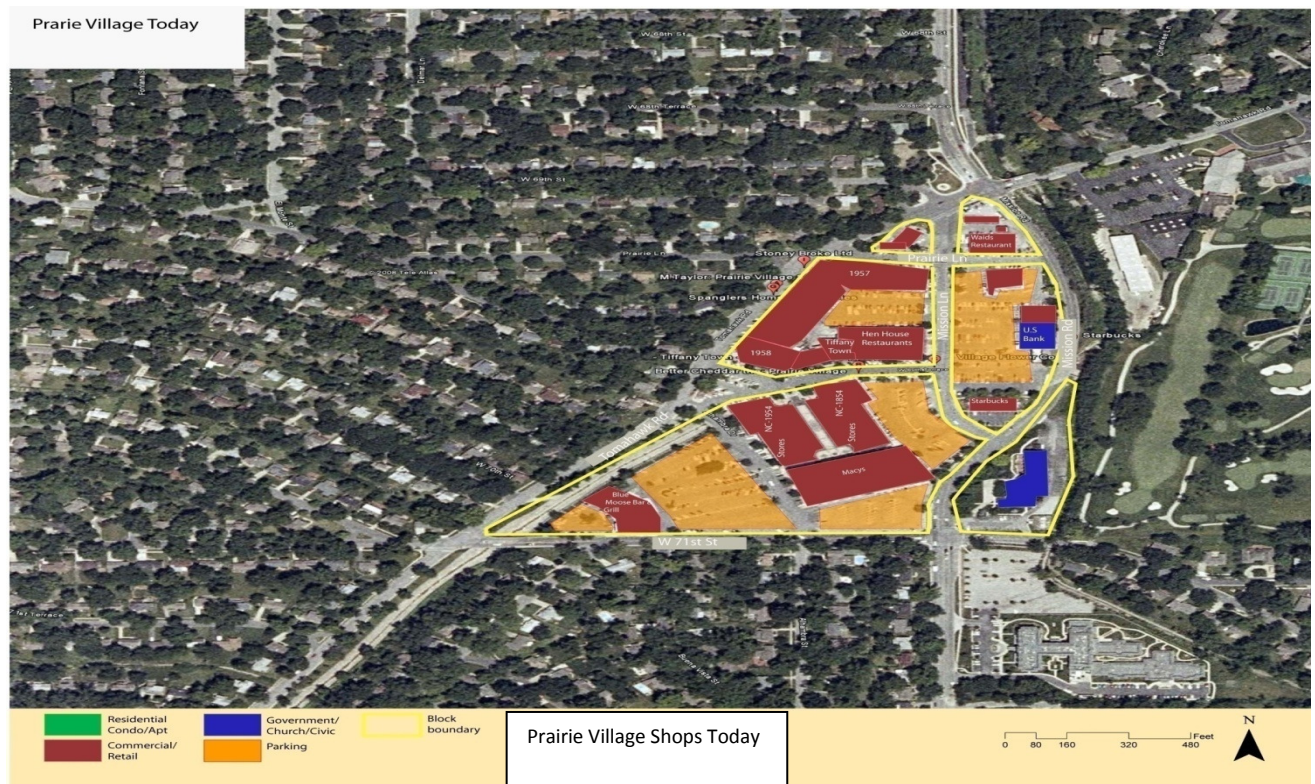
Figure 26: Prairie Village Design Structure, Present Day

Prairie Village Shops is one of four shopping centers in Prairie Village Kansas. Prairie Village Shops, built in 1947, were the first shopping center in Prairie Village. This town center was also designed by J.C Nichols and, like Country Club Plaza; it was designed to accommodate the automobile. Prairie Village has key components to it as well, these components include; scale, block structure and size and building types.

Scale

Prairie Village Shops inherently, was designed at a much smaller scale than Country Club Plaza. Prairie Village was designed to be more of a community service center, than a regional attraction. Today the housing in Prairie Village is still all single family housing. Country Club Plaza now has a number of multifamily housing units and hotel developments as well. Those particular trends demonstrate Country Club Plaza's growth and ability to attract from the outside. This is not the case with Prairie Village Shops. Prairie Village Shops is a place of intensified

activity that serves an important economic and social role. For residents of surrounding neighborhoods, a pattern of multiple centers means shorter vehicle trips and the possibility of walking rather than driving to obtain goods and services.

Subdivision of Blocks and Block Size

The existing retail buildings are primarily single story and are clustered within a series of parking lots. Although several streets traverse the site, they function more as drive aisles within the parking lot than true public streets. Pedestrian amenities in the center include colonnades along the store frontages and other features such as curbing, crosswalks, and seating. The center is generally accessible to pedestrians form surrounding neighborhoods. However, few pedestrian amenities exist outside of the immediate retail area. The main fundamental difference here is that Prairie Village was designed as one large block within parking lots. Ironically, this somewhat makes the parking lot the feature of each block. Here you don't have pedestrian activity throughout the site, instead there is only pedestrian traffic within the inner parts of these blocks. As you can see in any of the figures for Prairie Village, the majority of the land area is consumed by parking lots.

All in all, Prairie was designed to be maintained not expanded. Today the city of Prairie Village has plans to improve the quality; of pedestrian amenities, block structure and building types, to better suit the pedestrian and also improve the overall character and appeal of the area. Prairie Village is interesting because it may not seem to be much in terms of urban design to those on the outside. However, it has been quite successful at keeping the people of prairie village happy. Not only that but Prairie Village has remained very much the way it was originally, in terms, of structure, appearance, services, and types of retail. Many places are not able to maintain this type of preservation in the way that Prairie Village has. Even when looking at Country Club Plaza it is clear that Country Club Plaza is nothing like it was in the 1920's. It looks different and feels different. Although there are some major faults in the design framework of Prairie Village that very same design framework allowed for control.

Population

Unlike Country Club Plaza, Prairie Village had a younger population during the 60's and 70's. From 1960-1970 a great proportion of the population has been under the age of nineteen. However, in recent decades the population has moved into the 25-44 cohort and the 65 and over population is on the rise from 4% in 1960 to 14% in 2000. This is an increase of 9.5%. Overall population for Prairie Village has been on the decline. Population has decreased about 39% from 1960 to 2000. Prairie Village is also racially homogenous. Its racial composition is still over 90% white, with very few other racial ethnicities represented. Ninety-seven percent of Kansas City's residents are white as well.

	Total	Age ≤19	Age 20-24	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+
1960	5,876	43.9%	2.0%	32.8%	17.2%	4.1%
1970	5,418	41.8%	4.8%	27.6%	20.3%	5.5%
1980	4,367	29.6%	6.5%	34.5%	18.8%	10.6%
1990	4,038	26.8%	4.6%	38.7%	15.8%	14.1%
2000	3,585	24.3%	3.3%	38.3%	20.6%	13.6%

Table 20: Prairie Village Population by Age Cohorts, 1960-2000 (US Census, 1960-2000)

	Total Population			Race					
		% Change	% 65+	**Black**	**White**	**Other**	**Asian**	**Hispanic**	**American Indian**
1960	5,876		7.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1970	5,418	-7.8%	41.2%	0.0%	99.9%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1980	4,367	-19.4%	76.5%	0.2%	98.8%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
1990	4,038	-7.5%	14.1%	0.5%	98.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.0%	0.2%
2000	3,585	-11.2%	7.8%	0.2%	97.1%	2.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.1%

Table 21: Racial Composition in Prairie Village, 1960-2000 (US Census, 1960-2000)

Educational Attainment and Income

For persons 25 and over, there has been a dramatic increase in graduates from 1960-2000 in post secondary educational attainment. According to the 2000 Census, more than half of all residents have received a college education or higher. This is an increase of 6.7% from 1960 to 2000. In 2000, 65% of the population received a bachelor's or a post bachelor's degree. Examining the data from the Census we can conclude that Prairie Village has been able to attract young educated professionals.
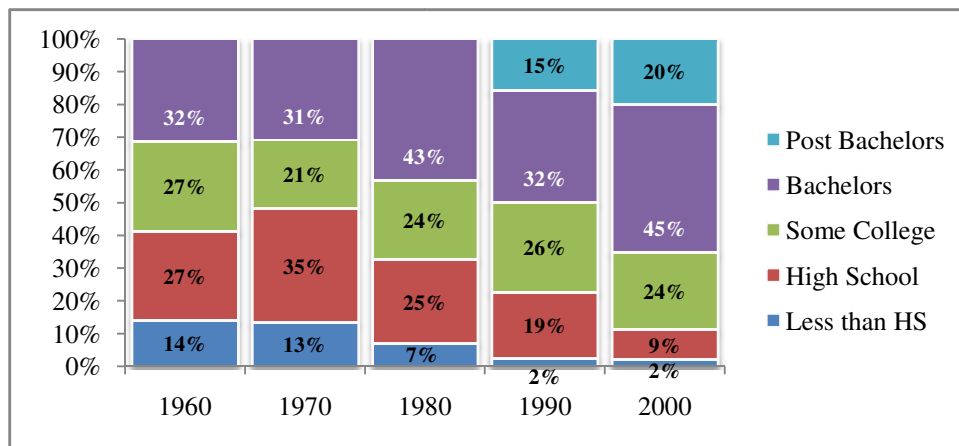
Figure 27: Prairie Village Educational Attainment, 1960-2000 (US Census, 1960-2000)

Per Capita Income

Prairie Village's per capita income in 2000 was $31,478. Johnson County's per capita income for 2000 was $30,919. In 1990, Prairie Village's per capita income was only $17,358. Real per capita income in 1990 was $22,869, a 37.4% increase.

Housing

	Total Occupied Housing Units	% Rental	% Owner Occ.
1960	1,641	6.0%	94.0%
1970	1,439	0.0%	100%
1980	1,658	9.8%	90.2%
1990	1,670	2.2%	97.8%
2000	2,434	6.0%	94.0%

Table 22: Prairie Village Housing Occupancy, 1960-2000 (US Census, 1960-2000)

Prairie Village housing units have been owner occupied for 30 years. From 1960-1990 housing units occupied by owners have been over 90%, however, in 2000 there was a shift in this trend. This is a stark contrast to the Country Club Plaza district where a large percentage of residents rented.

Though renter occupancy is increasing in Prairie Village the majority of the area's housing unit structures are single-family residences. The median home price in 2000 was $130,500; the county's median home price was 149,300, a difference of $18,800. Total housing units in 2000 were 1,632 and total vacancy for Prairie Village was only 2%.

	Johnson County	Prairie Village
Total:	181,612	1,632
1, detached	69.2%	99.5%
1, attached	7.1%	0.5%
2	1.7%	0.0%
3 or 4	3.5%	0.0%
5 to 9	6.9%	0.0%
10 to 19	5.3%	0.0%
20 to 49	2.6%	0.0%
50 or more	2.9%	0.0%
Mobile home	0.7%	0.0%
Boat, RV, van, etc.	0.0%	0.0%

Table 23: Prairie Village Housing Structure, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Median Household Income

Prairie Village's median household income in 2000 at $62,684 was 59% higher than a decade earlier ($39,506). Fifty-eight percent of income distribution falls within the $25,000-$75,000 range.
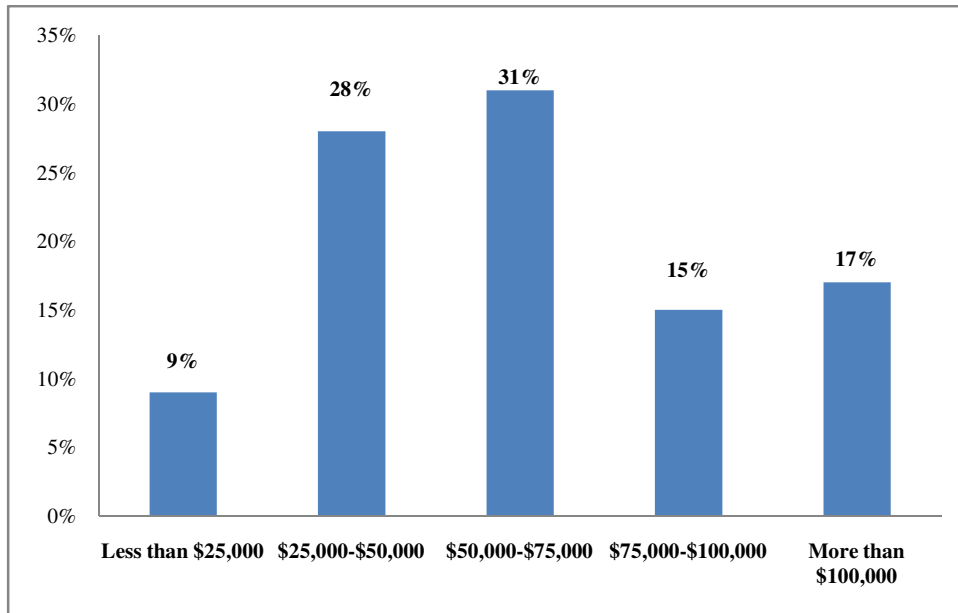
Figure 28: Prairie Village Household Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Occupations

Similar to Country Club Plaza, Prairie Village's occupations are predominantly (56%) in the management, professionals, and related occupations sector. The sales and office sector is another industry that employs a number of residents in Prairie Village, consisting of 30% of occupations.
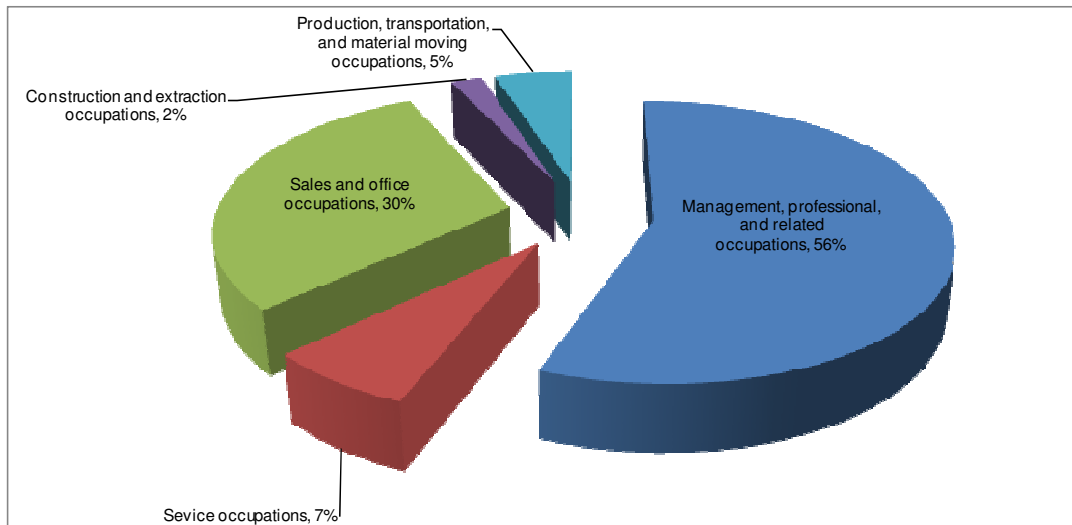
Figure 29: Prairie Village Occupational Groups, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Business

      The Prairie Village shopping center has remained driven by locally businesses that support the needs of its local resident. Unlike Country Club Plaza, it was not designed to be a destination spot. Many of the businesses are service oriented such as the beauty and barber shops, and shoe repair shops. The majority of the shopping center's businesses are food and dining establishments, representing 67% of all businesses. Only 11% of businesses are national chains. Unlike Country Club Plaza Prairie Village has continued to provide retail for the everyday needs of the local population. Though business may have changed over the time the type of services that Prairie Village Shops provides has remained over time. Spangler's a store that provides home accessories has been at Prairie Village since its inception. The reason it lasted over the decades is because the products that are sold are still a necessary part of everyday life.

28%	Business & Professional Services
0%	Computer & Electronics
67%	Food & Dining
0%	Personal Care & Services
2%	Health & Medicine
13%	Shopping
2%	Clothing & Accessories
11%	National Chain
89%	Local Businesses

Table 24: Prairie Village Businesses, 2008

Kansas City Area Case Study: New Longview Lee's Summit, MO

Although it is very new and there is not much currently there to analyze there is evidence of innovative and interesting fundamental frameworks in terms of urban design. Some of the key components are as follows: reuse interconnectivity, major strip commercial, mixed use development, and the incorporation of open space. Gale Communities is committed to maintaining the historical character of by keeping and reusing many of the current buildings. Still, Gale intends to incorporate more modern practices and design techniques into the overall scheme. One interesting point about is that they are insisting and planning to concentrate all major commercial along a major strip or major road. Once this is established they plan on connecting the surrounding areas with a number of bike and pedestrian paths. Clearly, this development is seeking to accommodate both the pedestrian and automobile. also plans to implement shared parking, which has its challenges. However, this method can be quite rewarding, if those challenges can effectively be overcome. Successfully implementing shared parking could reduce both the amount of parking spaces needed and the amount of money spent on providing parking. This frees up money that can be used elsewhere.

	Under Construction	Yes	%
Square Feet	2,831,399		
Sq/Ft Commercial	17,000		
Housing In Town Center	Yes		
Housing Types Surrounding Center	Single Family & Multi Family		
Average Block Size	400X400		
Mixed Use		Yes Mixed Use Housing & Retail	

Table 25: New Longview Lee's Summit Urban Structure

Figure 30: Plan of New Longview Lee's Summit

Total Population			Race					
	% Change	% 65+	Black	White	Other	Asian	Hispanic	American Indian
4,362	N/A	3.5%	2.1%	95.6%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	0.4%

Table 26: New Longview Lee's Summit's Racial Composition, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

New Longview Lee's Summit is a new development that is focused on the New Urbanist framework. The development is built to foster workability and mix-use development. Since this is a burgeoning development there is little data provided by the Census. However, 2000 population data is available. The data shows that the population is predominantly white. Ninety-six percent of the population is white, only 2% of the population is black and about 1.8% are Asian or of another race or ethnicity.

Total Population	Age ≤19	Age 20-24	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+
4,362	33.3%	2.7%	31.6%	25.7%	6.7%

Table 27: New Longview Lee's Summit Population by Age Cohorts, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Unlike the other case studies we have reviewed, New Longview Lee's Summit has a large portion of its population that is under the age of nineteen. Thirty-three percent of the population falls within the 19 and under cohort and 32% of the population is between 25 and 44. This implies that are young families living in New Longview Lee's Summit. The racial diversity of the community aligns with the racial make-up as the county as a whole. Eighty-nine percent of the county's population is white.

Educational Attainment

New Longview Lee's Summit is attracting a population that is young and highly educated. From the table below we can see that 75% of population 25 and over has some type of college education. About 41.7% of the population has their bachelor's or post bachelor's degree.
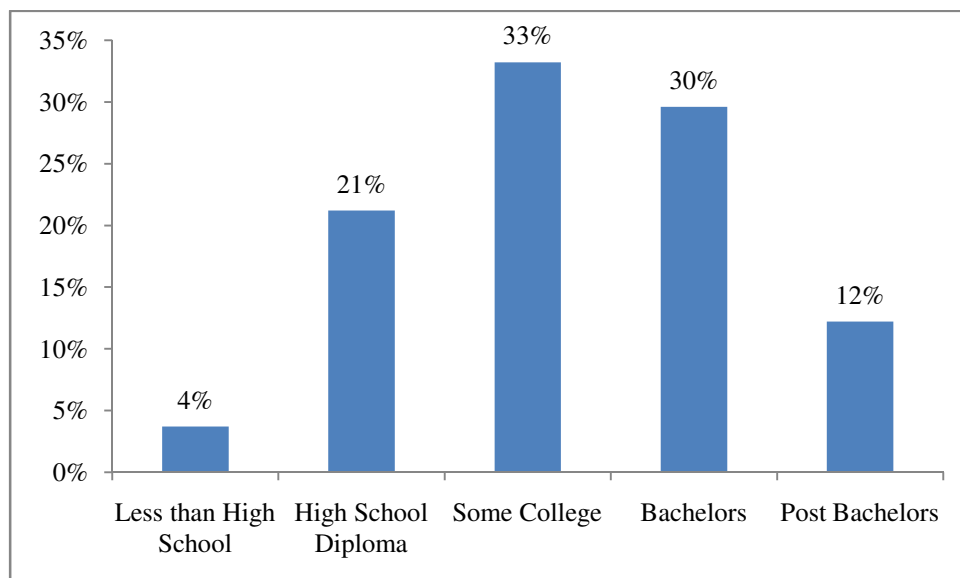
Figure 31: New Longview Lee's Summit Educational Attainment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Per Capital & Median Household Income

According to the 2000 Census, per capita income for this area is $28,430. The median household income was $69,830. Only 3.3% of the population was below the poverty line. The table below shows that 32% of the population falls within the $50,000-$75,000 bracket, placing the majority of the population within the middle-class income bracket. Seventy-eight percent of the population median household income is $50,000 or greater.
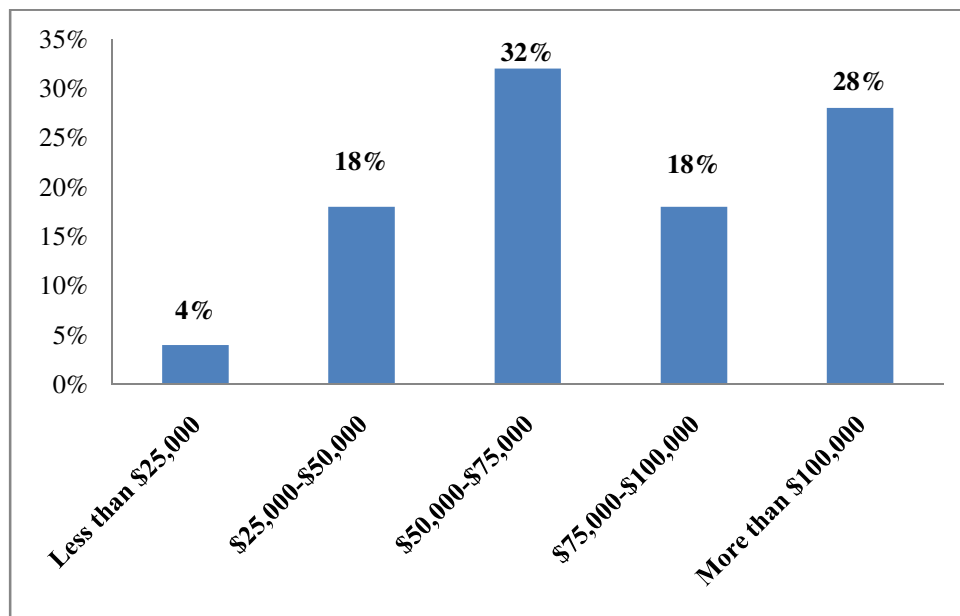
Figure 32: New Longview's Median Household Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Housing

Housing units for New Longview Lee's Summit are being built with the highest quality material to ensure that homes are sustainable over time (Perry, 2008). There are 1,483 housing units in the area, but New Longview Lee's Summit plans to have less housing on their site, in part to ensure that each household is in walking distance to green space (Perry, 2008). The cost of quality building materials also reduces the amount of housing that the developer will construct (Perry, 2008).

Total Occupied Housing Units	% Rental	% Owner Occ.
1483	9.6%	90.4%

Table 28: New Longview Lee's Summit Total Housing Units, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Total:	1,515
1, detached	1,380
1, attached	43
2	0
3 or 4	75
5 to 9	0
10 to 19	17
20 to 49	0
50 or more	0
Mobile home	0
Boat, RV, van, etc.	0

Table 29: New Longview Lee's Summit Housing Structure, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Occupation

As we have seen in Country Club and Prairie Village, occupations have been in the management and sales industries, encompassing about 75% of all occupations in New Longview Lee's Summit.
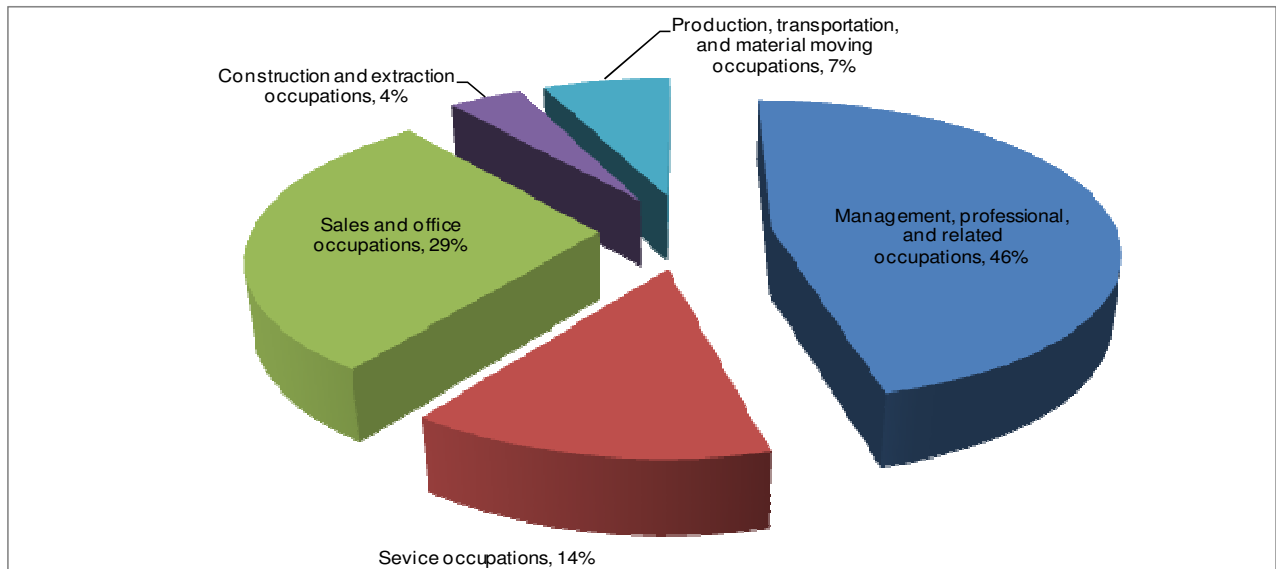
Figure 33: New Longview Lee's Summit Occupational Data, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

New Longview Lee's Summit's unemployment rate in 2000 was 2%. Seventy-seven percent of population over 16 is employed, with 14% of the population not in the labor force.

Total Pop. 16+	3,246
Employed	77.3%
Unemployed	1.3%
Not in Labor Force	14.0%
Unemployment Rate	1.7

Table 30: New Longview Lee's Summit Employment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

History

The site was owned by R.A. Long, a prominent lumberman. He purchsed the 1,700 acres in 1912 and used as a farm which included five barns and forty-two building (Perry, 2008). Of the original forty-two buildings, only two could not be re-used (Perry, 2008).

New Longview Lee's Summit prides itself on its ability to re-use existing structures. Its notable re-use project is the conversion of an old barn into an elementary school, New Longview Farms. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics, New Longview Farms has a total of 565 students enrolled. The teacher-student ratio is 18.7. As has been noted earlier, is an upper-middle class area, only 1% of its student population is receiving free or reduced lunch. This is relatively low.

Town Center

Gale Communities's mission is to build a sustainable community while maintaining the farm's historic structures. It will be a community that is walkable and integrates parks and green space with the commercial district. Gale Communities are following the lead of pioneers such as J.C. Nichols who understood the necessity of residential units near commericial space. Though both Country Club Plaza and Prairie Village were built with the automobile in mind, Nichols still internalized the need for residents in his development to be close to retail.

New Longview Lee's Summit's demographics will be able to sustain the type of development they envision. Given the data, could probably support retail that is up-scale along with retail that can support the community's every day needs. Also, the notariety that New Longview Farms Elementary school is receiving will also attract new families to the development.

Friendship Village might look to all of these case studies when developing their town center, but might be one that they would want to model. Though is still in its initial phase, it has adopted ideas of sustainablity and reuse when developing their site.   may provide useful insight for Friendship Village since it is dedicated to perserving green space and are looking to attract demographics.

6%	Arts & Entertainment
39%	Business & Professional Services
0%	Computer & Electronics
28%	Food & Dining
17%	Personal Care & Services
0%	Health & Medicine
11%	Shopping
0%	Clothing & Accessories
28%	National Chain
83%	Local Chain

Table 31: New Longview Lee's Summit Businesses, 2008

Business	Street Address	Type of Business
Hampton Inn & Suites	4600 Summit Street	Travel & Transportation
The Sheraton Suites	770 West 47th Street	Travel & Transportation
Ruth's Chris Steakhouse	700 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Tomfooleries	612 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Jack Henry	612 West 47th Street	Shopping
McCormick and Schmick's	448 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Z Gallerie	450 West 47th Street	Shopping
Scooter's Coffeehouse	446 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Banana Republic	440 W. 47th Street	Shopping
Barnes & Noble	420 W. 47th Street	Shopping
Pottery Barn	47th Street	Shopping
810 Zone	4686 Broadway	Food & Dining
Residence Inn by Marriott	4601 Broadway	Travel & Transportation
Plaza Living	4621 Broadway	Real Estate
Harolds	340 West 47th Street	Shopping
Tommy Bahama	324 West 47th Street	Shopping
LatteLand	318 W. 47th Street	Food & Dining
Swirk Jewelry	310 West 47th Street	Shopping
Buca di Beppo	310 W. 47th Street	Food & Dining
The North Face	415 Nichols Rd	Shopping
The Walking Co.	308 West 47th Street	Shopping
American Eagle Outfitters	308 West 47th Street	Shopping
Houston's	4640 Wornall Rd	Food & Dining
Lillibelle	4639 Wornall Rd	Shopping
Larissa's Tailor Shop	4635 Wornall Rd	Clothing & Accessories

Leader Limousine	4631 Wornall Rd	Personal Care & Services
Salon Sophia	4625 Wornall Rd	Personal Care & Services
Plaza Hair Design	4640 Wyandotte	Personal Care & Services
Country Club Nails	4644 Wyandotte	Personal Care & Services
N. Valentino	200 W. 47th Street	Shopping
Commerce Bank	118 W. 47th Street	Business & Professional Services
Coldstone Creamery	8616 NE 97th Street	Food & Dining
Thomas Kindade on the Plaza	112 West 47th Street	Shopping
P.F. Chang's China Bistro	102 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
M&S Grill	4646 JC Nichols Pkwy	Food & Dining
The Connoisseur	4630 JC Nichols Parkway	Food & Dining
Figlio, The Italian Restaurant	209 West 46th Terrace	Food & Dining
Courtyard by Marriot	4600 J.C. Nichols Parkway	Travel & Transportation
Southmoreland Inn	116 E. 46th Street	Travel & Transportation
Kansas City Marriott Country Club Plaza	4445 Main Street	Travel & Transportation
Holiday Inn at The Plaza	1 East 45th Street	Travel & Transportation
Capital Grille	4740 Jefferson Street	Food & Dining
Bank of America	4740 Jefferson Street	Business & Professional Services
Uno Chicago Bar & Grill	4710 Jefferson	Food & Dining

McDonald's	500 Nichols Rd	Food & Dining
E B Games	500 Nichols Rd	Computers & Electronics
Cinemark Theater	500 Nichols Rd	Arts & Entertainment
Brio Tuscan Grille	502 Nichols Rd	Food & Dining
Panera Bread, Bakery & Cafe	4700 Pennsylvania	Food & Dining
Burberry	450 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Mark Shale	440 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Sony Style	430 Nichols Rd	Computers & Electronics
Brooks Brother's Men	424 Nichols Rd	Shopping
BCBGMAXAZRIA	424 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Panache Chocolatier	418 Nichols Rd	Food & Dining
Country Club Bank	414 Nichols Rd	Business & Professional Services
Helzberg Diamonds	400 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Aldo Shoes	4728 Broadway	Shopping
Max Studio	4724 Broadway	Shopping
The Apple Store	4712 Broadway	Computers & Electronics
Bebe	4710 Broadway	Shopping
Lucky Brand Jeans	4704 Broadway	Shopping
AIX Armani Exchange	4700 Broadway	Shopping
Images of Nature	421 West 47th Street	Shopping
Guess	429 West 47th Street	Shopping
Brooks Brother's Women	439 W. 47th St.	Shopping
Brooks Brother's Boys	445 W. 47th Street	Shopping
Standard Style Boutique	451 W. 47th Street	Shopping
Sharper Image	333 West 47th Street	Computers & Electronics

Classic Cup Café	301 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Topsy's Popcorn Shoppe	Topsy's Popcorn Shoppe	Food & Dining
Starbucks	302 Nichols Rd	Food & Dining
Plaza Shoe Shine	306 Nichols Rd	Clothing & Accessories
MAC Cosmetics	320 Nichols Rd	Personal Care & Services
1154 Lill Studio	4725 Broadway	Shopping
The Children's Place	4705 Broadway	Shopping
St. John	234 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Kansas City Visitor Information Center	4709 Central	H-Visitor Center
Talbots	239 West 47th Street	Shopping
Ann Taylor Loft	235 West 47th Street	Shopping
The Body Shop	231 West 47th Street	Shopping
Betsey Johnson	225 West 47th Street	Shopping
Origins	223 West 47th Street	Shopping
Brighton Collectibles	213 West 47th Street	Shopping
Starkers Reserve Restaurant	201 West 47th Street	Food & Dining
Restoration Hardware	4704 Wyandotte	Shopping
Sunglass Hut	212 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Tivol, Inc.	220 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Bare Escentuals	230 1/2 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Latte Land (West)	4771 Jefferson	Food & Dining
Anthropologie	531 Nichols Rd	Shopping
J. Crew	519 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Gymboree	515 Nichols Rd	Shopping
L'Occitane	511 Nichols Rd	Shopping

Scandia Down	501 Nichols Rd	Shopping
Bang & Olufsen	4740 Pennsylvania Ave	Computer and Electronics

Table 32: Country Club Plaza Business Listings, Present Day

Business	Type of Business
012 Benetton	Shopping
ACA JOE	Shopping
Alameda Plaza	Shopping
Alaskan Fur	Shopping
American Indian Store	Shopping
Athlete's Foot	Shopping
Au Marche	Shopping
Backstage, Ltd.	Shopping
Bailey, Banks & Biddle	Shopping
Bally of Switzerland	Shopping
Baskin Robins	Food & Dining
Bennett Schneider	Shopping
Bennetton	Shopping
Better Cheddar	Food & Dining
Biarritz Plaza Apartments	Shopping
Bonwit Teller	Shopping
Brass Dynasty	Shopping
Bruce Smith Drugs	Food & Dining
Centerre Bank	Business & Professional Services
Cesare at DuValls	Personal Care & Services
Christy's Plaza Beauty	Personal Care & Services

Salon	
Classic Cookie	Food & Dining
Cleo James Place	Shopping
Commerce Bank Plaza	Business & Professional Services
Community Federal Savings & Loans	Business & Professional Services
Country Club Bank	Business & Professional Services
Crabtree & Evelyn	Shopping
D.H. White Bookseller	Shopping
Damaree	Shopping
Dillards	Shopping
Emile's	Shopping
Executive Barber Shop	Personal Care & Services
Fashion Conspiracy	Shopping
Fireside on the Plaza	Shopping
Footage	Shopping
Function Junction	Shopping
Gerhardt Fur Co.	Shopping
Gourmet Grocer	Shopping
Grossman	Shopping
Gucci	Shopping
H. Tully Moss/Henry Ruth Fine Arts	Shopping
Hair Care Harmony	Personal Care & Services
Halls Plaza	Shopping
Helzberg Diamonds	Shopping
Hemingway Plaza	Shopping

Hilliard Gallery	Shopping
Hilton Inn Plaza	Travel & Transportation
Hires	Shopping
Jack Henry	Shopping
Jackson Country State Bank	Business & Professional Services
Jasmine	Shopping
Jenkins Music	Shopping
Jewelry Box Antiques	Shopping
Jordis-Ver New Longview Lee's Summit	Shopping
Kaplan's Fabric	Shopping
KC Coffee & Tea	Shopping
KC Marriot Plaza	Travel & Transportation
Lasting Impression	Shopping
Laura Ashley	Shopping
Leather Outpost	Shopping
LePappillon	Shopping
Linen Shop	Shopping
Mailliards's	Shopping
Mark Twain Bank	Business & Professional Services
Merrill Gallery	Shopping
Missouri Memories	Shopping
Mister Guy	Shopping
Muehlbach's West Grocery	Food & Dining
Music Land	Shopping
O.R. Securities	Business & Professional

	Services
Outrigger	Shopping
Overland Outfitters	Shopping
Panache Chocolatier	Food & Dining
Parkway Towers Condominiums	Shopping
Personal Computer Center	Shopping
Pierre Deux	Shopping
Plaza Court	Shopping
Plaza Hair Design	Personal Care & Services
Plaza News	Shopping
Plaza Pendleton	Shopping
Plaza Petites	Shopping
Polo/Ralph Lauren	Shopping
Popplewell & Co.	Shopping
Price's Fine Chocolates	Food & Dining
Raphael Hotel	Travel & Transportation
Rice's Casual Wear	Shopping
Robinson's Shoes	Shopping
Ruback's	Shopping
Russel Stover Candies	Food & Dining
Safety Federal Savings & Loans	Business & Professional Services
Saffees	Shopping
Saint Crispin	Shopping
Saks Fifth Avenue	Personal Care & Services
Salon Pierre	Shopping
Scandia Down	Shopping

Sculpture Gallery	Shopping
Sherri Bridals	Shopping
Steve's Shoes	Shopping
Superlative	Shopping
Swansons	Shopping
Swirk Jewelry	Shopping
T.J. Cinnamon's	Shopping
Talbots	Shopping
Taum Sauk	Shopping
The Executive	Personal Care & Services
Thimbles	Shopping
Tivol	Shopping
Topsy's Popcorn	Food & Dining
Trade Wind Wildlife Art Gallery	Shopping
United Missouri Bank	Business & Professional Services
Ups 'N Downs	Shopping
Verl Custom Tailor	Clothing & Accessories
Vinca, Ltd.	Shopping
Washington Inn	Travel & Transportation
White Card & Stationery	Shopping
Williams-Sonoma	Shopping
Woolfe Brothers	Shopping
Ylang-Ylang	Shopping

Table 33: Country Club Plaza Business Listings, 1980

Business	**Type of Business**

A-1 Alteration Shoppe	Clothing & Accessories
Akins Dancing School	Arts & Entertainment
Alameda Pop Corn	Food & Dining
Alexander's on the Plaza	Shopping
B & G Hosiery Shop	Shopping
Bacher & Cunningham Grocers	Food & Dining
Baker Beauty Shop	Personal Care & Services
Balcony Lunch Room	Food & Dining
Barnard's Amateur Photographic Equipment	Hobby
Benson Beauty Shop	Personal Care & Services
Bentley, Ethel, Millinery	Shopping
Bishop, Bush T.,	Shopping
Black & Veatch	Shopping
Bo Sing Restaurant	Food & Dining
Boswell, Dr. Edgar	Health & Medicine
Bowsner, S.F. & Co.	Shopping
Brentnall Corset Shop	Shopping
Brewer, Eugene, Tailor	Clothing & Accessories
Brooke, Mary, Bakery	Food & Dining
Brookside Plumbing & Heating Co.	Home & Garden
Burkholder Electric Co.	Home & Garden
Butane Motor Fuel Co.	Automotive
Caldwell, Dr. Charles	Health & Medicine

California Parking Sales Co.	Automotive
Campbell, Lillian, Dressmaking	Shopping
Cavanaugh School of Popular Music	Arts & Entertainment
Chandler Landscaping & Floral Co	Home & Garden
Clayton, Dr. John	Health & Medicine

Table 34: Country Club Plaza Business Listings, 1943

Business	Street Address	Type of Business
Bag & Baggage	22 On the Mall	Shopping
The Better Cheddar	604 W. 48th Street	Food & Dining
Bruce Smith Drugs	25 On the Mall	Health & Medicine
Chico's	3950 W 69th Terr Prairie Village	Shopping
Curious Sofa	3925 W. 69th Terr	Shopping
Euston Hardware	6955 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
A Fairytale Ballet & The Princess Club	6931 Tomahawk Rd	Arts & Entertainment
Haught Style	6951 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
Jake's In the Village	3930 W 69th Terr	Shopping
M. Taylor	6925 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
Macy's	4000 W 71st St,	Shopping
Mady & Me	6943 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
Natural Wear, Inc.	3931 W 69th Terr	Shopping
Rimann Liquors/Prairie Village	3917 Prairie Lane	Food & Dining
R.S.V.P. In The Village	3934 W 69th Terr	Shopping
Spangler's	6927 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
Stoney Broke Ltd.	6911 Tomahawk Rd	Shopping

Tiffany Town	3924 W 69th Terr	Shopping
Toon Shop, Inc.	15 On the Mall	Shopping
Tulip	Tomahawk Rd	Shopping
Village Flower Co.	6978 Mission Rd	Shopping
Zeke's Paint & Design	3909 Prairie Lane	Shopping
Blue Moose Bar and Grill	4160 W. 71st St	Food & Dining
C Jacks Sidewalk Cafe	6937 Tomahawk Rd	Food & Dining
Cactus Grill	3901 Prairie Ln	Food & Dining
Café Provence	3936 W. 69th Terr	Food & Dining
Also Dolce Baking Co.	6974 Mission Rd	Food & Dining
Einstein Bros.	9410 Mission Rd	Food & Dining
Hen House	6950 Mission Ln	Food & Dining
Minsky's	6921 Tomahawk Rd	Food & Dining
Mr. Goodcents Subs & Pasta	3954 W. 69th Terr	Food & Dining
Starbucks Coffee Company	6970 Mission Rd	Food & Dining
TCBY	6966 Mission Rd	Food & Dining
Waid's SERVICES	6920 Mission Rd	Food & Dining
Adriene Mason, Ltd.	71st and Mission Rd	Health & Medicine
bijin salon & day spa	6960 Mission Rd	Personal Care & Services
Fitness for Life	11 On the Mall	Personal Care & Services
Missouri Bank & Trust	4140 W. 71st Street	Business & Professional Services
Prairie Village Merchants Association	3920 W. 69th Terr	Business & Professional Services
Prairie Village Shoe Repair	3928 W. 69th Terr	Clothing & Accessories
Tower Dry Cleaners & Laundry	6945 Tomahawk Rd	Clothing & Accessories
US Bank	6940 Mission Rd	Business & Professional Services
Village Hairstyling No. 1	Tomahawk Rd	Personal Care & Services

| Village Hairstyling No. 2 | On the Mall | Personal Care & Services |

Table 35: Prairie Village Business Listings, Present Day

Business	Type of Business
Ambience Furs	Shopping
Dalton Bookseller	Shopping
Bag & Baggage	Shopping
The Better Cheddar	Shopping
Bruce Smith Drugs	Health & Medicine
Bryant's Liquors	Shopping
the Children's Shop	Shopping
Easton True Value Hardware	Home & Garden
The Good Earth	Food & Dining
The Gap and Gap Kids	Shopping
The Jones Store	Shopping
Movie Gallery	Art & Entertainment
M. Taylor	Shopping
Russell Stover Candies	Food & Dining
Spangler's	Shopping
Steve's Shoes	Shopping
Tiffany Town	Shopping
Toon Shop	Shopping
VanDuesen Photography	Shopping
Village Flower Company	Shopping
Village Toy Shop	Shopping
The Wardrobe, Ltd.	Shopping
Bagel & Bagel	Food & Dining

The Juice Shope	Food & Dining
Minsky's	Food & Dining
Mr. Goodcents	Food & Dining
Hen House	Food & Dining
Starbuck's	Food & Dining
TCBY	Food & Dining
Topsy's	Food & Dining
Village Green Restaurant	Food & Dining
Waid's	Food & Dining
bijin salon & day spa	Personal Care & Services
Instrust Bank	Business & Professional Services
Gymboree	Arts & Entertainment
Mercantile Bank	Business & Professional Services
Prairie Village Merchant Assoc.	Business & Professional Services
Prairie Village Security	Business & Professional Services
Prairie Village Shoe Repair	Clothing & Accessories
Ramin's Hair Design Studio	Personal Care & Services
Tony's Prairie Village Tailor	Clothing & Accessories
Tower Laundry & Dry Cleaners	Personal Care & Services
No. 1 Village	Personal Care & Services

Hairstyling	
No. 2 Village Hairstyling	Personal Care & Services

Table 36: Prairie Village Business Listings, 1990

Business	Type of Business
CVS	Food & Dining
Subway	Food & Dining
Dry Cleaners	Personal Care & Services
Citizen's Union State Bank	Business & Professional Services
Exchange National Bancshares	Business & Professional Services
Affinis Engineers	Business & Professional Services
State Farm Insurance	Business & Professional Services
Safe Amloe Salon	Personal Care & Services
JP Coffee	Food & Dining
Longhorn Cleaners	Food & Dining
Fitness Together	Personal Care & Services
Kids to Leaders	Arts & Entertainment
Martini Bar	Food & Dining
Adams Gabbert	Business & Professional Services
Paul Dodds Jewelry	Shopping
Arbetex Inc	Business & Professional Services
Cuezze Law	Business & Professional Services
Lytmos Group	Business & Professional Services

Table 37: New Longview Lee's Summit Business Listings, Present Day

Atlanta Area Case Study: Avondale Estates, Georgia

The city of Avondale Estates, east of Atlanta, was designed as a pastoral "ideal city." The framework of the city includes blocks that are easily traversed by foot and lots that front main streets and side streets so that users are enticed to travel from shop to shop. The buildings themselves are on a small enough scale and in close enough proximity to one another that a mix of uses could occur. As Avondale Estates was a planned community, the organization of the streets and blocks is conducive to creating a busy town center for people to do business and carry out daily living errands without having to drive from place to place. Over time the framework remained but the uses of the buildings did not flourish to the point of attracting and retaining more business to support a growing community. As a result, competing town centers in neighboring Decatur and Emory Village have livelier walking communities and greater choices of services and retail. The following analysis will explore the history of Avondale Estates and discuss why it has not been able to take advantage of a structure that would seem to encourage a mix of uses in a successful town center.
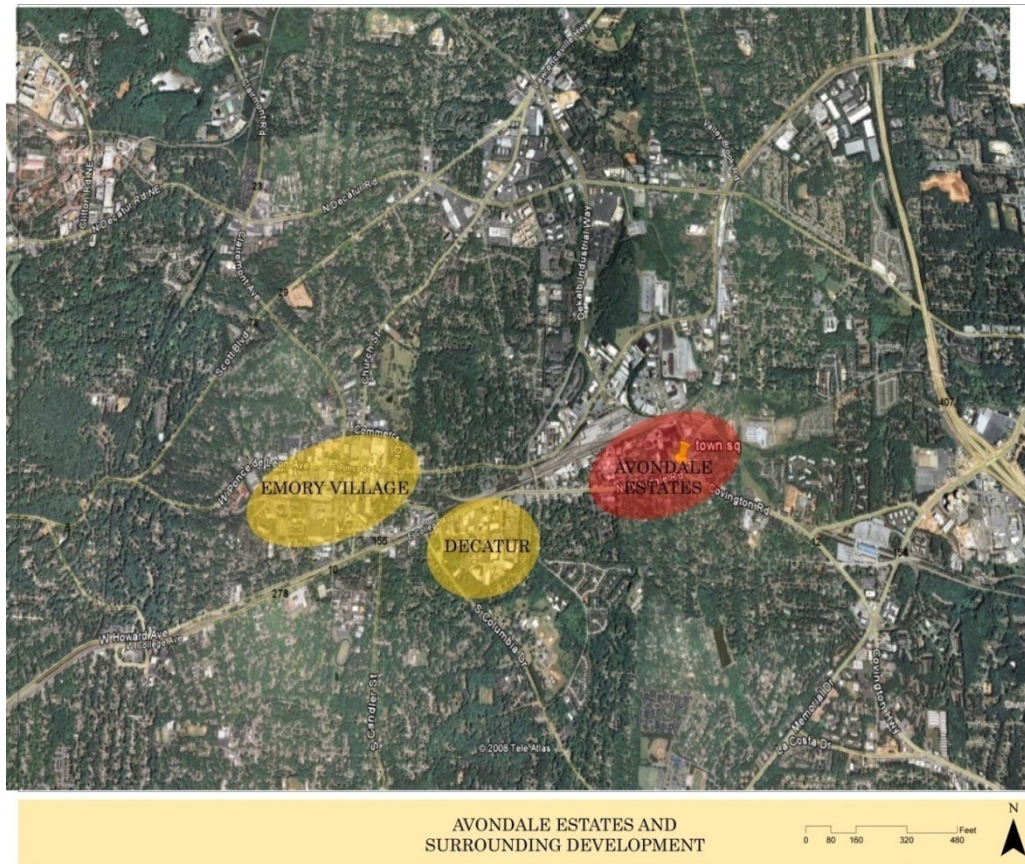
Figure 34: Avondale Estates and Surrounding Development

History

In 1924 George Willis, who had become a millionaire on the strength of patent medicine sales, decided to purchase 950 acres of land east of Atlanta (see Figure 2, below) and create "the seat of an ideally perfect social and political life" (quoted in Martin-Hart, 2000). Willis and his wife had recently spent time in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, and that area became the model for the "ideal city" that Willis christened Avondale Estates, down to the Tudor-style architecture (Martin-Hart, 2000). The Tudor-style row of commercial buildings along what is now North Avondale Road was designed by Atlanta architect Arthur Neel Robinson (Martin-Hart, 2000). Willis also supervised the creation of Lake Avondale, Willis Park, new schools and playgrounds, and even a dairy farm. Although Avondale Estates was accessible to downtown Atlanta by a

streetcar line (Martin-Hart, 2000), it seems to have been envisioned by Willis as a sort of self-sufficient enclave.

Taking center stage was 15 Avondale Plaza. This original survey, dated October 30, 1924, shows the depth of the property and describes in brief detail, the type of home to be constructed, a two-story brick with tile roof. The majestic Italian Villa (opposite) was the first home to be built and sold on Avondale Plaza. The original seven historic houses on the plaza are numbers 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16. (Courtesy Marion Reinhardt.)

Figure 35: Survey of Land Intended for Avondale Estates, 1924 (Martin-Hart, 2000)

Unfortunately for future development in Avondale Estates, Willis's timing was bad, in two ways. The more immediate problem was the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929. By 1931, lots were being sold at auction for as little as $50 apiece (Martin-Hart, 2000). Apart from Willis's own investments, the city had not had enough time to establish a local economy before the beginning of the Great Depression meant a severe reduction in available capital. The more long-lasting change that Willis failed to foresee was the rise of the automobile. In 1917, only 10,000 motor vehicles were registered in Fulton County, Georgia; by 1930 that number had increased to more than 64,000 (Flink, 1988). Willis was designing a relatively pastoral enclave. "In those early days," writes Terry Martin-Hart in her history of Avondale Estates, "many residents owned horses" (Martin-Hart, 2000). But rapid change, including the decline of the streetcar, meant that almost from its birth, Avondale Estates had to accommodate a primary

transportation mode for which it had not been designed. At the same time, the rural character of Willis's vision meant that Avondale Estates never had the level of density that would have encouraged walking between residential and commercial uses.

The map below is of block size and business uses in the commercial center of Avondale Estates, at the intersection of North Avondale and North Clarendon Roads, in 1950. Residential and commercial are clearly separated, though commercial is intertwined with civic uses, such as the city hall and local post office. Most of the business uses[2] are small businesses local to the area: Avondale Pharmacy, the restaurant Avondale Grill, Avondale Beauty Shop. There were also a series of businesses devoted to the automobile: Pounds Garage at the intersection of Lake and Franklin Streets; three service stations; a car wash; a used-car dealership. With the possible exceptions of the Avon Theater at 106 Avondale Road, in the midst of the Tudor strip, and W.T. Hairston & Co., a general store, the Avondale Estates of 1954 did not have a major attractor to its commercial downtown. In 1954 the road running through Avondale's business district was widened from four to six lanes (Martin-Hart, 2000), further decreasing accessibility by foot.

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2   Business uses were gathered from the listings by address in the 1954 and 1979 editions of the *Atlanta Suburban Directory* (Richmond, VA: Atlanta City Directory Co.).
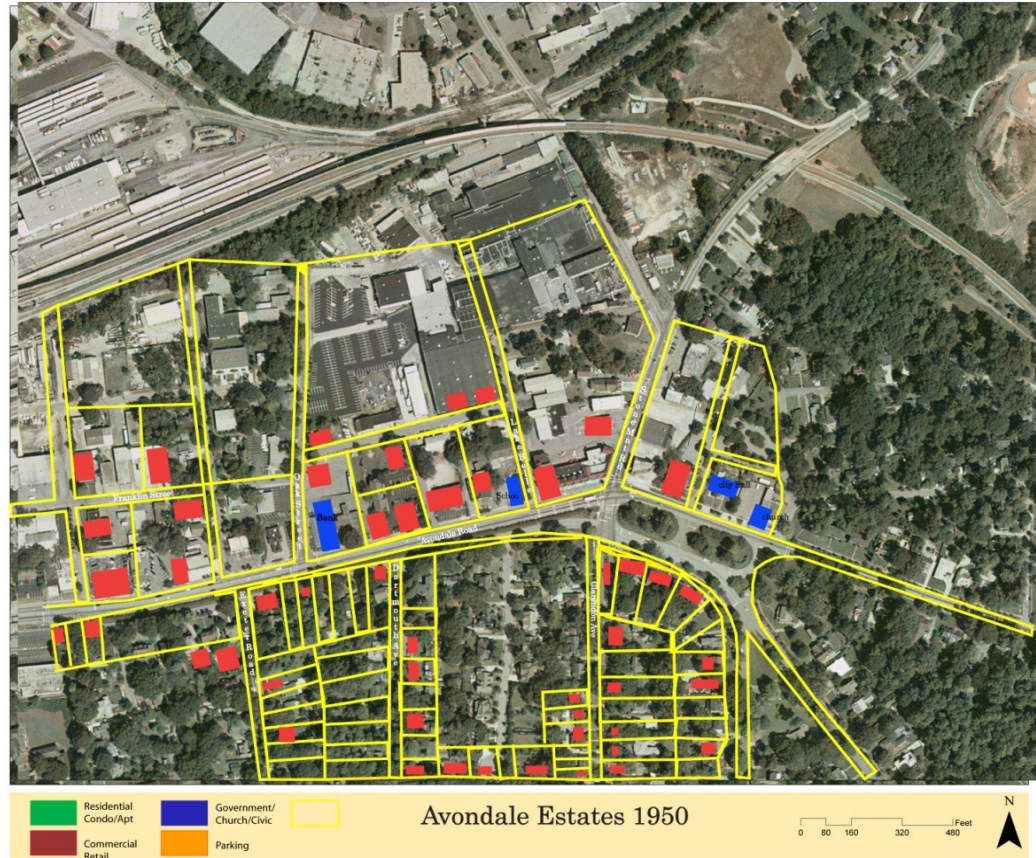
Figure 36: Avondale Estates Block Sizes and Business Uses, 1950

Figure 37: Avon Theatre, 1950s (Martin-Hart, 2000)

Avondale Estates enjoyed something of a renaissance after World War II, with population more than tripling between 1940 and 1960. But population declined between 1960 and 1980. It appears that as the demographics of DeKalb County shifted, Avondale Estates, a relatively white enclave in an increasingly African-American county, grew more and more

isolated. In 1940 Avondale Estates had a population of 569, of whom 26 were identified as "Negro"; by 1980 population has increased to 1,313, but only 7 are black (US Census Bureau, 1940, 1980). Martin-Hart's 2000 book, intended as a celebration of Avondale Estates, features personal photographs from many residents, and yet only one or two photographs in a 128-page book include nonwhites. For better or worse, Willis's city remained an enclave for its residents.
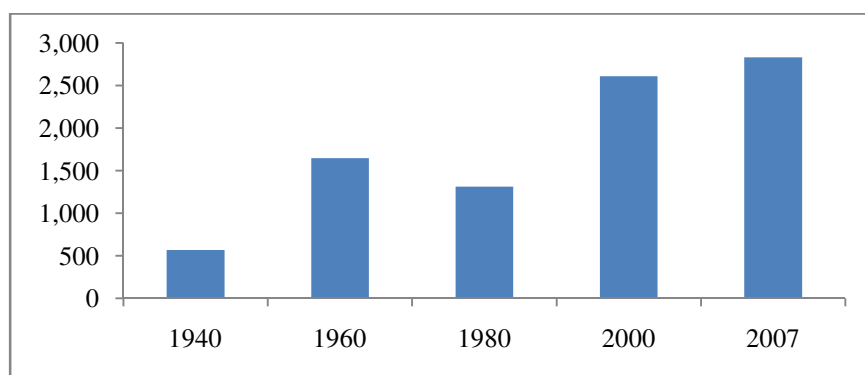
Figure 38: Avondale Estates Population, 1940–2007 est. (US Census, 1940–2007)

A 1978 map of block sizes and business uses shows how much Avondale Estates was struggling at the time. The Avon Theatre had closed by the mid-1970s; several other businesses are vacant. The remaining commercial uses are frequently electrical or general contracting; listings include an industrial towel service, a wholesale-jewelry seller, and a store dedicated to firearm repair. The map shows little change in the general design of the area. The block area defined in yellow still represented the town center but with less and less support of businesses in the area, the area was not functioning as a town center to meet the needs of the community. This is apparent in the lack of a grocery store, family medical services or home goods stores. In the mid-1970s three members of the City Council spearheaded a restoration project, but the changes were mostly superficial, with the installation of new lighting and signs meant to more closely evoke Stratford-upon-Avon (Martin-Hart, 2000).
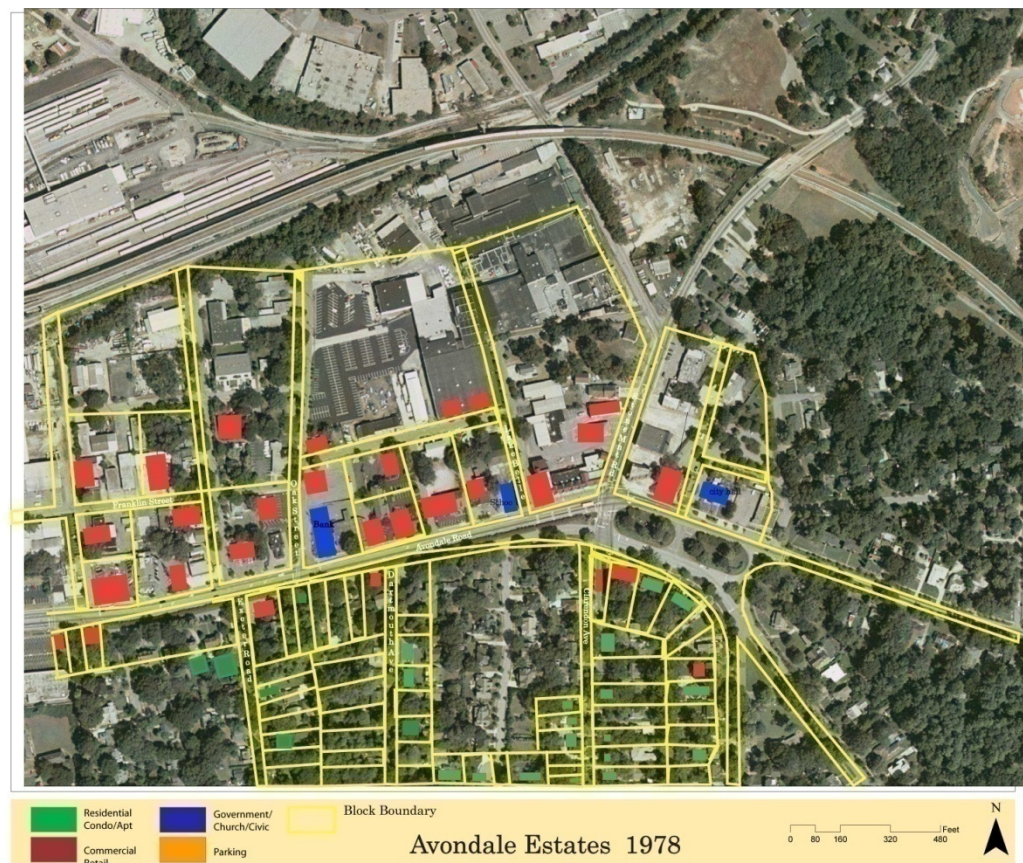
Figure 39: Map of Business Uses and Block Sizes, Avondale Estates, 1978

The demographics of Avondale Estates have shifted somewhat since 1978; in the 2000 census (US Census Bureau, 2000) 8.6% of the population was African-American. But the underlying economic-development and design issues that have challenged the city since its infancy have not, as we will see, changed significantly.

Current Characteristics And Challenges

The 2000 US Census lists Avondale Estates' population at 2,609, of which 88.8% was white and 12.8% over age 65. The population does not skew towards families. The figure below shows the household composition in 2000; three-quarters of Avondale Estates households have only one or two people in them, while only 13 percent have four people or more.
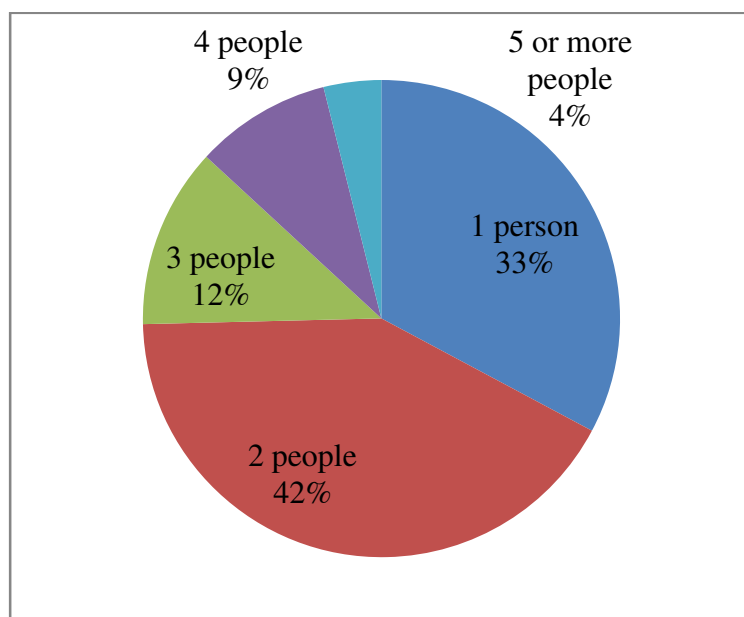
Figure 40: Household Composition, Avondale Estates, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Particularly in suburban areas, school quality and demographics are closely intertwined: a good school system can attract families, while a school system with a poor reputation can repel them. The Avondale Estates public schools seem to be attended only by those families too poor

to find another option. While only 2.7% of the city's population lived at or below the poverty level in 2000, in the 2005-06 school year, 91% of students at Avondale Elementary, 82% of students at Avondale Middle School, and 72% of students at Avondale High School were eligible for free lunches, implying a high level of poverty among families in the school system (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008).

Not surprisingly, the public schools of Avondale Estates have a poor academic reputation. The table below shows that measured by statewide tests, the Criterion-Referenced Competency Test (CRCT) and Georgia High School Graduation Test (GHGST), all three Avondale Estates public schools perform below the state norm.

Percentage of students meeting or exceeding state performance standards	Avondale Elementary School	Avondale Middle School	Avondale High School	All students, Georgia states
CRCT Math	65.9%	51.2%		76.6%
CRCT Reading	82.1%	78.5%		90.0%
GHGST Math			60.2%	77.3%
GHGST English			83.2%	90.6%

Table 38: Performance on Statewide Standardized Tests, Avondale Estates Public Schools and All Georgia Students, 2007–08 (Georgia Department of Education, 2008)

Other indicators suggest that residents in Avondale Estates are not investing their time or money in the city. In 2000 nearly half (49.5%) of residents in a surveyed sample commuted 30 minutes or more to work (US Census Bureau, 2000). Avondale Estates lies near no fewer than three stops—Decatur, Avondale, and Kensington—on the east-west MARTA public-transit line, which feeds directly into downtown Atlanta. Yet only 3.8% of those surveyed by the US Census reported taking public transit to work in 2000; 78.2% said they drove alone. In other words, if one were to draw a circle shaped by the commuting patterns of Avondale Estates residents, the radius would extend far beyond the city itself.

Despite the high poverty levels in its schools, Avondale Estates is not a poor area. The median household income in 2000 was more than $70,000, and 28% of residents reported household incomes of $100,000 or more. The figure below shows the income distribution by quartile.
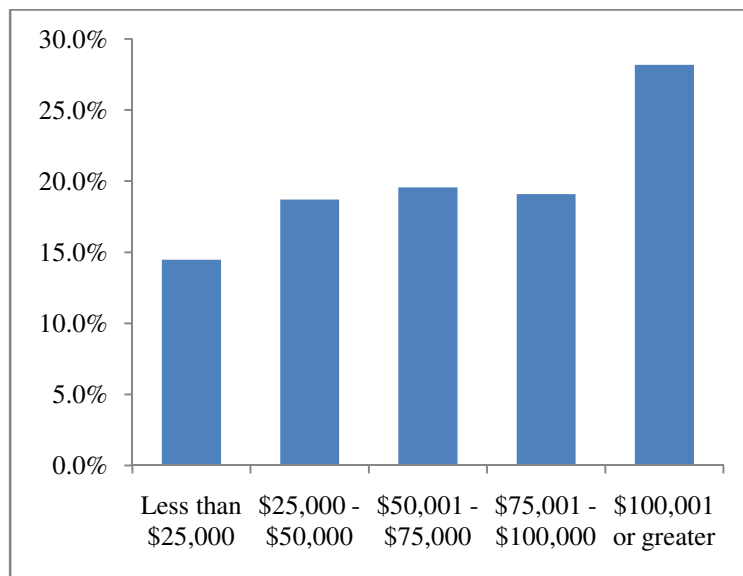
Figure 41: Income Distribution, Avondale Estates, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

The next figure shows the educational attainment of the population in 2000. In keeping with a relatively low poverty level, Avondale Estates residents are also well-educated, with more than half of the population possessing a bachelor's degree or higher. Thirty-eight point two percent of residents reported being in management or professional occupations, and 26.3% in technical positions, such as information technology (US Census Bureau, 2000). But the commuting data suggests that these high-skilled, high-paying positions are not located within the city limits of Avondale Estates.
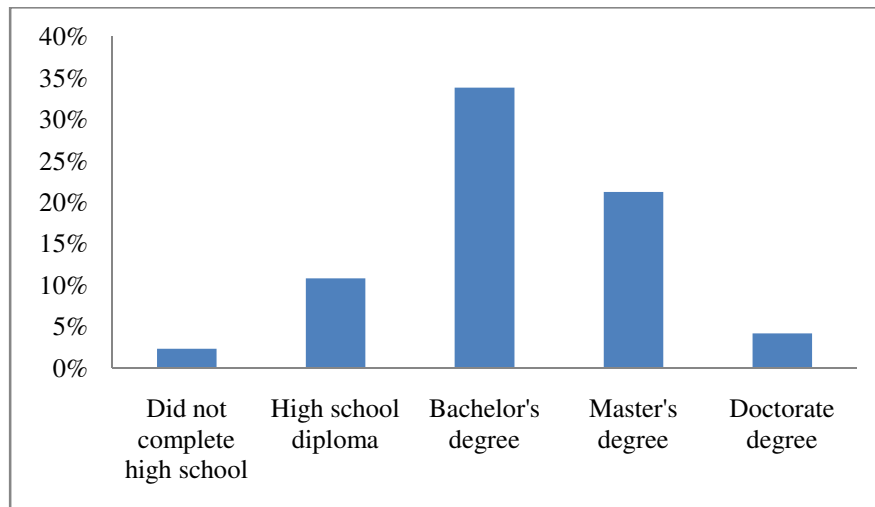
Figure 42: Educational Attainment of Avondale Estates Population, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

This begs the question of what businesses do exist in Avondale Estates today. The city's official website (City of Avondale Estates, 2008) lists 86 different establishments in and around the downtown area, of which two are civic or government organizations and 17 could be classified as "home and garden" businesses. Many are custom-furniture makers. Only five could be classified as "food and dining," a relatively low number for a commercial strip. Avondale Estates has no major grocery store and the downtown does not have a drugstore to match the Avondale Pharmacy of years past. This is not an area suitable for what transportation planners call "trip-chaining"—being able to drop off your dry-cleaning, eat at a restaurant or coffee shop, and shop for clothing or books or accessories, all without having to return to your car. Figure 53, below, shows an overhead map of Avondale Estates at present, with current uses marked. The framework of small blocks would support a better "trip-chaining" system if the buildings were occupied by services needed by the community on a daily basis.
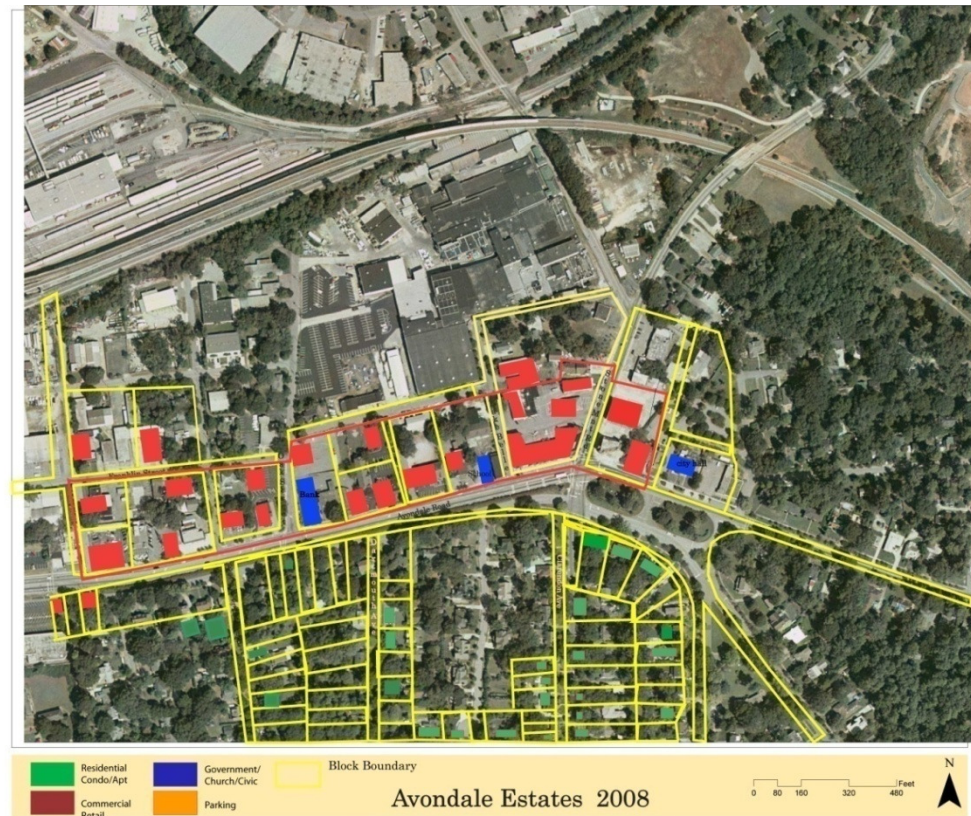
Figure 43: Avondale Estates Structure, Present Day

The main source of tax revenue in the city of Avondale Estates seems to be residential property tax, rather than sales or corporate taxes (Drey, 2008). In recent years different developers have attempted to bring new, larger commercial firms into the area, without success. In 2004 the city rejected an unpopular proposal to open a Wal-Mart within city limits. A more recent proposal suggests converting the Fenner-Dunlop manufacturing plant, recently closed and put up for sale by the company, into a mixed-use development featuring condominiums and a Publix grocery store (Drey, 2008). Fenner-Dunlop has had difficulty selling the land (Drey, 2008), which is zoned in unincorporated DeKalb County, rather than the city of Avondale Estates itself. In the 1930s and 1950s downtown Avondale Estates at least had its own grocery store and general store; it is not clear as of this writing when that will be true again.

Finally, special attention should be paid to the housing market in Avondale Estates, which is heavily skewed towards ownership. Table 39, below, shows owner-occupancy rates in

Avondale Estates in 1940, 1980, and 2000. By 1980 the owner-occupancy rate had risen to nine out of every ten housing units.

Year	Number of housing units	Percent owner-occupied
1940	163	41.7%
1980	540	90.0%
2000	1,263	89.6%

Table 39: Owner-Occupied Housing Units in Avondale Estates (US Census Bureau, 1940, 1980, 2000)

In 2000 only 7.4% of housing units were renter-occupied (US Census Bureau, 2000). Furthermore, 80.1% of the housing available was for detached single-family structures (US Census Bureau, 2000). Such low-density housing not only discourages walkability but makes it difficult to construct new forms of housing. An urban-design expert, who has worked with developers concentrating on Avondale Estates, reports that minimum square-footage requirements are so high that constructing new housing is not cost-efficient (Drey, 2008). This is despite the average housing unit in 2000 having been constructed in 1956 (US Census Bureau, 2000). The mixed-use proposals made for the Fenner-Dunlop plant would be prohibited under current Avondale Estates ordinances (Drey, 2008). Even with an upper-middle-class population and a location with easy access to a major work center in downtown Atlanta, Avondale Estates has not been able to replenish its aging housing stock.

Conclusions

George Willis's initial vision of an "ideal city" has been both a blessing and a curse for Avondale Estates in the 84 years since its founding. It boasts of civic features such as an artificially engineered lake and distinctive architecture in the midst of suburban blandness. Unfortunately, designed as an enclave, Avondale Estates has been repeatedly unable over time to adapt to changing surroundings. It was unable to adapt to the rise of the automobile and the

increase in work and shopping-related commuting over the course of the 20th century, to the point that residents simply adapted to living in Avondale Estates while working, shopping, and sending their children to school elsewhere. Its commerce has remained relatively isolated, neither joining larger chains nor offering the kind of businesses that would attract out-of-town patrons. Both its housing and commercial stock is aging, and it does not have an immediate prospect of businesses that would increase the commercial tax base and allow some room for revitalization of the city.

What does this imply for future development? Simply put, Avondale Estates and its residents have become attached to the idea of the pastoral enclave at the expense of flexibility. A recognition that Avondale Estates was no longer rural and could not be isolated, along with a move towards higher-density development, may have helped the city adapt over time. But many factors, including demographic and racial change, discouraged such adaptation. If the "conversation subdivision" approach had been available to planners in 1924, Avondale Estates could have had both the desired pastoral setting and higher density. It is possible that if Avondale had been designed with greater density to begin with, it would have looked less attractive to Willis at the start, but might have prospered more over time.

Atlanta Area Case Study: Dunwoody Village, Georgia

As a prominent and wealthy northern suburb of Atlanta, Dunwoody has seen its growth explode since the opening of Interstate 285 in 1969. Dunwoody Village, at the intersection of Chamblee-Dunwoody and Mount Vernon Roads, has been able to take advantage of the wealth surrounding it. As seen below, Perimeter Center is a nearby retail and commercial hub that further confirms the available money in the area to support shopping via automobile transportation.

Despite a design that gives up coherence in return for more parking spaces and discourages walking, the Village shopping center has been able to attract and retain a number of commercial and business uses—grocery stores, clothing stores, medical and business-services offices, even small schools. The question facing Dunwoody Village in the future, and the question facing those who would want to learn from the center's relative success, is whether the car-centric design of Dunwoody Village will be an impediment to later adaptation should preferred modes of transportation change and residents seek a more high-density experience.

Figure 44: Overhead Map of Dunwoody Village and Surrounding Area

History

The city—as of July 2008—of Dunwoody, Georgia, was named for one Charles Dunwody, a landowner in the area who founded a local post office soon after the Civil War (Davis and Spruill, 1975). White settlers had begun moving into the area in the 1830s (Davis and Spruill, 1975). Until the 1950s the area remained predominantly rural; not until the postwar suburban boom did Dunwoody begin to transform itself into the busy, wealthy, congested suburb it is now known as today within the metropolitan Atlanta area. Figure 12 shows population growth in the Dunwoody area since 1940. Since the United States Census Bureau has counted Dunwoody as part of different geographic areas over time (Dunwoody was not designated a CDP, or Census Designated Place, until 1980), the population figures are only roughly comparable; yet they give an idea of the area's rapid growth.
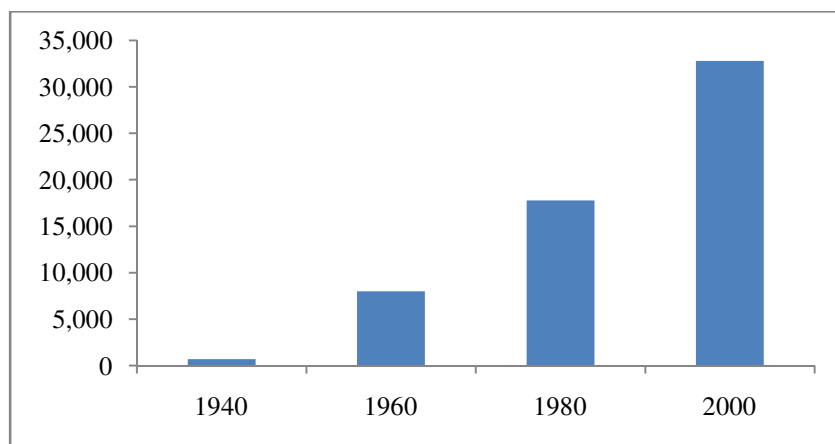
Figure 45: Population of Dunwoody Area, 1940–2000 (US Census, 2000)

Since Dunwoody's growth took place in the era of the proverbial two cars in every garage, it should not be surprising that its new commercial developments were also built to accommodate automobiles. Perimeter Mall, west of Dunwoody Village, opened in August 1971. The very name suggests how the relative distance between Dunwoody and Atlanta had changed: whereas in the early 1900s a trip to Atlanta was seen as a major undertaking (Davis and Spruill, 1975), Dunwoody was now part of the perimeter of Atlanta; indeed, Joel Garreau, in his 1991 book *Edge Cities*, pointed to the Perimeter Center complex as an example of an "edge city" development (Garreau, 1991).

In 1964 Tom Cousins, a local developer active in the metropolitan Atlanta area, bought the land that would eventually become Dunwoody Village. The design touches of the town center were modeled after Williamsburg Village in Virginia. Such a look, meant to evoke a charming, old-fashioned village, is still enshrined in local zoning laws and can be seen in the details of the buildings: a heavy emphasis on brick, with wooden signs and embellishments such as a weathervane on top of the Fresh Market grocery store (see below). Unfortunately, Dunwoody Village was not designed for the walkability of historic Williamsburg. The village is not broken into small blocks to encourage walking and turning corners into adjacent streets. Instead, Dunwoody is a giant slab where parking is the canvas to an array of business and civic uses. The design framework does not facilitate changing uses over time because the frame is one super block, undivided and unorganized to accommodate the car-free traveler. The buildings

within the village may allow for a change within the framework if the buildings are organized to accommodate interior streets and a framing of blocks within the village. In order for any design change to occur within the village, the land parcel must be divided to accommodate a human scale rather than the automobile scale it currently maintains.

Figure 46: Gas station in Dunwoody Village, 2008 (Doyle, 2008)

Figure 47: Sidewalks and signage in Dunwoody Village, 2008 (Doyle, 2008)

Figure 48: Weathervane atop Fresh Market grocery store, Dunwoody Village, 2008 (Doyle, 2008)

By 1975 Elizabeth Davis and Ethel Spruill, two longtime residents who described themselves as "amateur historians.. in love with Dunwoody," could proudly describe the new Dunwoody Village:

> ..there is now, in 1975, every type of craft shop, gift shops, a hardware store, a pharmacy, banks, shoe stores, restaurants and snack shops and, to cap it all, our one-of-a-kind "Ogletree's Groceries and Fine Foods." The store reminds one more of a glittering palace of foods than a mundane grocery store. Every type of fruit, tropical and domestic, is displayed with such artistry as to be one of the store's outstanding attractions. (Davis and Spruill, 1975)

The figure below shows Dunwoody Village in 1981. What becomes immediately apparent are the large swathes of parking lots between clumps of commercial use and the enormous block size. Dunwoody Village was not designed to be traversed on foot, a fact that will become all too apparent to the walker during even a mildly warm day. Moreover, the small commercial offices and the larger retail are also by and large separated. Yet the nearby

population was eager for local services, and there was a great deal of pent-up commercial demand to be met. In 1958 the annual city directory for suburban Atlanta had no listings for Mount Vernon Road at all; by 1981 the intersection of Mount Vernon Road and Chamblee-Dunwoody Road was a hub for medical offices and small businesses.

Figure 49: Block Sizes and Building Uses in Dunwoody Village, 1981

By the early 1990s Dunwoody had fallen prey to the stereotype of the edge city in that it was regarded as relatively bland and featureless. Christopher Curley, an architecture student at Georgia Tech in the early 1990s, later wrote:

> At a symposium on edge cities chaired by Mr. Garreau in the winter quarter of
> 1992 at Georgia Tech, the very developers, lawyers and politicians who made
> Perimeter Center a reality were looking with envy at the cultural diversity of the

evolved conventional city. "How can we capture the culture of Midtown and Buckhead?" they asked. At the same time these responsible parties neglected to make such simple civic moves as building sidewalks. They failed to comprehend the crucial link between culture and diversity that bestowed upon truly accessible areas the richness and meaning which made them experiential "places." (Curley, 1992)

Despite a number of civic institutions—the Dunwoody Post Office, which has been present in the area since 1825 (Davis and Spruill, 1975); the Spruill Center, devoted to artistic and cultural events; a historic farmhouse on the corner of Chamblee-Dunwoody and Mount Vernon Roads, currently being renovated; the Dunwoody Nature Center—Dunwoody is not, and has never been, an "experiential place." But the people who moved to Dunwoody between 1940 and 2000 were not necessarily seeking an experiential place. Instead, they sought an area with a high level of services, for which they were willing to give up a richer variety of design experiences. As Dunwoody matures, however, and transportation modes threaten to shift, it remains to be seen whether this bargain can hold.

Current Characteristics and Challenges

In 2000 the Dunwoody CDP (Census Designated Place) had a population of 32,808, of which 48.7% was male and 12.5% was over age 65 (US Census Bureau, 2000). Only 85% of the CDP population was white. The table below shows the racial breakdown as of 2000.

Racial/Ethnic Identification	Percentage
White	85.0%
African-American	4.1%
Asian	7.6%
Hispanic or Latino	4.6%

Table 40: Racial/Ethnic Identification of Population, Dunwoody CDP, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Dunwoody appears to be growing more racially diverse: in 1980 only 0.7% of residents were of Asian descent and 0.4% were African-American (US Census Bureau, 1980). This is in line with two major trends for the metropolitan Atlanta area since 1980: the increasing wealth (and ability to buy homes) of the African-American middle class, and the growing presence of Asian and Hispanic or Latino immigrants and their families in the northern suburbs.

The following figures show household structure for the Dunwoody CDP and for Census Tract 212.14, which includes Dunwoody Village but not the entire CDP. Sixty-seven percent of the CDP population and 54% of the population of Census Tract 212.14 live in households of two people or fewer. In Census Tract 212.14, 27% of households have four people or more, suggesting that the area around Dunwoody Village is relatively popular for families.
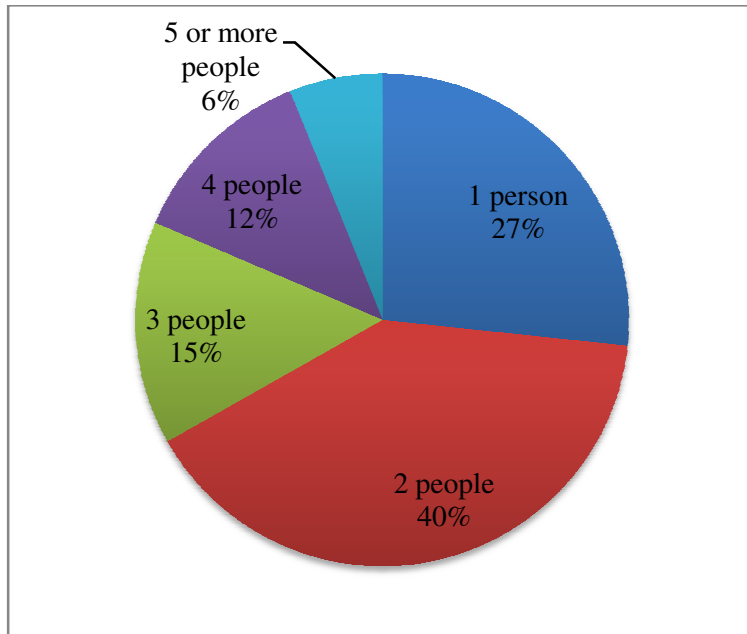
Figure 50: Household Structure, Dunwoody CDP (US Census, 2000)
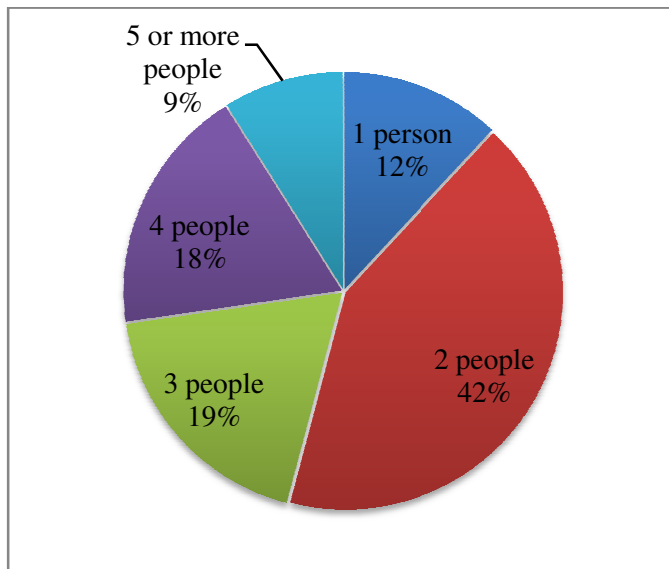
Figure 51: Household Structure, Census Tract 212.14 (US Census, 2000)

In 2000 there were a total of 14,599 housing units within the Dunwoody CDP, of which 60.8% were single-family detached units and 18.7% were in a structure with 20 or more units

(e.g., apartment complexes). However, in Census Tract 212.14, 94.3% of housing units were single-family detached units and only 0.7% were in a structure with 20 or more units (US Census Bureau, 2000). This suggests that Dunwoody Village and its surrounding vicinity is even less dense, in terms of residential development, than Dunwoody as a whole.

Census Tract 212.14 is also wealthier than the Dunwoody CDP, with a median income of $108,308 as compared to $82,838, and a poverty level of 1.5%, less than half that of the CDP poverty level of 3.6% (US Census Bureau, 2000). This is not to imply that Dunwoody is not comparatively wealthy. Fully 62% of those employed in Dunwoody in 2000 worked in managerial or professional positions (US Census Bureau, 2000). The figures below show the respective household incomes by quartile.
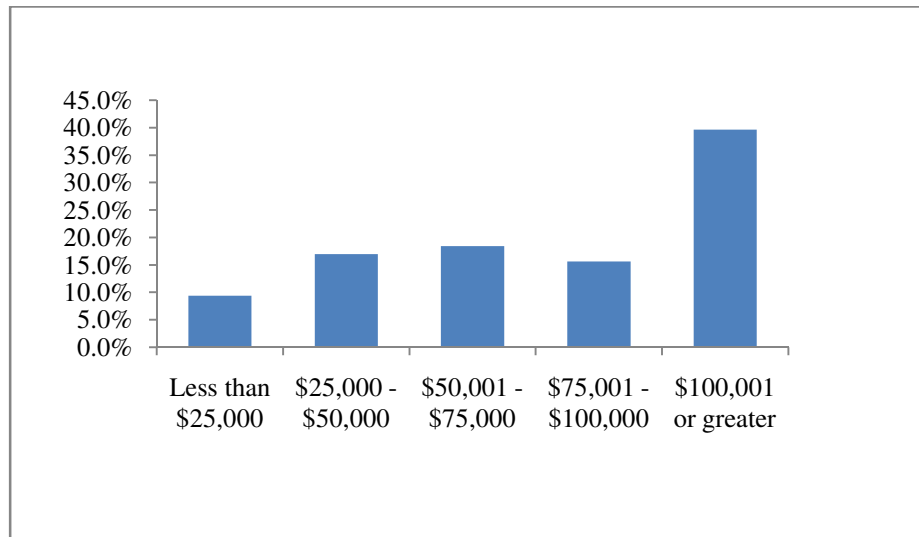
Figure 52: Income Distribution, Dunwoody CDP, 2000 (US Census, 2000)
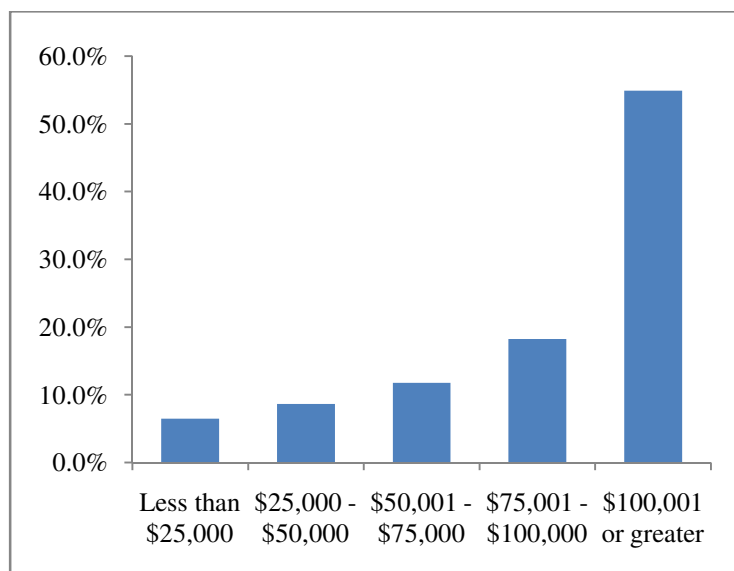
Figure 53: Income Distribution, Census Tract 212.14, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Finally, Census Tract 212.14 can boast a slightly better educated workforce than can Dunwoody as a whole, as shown below. The difference is most significant in post-bachelor secondary education degrees.
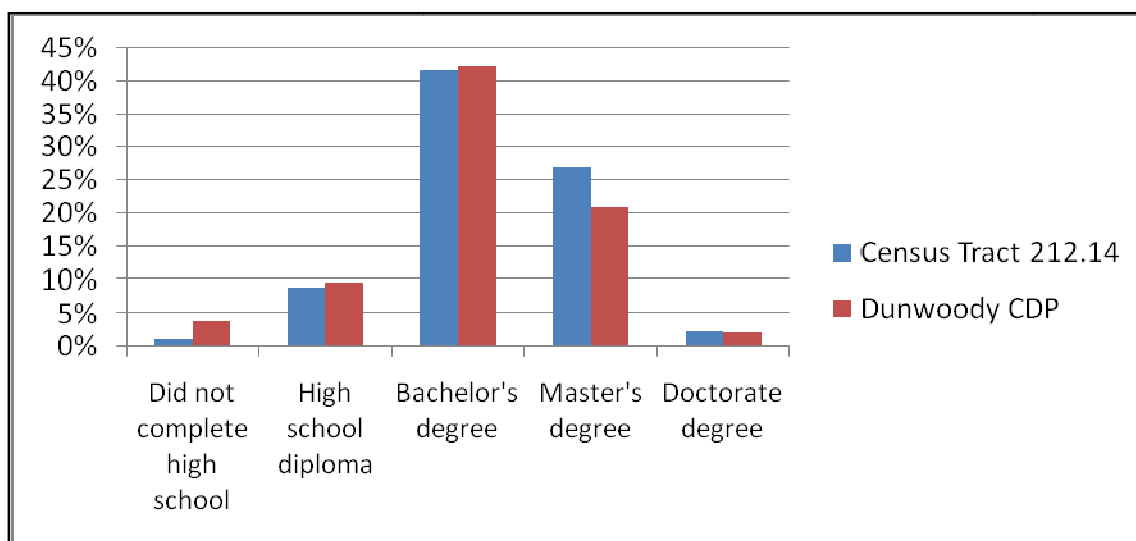
Figure 54: Educational Attainment, Census Tract 212.14 and Dunwoody CDP, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

These statistics suggest that as of 2000, Dunwoody in general, and the area around Dunwoody Village in particular, are attractive places to live for well-educated, high-income people and their families. Such attractiveness is reinforced by the generally high reputation of the local public schools; families which might have chosen private schools had they stayed in the city of Atlanta may justify the lack of urban amenities (or urban density) in Dunwoody by the access to public schools. The table below highlights the three schools that a hypothetical child living in Dunwoody Village would attend ("hypothetical" because there is no residential within Dunwoody Village proper). All three outperform the state averages, including Peachtree Middle School, which is regarded locally as somewhat troubled and was turned into a charter school in 2004. Within Dunwoody Village itself there is a small Montessori school through sixth grade, of less than 50 students, and a private nursery, Dunwoody Prep. Dunwoody Springs, a charter elementary school administered by Fulton County, is 2.4 miles from Dunwoody Village.

Percentage of students meeting or exceeding state performance standards	Vanderlyn Elementary School	Peachtree (Charter) Middle School	Dunwoody High School	All students, Georgia states
CRCT Math	98.0%	77.4%		76.6%
CRCT Reading	98.7%	92.9%		90.0%
GHGST Math			84.8%	77.3%
GHGST English			94.3%	90.6%

Table 41: Performance on Statewide Standardized Tests, Selected Dunwoody Public Schools and All Georgia Students, 2007–08 (Georgia Department of Education, 2008)

Dunwoody residents also enjoy a high level of access to local medical services. Three-point-four miles from Dunwoody Village is the medical complex that houses Northside Hospital, St. Joseph's Hospital, and Children's Healthcare of Atlanta, one of the largest such complexes in metropolitan Atlanta. Emory University maintains a clinic 2.1 miles from Dunwoody Village,

and within the village itself are multiple doctors' and dentists' offices, some of which have been in operation since the late 1970s. Congestion, which has worsened as the population has risen, decreases the accessibility of these services, but their geographic proximity nevertheless contributes to a perception of Dunwoody as a relatively attractive suburb.

As of 2000 approximately 30% of residents surveyed in both the Dunwoody CDP and Census Tract 212.14 drove 30 minutes or more to work every day (US Census Bureau, 2000). Yet a fifth of those surveyed reported a travel time of 10 minutes or less (US Census Bureau, 2000). Since Dunwoody's population is believed to have increased since 2000, we can reasonably assume that congestion has increased as well. Moreover, 79.8% of workers surveyed in the Dunwoody CDP drove alone to work (US Census Bureau, 2000). Such a heavy reliance on car travel begs the question of what happens when outside circumstances—higher gas prices, the desire to reduce carbon-dioxide emissions, increased air pollution—increase the costs of driving for Dunwoody residents.

As for Dunwoody Village itself, its design has not changed since the late 1970s. The map below shows Dunwoody Village as it is today, with uses marked. As in the late 1970s, retail is clustered within the Village while offices are scattered along the outside, along Dunwoody Village Parkway and Nandina Lane. The Village is anchored by Fresh Market, the successor of the Ogletree's grocery store (and a Bruno's grocery store in the 1990s). The northeast corner of the Village is dominated by auto-oriented retail, such as a Jiffy Lube service center and a Goodyear tire store. There are also two special-events facilities for rental—a new development since the late 1970s—clothing and accessories stores, hair salons, and a school offering private music lessons and selling musical instruments.

Figure 55: Block Sizes and Building Uses, Dunwoody Village, 2008

Interestingly, Dunwoody Village has been able to preserve some of its businesses from 1979 until the present day, including Ya Shu Yuen, a Chinese restaurant; the Dunwoody Bottle Shop, a package store; the Dunwoody Village Barber Shop and Hair Designs by Ferral; and the Post Office, at 1551 Dunwoody Village Parkway. Other buildings have changed names or ownership (Eckerd's becomes Rite Aid; Decatur Federal Savings & Loan becomes Wachovia; an

Amoco service station becomes a BP service station) but not uses. For those who have moved to Dunwoody since the 1970s, such stalwart businesses can help create the sense of "experiential place" that Curley noticed was missing from the greater Dunwoody area in 1992, even if the urban design structure does not to encourage that sense of place. Even from a parking lot, it can be soothing to see a business that has been in place for decades. But Dunwoody Village's design may not, in future, help such businesses retain a competitive advantage.

Conclusions

In the three decades since Dunwoody Village was built, Dunwoody has seen significant change as it has grown into a position as a relatively privileged suburb north of Atlanta. In July 2008 residents voted to incorporate the city of Dunwoody, in part out of a desire to keep local resources locally controlled. Yet Dunwoody Village has remained relatively intact. It was built for an era where the car dominated and the suburban family was willing to give up walkability in exchange for perceived higher-quality services; and in that era it has been able to attract and retain a variety of businesses, including professional services and retail. But if that era is over, will Dunwoody Village, and the city of Dunwoody, be able to retain a relatively privileged position?

If consumer and resident preferences shift away from the automobile, then the design structure will have to change or be abandoned. Dunwoody Village could improve the framework by breaking the village into a series of blocks that are small enough to walk from store to store. The buildings themselves could support a mix of uses including residential use throughout the village if density were identified as a goal of the area. Potential residents looking for more accessible commercial or residential areas may shun Dunwoody in favor of more dense development.

Yet even if its car-centric design proves a burden later on, Dunwoody Village shows that commercial town centers do not thrive in isolation. The attractiveness of Dunwoody Village is dependent on its being situated in an area where residents can point to high-quality services, especially in terms of schools and medical facilities. It may be possible to change the urban

design to make Dunwoody Village more accessible while keeping such services, before demographic changes such as those seen in older suburbs eat away at Dunwoody's accomplishments. If Dunwoody Village is able to adjust to changes in transportation and resident preference, it may be able to remain a successful commercial center.

Atlanta Area Case Study: Vickery Village, Georgia

Vickery Village is the newest of our profiled Georgia case studies. Developed in 2002, it has not had much time to establish itself as a viable mixed-use residential and commercial center. The developers of Vickery Village have taken steps to encourage community in the area, including building a YMCA recreational facility for Forsyth County. However, the economic downturn and the short-term lack of access to credit in 2008 may adversely impact Vickery Village, especially given its status as a suburban development 36 miles, or an hour's drive, north of Atlanta. Despite its relative walkability, Vickery Village is still heavily dependent on an environment in which residents are willing to commute long distances. If the area around Vickery Village stagnates, the Vickery Village development itself will stagnate as well.

History

Vickery Village was developed in 2002 by Hedgewood Properties, a developer active in the metropolitan Atlanta area. Pam Sessions, Hedgewood's co-founder and chief executive, is a resident of Vickery Village. Hedgewood's goals for the development included creating a mixed-use, "live/work/play" development which would encourage a sense of community. In October 2007, the business magazine *Georgia Trend* featured Vickery Village as an example of a new approach to retail development in Georgia, described as "more of a main street experience with walking paths, public space and trees, landscaping and gathering areas between parking areas" (Tucker, 2007). Cheri Morris, chief executive of Hedgewood Commercial Properties, explained that she explicitly sought a mix of tenants that would allow for visitors to reach multiple destinations in one trip: "We've really tried to create a true village that would build a lifestyle.. If you live in Vickery, you can walk to many things you need in your life." (Tucker, 2007)

Between summer 2003 and summer 2008, some 250 homes were sold (Arrington, 2008). But in August 2008 foreclosure proceedings began for the Village, which is the main commercial section of Vickery, and roughly one-third of the residential portion (Arrington, 2008). The

foreclosure was scheduled to happen September 2, but did not (Sami, 2008). "Wachovia did not foreclose and we're continuing to try to work to resolve this," Sessions told reporters (Sami, 2008). By this time the Village was home to approximately 30 different businesses, not including the YMCA and Vickery Executive Suites, a series of offices available for business-services use.

It is difficult to predict what the immediate future holds for Vickery Village. The short-term credit crunch may mean that some of the local businesses have trouble continuing, or it may affect operations at a larger scale; Hedgewood Properties apparently had layoffs in 2008 (Arrington, 2008). In order to better understand the future of Vickery Village it would be instructive to get some idea of its demographics and the local environment.

Current Characteristics and Challenges

Vickery and Vickery Village did not exist in 2000, so no Census data exists for Vickery itself. Vickery is sometimes referred to as being part of Cumming, Georgia, the largest city in Forsyth County, although Vickery is outside the city limits. The area that includes Vickery is part of Census Tract 1303, which is larger than Cumming: in 2000 Census Tract 1303 had 17,347 residents, as opposed to only 4,394 in Cumming (US Census Bureau, 2000). Moreover, the demographics of Census Tract 1303 and of Cumming differed significantly in 2000. The map below shows Census Tract 1303 in relation to Cumming, while the following table highlights the most drastic differences.
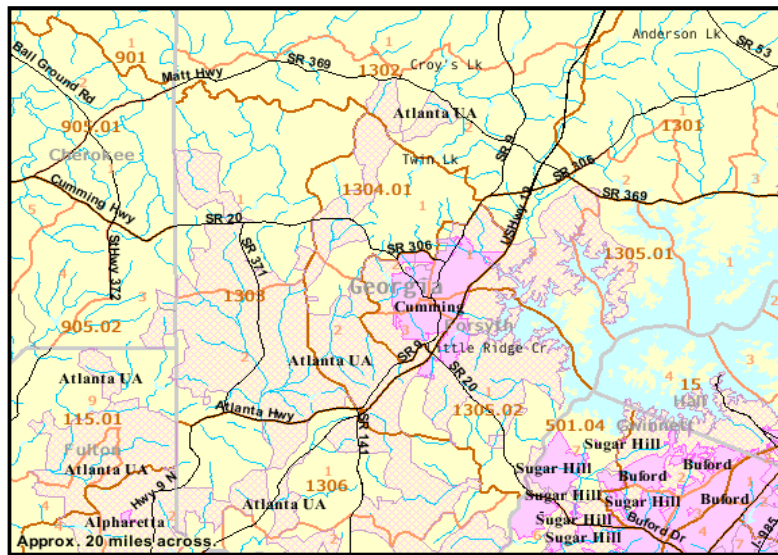
Figure 56: Map of Cumming, Georgia, and Nearby Census Tracts (US Census, 2008)

Data type (2000)	Census Tract 1303	Cumming city
Population	17,347	4,394
Percentage of population over age 65	6.1%	18.1%
Percentage of population identifying as Hispanic or Latino	3.2%	16.7%
Percentage of housing units that are single-family detached	90.1%	62.2%
Percentage of housing units that are owner-occupied	88.8%	46.8%
Median household income, 1999	$71,993	$38,237
Percentage of households with income of $100,000 or greater	28%	10%
Percentage that did not complete high school	12.5%	35.1%

Table 42: Selected Demographic Characteristics, Census Tract 1303 and Cumming, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

As can be seen from the above table, Census Tract 1303 is wealthier, younger, better-educated, and with a smaller percentage of Hispanic or Latino residents than is the city of Cumming. The figures below show household structure for the census tract and the city, respectively. 52% of the census tract residents, as opposed to 41% of Cumming residents, live in

households of three people or more. This suggests that the area in which Vickery Village was built is relatively attractive to families.
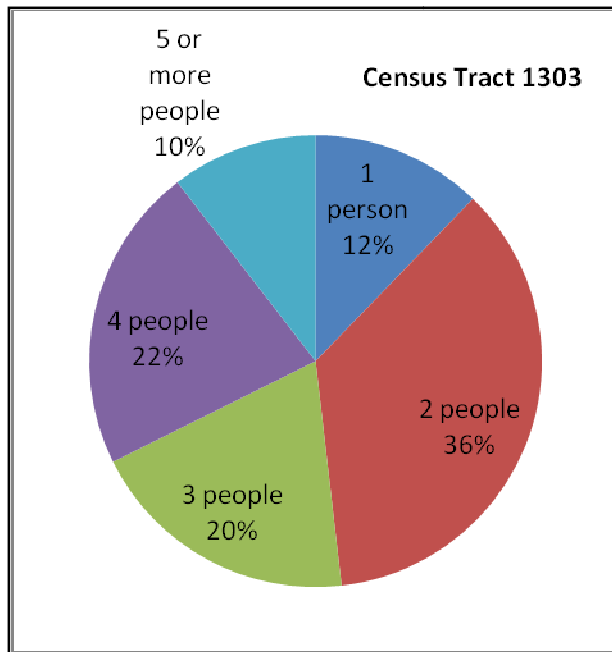
Figure 57: Household Structure, Census Tract 1303, 2000 (US Census Bureau, 2000)

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000
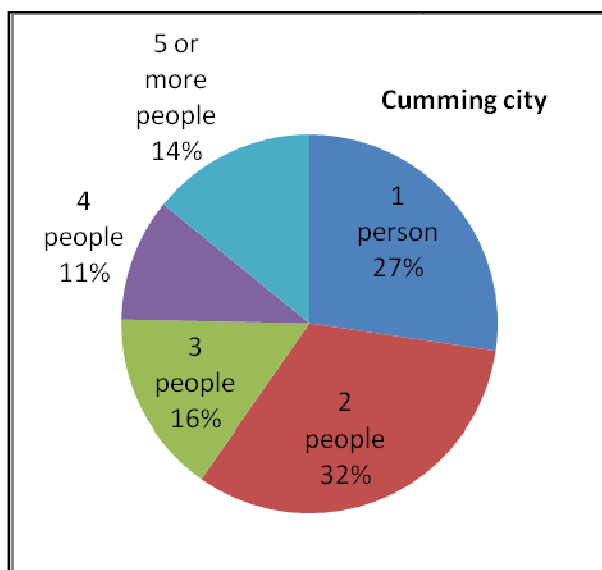
Figure 58: Household Structure, Cumming city, 2000 (US Census Bureau, 2000)

In terms of housing, the housing units in Census Tract 1303 are not only more likely to be single-family detached than those of Cumming city, but more likely to be occupied by their owners and, on average, newer—the average housing unit in Census Tract 1303 was built in 1994, as opposed to 1985 in Cumming (US Census Bureau, 2000). The vacancy rate in Cumming (5.3%) was nearly twice that of Census Tract 1303 (2.8%) (US Census Bureau, 2000). This reinforces the picture of the area in which Vickery Village was built as wealthy. So do the figures below, which show income distribution in the two areas.
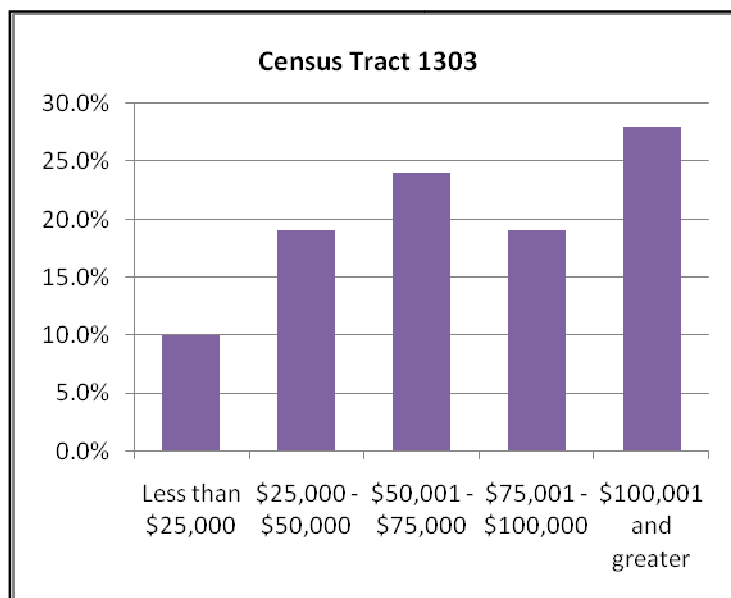
Figure 59: Income Distribution, Census Tract 1303, 2000 (US Census, 2000)
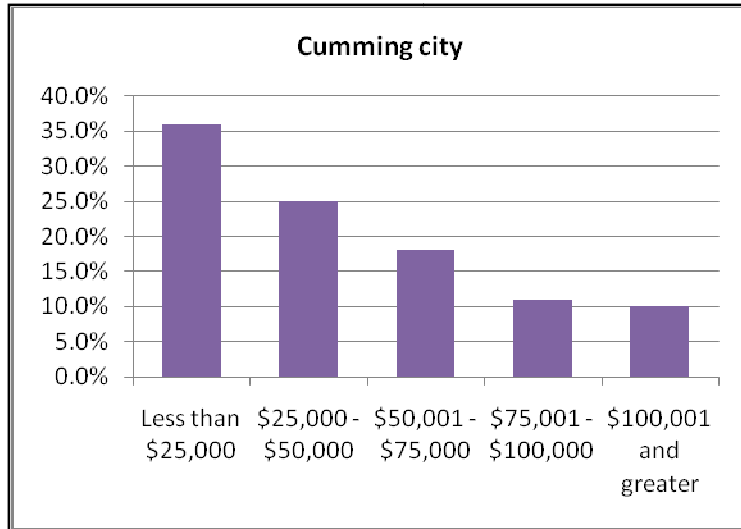
Figure 60: Income Distribution, Cumming city, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

The next figure below shows differences in educational attainment between Census Tract 1303 and Cumming city in greater detail. The difference is most stark when looking at attainment of bachelor's and master's degrees, and percentage of the population that did not complete high school.
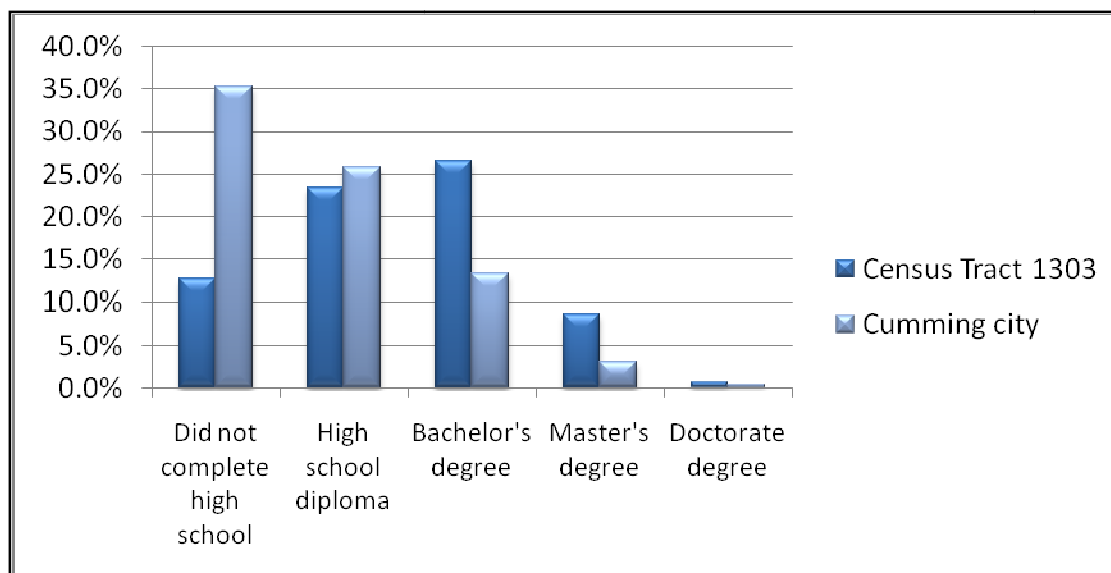
Figure 61: Educational Attainment, Census Tract 1303 and Cumming city, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Finally, differences exist in the commuting patterns for residents of Census Tract 1303 sampled for a survey for the 2000 census and Cumming residents. Not surprisingly, large percentages of the population both areas reported commuting to work by driving alone (81% in Census Tract 1303, 74.2% in Cumming). But, as can be seen in the table below, a resident of Census Tract 1303 was more likely to report a longer commute than a resident of Cumming.

Percentage of population surveyed reporting..	Census Tract 1303	Cumming city
Commute time 10 minutes or less	17.1%	37.0%
Commute time 30 minutes or more	47.2%	33.5%

Table 43: Commute Patterns, Census Tract 1303 and Cumming, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

The difference in commuting patterns implies two different observations about the residents of Census Tract 1303. One is that they might indeed have been receptive to the creation of a "village" where they could accomplish multiple errands and even enjoy a sense of

community without having to drive long distances. The other is that the wealth of Census Tract 1303 is not necessarily being generated nearby. Long journeys to work will spawn congestion even if other amenities, such as shopping centers and civic institutions, are nearby.

Fortunately for Vickery and Vickery Village, its local schools do not require a 30-minute commute. Both Vickery Creek Elementary School and Vickery Creek Middle School are less than a mile from the Forsyth County YMCA in Vickery Village. West Forsyth High School, which opened in the fall of 2007 with 1,210 students, is 2.4 miles away from Vickery Village. The elementary and middle schools cater to an affluent student body: in the 2005-06 school year, only 2% of the elementary school students and 8.3% of the middle school students were eligible for a free lunch (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008). The table below shows that all three public schools outperformed the Georgia average on the Criterion-Referenced Competency Test (CRCT) and Georgia High School Graduation Test (GHGST), administered statewide, during the 2007-08 school year.

Percentage of students meeting or exceeding state performance standards	Vickery Creek Elementary School	Vickery Creek Middle School	West Forsyth High School	All students, Georgia state
CRCT Math	94.2%	89.1%		76.6%
CRCT Reading	98.6%	98.0%		90.0%
GHGST Math			89.5%	77.3%
GHGST English			94.7%	90.6%

Table 44: Performance on Statewide Standardized Tests, Selected Forsyth County Public Schools and Statewide, 2007–2008 (Georgia Department of Education, 2008)

Vickery Village would seem poised to benefit from access to an affluent population and a strong school system. However, the development remains an isolated mixed-use island. The image below shows an overhead view of Vickery Village. The picture is somewhat outdated, as construction has finished since it was taken, but it shows how Vickery Village's mixed uses are nonetheless clustered around parking lots. (In this respect Vickery Village resembles Dunwoody Village, although the two shopping centers were constructed under very different circumstances.) It remains to be seen whether Vickery Village can thrive on its own, or whether a mixed-use development such as Vickery Village needs a certain amount of local residential density in order to maintain its commercial core.

Figure 62: Map of Block Sizes and Building Uses, Vickery Village, 2008

Conclusions

Consciously "mixed-use" developments are relatively new, but it can be observed that they need a strong core commercial component to be able to grow and maintain a functioning tax base over the medium to long term. Many of Vickery Village's businesses are the second businesses of restaurants or shops that were successful elsewhere in northern Georgia; thus the owners cannot fall back on a large reserve of capital if faced with an economic crisis. The recent "credit crunch" may have come too soon for Vickery Village, as its commercial center may not

have had enough time to establish itself before merchants began facing a very uncertain economic future. In the longer run, higher gas prices may reduce the willingness of people, especially those who can afford to live elsewhere, to make the long commutes reported in Census Tract 1303, and growth in that area may slow.

Yet it is also possible that Vickery Village will be able to promote a mixed-use approach in a suburban environment. Access to excellent local schools will continue to serve as a draw, as can the construction of the planned extension of Northside Hospital in Forsyth. Vickery Village's emphasis on live/work/play, and its mix of businesses, may allow it to remain a draw in the northern suburbs of Atlanta even in the midst of a housing and economic downturn.

Washington, D.C. Area Case Study: Greenbelt, Maryland
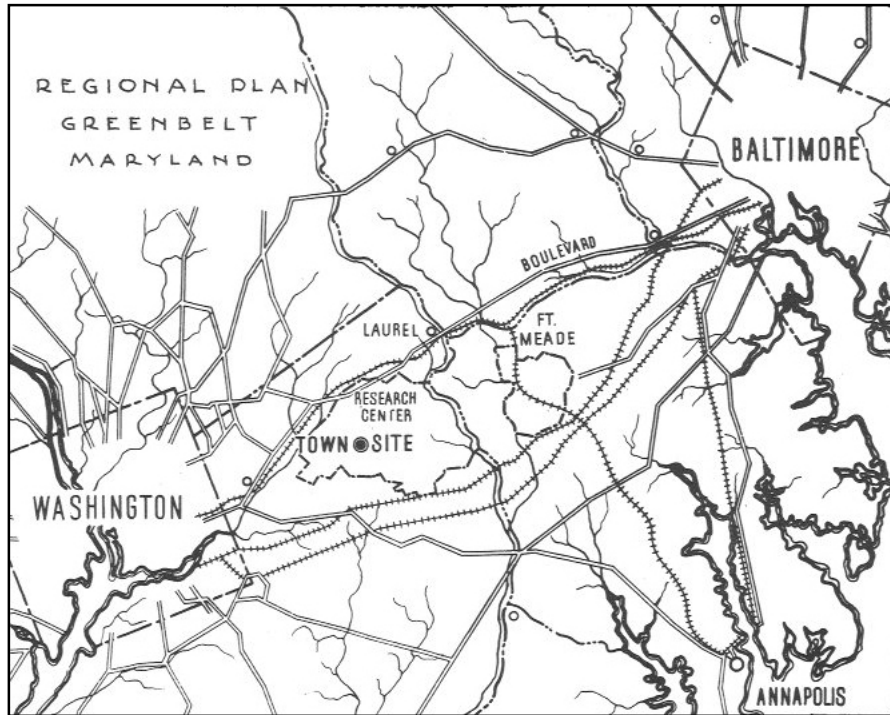
Figure 63: Greenbelt Regional Plan (Knepper, 2001)

History

  Greenbelt, a city in Prince George's County, Maryland, was settled in 1937 as a public cooperative community, and one of the first projects of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal economic recovery program. The plan for Greenbelt was created in 1935, after Rexford Tugwell left his position at Columbia University to help Franklin Roosevelt devise a plan for economic recovery during his 1932 presidential campaign (Knepper, 2001). After being elected, Roosevelt appointed Tugwell in charge of creating the Resettlement Administration to mitigate the effects of the stock market crash on the country (Knepper 2001). The 1935 Resettlement Administration was an effort to consolidate existing federal programs into a single cohesive program. The Administration created Farm Security Administration and began by creating the

new "greenbelt town" program, which provided funding for the creation of new planned communities across the country. In addition to Greenbelt, these towns included Greenhills (near Cincinnati), and Greendale (near Milwaukee). Tugwell's idea was to create affordable communities on cheap land outside current centers of population, noting in his diary notes on March 3, 1935, "[m]y idea is to go just outside centers of population, pick up cheap land, build a whole new community and entice people into it. Then go back to cities and tear down slums and make parks of them." (Knepper, 2001, p.15).

Design Vision

Figure 64: Greenbelt Elementary School (Knepper, 2001)

Tugwell based Greenbelt's physical design on Clarence Stein's plan for Radburn, New Jersey, which featured blocks with central greens, separation of automobile and pedestrian traffic, pedestrian underpasses, cul-de-sacs, and homes facing green courtyard spaces—backs facing the street (Knepper, 2001). Tugwell also incorporated many of sociologist Clarence Perry's ideas of the neighborhood unit. Perry, who worked with Clarence Stein in the 1920's in the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), emphasized the idea of developing a

sense of community through design. The RPAA, which included architects, planners, and social critics rebelling against current models of development,   focused on combining physical and social ideals into overall design strategies (Knepper, 2001). Both Perry and Stein were heavily involved in this group, which mimicked their own political and social beliefs. Perry's neighborhood unit included a community center and an elementary school that were centrally located within walking distance from residences. Perry also believed that the inclusion of other neighborhood amenities such as shops and libraries were critical in creating a sense of place within these new planned communities (Knepper, 2001).

Streets/Sidewalks/Blocks
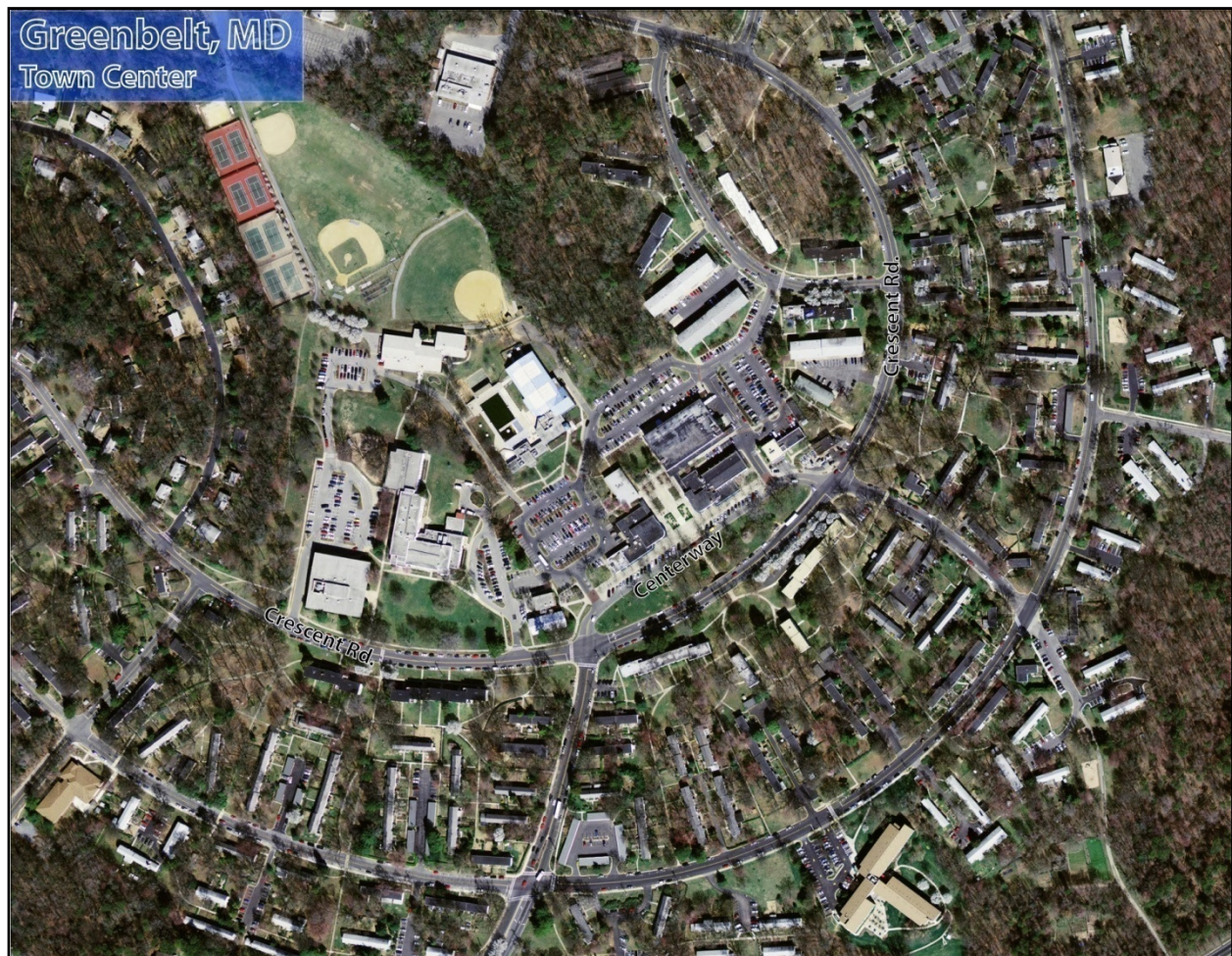
Figure 65: Greenbelt Town Center Aerial, 2008

As previously mentioned, the physical layout of Greenbelt was based heavily on Stein's plan for Radburn, NJ. The goal in Greenbelt was to separate of the vehicle and the automobile to create a safer walking environment for Greenbelt's residents. Greenbelt was laid out in a system of superblocks bounded by collector streets with each block averaging 1000 feet by 600 feet in dimension (see image above).

Residences were connected to the peripheral collector network by short feeder streets—each ending in parking areas for the residential structures. This arrangement prevented any through traffic from penetrating the superblocks (Knepper, 2001). This large super block format was intended to push the automobile to the outside of the block, maintaining the safety and continuity of the pedestrian network on the interior. Circumscribing the interior of each block was a myriad of pedestrian footpaths. These paths connect the residential buildings to each other while connecting each block to the town center. Where pedestrian paths intersected a street, especially on routes heavily traveled by school, children a tunnel was often created to maintain complete separation (Knepper, 2001). In fact, viewing the paths from the air, it is apparent that these paths are generally oriented in the direction of the town center—much in the same way branching streams merge into a river.

In the larger picture, blocks were laid out in a crescent shape to take advantage of prevailing summer breezes. This shape embraced the town center area, making the area with its commercial and institutional amenities walkable to all of the residents of the community (Knepper, 2001) (see image below).
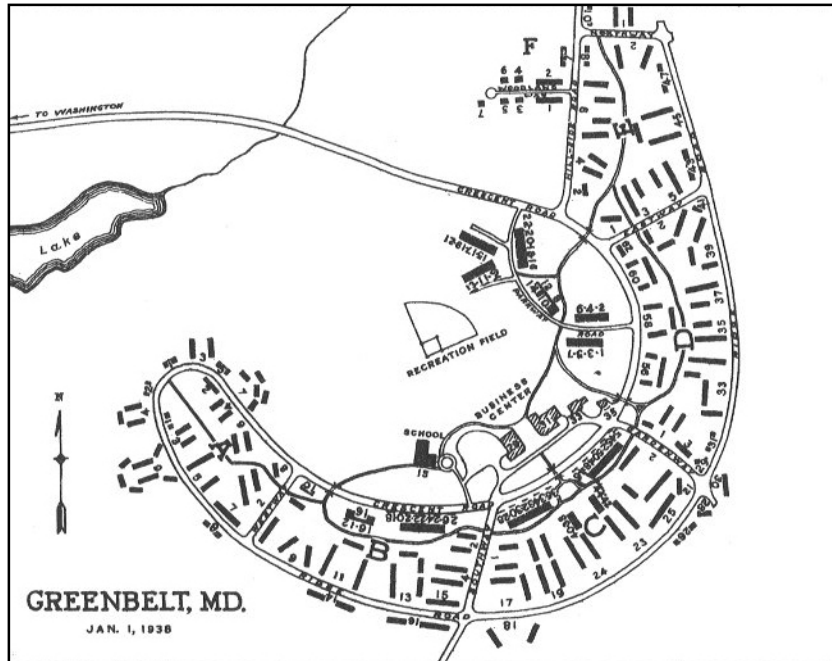
Figure 66: Greenbelt Original Plan, 1938 (Knepper, 2001)

Town Center

Figure 67: Greenbelt Town Center, 1942 (Knepper, 2001)

Figure 68: Greenbelt Theatre, 2008 (from http://farm3.static.flickr.com/2165/2210446885_844a4a80a9.jpg)

Figure 69: Greenbelt Swimming Pool, 1939 (Knepper, 2001)

The town center of Greenbelt served as the center of the community. In 1938, the area contained a mix of both retail and institutional uses (see the map below). The core contains two inward facing buildings housing a variety of small retail stores. Between the buildings is a plaza area that serves as the focal point of the town center.   Surrounding the core are two large parking areas which serve the town center area. In accordance with RPAA ideals, the town center contained a bevy of businesses and institutions serving the daily needs of the residents. Aside

from retail, uses included a post office, police station, community swimming pool, and a school/community center. From 1960 to 1970, a spurt of new development occurred in the town center to accommodate additional growth (see the map below). New neighborhood services included a library, youth center, grocery store, municipal building, and a variety of professional offices (Hofstra, 2008). As described in detail in the "Business" portion of this report, the businesses and institutional uses housed in the town center are focused on serving the immediate community. By the 1970s, most of the daily needs of the community residents could be met within a 15-minute walk of their homes.
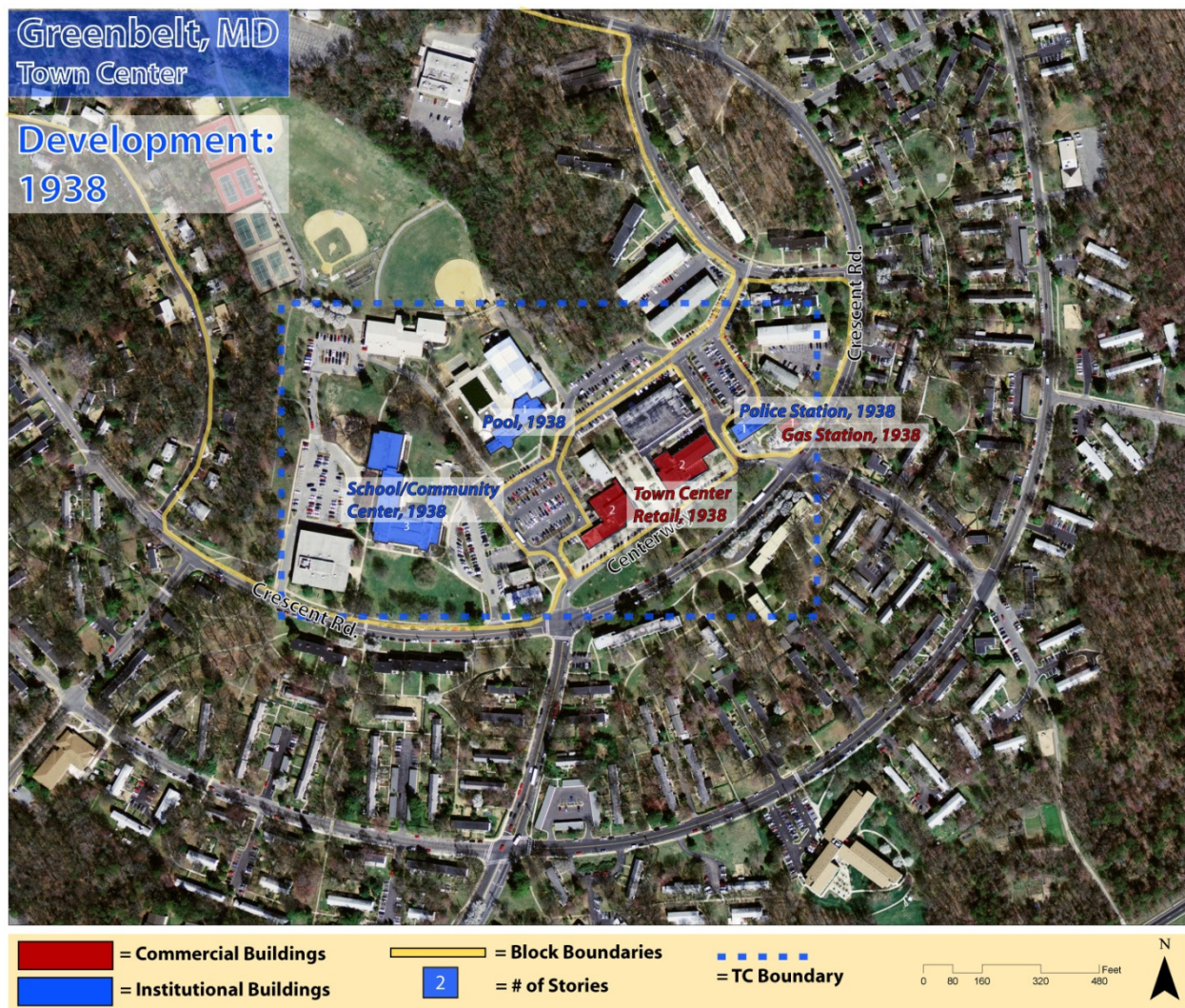
Figure 70: Greenbelt Town Center Development, 1938
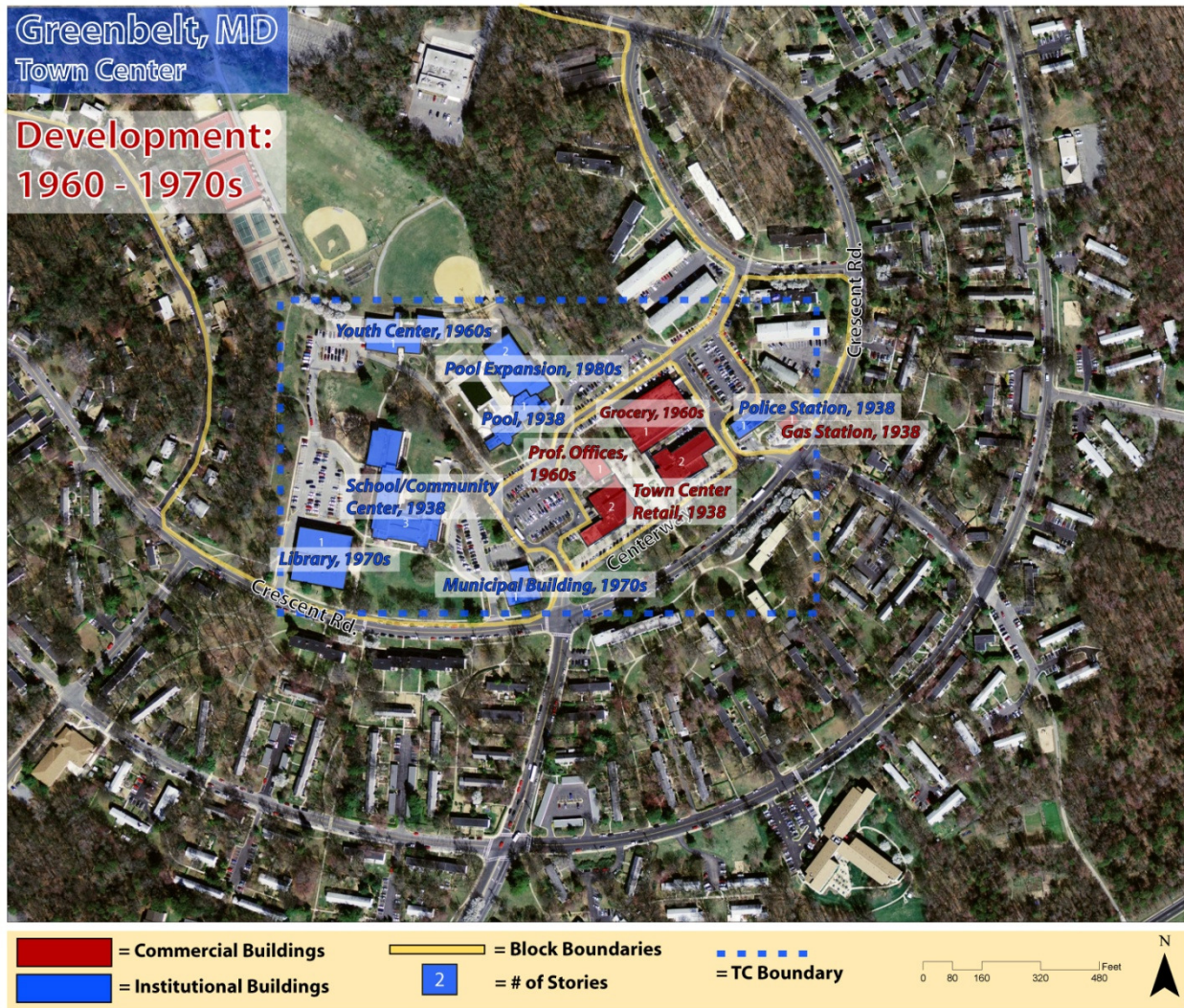
Figure 71: Greenbelt Town Center Development, 1960-1970

Housing
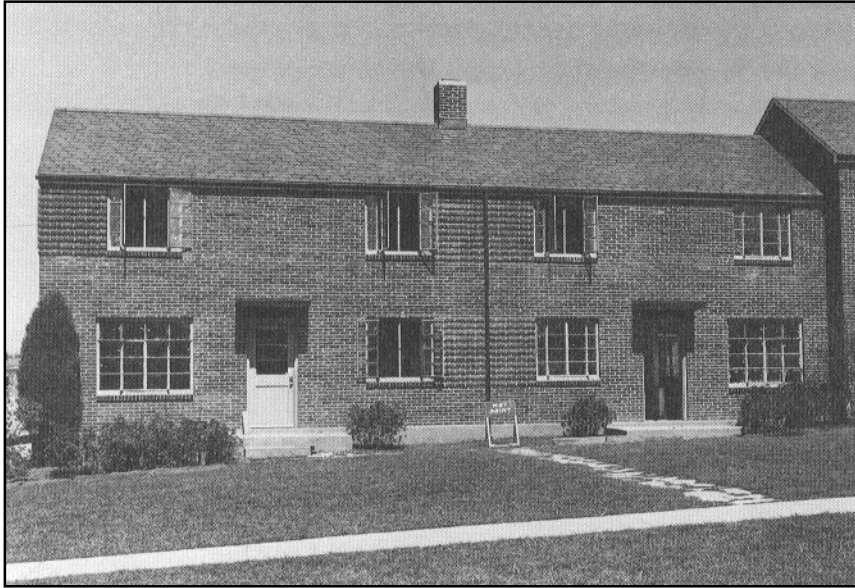
Figure 72: Brick Veneer Row House, 1936 (Knepper, 2001)

Figure 73: Court of Cinder Block Houses, 1937 (Knepper, 2001)

In 1937, there were 885 housing units contained within the scope of the initial development. Of these, 574 were townhomes, 306 units were contained within mostly two story apartment units, and there were also five prefabricated detached homes (Knepper, 2001).

Total Structures	685
Total Dwelling Units	**838**
Owner Occupied	6
Tenant Occupied	821
Vacant, for sale or for rent	11
Vacant, not for sale or rent	-
Total Occupied of Occupied	827
Occupied by Nonwhite	3
Persons per room (total # reporting)	604
1.51 or more	9
Needing Major repairs or no private bath *	12
Needing Major repairs	3
No Private bath	14
Mortgaged **	4
Average monthly rent in dollars	32.06

Table 45: Greenbelt Housing Information, 1940 (US Census, 1940)

Similar to the design of the town center, the housing constructed in Greenbelt was also built in accordance with the RPAA ideas. By combining the physical and social aspects of planning, the RPAA believed that a cohesive community would be formed. In accordance with Perry's Neighborhood Unit, housing units were positioned to face each other across loosely defined central courtyards. The goal was to create units for social organization, first by building, then by courtyard, then by the larger super block (Knepper, 2001). According to Cathy D. Knepper's *Greenbelt, Maryland: a Living Legacy of the New Deal*, this arrangement of buildings was very successful in forming social groups. She notes, "[c]hildren tended to play with others in their row of townhomes. Townhouses facing each other formed a court, whose residents frequently formed social groups…Friendships formed among court families remained prominent in the memories of early residents" (Knepper, 2001, p.18)

The lead architect on the project was R.J. Wadsworth, who created a building palate that could best be described "…as plain and down to earth" (Knepper, 2001, p.20). Despite the lack of architectural flare, the buildings were constructed using a variety of building materials and floor plans, which included one, two, and three bedroom units. Units were constructed robustly to reduce maintenance and replacement costs and, as a result most of the original structures are still inhabited today (Knepper, 2001).

Residential parking was handled through a combination of on-street parking and off-street lots tucked in between residential buildings. Homes were oriented with their backs to these parking areas, as they were to streets in general. It should be noted that many buildings were built with no off-street parking directly adjacent, forcing residents to walk a short distance from their cars.

Green Space/Environmental Response
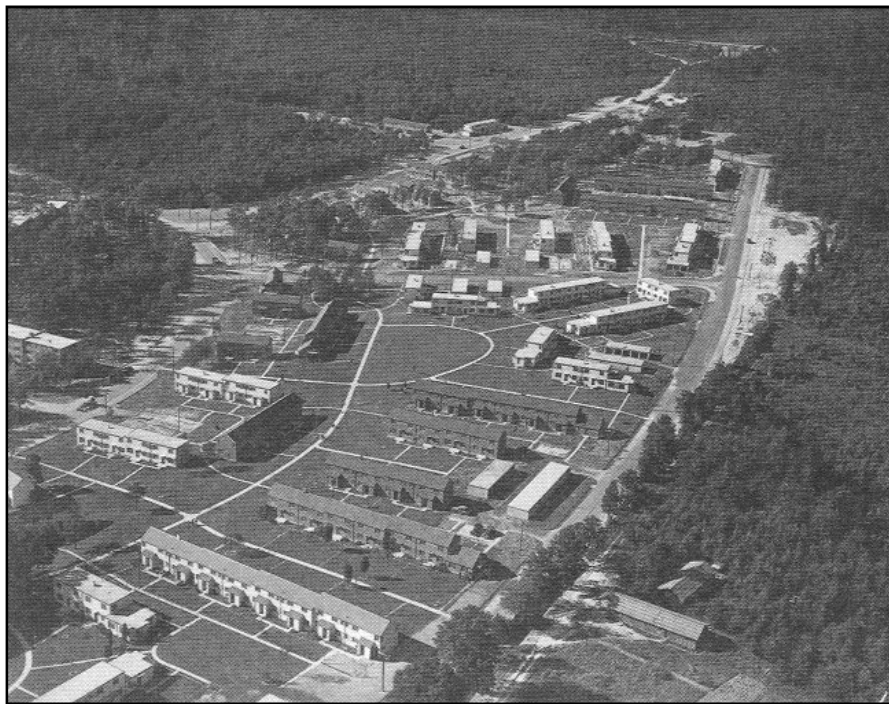
Figure 74: Greenbelt Aerial View, 1937 (Knepper, 2001)

The most striking feature of Greenbelt is the abundant amount of greenspace scattered throughout the community. There was a specific design choice to situate major park areas inside of the residential super blocks, wrapped by housing (Knepper, 2001). This contrasts with traditional park design paradigm which called for parks to be surrounded by streets to give access to the general public. Given the public nature of the sidewalk network in Greenbelt and the de-emphasis on vehicular access, it was seen as unnecessary and undesirable to locate parks near streets.

Aside from a few major park areas, the majority of the grassed areas in the development is largely unprogrammed, appearing to fill a more aesthetic desire than a specific recreational or ecological need. Though trees were planted somewhat sparingly throughout the project, trees and hedges were cleverly used to divide yards rather than fences. During the initial grading of the project, plants, shrubs, and small trees were saved and transferred to an onsite nursery for use in the final landscaping (Knepper, 2001)

To address areas of steep topography, streets and buildings were located in flatter areas, preserving areas of more difficult terrain as pristine woodlands. These forest spaces also serve as visual buffers between residential and non-residential uses and high traffic arterials (Knepper, 2001).

Business

Figure 75: Greenbelt Cooperative Grocery Store (Knepper, 2001)

Cooperatives

  Tugwell created Greenbelt's commercial areas in the form of cooperatives, which were also a large part of other aspects of New Deal plans. In August 1937 the Consumer Distribution Corporation (CDC), an organization founded by Boston department store merchant Edward Filene to establish cooperative enterprise, leased Greenbelt's commercial center from the government. The CDC, which was funded by Filene, provided both funds and advice on the formation of business cooperatives. Individuals interested in the commercial area created the Cooperative Organizing Committee (COC) in order to determine what cooperatives to create. They developed a credit union, a barbershop, a gas station, a supermarket, a drugstore, and a theater. In 1938, the COC began to sell shares to town residents, which would create Greenbelt Consumer Services, Inc., established as a legal entity in 1940. Residents most active in the formation of coops were typically the ones that moved to Greenbelt specifically because of the use of coops (Knepper, 2001).

  This cooperative structure also extended beyond commercial businesses to the provision of community services necessary in the then rural Prince George's County. The Greenbelt Health Association formed in 1938, soliciting members throughout the community to pay a monthly fee for medical needs, establishing a Health Center which opened in 1938. By 1939, a small hospital had begun to operate in several converted row houses. Similarly, interested

parents created a kindergarten in the area (at the time the state of Maryland did not provide education before first grade). Residents also worked to set up a public library and bus transportation between Greenbelt and the town of Berwyn, where there was a streetcar line to downtown Washington, DC. Greenbelt residents were instrumental in creating organizations, businesses, clubs, and athletic groups to suit their needs at that time. This is still true for today (Knepper, 2001).

Greenbelt's Commercial Area Today

Today, Greenbelt's commercial area is stable, with 31 total establishments, and only one current vacancy. Of the 31, 10% are national chains, mostly franchises, and 90% are locally owned. The designation of Greenbelt's commercial area as a historic designation has also served to strengthen its economic base (Knepper, 2001). The table below shows Greenbelt's current business distribution.

Name	BBB Category
Greenbelt Theatre	Arts & Entertainment
Greenbelt Video	Arts & Entertainment
Greenbelt Youth Center	Arts & Entertainment
Greenbelt Arts Center	Arts & Entertainment
Greenbelt Arts Center	Automotive
Greenbelt Auto and Truck Repair	Automotive
Greenbelt Mobil Service Center	Automotive
Greenbelt Family Practice	Business & Professional Services
Microtel, LLC	Business & Professional Services
Pan, Inc.	Business & Professional Services
United States Postal Service	Business & Professional Services
Greenbelt Cleaners and Tailors	Clothing & Accessories
Greenbelt Shoe Repair and Orthopedic Service	Clothing & Accessories
Bejing of Greenbelt Restaurant	Food & Dining
Candid Imagery, Inc.	Food & Dining
Cardon Corporation	Food & Dining
Centerway Mini Market	Food & Dining
Centerway Tax & Estate Service	Food & Dining
Chef Lou's Desserts	Food & Dining
Co-op Supermarket and Pharmacy	Food & Dining
Domino's Pizza	Food & Dining
Generous Joe's Deli	Food & Dining
New Deal Cafe	Food & Dining
David R. Cross	Legal & Financial
William Edwards	Legal & Financial
James A. Cole	Legal & Financial
Morin and Associates	Legal & Financial
Greenbelt Federal Credit Union	Legal & Financial
Greenbelt Barber and Stylist	Personal Care & Services
Maria's Centerway Beauty Salon	Personal Care & Services
Pleasant Touch Nails	Personal Care & Services
Realty 1	Real Estate
Greenbelt Aquatic and Fitness Center	Sports & Recreation
Greenbelt Step Club	Sports & Recreation
Greenbelt Aquatic and Fitness Center	Sports & Recreation

Table 46: Greenbelt Businesses, 2008

Greenbelt's First Residents

Interest in the project grew as a result of the massive press coverage of the unique physical design and cooperative scheme of the community. By March 10, 1937, more than 350,000 people had visited Greenbelt, many very interested in renting property. The city

manager at the time, Roy Braden, planned to pull all new residents from the greater Washington Area, though word of mouth advertising. After issuing a press release on September 2, 1937, which included information about whom was eligible to apply, the Farm Security Administration (FSA) began to carefully organize how to handle the expected interest. In response, the FSA hired a staff of thirty to interview the more than 5,700 residents that had expressed interest in living in the available units. The admissions process was extremely stringent, forcing interested families into participating in a long process to determine if they met the necessary criteria for admission (Knepper, 2001).

*Income Limits**		
	Family of four	$1,100-2,000
	Family of five	$1,200-2,100
*Family size***		
	Only families of six or less	
*Age****		
	Heads of families must be 21+	
*Quotas for Regional Distribution*****		
	District of Columbia	80%
	Virginia	10%
	Maryland	10%
Quotas for Occupations		
	Federal Government	50%
	D.C. government	5%
	Non-government	45%
*Quotas for Religion ******		
	Protestant	59%
	Roman Catholic	34%
	Jewish	7%

Table 47: Criteria for Admission to Greenbelt (Knepper, 2001)

*The Resettlement administration had originally planned for Greenbelt to be "low income," but later altered this to "modest income." Those with incomes $50 above or below these limits were also accepted.
**Because of the small size of the units, only families of six or less could be accepted.
***Heads of families had to be at least twenty one years old, and families with young children were given priority

**** The administration was interested in creating a community that would be representative of a cross section of the Washington, D.C. region.

***** In an effort to ensure against religious discrimination, religious quotas were developed that were based on the 1926 religious census.

Racial Distribution:

Only white residents were included in the original plan for Greenbelt, drawing much criticism. However, Greenbelt's original plan included a separate area, about a third of the size of Greenbelt, to be created for African American families. However, after the development of a low cost housing project by the Public Works Administration, the idea for the project was discarded (Knepper, 2001).

Additional Criteria:

In addition to meeting the previously mentioned criteria, those interested in living in Greenbelt had to "meet objectives of the community, namely to raise their standard of living by taking advantage of the improved living conditions offered; as well as to participate in a cooperative-minded community for the mutual advantage of the group both from the economic and social standpoints" (Knepper, 2001, p.33) In order to meet this criteria, those interested were subject to a home interview, which was meant to determine if the family was "stable" and in need of housing, as well as to determine if the family understood the overall goals of the Greenbelt project.

Although Greenbelt's first residents appear (based on the table below) to be extremely homogenous, a sharp division between liberal and conservatives existed in the early years of the town. The liberal residents, who were largely comprised of families with young children, were heavily involved in the formation of civic associations and cooperatives, while conservative residents, often veterans of World War I with older children, formed one of the largest American Legion chapters on the East Coast (Knepper, 2001).

	Total Population			Race					Housing		
		% Change	% 65+	Black	White	Other	Asian	Hispanic	Total Occupied	% Rental	% Owner
1940	2,831		1%	0%	100%		-	-	900	100%	0
1950	7,074	150%	1%	0%	100%		-	-	900	100%	0
1960	7,479	6%	3%	0%	100%	0%	-	-	data not available		
1970	18,199	143%	3%	1%	98%	1%	-	-	6,519	68%	32%
1980	17,332	-5%	6%	10%	82%	3%	2%	2%	8,005	60%	40%
1990	21,096	22%	7%	19%	66%	1%	9%	4%	9,938	56%	44%
2000	21,456	2%	7%	41%	37%	4%	12%	6%	9,368	54%	46%

Table 48: Greenbelt Population, Race, and Housing Data 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

1940-1950: Greenbelt's early years

Between 1940 and 1950, Greenbelt's population grew 150%, from 2,831 residents in 1940 to 7,074 in 1950 (U.S. Census Bureau). After the completion of the first homes in 1941, the town began to grow rapidly, creating the largest population in Prince George's County (Knepper, 2001). In addition, World War II resulted in an almost constant turnover of Greenbelt's population, about 33% between 1941 and 1942 (U.S. Census Bureau). These population shifts, resulted in turmoil in community groups, as many of the residents that had been presiding over community organizations moved away. However, residents attempted to adjust to changes, maintaining the cooperatives and other organizations that provided the community with an identity, which was difficult during the wartime years. World War II also prompted the construction of a new northern end of town that increased population in 1941 (Knepper. 2001).

After World War II, the FSA, whose demise had begun during the war, ended altogether, representing a considerable shift in federal attitude. Ownership over Greenbelt was transferred to the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) (Knepper, 2001). Greenbelt, which was once seen as a great social experiment, was becoming a "collection of houses that the government no longer wished to own" (Knepper 2001, p.82), and the government began to work to find a new owner for not only Greenbelt, but the other towns created through the same program. At this time, Clarence Stein became involved in the cause, attempting to ensure that the sale of the towns included the preservation and extension of their original design. Public Law 65, signed on May 19, 1949, allowed for the transfer of greenbelt towns to private owners (Knepper, 2001).

1950-1960: Greenbelt is sold

In the years that followed World War II, the United States changed dramatically, focusing its attention inward and become heavily invested in strategies for defense. These changes affected Greenbelt considerably. After the United States House of Representatives launched an investigation into cooperatives, the government secretly made plans to sell the town, which did not accomplish until after the Korean War. The town was branded socialist or communist, and was dragged into the growing McCarthyism pervading the country at the time (Knepper, 2001). Although residents responded by banding together, forging a unified identity, and becoming more involved in community life, population growth during this period was relatively stagnant; only 6% between 1950 and 1960 (U.S. Census Bureau).

The government continued to attempt to find a buyer for Greenbelt. In 1952, residents began to organize over the right to purchase their homes as a group. When it became clear that the government wished to sell Greenbelt to a veteran's group, Greenbelt's Mutual Housing Association (GMHA), originally formed in 1946, merged into a new group, the Greenbelt Veteran's Housing Corporation. This new group, which had an initial membership of 1,200, created their own plan for the city's future following a similar trajectory to the original Greenbelt model (Knepper, 2001).

On December 30, 1952, the GMHA purchased 1,580 dwellings and 709 acres of vacant land. The government also sold 310 apartments separately, but 60 were then purchased by GMHA in 1953 along with 60 garages. In 1954, the commercial area was sold to the highest bidder, and 1,362 acres were transferred to the Department of the Interior, creating the Greenbelt National Park. In total, Greenbelt sold for $8,973,767 (Knepper, 2001).

In addition to the little growth seen during this decade, a considerable shuffling of population took place after Greenbelt's sale. Families looking to upgrade, moved to larger homes, while those who disliked the cooperative atmosphere, planned to relocate elsewhere. The sale led to an infusion of new residents who worked actively to band together over community interests (Knepper, 2001). "Greenbelters" began to adjust to life without the presence of the federal government.

1960-1970: Coping With Changes

When faced with pressures for additional development on Greenbelt's remaining 60 acres of vacant land, Greenbelt residents were able to come together to fight the influx of traditional suburban development. Knepper notes, "residents wished to maintain the original tenets of Greenbelt's design, with emphasis on the neighborhood unit and a walking community, surrounded by a belt of green" (2001, p.123). An advisory planning board consisting of citizens was formed in 1961 to discuss the form of future development. They decided that new development should take the form of single family detached housing to increase the diversity of housing choices in their community (Knepper, 2001).

Other new developments, including the Beltway in 1964, an indoor shopping center (on Greenbelt Road west of the Beltway) and 3,000 unit garden apartment complex, also followed the principles of Greenbelt and were welcomed by the community as a result. The board also argued for infill development in the existing town center area as opposed to peripheral development. This event acted to strengthen the core of the community rather than leading to its dissolution. By 1969, the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission officially adopted the College Park-Greenbelt and Vicinity Master Plan, which estimated Greenbelt's population to grow to 40,000 with 13,500 dwelling units (Knepper, 2001).

Throughout the 1960s there were constant attempts to destroy Greenbelt's principles. However, in most instances the community was able to band together to fight back against it to maintain its original vision (Knepper, 2001). Though the community was successful in maintaining the dream of Greenbelt, new development often took a much denser form than the original core. The original idea of Greenbelt changed dramatically during this era, which can be seen by not only by the growth in residential development, but also through the expanding population. Between 1960 and 1970, Greenbelt grew 143%, from 7,479 in 1960 to 18,199 in 1970 (U.S. Census Bureau).

1970-1980: Greenbelt Continues to fight development

Between 1970 and 1980, Greenbelt continued to respond to the both physical changes, and shifts in demographics. During this time, Greenbelt's population shrank 5%, from 18,199 in 1970 to 17,332 in 1980. However, the racial makeup of the city changed dramatically, with only African American residents making up 1% of the population in 1970 to over 10% in 1980. This

decade also saw a growth of both Asian and Hispanic residents (U.S. Census Bureau). These groups would continue to grow into the future. The number of housing units also grew during this decade, a direct result of the increase in development and the simultaneous increase in nonfamily households (160% between 1970 and 1980), from 6,519 in 1970 to 8,005 in 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, Knepper, 2001).

During the 1970's and 1980's, the city council objected to all new construction, citing the fact that the roads were used well beyond capacity. Although developers ignored these protests, a state moratorium on new sewer hookups from 1970 to 1977 halted growth, resulting in difficulty obtaining building permits for developers. In 1978, the owners of Springhill Lake, began construction on five 10 story office buildings and a 200 room motor inn with a convention center on thirty two acres (Knepper, 2001).

1980-1990: Continued growth

During this decade, residents of Greenbelt and the city administration continued to thwart unwanted development while pursuing growth that was in accordance with local principles. Greenbelt grew 22%, from 17,332 to 21,096 in 1990. In addition, the city continued to diversify. By 1990, 19% of the population was African American, with the Asian and Hispanic populations growing as well (U.S. Census Bureau). The 1980's saw Greenbelt's borders grow, as neighboring developments sought annexation to Greenbelt. In response, the city annexed the area south of the city along with a neighboring shopping center and trade center. However, this new larger city continued to emphasize the importance of green space, purchasing additional land for green space during this decade.

1990-Present

This decade saw little population growth in Greenbelt, only about 2% between 1990 and 2000. However, this decade saw Greenbelt growing increasingly diverse. In 2000, 41% of the population was African American, from 19% in 1990, which is reflective of the larger population (U.S. Census Bureau). The opening of the Green Line of the Metro (Washington D.C.'s subway system) in 1993, provided an easy link between Greenbelt and downtown Washington. A shuttle

bus also stops at the Metro station and circulates throughout the city. This new transit was helpful in promoting the need to link the city together physically.

Greenbelt Today:

	Total Population	**21,456**	**Employment & Unemployment**	Total Pop. 16+	17,324
	Male	48%		Employed	71.3%
	Female	52%		Unemployed	3.0%
	Under 18	22%		Not in Labor Force	25%
	Over 65	7%		Unemployment Rate	3.0
Vacancy Status	Total Housing Units	10,146	**Household Structure**	Total Households	9,300
	Occupied	92%		1-person household	35%
	Vacant	8%		2-person household	30%
				3-person household	17%
				4-person household	11%
				5-or more person household	8%

Table 49: Greenbelt Demographic Information, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Year	Population
2000	21,456
2001	21,625
2002	21,809
2003	21,914
2004	21,967
2005	21,942
2006	21,780
2007	21,559

Table 50: Greenbelt Population Estimates 2000-2007 est. (US Census, 2000-2007)

Year	% 65+	Total Population
1940	1%	2,831
1950	1.2%	7,074
1960	2.7%	7,479
1970	3.3%	18,199
1980	5.8%	17,332
1990	6.5%	21,096
2000	6.7%	21,942

Table 51: Greenbelt Population Over 65, 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

Although Greenbelt's population and racial distributions have shifted since its inception, the overall makeup of Greenbelt has not changed considerably. The 2000 census shows Greenbelt's population at 21,456, with most residents under 65 and a large percentage of school-age children; 22% of residents are under 18 and only 7% of residents are over 65. This number has grown steadily since 1940, representative of the non-transitory nature of Greenbelt's residents who often choose to remain in the area for an extended period of time. Because Greenbelt offers life-cycle housing options, residents can upgrade or downgrade their residences, while still remaining within Greenbelt's borders. Greenbelt's 2007 population is estimated to be 21,559, a slight growth from 2000. This low growth rate can be attributed to the lessening interest in suburban communities occurring nationally, which is a direct result of the back to the city movement spurring population decline in many suburban areas. Greenbelt is experiencing out migration. Its population is aging; residents are dying, and those older children are moving out of the area.

	Black	White	Asian	Hispanic	American Indian
1940	0%	100%	-	-	-
1950	0%	100%	-	-	-
1960	0%	100%	-	-	-
1970	1.2%	97.9%	-	-	-
1980	9.9%	81.9%	2.5%	2.2%	-
1990	19.4%	66.4%	9%	3.8%	0.2%
2000	40.8%	37.2%	12.1%	6.4%	0.2%

Table 52: Greenbelt Racial Makeup, 1940-2000 (US Census, 1940-2000)

Greenbelt is becoming increasingly diverse. In the 2000 Census, 40.8% of residents were African American, while 37.2% were White. This shift in racial distribution has occurred primarily between 1990 and 2000, in accordance with the overall shift in racial distribution in the Washington, D.C. region as a whole. The chart above, which is based on the 2000 Census, shows Greenbelt diversifying since its inception.
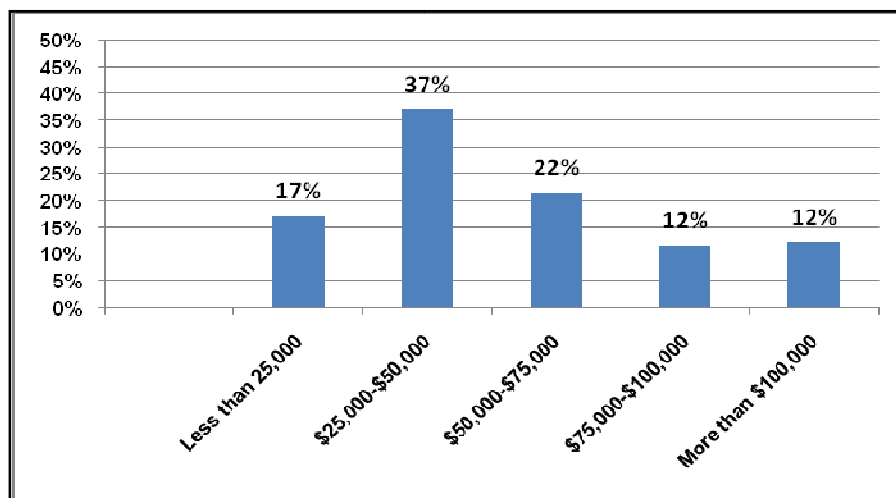
Figure 76: Greenbelt Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Greenbelt is largely middle class, with the 2000 Census showing a Median Household Income of $46,328 and a Per Capita Income[3] of $ 25,236. Its unemployment rate of 3% is lower than the region's unemployment rate of 4.1%,[4] and considerably lower than the current national rate of 6%.[5]

Although, 10% of Greenbelt's residents live below the poverty line, this rate is much lower than the national rate of 12.5% for 2007, but higher than the 2005 rate for Prince George's

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[3] Per Capita Income, which is generally considered an accurate indicator for the wealth of a location, specifically represents what each citizen receives of the yearly income generated in the country.
[4] Rate based on August 2008 Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area. Bureau of Labor Statistics' Unemployment Rates for Metropolitan Areas. Accessed October 12, 2008 from http://www.bls.gov/web/laummtrk.htm.
[5] Based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics report for September 2008

County[6], which was 8.3%. 37% of Greenbelt residents earn between $25,000 and $50,000 a year, with only 12% earning more than $100,000 a year.

In 2000, Greenbelt's Median Home Value was $121,700[7], with smaller household sizes than the national average: 35% of residents living in one person households and 30% in two person households. This overall trend in Greenbelt is reflective of many older families that comprise Greenbelt's longtime residents, as well as the attractiveness of Greenbelt for retirees and young singles seeking affordable housing options in the Washington, D.C. area.
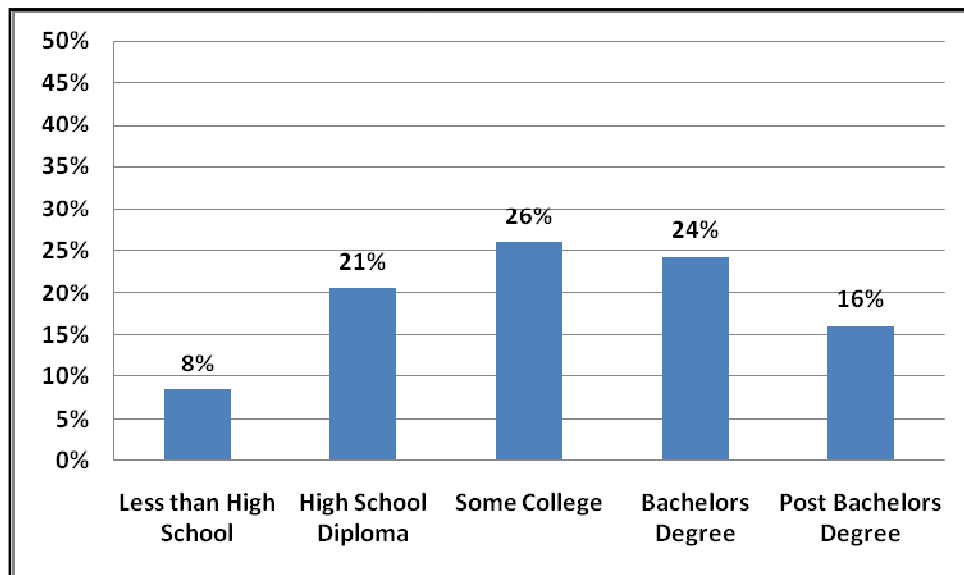
Figure 77: Greenbelt Educational Attainment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

For a middle class city, Greenbelt is educated. In 2000, 24% of its residents have earned Bachelor's degrees and 16% of residents held Post Bachelor's Degrees. This statistic can be attributed to the large number of government workers commuting from Greenbelt to jobs in Washington, D.C. The table above is based on the 2000 census and shows Greenbelt's educational attainment.

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[6] 2005 American Community Survey

[7] In a recent search, single family homes in Greenbelt were listed at around $430,000 or more, with townhomes and condos listed at $350,000 or more.
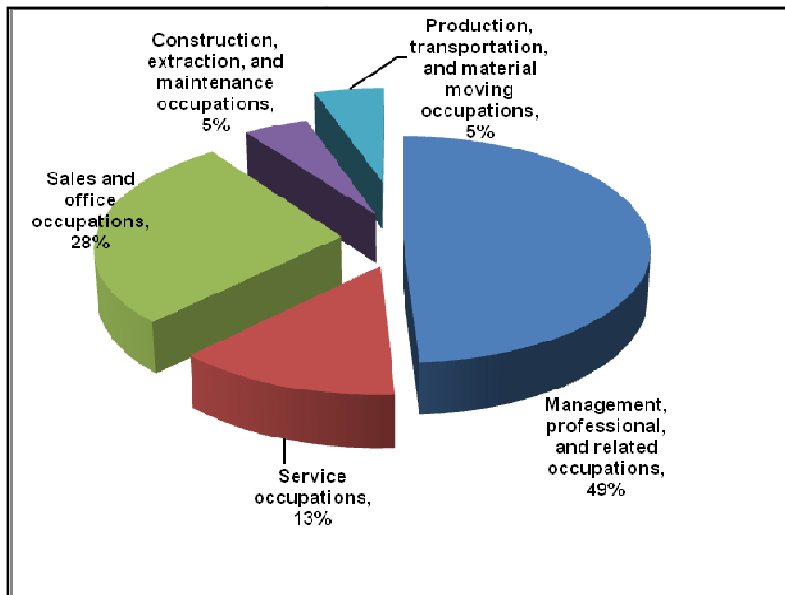
Figure 78: Greenbelt Occupational Groups, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Of the 71% of employed Greenbelt residents, 49% work in management, professional, and related occupations. Sales and office occupations employ over 27%, and 13% are employed in the service industry. The table above shows occupational groups in Greenbelt based on the 2000 Census.

Name	Total Enrollment	Student Teacher Ratio	% Free and Reduced Lunch	Grades
Eleanor Roosevelt High	2902	21.2	17%	9-12
Greenbelt Elementary	541	15.9	32%	K-6
Greenbelt Middle School	946	15.8	50%	6-8
Springhill Lake Elementary	674	10.9	63%	K-5

Table 53: Greenbelt Public Schools, 2008 (Prince George's County Department of Education)

Greenbelt originally had a cooperative school, the Center School, which was designed to be a center for innovative learning. The school closed during the 1970's. Today, residents can send their children to Prince George's County public schools in zone 2 which include Greenbelt Elementary School, Greenbelt Middle School, and Springhill Lake Elementary School, all top

rated public schools. The table above shows Greenbelt's public school options. In 2007, Eleanor Roosevelt High School's graduation rate was 90%, with a 2.3% dropout rate.

Urban Design Lessons Learned

Separation of Streets from Sidewalks

From an urban design perspective, there are some major lessons to be learned by the unique transportation infrastructure of Greenbelt. While pedestrian safety is increased, a significant downside to dividing vehicular traffic from pedestrian traffic is the reduction in "pass-by" traffic. By splitting the two modes of trips, traffic counts at key intersections are lower than in a scenario where pedestrians and vehicles share a common network. In addition, the sheer number of pathways reduces the concentration of pedestrian trips on any single route. This effectively eliminates the demand for commercial uses outside the town center, where the routes do ultimately converge.

This layout also essentially eliminates the possibility of change of use over time. As mentioned in the previous section, the town center is the only area that receives a concentration of both the vehicular and pedestrian traffic. This layout basically precludes the development of commercial areas outside of the town center core—an inflexibility that could hamper future increases in population in the area.

There is an additional concern about safety related to this separation of modes of transportation. Drivers are no longer in the position to keep a watchful eye on the pedestrian pathways. At lower traffic periods of the day, one could imagine the feeling of isolation experienced on these pathways.

Greenspace

Greenbelt truly lives up to its name by providing a large amount of greenspace throughout the community. The precise program of a majority of these spaces is; however, often unclear. What is the point of the greenspace? Whose needs is it serving? It seems clear given the era that Greenbelt was built, that there was a vision that was inherently anti-urban and pro-countryside. The notion that greenspace would lead to a productive, civil, and healthy life was cherished at the time.

The design of Greenbelt, however, did not have an effective "eco-friendly" design program as we define it today. Buildings are spread evenly throughout the development in an unclustered fashion, with the space between filled with mostly grassed areas. Aside from the woodland buffer that was preserved adjacent to Baltimore Washington Parkway, the tree canopy of Greenbelt is weak, with trees used more for aesthetic aims rather than ecological.

Population and Economy

Greenbelt's population was originally socially engineered to be relatively homogenous, creating a stable population base divorced of hierarchies. This makeup allowed for the creation and success of its cooperative program, as well as contributed to the population's distinct sense of community, which has remained intact in the present. Residents are still committed to the overall idea of Greenbelt, a place where residents can enjoy affordable housing options, local amenities, and green space, all within a close proximity to a bustling metropolis. Greenbelt offers life-cycle housing, allowing residents to upgrade or downgrade their residents, while still remaining within the same geographic space, and continuing to build its stable population base with many long time residents. Although Greenbelt's population has grown considerably since its inception, undergoing many changes in the post war years, the general socioeconomic distribution has remained relatively stagnant. This combination of affordable housing options, commercial amenities, and a relatively stable population base has fostered a stable environment. As a result, Greenbelt is relatively free of the hierarchical relationships that typically permeate city life, allowing for little disruption in Greenbelt's economic status.

Historic District

The designation of Greenbelt's commercial area as a historic district has also served to strengthen the community's economic position.

Washington, D.C. Area Case Study: Reston, Virginia

History/Background

> In the creation of Reston, Virginia, these are the major goals: 1. That the widest choice of opportunities be made available for the full use of leisure time. This means that the New Town should provide a wide range of cultural and recreational facilities as well as an environment for privacy. 2. That it be possible for anyone to remain in a single neighborhood throughout his life, uprooting being neither inevitable nor always desirable. By providing the fullest range of housing styles and prices—from high-rise efficiencies to 6-bedroom townhouses and detached houses—housing needs can be met at a variety of income levels and at different stages of family life. This kind of mixture permits residents to remain rooted in the community if they so choose—as their particular housing needs change. As a by-product, this also results in the heterogeneity that spells a lively and varied community. 3. That the importance and dignity of each individual be the focal point for all planning, and take precedence for large-scale concepts. 4. That the people be able to live and work in the same community. 5. That commercial, cultural and recreational facilities be made available to the residents from the outset of the development—not years later. 6. That beauty—structural and natural—is a necessity of the good life and should be fostered. 7. Since Reston is being developed from private enterprise, in order to be completed as conceived it must also, of course, be a financial success.
>
> Robert E. Simon, 1962 (Reston Historic Trust, 2008)

Reston, Virginia, is a planned development located in the northernmost portion of Virginia in Fairfax County, 18 miles west of Washington D.C. (Davis, 1987). Originally farmland, the 7,300 acre was purchased in 1961 by Robert E. Simon. From the beginning, Reston was conceived of as a planned community, aimed at revolutionizing post World War II concepts of land use and development in America. The original goal was to build a diverse community of 75,000 residents. This number has still not been reached.

Design Vision

Figure 79: Reston, Virginia, 1962 (Reston Archives, George Mason University)
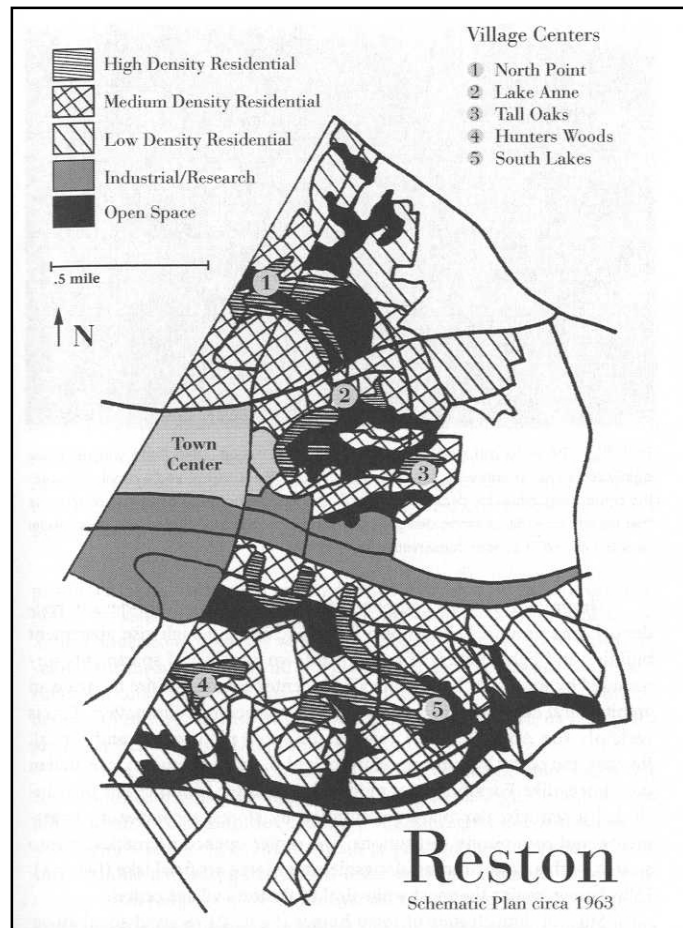
Figure 80: Reston Schematic Plan, 1963 (Bloom, 2001)

Reston was conceived of as a large master planned development featuring seven distinct communities, each focused inward on a town center at the core. Development was clustered at higher densities to preserve large areas of pristine woodland areas. In essence, the designers wanted to create an urbanized suburb which offered the amenities of the city while stressing the peace and serenity of the country (Bloom, 2001). Residential and commercial uses were mixed in a compact town center and specific areas were set aside for industry, recreation, education (Reston Historic Trust, 2008). A major goal of the community was to have life cycle housing which would allow residents to stay in the community as they age (Lerner, 2000). In Reston, a resident would be able to move from a rental home to a townhome to a single family detached home without having to leave (Davis, 1987). In addition, Simon envisioned a community where people could choose to work close to their homes, avoiding arduous commutes to D.C. (Lerner,

2000). The project was egalitarian in that all residents with equal access to the scenic beauty of the community regardless of income level.

To execute the plan, Simon contracted James Roussant of Conklin and Roussant to serve as architect and planner (Community, 2008). Rather than starting with a physical plan, Roussant began by developing a program for Reston. Through discussions with prospective buyers, a vision of a community was formed splicing conventional suburbia with radical garden city and new town concepts (Bloom, 2001). Similar to Radburn, New Jersey which was built in 1929, individual yards and alleyways were replaced with large common green areas. Unlike Radburn, Roussant emphasized the preservation of the existing landscape as opposed to the installation of manicured lawns (Bloom, 2001). In addition, rather than placing the schools in town center areas as in Greenbelt, Maryland, they would be in the periphery but still easily accessible by foot. The town center was strictly reserved for commercial, cultural, and recreational uses.

The Lake Anne Plaza town center was opened on December 4th, 1965 and was followed, in chronological order, by Hunters Woods, Tall Oaks, South Lakes, and North Point. A sixth "village" was envisioned as a downtown area, which was developed from 2000 to 2001(Reston Historic Trust, 2008). A seventh village was never realized. Each village was envisioned as featuring a specific type of recreation—in the case of Lake Anne, it was sailing and fishing. Recreational programs for the other four village areas were never fully realized, and it is debatable whether the program for Lake Anne was successfully executed (Bloom, 2001). The design of Lake Anne was; however, by far the most ambitious of the five village plans in keeping with new town design scheme (Bloom, 2001).

Streets/Sidewalks/Blocks
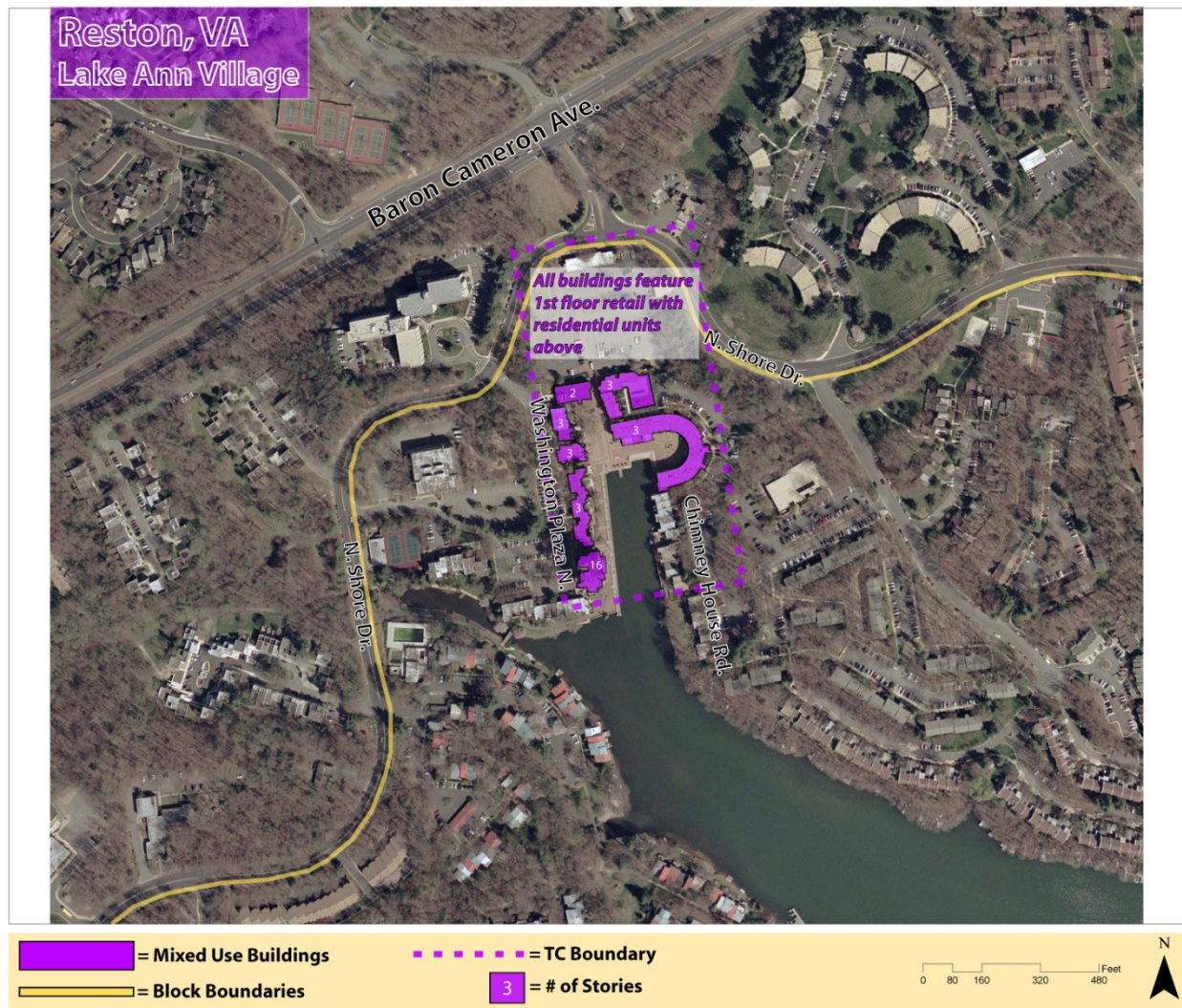
Figure 81: Lake Anne Village

The defining design feature of Reston relates to the superblock pattern employed in all five villages. As compared to the superblocks found in Greenbelt, Maryland and Radburn, New Jersey, the blocks in Lake Anne Village are exceptionally large. In fact, in looking at the village area, not a single block can be easily distinguished (see Figure 91). Fairway Drive and North Shore Drive form the collector streets of the Village, but at no point do they connect with other roads forming a complete block. Local roads sprout off of these collectors but in only a few instances do the loop back to form a continuous circuit.

The key design feature of Reston is the immense system of pedestrian paths, tunnels, bridges which were designed to the pedestrian from the vehicle (Reston Historic Trust, 2008).

These paths snake through the development, keeping distance from streets and contributing to a deep woods feel (Lerner 2000). In fact, few of the arterial roads are accompanied by sidewalks, keeping with the vision of separating the two modes of transportation. This highly connected network allows residents to bike to the Reston Town Center in 15 minutes from any of the 5 surrounding communities (Reston Historic Trust, 2008).

The intent of the transportation network of Reston is quite clear. The private automobile was intended to transport people out of the villages to outlying areas of employment. Once inside, trips were meant to be taken on foot utilizing over 50 miles of walkways and bike paths (Davis, 1987). To drive from one residence to another, or from one residence to the town center, would more often than not, require a trip whose length was at least twice as long as walking. This design program was aimed at prompting residents to leave their car at home when making local trips. Furthermore, by providing overhead lighting to the pathways rather than the roadways, even the lighting scheme was geared to create a mentality where the pedestrian was given priority (Simon, 2001).

It must be stressed that the intent of Reston was not to make the private automobile obsolete, but to make short local trips to the town center, to a neighbor's home, or to school easily accessible by foot. In fact, the master plan called for a new highway to be constructed through the center of the community to create opportunities for traditional office park development. Highway 267 was constructed concurrently with the development, flanked on both sides by office park development providing employment opportunities for Reston's residents.

As a side note, Simon and his consulting team even took an innovative approach to signage in Reston. As opposed to using text to aid in navigation, semiotic signage was used where symbols were replaced by words (Bloom, 2001, p.25). Everything from parks and tennis centers to the town center pharmacy were represented using graphic representations.

Town Center

Lake Anne Plaza was the first village center to be built and was designed as a modern reinterpretation of the coastal town of Portofino, Italy (Bloom, 2001). The buildings are tightly slung around a hardscaped plaza which embraces a narrow inlet from a lake built as part of the development (Davis, 1987). According to Davis; "More than just a shopping center, the brick

plaza today has the feel of a college campus in a small town. Groceries can be bought at the Fresh Value store, readers can browse at the Used Book Shop or check out books at the Carter Glass Library, diners can savor steamed mussels and piccata al limone at the Il Cigno restaurant and worshippers can attend services at the Washington Plaza Baptist Church" (Davis, 1987).

The buildings in Lake Anne are mostly three stories in height and were designed with a modern, concrete architectural palate. Each contains ground level retail with two stories of mixed residential condos and apartments above. In addition, one sixteen story residential tower was constructed at the southern end of the town center. To maintain the home town/pedestrian appeal, the parking lot serving the center was positioned outside the plaza area (Davis, 1987). Unfortunately, the Lake Anne village center failed in the 1970s due to the perceived distance of the parking from the stores, though competition from surrounding retailers and poor management is also credited with the decline (Bloom, 2001).

Figure 82: Lake Anne Plaza, 1960s (George Mason University)

Lake Anne Village was the first business center developed in Reston. Businesses in Lake Anne were originally commissioned directly by Robert Simon, who was very well connected in the commercial real estate business. As a way to entice businesses to Reston, Simon promised that the city's population would grow quickly, creating a stable economic base for potential businesses. Original businesses included the Lakeside Pharmacy, which is still in operation with an old fashioned lunch counter, Jewels Hair Stylist, Boutique Daniela, and Cardwright Books

and Cards. Originally Safeway opened as an anchor grocery store in the Plaza, but eventually moved outside of Reston entirely. After Safeway closed in the 1980's, a smaller version of the Reston Community Center opened in its place that now offers activities to members of the community as well as arts events. Originally, the Plaza also had a public space available for the Reston Arts Council, but now that space is a private art gallery. There is also one original restaurant that has changed ownership multiple times over the years (D. Slater, Personal Communication, September 12, 2008).

During the 1980's and 1990's, Lake Anne experienced significant decline. In 1983, Lake Anne Village, which includes Lake Anne Plaza received a historic designation based on its role as "the internationally recognizable symbol of Reston," as well as a way to improve its commercial activity (Bloom 2001, p. 98). However, Lake Anne's mixed use buildings were products of the 1960's and not designed to last for more than thirty years. The area underwent major renovations in 1995 and 1996, which were aided by a loan from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Bloom 2001, 98). In 1997, the Reston Community Reinvestment Corporation (RCRC) began as a not-for-profit corporation committed to promoting the economic and social vitality of Reston's aging commercial and residential neighborhoods. In 1998, Lake Anne was named a Revitalization Area by Fairfax County. As Lake Anne's commercial vitality began to wane, RCRC stepped in to protect and promote it. In 2004, RCRC was recognized as officially representing the Lake Anne Village Revitalization Area, and began to actively work to turn the area around. In an open letter released in 2005, RCRC cites the following reasons for Lake Anne's decline:

- The population densities for the neighborhood were never realized. Originally six high rise residential buildings were planned within walking distance, but only one was constructed. Because of the anticipation of this pedestrian traffic, Lake Anne was given less parking, making it harder to access by car.
- When the center was sold in 1980, control of managerial, marketing, and commercial operations were lost.
- Other Reston village centers were constructed during this period, which were each anchored on larger supermarkets, reducing the number of customers to Lake Anne

- Other dining options developed in the Town Center diverts cliental from the Plaza. However, the overall ambiance and lake views continue to draw customers to the Plaza (Fairfax County, 2008).

Through community efforts and the support of Fairfax County, Lake Anne Village is well on its way toward revitalization. Currently, RCRC offers procedural and financial assistance to property owners within the area to ensure their success. In 2005, RCRC held focus groups and public meetings to establish a dialogue among different community groups to understand and identify shared community values of residents, merchants, developers, and community groups on Lake Anne's future. A three day design charrette was also held to explore how this shared vision could be incorporated into the areas future. In 2007, an RFP was issued inviting urban designers to submit proposals for Lake Anne's revitalization. In addition, new residential, commercial, retail, and parking is planned for the future to provide a sustainable mix of uses (Fairfax County, 2008).

Currently Lake Anne Plaza is privately owned and run as a condominium project. The condominium association provides maintenance to the buildings and grounds. The physical layout of the Plaza has not changed at all over time; the commercial area is still located on the bottom floor of two story townhomes. Each business takes up about 1,100 square feet (D. Slater, Personal Communication, September 18, 2008). All of Reston's businesses are local, as the Plaza does not allow commercial chains. 31 businesses, including a few restaurants, the original Pharmacy, which now contains a U.S. Post Office, the Reston Museum and Shop, and a coffee shop are located in Lake Anne Plaza. Currently, only one storefront is vacant. Below is a breakdown of business activity currently taking place in Lake Anne Plaza.

Name	BBB Category
Reston Art Gallery & Studios	Arts & Entertainment
Reston Museum & Shop	Arts & Entertainment
Eco Screen Printers	Business & Professional Services
Reston Community Center at Lake Anne Plaza	Community & Government
Washington Plaza Baptist Church	Community & Government
TLC 4 KIDS Children's Center	Educational Services
Café Montmartre	Food & Dining
Jasmine Café	Food & Dining
La Kasbah Restaurant	Food & Dining
Lake Anne Coffee House	Food & Dining
Lakeside Café	Food & Dining
Tavern on the Lake	Food & Dining
Chesapeake Chocolates	Food & Dining
La Villa Market	Food & Dining
24-7 Express Market	Food & Dining
Lake Anne Florist	Home & Garden
Millennium Bank	Legal & Financial
small change	Legal & Financial
TAX-MAN	Legal & Financial
The Design Studio	Media & Communications
Lake Anne Hair Design & Barber	Personal Care & Services
Lake Mart Center	Personal Care & Services
Lakeside Pharmacy & Post Office	Personal Care & Services
Nail Palace	Personal Care & Services
Salon Chakra	Personal Care & Services
Wellspring Mind Body LLC	Personal Care & Services
Thompson Group Realty	Real Estate
Oganes Jewelers	Shopping
Reston's Used Book Shop	Shopping
Vogue to Vintage	Shopping
Body By Geoff Health & Fitness Studio	Sports & Recreation

Table 54: Lake Anne Plaza Businesses, 2008

Note: Business Classification is based on the Better Business Bureau's Classification System (http://search.bbb.org/BrowseCategories.aspx)

Although Lake Anne's commercial area has experienced decline since 1980, it appears to be on the upswing. Its overall ambiance continues to draw customers to the Plaza, as well as residents to the condominiums. In addition, since its designation as a historic area in 1983, support for Lake Anne Plaza has grown quickly, ensuring that Lake Anne Plaza will not die an untimely death.

Unfortunately, the town village areas of the four villages built after Lake Anne do not share the progressive design scheme focusing on public space and the pedestrian experience. Hunter Point, for example, was actually redesigned in the 1990 to be more accommodating to the automobile. Other town centers were simply designed as conventional suburban shopping centers—albeit well connected via a complex path network (Reston Historic Trust, 2008).

Housing

Figure 83: Reston Town Houses (Bloom, 2001)

Outside of the town center, most of the housing is in a townhome format. In fact, the Lake Anne community was the first to successfully implement clustered townhome housing outside of an urban area (Lerner, 2000). The original goal was to create a mix of 70% townhomes, 15% single family detached homes, and 15% apartments (Bloom, 2001, p.22). Units are grouped into dense bunches, generally at the end of dead end streets. Rather than clustering density near the town center in a more conventional urban format, the clusters were scattered throughout the project surrounded by forested greenspace (Bloom, 2001). The clusters are linked via an immense system of pedestrian pathways, snaking through the preserved forest

land. The townhomes are cubist in style and are oriented towards the surrounding greenspace to achieve a "naturalist" look. The homes feature generous porch areas facing the greenspace. The "back" sides of the units face the access streets, and feature drive under access for parking.

Unique for the time, a number of famous architects were contracted to develop distinctive architectural palates for each cluster in a modern design program. Strict covenants were also put in place to govern everything from house color to yard maintenance to architectural style, ensuring a high quality aesthetic environment. Unfortunately, the bold design scheme of the residences was a substantial reason why the units, while popular as a tourist destinations, did not sell very well at the beginning. The slow sales of Lake Anne Village caused the main backer of the project, Gulf Oil, to take control of the project in 1967 and revert back to a more conventional garden style apartment housing for the remaining four villages (Bloom, 2001, p.26-27).

Greenspace/Environmental Response

Reston was designed with a conscious effort to respond to the natural environment through design (Davis, 1987). As mentioned earlier, by tightly clustering the housing, a large amount of pristine forest land was preserved. Moreover, before removing even a single tree, Roussant walked the site identifying the flat areas for the village centers that would reduce the need for grading. The master plan designated ridgelines as appropriate for high density development—allowing for the preservation of the valleys for lakes and open space. Today, Reston is one of the few communities in the nation to be designated as a backyard wildlife habitat (Reston Historic Trust, 2008).

Demographics

Total Population	56,407
% Male	49%
% Female	51%
% Under 18	22%
% Over 65	7%
Hispanic	10%
White	68%
Black or African American	9%
Asian	10%
Other	3%
Total Pop. 16+	**44,948**
Total Employed	75%
Total Unemployed	2%
Total Not in Labor Force	23%
Unemployment Rate	2%

Table 55: Reston, VA Population Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Housing Units	23,285
% Owner Occupied	67%
% Renter Occupied	33%
Total Vacant	889
For Rent	26%

Table 56: Reston, VA Housing Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Households	23,346
1 person	29%
2 person	34%
3 person	16%
4 person	13%
5 person or more	7%

Table 57: Reston, VA Household Information (US Census, 2000)
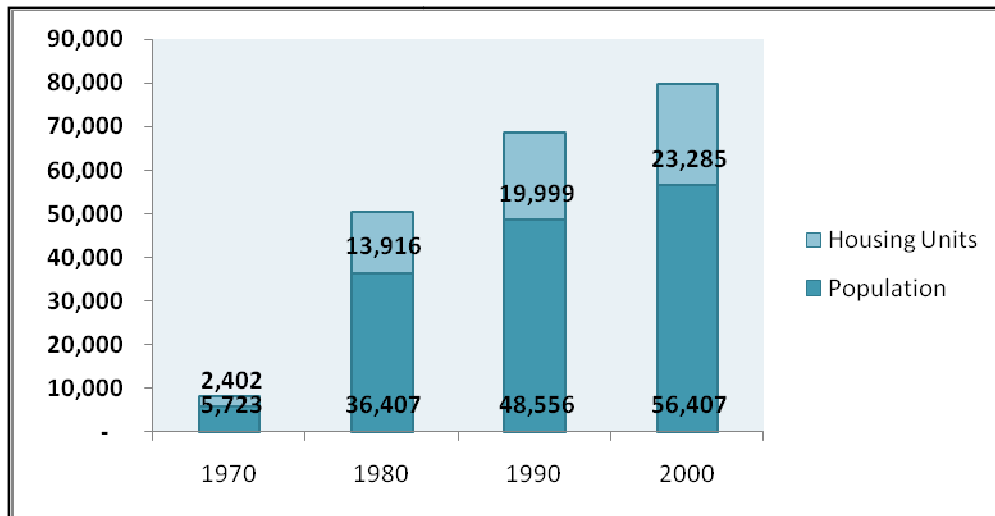
Figure 84: Reston Population and Housing, 1970-2000 (US Census, 1970-2000)

	Population % Increase	Housing % Increase
1970-1980	536%	479%
1980-1990	33%	44%
1990-2000	16%	16%

Table 58: Reston Population and Housing Percent Increases, 1970-2000 (US Census, 1970-2000)

The 2000 Census lists Reston's population as 56,407, a 16% increase since 1980. This increase is equal to Reston's increase in housing units for this time period. Reston's growth has leveled off considerably since its early years when it experienced unprecedented growth. Between 1970 and 1980, Reston's population grew 536%, from 2,402 in 1970 to 13,916 in 1980. This population growth was accompanied by a nearly equal growth in housing units. Between 1970 and 1980, Reston grew from 5,723 housing units to 36,407, a 479% increase. Today Reston contains 23,285 housing units, 67% of which are owner occupied (U.S. Census Bureau). Reston's population growth caused an increase in traffic congestion during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Commuter traffic between Reston and Washington DC created serious traffic congestion. However, in 1984 when the Dulles Toll Road opened, congestion lessened considerably. In 1986, the opening of the West Falls Church Washington Metro Station was completed, allowing residents of Reston quick access to Washington, D.C. (Reston Historic Trust, 2008).

The 2000 census shows Reston with relatively small household sizes; 29% of its residents living in one person households, and 34% living in two person households (U.S. Census Bureau). This characteristic can be attributed to the large number couples and single workers moving into Reston and commuting to employment in Washington, D.C., as well as Reston's growing aging population of residents that have either lived in Reston for a long time, or are retiring to Reston (David Slater, Personal Communication, October 12, 2008).

Although Reston was the first integrated town in Virginia, it is still relatively homogenous. In 2000, 68% of residents were White, 9% African American, and 10% Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau). However, Reston's Hispanic population is growing steadily, which is readily apparent by the increasing number of Hispanic owned stores in Reston's commercial districts (David Slater, Personal Communication, October 12, 2008).
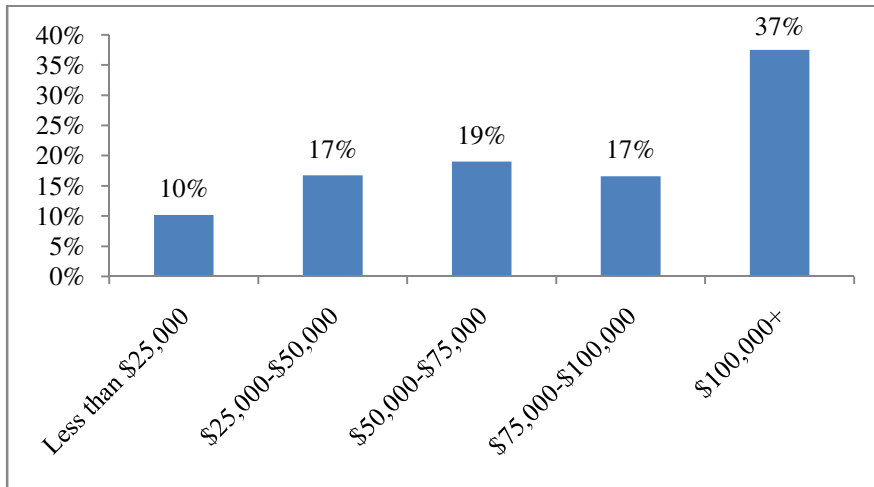
Figure 85: Reston Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Reston is an upper middle class town. In 2000, the median home value was $238,700,[8] affordable to its residents, who were listed by the Census as having per capita incomes of $42,747, and median household incomes of $80,018. In 2000, 37% of Reston's residents earned more than $100,000 a year. Figure 95 above shows the income distribution of residents, based on the 2000 Census.
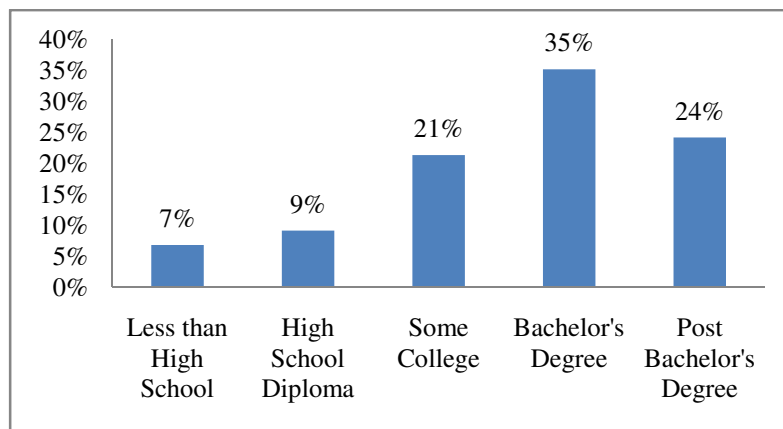
Figure 86: Reston Educational Attainment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

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[8] A recent internet search showed home values in Reston ranging from about $350,000 to 1.2 million (www.zillow.com).

Reston's residents are highly educated. In 2000, 35% of residents had bachelor's degrees and 24% had post bachelor's degrees (U.S. Census Bureau). Figure 96 above, which is based on the 2000 Census, shows Reston's levels of educational attainment.

Schools

Figure 87: Forest Edge Elementary, 1982 (George Mason University)

Name	Total Enrollment	Student/Teacher Ratio	% Free and Reduced Lunch	Type
Aldrin Elementary	555	11.8	9%	Public
Armstrong Elementary	428	10	7%	Public
Dogwood Elementary	637	10.3	57%	Public
Forest Edge Elementary	759	13.6	23%	Public
Hughes Middle	887	14.3	31%	Public
Hunters Wood Elementary	1,006	16.2	13%	Public
Lake Anne Elementary	580	10.9	29%	Public
South Lakes High	1,546	11.6	25%	Public
Sunrise Valley Elementary	500	13.9	5%	Public
Terraset Elementary	402	9.6	33%	Public

Table 59: Reston Public Schools, 2008 (Fairfax County Public Schools)

Reston parents can send their children to Fairfax County public schools, which, for the most part, are highly rated. The table above shows information about Reston's public schools, including information regarding total enrollment, student teacher ratios, and percent free and reduced lunch. Many parents take advantage of the wide variety of private school options available in northern Virginia and Washington, D.C.
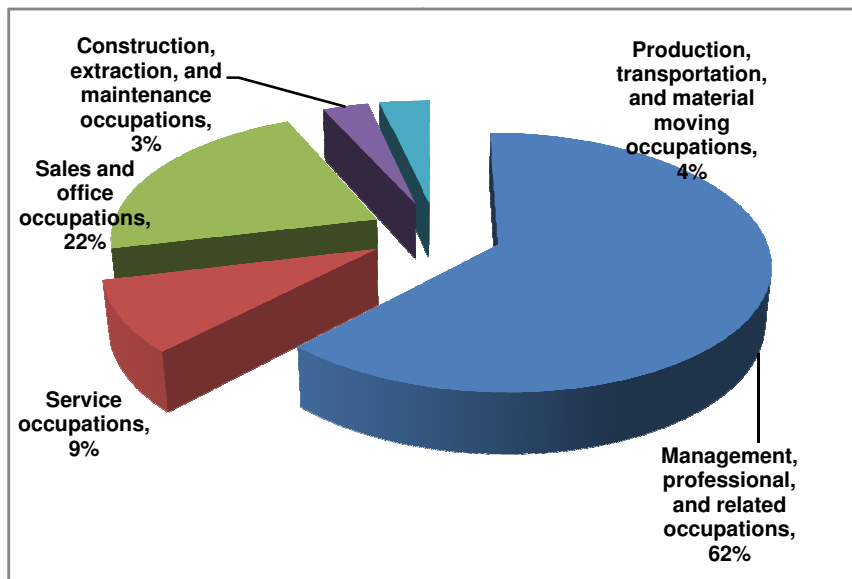
Figure 88: Reston Occupational Groups, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

In 2000, Reston had a very low unemployment rate of 2.2%, lower than the than the region's unemployment rate of 4.1%,[9] and considerably lower than the current national rate of 6%.[10] 75% of Reston's population 16 and older was employed. Of 44,948 employed Reston residents, 62%% work in management, professional, and related occupations, and 22% hold sales and office related jobs (U.S. Census). The table above shows occupational groups in Reston based on the 2000 Census.

Urban Design Comparison

In comparison with the 1938 new town development of Greenbelt Maryland, Reston mirrors many of the same design characteristics while adapting to a more eco-focused set of priorities. To begin, both developments attempted to completely divorce the pedestrian network from the vehicular, and go to great lengths to emphasize the former. By focusing on the design of the public spaces and pedestrian realm, both hoped to encourage community and walkability through physical design.

Both communities also featured a town center at their core, though the programs for each differ substantially. In Greenbelt, the town center contained commercial uses along with a major concentration of institutional uses, including schools and community facilities. In Reston, commercial uses were stressed in the town center while schools and other institutional uses were located outside the town center. Greenbelt's town center also completely excludes residential uses while Reston features 100% vertically mixed residential and commercial uses.

As far as market scope, Reston's commercial area is very similar to Greenbelts. Both are designated historic districts with many locally owned shops. Both cater to a local, rather than regional customer base, offering residents unique experiences that cannot be found in a big box setting.

In looking at housing, both projects stressed forms of higher density housing over single family detached—focusing prevalently on a townhome format. While the housing formats were

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[9] Rate based on August 2008 Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area. Bureau of Labor Statistics' Unemployment Rates for Metropolitan Areas. Accessed October 12, 2008 from http://www.bls.gov/web/laummtrk.htm.
[10] Based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics report for September 2008

similar, the dispersion of residential units was starkly different. In Greenbelt, the rows of townhomes are more or less equally dispersed throughout the development, consuming a great deal of land. In Reston townhomes are clustered, leaving large areas of pristine forest intact.

This discussion segues effectively into a final comparison between the two projects. Though neither Greenbelt nor Reston was constructed according to the paradigm of sustainability as we define it today, both pursued an eco-focused aesthetic. In Greenbelt, greenspace takes the form of massive grassed areas punctuated with occasional clusters of trees. In Reston, most of the greenspace consists of pristine forests, dotted with occasional grassed park areas. In Reston, grassed spaces are imbued with a specific recreational programs, whereas in Greenbelt grass is all-encompassing and lacks a clear purpose.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the definition of what was considered "green" during the 1930s was even substantially different from that of the 1960s. Greenbelt was perceived as very "green" for the time, given that it literally was. At that period in history, however, there was a belief that greenspace was needed for a healthy, high quality lifestyle— environmental sustainability was not a topic discussed at the time. In Reston, an emphasis was placed on the maintenance of pristine woodlands which reflected an evolution in the definition of "green." To be fair, the intent of the preservation of the woodlands was geared more towards producing an amenity to attract home buyers than preserving ecology. The lake that was the main feature of the town center was man-made—a design move that was clearly aesthetically motivated.

What we can gather from the example of both Greenbelt and Reston is that a design emphasis on natural surroundings can yield substantial benefits in the enhancement of both property values and quality of life. In both developments, greenspace was the physical characteristic that served as a unifying theme. What constituted greenspace, however, differed greatly between the two reflecting a progression in the definition of greenspace. Given the visibility that sustainability has received in recent years, it seems clear that the next stage in the evolution of the term—procuring additional value in the aesthetics of nature while further advancing physical design strategies that yield a highly sustainable form of development.

Urban Design Lessons Learned

A great deal of insight can be gleaned from the urban design details of Reston—from the master planning process down to the street lighting. To begin, by engaging with potential homebuyers from the beginning, the consulting team was able to form a vision for Reston that would be appealing and in keeping with current consumer preferences. Unfortunately, a discussion of architectural preferences was not addressed during the process, hampering sales in the early years of the project.

When one takes a quick look at an aerial view of Reston, the first thing that is striking is the amount of greenspace preserved in the development. This arrangement of the clusters of residential units inside of this vast greenspace is more problematic. The dispersion of the clusters more or less evenly throughout the project area creates long walking distances between residences and the town center. By laying out the clusters to maximize their contact with greenspace, the designers of Reston hampered the attractiveness of shopping in the commercial core. In addition, Northern Virginia was growing rapidly during this time. Designers did not take into account that Reston's residents would take advantage of the other, larger commercial areas that would develop in close proximity to Reston, rather than shopping exclusively in the town's commercial areas. These commercial areas served to hamper the growth and stability of the local economy, as residents tended to spend their money outside of Reston.

To add further distress for the village centers, the planned densities of the development were never reached, resulting in a smaller consumer base. In essence, aside from an unconventional emphasis on greenspace, the development patterns of Reston remain largely suburban.   A block pattern is essentially non-existent resulting in a low level of street connectivity at the vehicular level. Additionally, the office development located along Highway 267 is largely of a conventional office park pattern. There was no move to incorporate these job generators into the plan of the community—leaving the market to dictate the design which is largely auto-oriented. Though it was never intended to be a 100% walkable community, the lack of jobs in close proximity to residences is a missed opportunity for a more eco-friendly design.

Washington, D.C. Area Case Study: Kentlands, Maryland

History

The idea for Kentlands began in 1987 when Joseph Alfandre purchased a 352 acre tract of property located 11 miles northwest of Washington D.C. Alfandre began with a public participation/visioning process, bringing in Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of the planning consulting firm Duany Plater-Zyberk. Alfandre then created the "Kentlands Foundation" which would serve as the central vehicle for receiving input local resudents. Later, this organization became the Kentlands Community Foundation. Over the course of a 5 day charrette, the consulting group, Alfandre, and officials from the City of Gaithersburg met with residents to develop a master plan for Kentlands.

Design Vision

Figure 89: Kentlands Site Plan (The Kentlands Community Foundation)

Kentlands's overall design places emphasis on aesthetics, human comfort, and a sense of place. The overall urban design scheme of the city was formulated based on a brief list of core principles:

- The community should be pedestrian oriented and provide a mix of the necessities of life.
- Houses, shops, businesses, offices, schools, places of worship, restaurants and recreation are placed close together, and made accessible to walkers via sidewalks and paths.

- Housing types should would work for singles, young families, and older residents, in a range of apartments, cottages, townhouses, single-family homes (some with garage apartments) and live-work units (Community, 2008)

Streets And Blocks

The guiding principle of Kentlands was to create a walkable community, with the daily needs of most residents located within a five to ten minute walk of home and work. To accomplish this goal, the project had to be laid out in a dense fashion. Residences, shops, services and employment are all located close together to encourage walking while preserving open space and providing sufficient density to support local amenities, businesses and public transportation (Community, 2008).

Overall the street layout is a grid, albeit one lacking a consistent block size and arrangement. To calm vehicular traffic, streets widths were narrowed and parking was provided on-street. Public institutions such as elementary schools, day cares, and recreational facilities were sized to meet the needs of the local residents and placed in areas that were easily accessible by foot. Civic buildings and other key public sites were placed at prominent locations within the community to imbue them with a sense of community importance (Community, 2008).

Residential Development

Figure 90: Kentlands Residences (The Kentlands Community Foundation)

Kentlands was built in phases from 1989 to 2001, beginning with construction of the residential component in 1989. Buildings were pushed up to the street rather than being set back. Residential homes were adorned with front porches to actively engage the street environment. Most garages were pushed back behind the homes, access from driveways, or real alleyways. By encouraging residents to spend time at the edge of the public realm, the designers of Kentlands attempted to create a sense of community for its residents. Kentlands includes a mix of housing types including low-rise apartments, cottages, townhouses, single-family homes and live-work units (Watkins, 2008).

The Commercial Districts
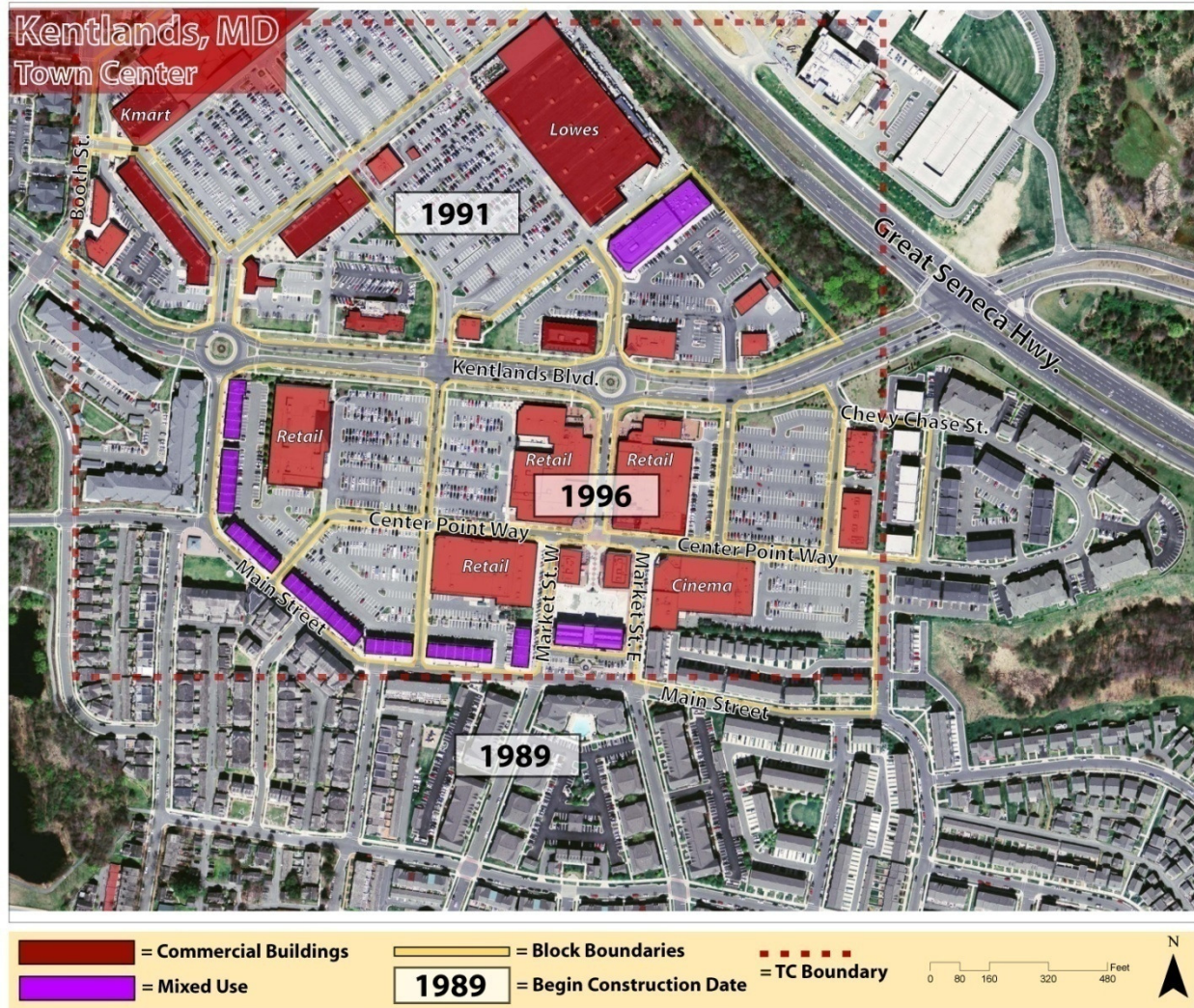
Figure 91: Kentlands Town Center

Regional Shopping

Three commercial districts were envisioned for Kentlands, each serving a distinct market segment: a regional shopping center, a live/work/shop district, and a corner store. In 1991, Alfandre negotiated successfully to have a large enclosed mall installed on the property to serve as the regional shopping component. The deal fell through; however, and the bank foreclosed on the property. The bank was able to secure a new developer to construct a shopping center in

1991, but the format changed to that of a conventional suburban shopping center (Watkins, 2008).

Although this style of development was not envisioned in the initial plans, the Kentland Foundation and the City of Gaithersburg was able to influence the design in a critical way. The Foundation required that the parking areas surrounding the shopping center buildings be laid out in a grid pattern, forming the street skeleton of a potential block. Utilities were placed underneath the streets, encouraging future development as land values increased to a point that would sustain structured parking. In retrospect, Mike Watkins, Kentlands community architect, felt that this strip mall development was actually preferable to an enclosed mall. Since the stores that have taken up lease in the shopping center are more geared toward everyday needs, such as a Lowes and Kmart, the shopping center better served the needs of the immediate community. This shopping area, though visually dominated by surface parking lots, is also accessible by foot from the residential development to the south. Given the clever design of the parking and building lots, the area is extremely adaptable to growth over time. In fact, in 2008 one of the parking blocks was removed and replaced by a structured parking deck with ground level retail (Watkins, 2008).

Town Center

In 1995, the town center portion of the project was constructed. Named "Market Square" this area was envisioned as the commercial center of Kentlands. At its opening in 1996, the town center featured a grocery store, movie theatre, and a bevy of small retail stores. This town center core was surrounded by a large number of live/work units. By all accounts this town center has been a success. The live/work units have all been purchased and leased—hosting a wide variety of businesses from barber shops to insurance brokers (Watkins, 2008). Overall the town center is roughly 50% mixed use, including the live/work units and mixed office/retail spaces.

Corner Store

Unique to Kentlands was intent to develop a peripheral node which would contain a corner store along with a elementary school and day care center. Given the 352 acre size of the development, a corner store options was deemed critical to successfully accommodating the

shopping needs of community residents who lived further than 10 minutes from the town center. (Watkins, 2008).

It is worth discussing the economics behind the corner store given the difficulty that such a development entails in a modern, new urbanist context. The intent in Kentlands, from the beginning, was to subsidize the corner store. Given the competition from auto-oriented commercial shopping, there really is no way for the free market to support such a venture located inside of a residential neighborhood. A developer cannot expect to obtain the same return on the land for the corner store as he would for a home so it must be viewed as an amenity. Developments commonly subsidize the installation of a swimming pool, or tennis courts, or a club house. The idea is to leave out the tennis courts and include the corner store—which is an amenity that the entire community can enjoy. (Watkins, 2008)

The development of the corner store, unfortunately, failed. At that time the market for commercial development in the metro D.C. area was poor due to tough economic times. Following the default on the initial loan, the quarter acre portion of the community slated for the corner store was sold to a private developer. That developer in turn decided to hold onto the land rather than develop it, waiting for the land value to increase. When the property was finally developed, the value of the land was too high to afford to waste on retail development in a location that would, in all likelihood need to be subsidized in perpetuity. Instead the area is dominated by office development, along with an elementary school and a church. In the end, the failure of the corner store can be attributed to first to the vision getting lost as the development changed hands. Then, by the time the area was slated for development, high land values prompted greed to take over (Watkins, 2008). According to Mike Watkins, the corner store needed to be developed along with the town center rather than as a final phase. Even if the store has to be supported financially, the establishment of this crucial community element at the onset is the only way to ensure the fulfillment of this core urban principle.

Greenspace / Environmental Response

Topographically, the project site is relatively flat. As a result, no major adjustments to the street network were needed to accommodate steep slopes. Overall, the site is densely packed, leaving few areas for recreational space. Aside from the required buffer of areas abutting streams, there is no evidence of major preservation activities. The greenspace that is included in the development was intentionally designed to accommodate a specific program of uses, from athletic fields to pocket parks. There has been very little land left over for front or back yards— placing an emphasis on community embrace of public space over private. The environmental challenge in Kentlands is the fact that retail uses are spread beyond walking distance for many residences, failing to effectively encourage a reduction in vehicle trips. Still, by creating a pleasant walkable environment the potential exists for the evolution of the community into one that functions more sustainability.

Current Business

Market Square, Kentlands Square, and the Boulevard Shops are commercial districts with Kentlands that contain grocery stores, banks, boutiques, offices, stores, a variety of restaurants, and a 10-screen cinema cafe. Main Street is a mixed-use area containing live/work buildings with retail and office uses on the lower floors and residential on the upper floors. Recently, city planners, public officials, business owners, and neighborhood residents worked with urban designers the from HOK global architecture firm at the *Kentlands Commercial District Charrette.* During this Charrette, a plan was developed for an intensified mixed-use and transit-oriented downtown Kentlands area. The proposals developed in the charrette are now attempting to be incorporated in the City of Gaithersburg's master planning process.

Currently, Kentlands has 316 total businesses. 22% are national chains and 78% are local business nesses. Most of the national chains tend to be big box retailers like Whole Foods, Petsmart, K-Mart, and Lowes. Because of the many big box retailers available, Kentlands tends to be a destination spot for shoppers and serves not only the local, but also a largely regional market (Kentlands Website, 2008). The following table breaks down Kentland's commercial area using a classification system based on the Better Business Bureau.

Percentage	BBB Business Type
22%	Business and Professional Services
19%	Food & Dining
11%	Legal & Financial
10%	Personal Care & Fitness
9%	Home & Garden
6%	Clothing & Accessories
5%	Shopping
4%	Media & Communications
4%	Educational Services
3%	Health & Medicine
2%	Arts & Entertainment
2%	Community & Government
1%	Real Estate
1%	Sports & Recreation
1%	Travel & Transportation
1%	Automotive

Table 60: Kentlands Businesses, 2008

Total Population	8,799
Male	49%
Female	51%
Under 18	27%
Over 65	6%
Hispanic	5%
White	74%
Black or African American	5%
Asian	13%
Other	4%
Total Pop. 16+	**6,629**
Total Employed	76%
Total Unemployed	1%
Total Not in Labor Force	22%

Table 61: Kentlands Population Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Housing Units	3,840
% Owner Occupied	91%
% Renter Occupied	9%
Total vacant	336
For Rent	53%
For Sale	21%
Other	26%

Table 62: Kentlands Housing Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Households	3,509
1 person	27%
2 person	31%
3 person	18%
4 person	17%
5 Person or more	8%

Table 63: Kentlands Household Information (US Census, 2000)

Kentlands is a small, affluent, educated community. In 2000, Kentlands's population was 8,700, and it contained 3,840 units of housing. Of these housing units, 91% are owner occupied. Households in Kentlands are relatively small, with 31% two person households, 27% one person households, and only 18% of residents in three person households. 27% of its residents are under 18, while only 6% are over 65. Kentlands is relatively homogenous. In 2000, 74% of residents were White, and 13% were Asian. Only 5% of residents in 2000 were African American (U.S. Census).

In 2000, the unemployment rate in Kentlands was very low, only 1.2% with 76% of the population 16 and older employed, and 22% not in the labor force. Of the 76% of those employed, over 70% work in management, professional, and related occupations (U.S. Census). The following chart shows occupational groups in Kentlands based on the 2000 Census.
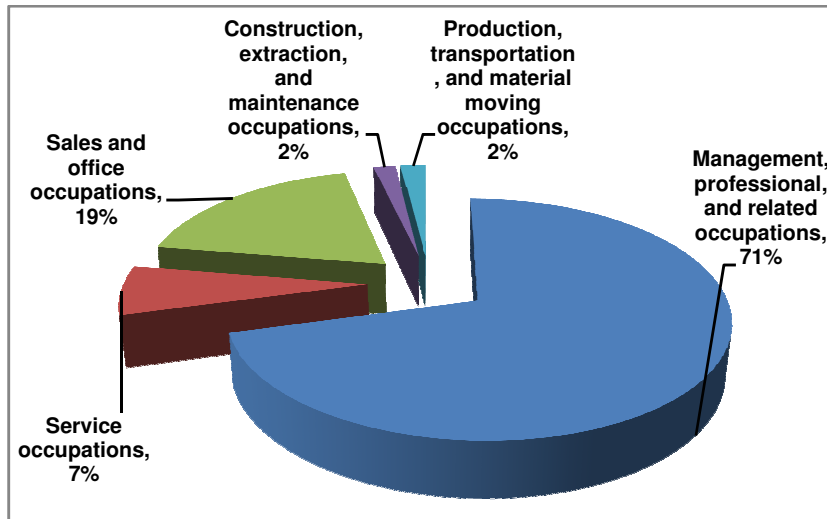
Figure 92: Kentlands Occupational Groups, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

In 2000, Kentlands's median household income was $92,043, with over 45% of residents earning more than $100,000 a year. 91% of homes are owner occupied. Per capita income in 2000 was $42,400. In 2000, the median home value was $288,700[11]. The table below shows Kentlands income distribution in 2000 (U.S. Census).
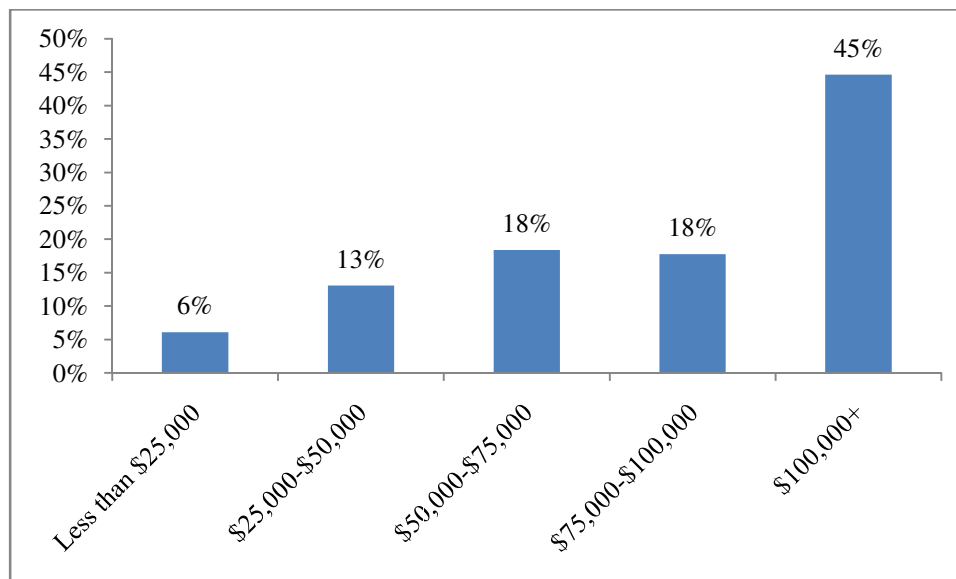
Figure 93: Kentlands Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

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[11] A recent search of Kentlands real estate showed homes selling for $1 million or more.

Residents of Kentlands are highly educated. In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau reported 34% of residents of Kentlands to hold bachelor's degrees, and 24% to hold degrees post bachelors. The table below shows levels of educational attainment in 2000 (U.S. Census).
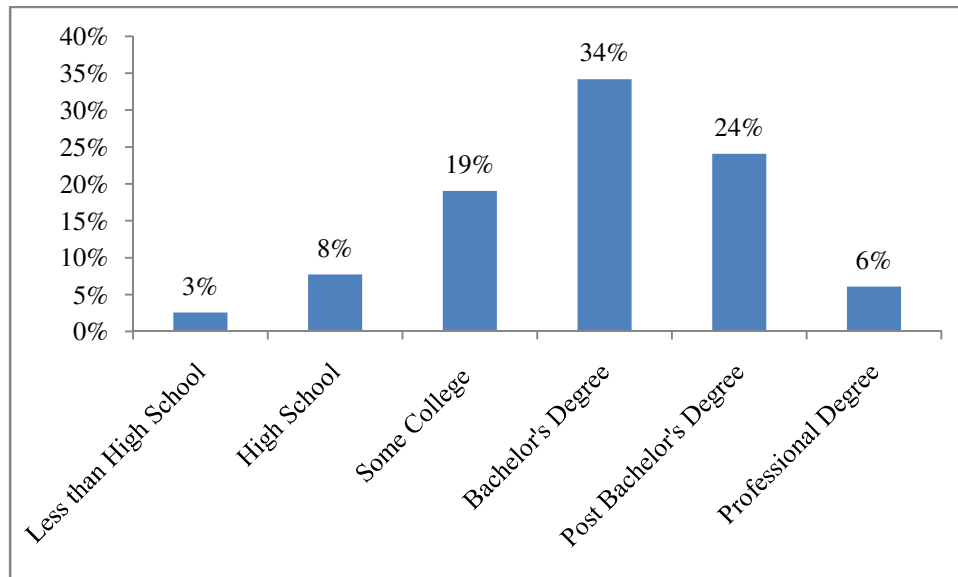
Figure 94: Kentlands Educational Attainment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Schools

Residents of Kentlands can attend Gaithersburg schools, which are rated highly. One public school, Rachel Carson Elementary is within the boundaries of the development, and is popular among residents. The community also has a community based non-profit that serves as an educational resource working to build community by supporting the local arts and offering opportunities for residents to become more involved in their neighborhood. The table on the following page shows public school options for Kentlands residents.

Name	Total Enrollment	S/T Ratio	% Free/Reduced Lunch	Grades	Type
Brown Station Elementary	414	12.2	45%	PK-5	Public
Darnestown Elementary	418	19	4%	K-5	Public
Diamond Elementary	405	15.6	11%	K-5	Public
Dufief Elementary	475	17	3%	PK-5	Public
Fields Road Elementary	492	17	24%	PK-5	Public
Jones Lane Elementary	510	17.6	17%	K-5	Public
Lakelands Park Middle	541	13.9	14%	6-7	Public
Quince Orchard High	1,910	17.2	13%	9-12	Public
Rachel Carson Elementary	726	15.4	13%	PK-5	Public
Ridgeview Middle	845	15.6	16%	6-8	Public
Stone Mill Elementary	683	17.1	6%	PK-5	Public
Travilah Elementary	459	17.7	6%	K-5	Public

Table 64: Kentlands's Public Schools, 2008 (Gaithersburg, MD)

Conclusions/Lessons Learned

Though many similarities exist between the urban design schemes of Greenbelt, Reston and Kentlands, the New Urbanist program of Kentlands produces the most significant differences.

The Creation of a Pedestrian Network

All three emphasize the pedestrian network, prioritizing pedestrian foot travel over travel by car. In Greenbelt and Reston, pedestrian networks and vehicular networks are kept separate, creating superblocks, adding distance to car trips. In Kentlands, the car and the pedestrian share a gridded network, but safety and ease pedestrian movement serves as the core design principle.

Each town center includes a central plaza, designed for pedestrians. While Kentlands includes street parking, allowing car travel within the town center, both Reston and Greenbelt completely separate their town centers from car travel.

Mix Uses

All three developments include mixed use areas. Greenbelt and Reston only include mixed use in their town centers, while Kentlands, which listed as a goal to mix uses in a peripheral node, includes a mix of uses primarily in the town center, but also in other parts of the development.

Emphasize Greenspace in an Environmentally Sensitive Fashion

All three developments place emphasis on their greenspace. Greenbelt and Reston offer clustered development surrounded by large expanses of greenspace. The relatively low density and high degree of horizontal dispersion of uses, however, reduces any environmental benefits gained from the greenspace. The green is effectively creating a buffer between uses and decreasing the feasibility of walking. In Kentlands, Green space is used in a very deliberate way to supply a variety of parks while residential space directly abuts commercial uses, reducing the distance between uses.

In comparing the aspects of sustainability of the three developments discussed in this paper, it must be acknowledged that each developed 30-40 years apart from another. Understandably, the definition and emphasis on sustainability varies immensely. What can be gathered is that the aesthetic value of nature needs to be more closely married to logical forms of environmental preservation. In Greenbelt, grass for the sake of grass does not make sense if it means fewer trees and more landscape watering. In Reston, clustering of development does not make sense if it forces people to walk less and drive more. In Kentlands, given the flat topography, the environment does not immediately stand out as a focal point. Thus, its physical design program is focused on allowing for a mix of uses and future densification over time with the potential of reducing the impact of human habitation.

It would seem that a combination of the positive attributes of the design schemes of all three developments would be the most preferable. The emphasis on the landscape present in Reston and Greenbelt stands as a primary theme to dictate the major design moves of any development. The strengths of the landscape are indeed the selling point of these two developments, though the built forms that accompany them do not fit with modern desires to reduce vehicle trips and foster community through close proximity. Lacking natural aesthetic strengths, the design scheme of the Kentlands is focused on enhancing walkability through increased densification and a high quality pedestrian environment. Given a location with natural environmental aesthetics, it would seem fusion of these two design paradigms would yield development that takes advantage of the best of both worlds.

Pay Attention to Residential Orientation

Both Reston and Greenbelt are oriented toward green space with backs and sides to the street. Kentlands, with its Traditional Neighborhood Design, orients its houses toward the street with active façade engagement.

Strong Population Base = Strong Economic Base

Greenbelt, Reston and Kentlands represent the necessity of a building stable, and sustainable population base to drive an economy. Greenbelt and Reston have different demographic make ups- Reston is upper middle class, while Greenbelt is solidly middle class. However, this stability has ensured the survival of their commercial districts over time. Residents in both communities are encouraged to stay long-term, as both communities include life cycle housing options. Residents who remain for a long time take ownership over their communities, build strong social networks, strengthening the communities overall. These residents have strong ties to their local communities, and this is represented through participation in community groups and events, as well as in the support of local businesses. If Kentlands wants to thrive for an extended period of time, it should look to Greenbelt and Reston for advice. Although "community" was originally socially engineered in Greenbelt, residents have consistently remained invested in the local community, well after the demise of the cooperatives. Reston has

one of the largest community associations in the country, the Reston Association, which works to enhance the community as well as preserve Reston's open space. Kentlands already has a similar group, the Kentlands Community Foundation, which it should work to strengthen as a way to strengthen the community overall.

Create Commercial Areas That Withstand the Test of Time

The historic commercial areas in both Greenbelt and Reston have remained relatively unchanged since they were built. Although renovations have occurred to bring the technology of the spaces up to the 21st Century, their actual footprints have remained intact. In addition, both areas have a majority of locally owned and operated stores, which further strengthens their commercial spaces. Their historic designations have also ensured that their formats will remain intact over time. Kentlands appeals to a more regional market than Greenbelt and Reston, with much of its retail in a big box format, and caters to a more affluent demographic. Though it is too soon to predict precisely how Kentlands will progress into the future, the physical design of the commercial districts should permit changes in use and density over time. This foresight in design gives the Kentlands a degree of flexibility that is not reflected in either Greenbelt or Reston. By employing the use of a grid, even in the design of the parking lots, the promise of economic growth in these commercial areas is much more promising.

Traditional Town Case Study: Newnan, GA

Newnan, Georgia, located 38 miles southwest of Atlanta and 17 miles south of Friendship Village, is well-regarded for its vibrant and resilient town square. Unlike our other case studies, which examine town center dynamics in the context of the planned suburban community, Newnan's town center was established in 1828 as the centerpiece of what would become a self-sustaining city on Georgia's western frontier. Its town center historically served as the city's industrial and manufacturing center, and, as the county seat of Coweta County, civic uses have always been a key component of its dynamics. The dynamics of an independently functioning small town differ substantially from the planned suburban community, and should be carefully considered when drawing conclusions.

Despite these precautions, however, Newnan was selected for study because of both its urban design framework, which has allowed the town center to adapt and endure over time, as well as for demographic and economic realities that prove relevant to Friendship Village. To better understand how urban design can facilitate change over time, we have tracked the evolution of Newnan's historic downtown over the last century, highlighting the stories of its buildings and tenants at three snapshots in time: 1911, 1949, and 2008.

History

Figure 95: Historic Newnan (New Georgia Encyclopedia)

In 1828 Coweta County leaders, seeking a more centralized location for the county seat, purchased Land Lot #26 of the 5th land district for $100 (City of Newnan, 2008). They named the site for Daniel Newnan, future Georgia Secretary of State and Congressman, and laid out the original 9 blocks in a grid fashion, centered by a one-block town square. The city's fortunes began to take shape when, in 1852, the Atlanta & West Point Railroad was completed, thereby linking Newnan to the emerging economic capital of the South and helping it become a major distribution center for cotton (New Georgia Encyclopedia, 2008).

During the Civil War, Newnan served as a hospital city for wounded Union and Confederate troops, and was spared much of the carnage experienced by other Georgia cities. Newnan was labeled "The City of Homes" because so many of its beautiful antebellum homes survived the war intact. Newnan prospered greatly following the war, due largely to residents' timely investments in the railroads in the late 19th century and Coca-Cola in the early 20th century. So prosperous were Newnan's residents, in fact, that the city was noted to have the highest per capita income in the nation for much of the first half of the 20th century (New Georgia Encyclopedia, 2008).

Newnan's historic downtown has faced repeated cycles of economic hardship and disinvestment, however, and its legacy is equally rooted in its ability to endure and reinvent itself. During the 1920's, inflation crippled the local economy, while the boll weevil ravaged the cotton production of local farmers (New Georgia Encyclopedia, 2008). Each took a heavy toll on a town center that was reliant on commerce and cotton.

But the most serious threat to the viability of Newnan's town center was ushered in by the completion of Interstate 85 in 1985. Interstate-oriented development characterized by easily accessible big-box retail stores offered consumers a product with which downtown pharmacies, department stores, and furniture shops could not compete. Several downtown icons were forced to shut their doors, or else join the tide of development near the interstate. However, the town center in the last decade has refashioned itself to appeal to a new generation of consumer that increasingly values a unique, authentic, and walkable environment. The following section investigates the changing character of downtown Newnan and how the town center's design

framework allowed for such dramatic changes while maintaining its character as the community's marketplace.

Town Center
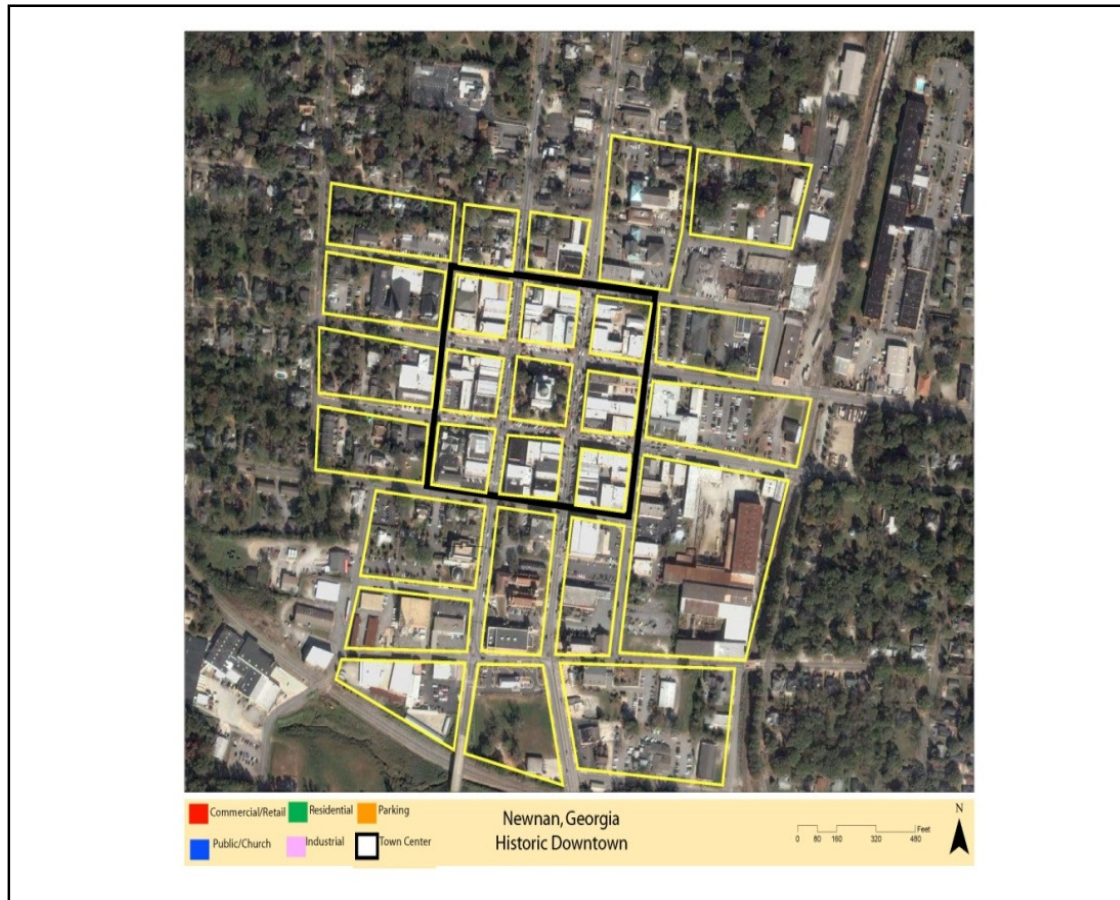
Figure 96: Block Structure of Downtown Newnan

For this study's purposes, Newnan's town center is defined as the original 9 blocks laid out by its founders in 1828, outlined in black in Figure 1 above. The town center is situated on 13.97 acres, and consists of 9 square blocks. These notably small blocks (200` x 200`) dictate a rather dense development pattern consisting of 4-6 conjoined buildings on each block, with public parking restricted to the street. Manageable block sizes arranged around an identifiable

hub, coupled with considerable density within a town setting, continue to make walking the primary mode of transportation despite the emergence of the automobile.

Pre-World War II Context, 1911
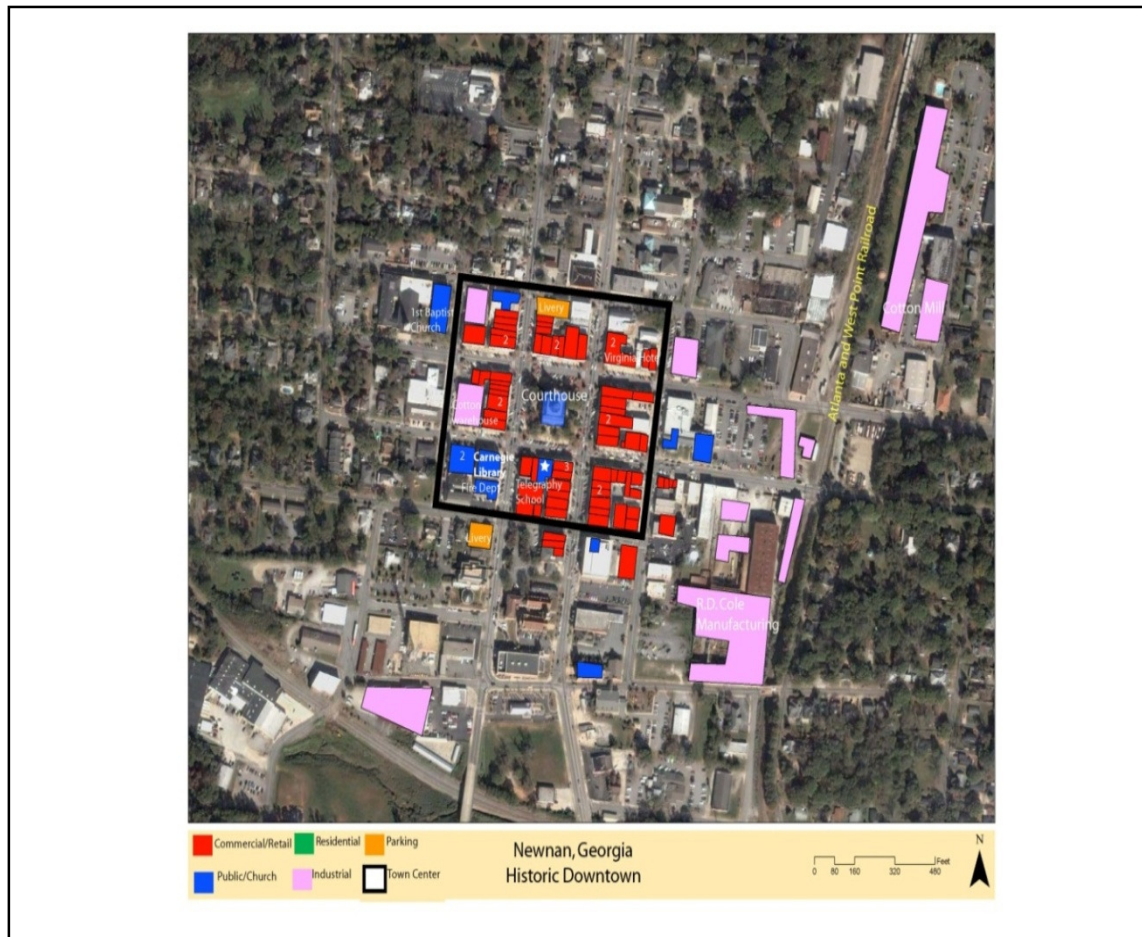
Figure 97: Newnan Business Uses, 1911

By 1911, Newnan's town center had a decidedly commercial character. Graphically displayed in red in Figure 107, above, commercial and retail stores offered residents a wide array of services indicative of the times. Eleven general stores offered residents their basic needs, while establishments like buggy stores, butcher stores, the opera house, undertaker, and cigar store offered more specialized services. A number of civic uses, displayed in blue, anchored by the Coweta County Courthouse in the central square and joined by the Carnegie Library, fire department, Southern School of Telegraphy, and two churches, established the town center as the hub of community life in addition to commerce.

Two prominent cotton warehouses called the town center home, though industrial structures such as these, shown in pink above, would soon be pushed to the periphery. Just east of the town center were located the Newnan Cotton Mill, built in 1888, and the R.D. Cole Manufacturing Building, constructed in 1852. The town center did include on its northern boundary a sort of public parking: only it was for horses, not autos.

Almost all of the buildings that housed these establishments were built between 1895 and 1900 in simple Folk Victorian style. Each of these buildings is a 2-story structure, with the exception of the 3-story opera house. Though many of their facades were modernized and then restored, the structures themselves have survived for over a century to host a variety of users, as we will see in subsequent snapshots. Notable businesses and the distribution of town center businesses are shown in Figure 3 below.

Town Center Businesses- 1911

Notable Establishments

Name	Address
Chinese Laundry	7 Jackson Street
Buggy Stores	9 Jackson Street, 29 S. Court Sq.
Cigar & Candy Store	31 S. Court Square, 27 W. Court Square
General Stores	(11 total)
Livery	13 Jackson Street
Moving Pictures	22 W. Court Square
Butcher Stores	8 Jackson Street, 30 S. Court Sq.
Opera House	36 S. Court Square
Southern School of Telegraphy	32 S. Court Square
Undertaker	22.5 W. Court Square
Carnegie Library	1 Lagrange Street
Sewing Machine Store	25 W. Court Square
Virginia House, Hotel	4 E Washington St.

Distribution

Category	Total	Percentage
Shopping	11	18.3%
Clothing & Accessories	10	16.7%
Food & Dining	7	11.7%
Legal & Financial	6	10.0%
Construction	5	8.3%
Government & Community	5	8.3%
Health & Medicine	4	6.7%
Travel & Transportation	4	6.7%
Arts & Entertainment	2	3.3%
Industry	2	3.3%
Home & Garden	1	1.7%
Media	1	1.7%
Personal Care	1	1.7%
Professional	1	1.7%

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Table 65: Town Center Businesses, 1911 (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps)

Post War Context, 1949
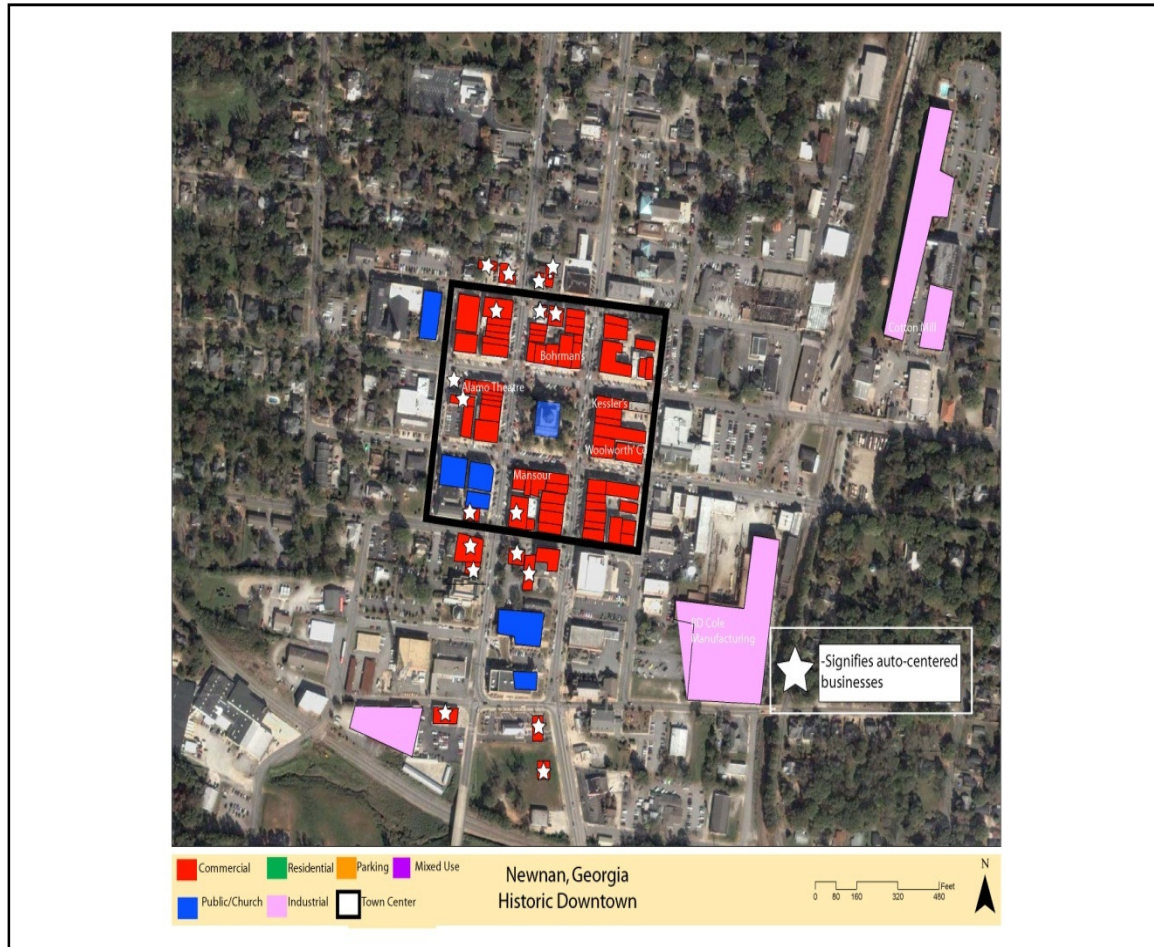
Figure 98: Newnan Downtown, 1949

By 1949, commercial uses increasingly dominated the town center. All industrial uses vacated the area, and only 4 buildings devoted to public use remained: the Coweta County Courthouse, Carnegie Library, Central Baptist Church, and the fire department.

And although commercial uses were spreading, by and large the tenants themselves were substantially different from those in 1911. Drug stores and department stores replaced the general store as the defining retail establishment. Kessler's Department Store was the first to have a live Santa Claus at Christmas, while Boone's incorporated a wire apparatus that carried sales slips from the counter to the upstairs office where clerks processed the sale. Lee King

Drugs, which opened in 1907, began providing curb-side service for its soda fountain and had bicycle delivery boys (Downtown Newnan Walking Tour, 2006).

Perhaps the most significant indication of the era could be observed in the number of establishments centered on automobiles. By 1949, 7 auto-oriented establishments operated within the town center, and another 11 just outside of it. No such business existed in the area in 1911. Notable establishments and business distribution are listed in Figure 5 below.

Town Center Businesses- 1949

Notable Establishments

Name	Address
Alamo Theatre	19 W. Court Square
Gem Theatre	22 W. Court Square
Automotive Stores	(7 total)
Carnegie Library	1 Lagrange Street
Lee-King Drug Company	2 E. Court Square
John R. Cates Drug Company	6 E. Court Square
McConnell's Department Store	16 N. Court Square
Levine Department Store	14 N. Court Square
Stripling Department Store	12 N. Court Square
Bohrman's Department Store	12 N. Court Square
Kessler's Department Store	9 E. Court Square
Boone's Department Store	3 E. Court Square
Woolworth's Department Store	1 E. Court Square
Mansour's Department Store	28 S. Court Square
Virginia Hotel	4 E. Washington Street

Distribution

Category	Total	Percentage
Shopping	11	21.6%
Automotive	7	13.7%
Clothing & Accessories	4	7.8%
Food & Dining	4	7.8%
Government & Community	4	7.8%
Home & Garden	4	7.8%
Health & Medicine	4	7.8%
Construction	3	5.9%
Legal & Financial	3	5.9%
Arts & Entertainment	2	3.9%
Personal Care	2	3.9%
Travel & Transportation	2	3.9%
Media	1	2.0%

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Table 66: Town Center Businesses, 1949 (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps)
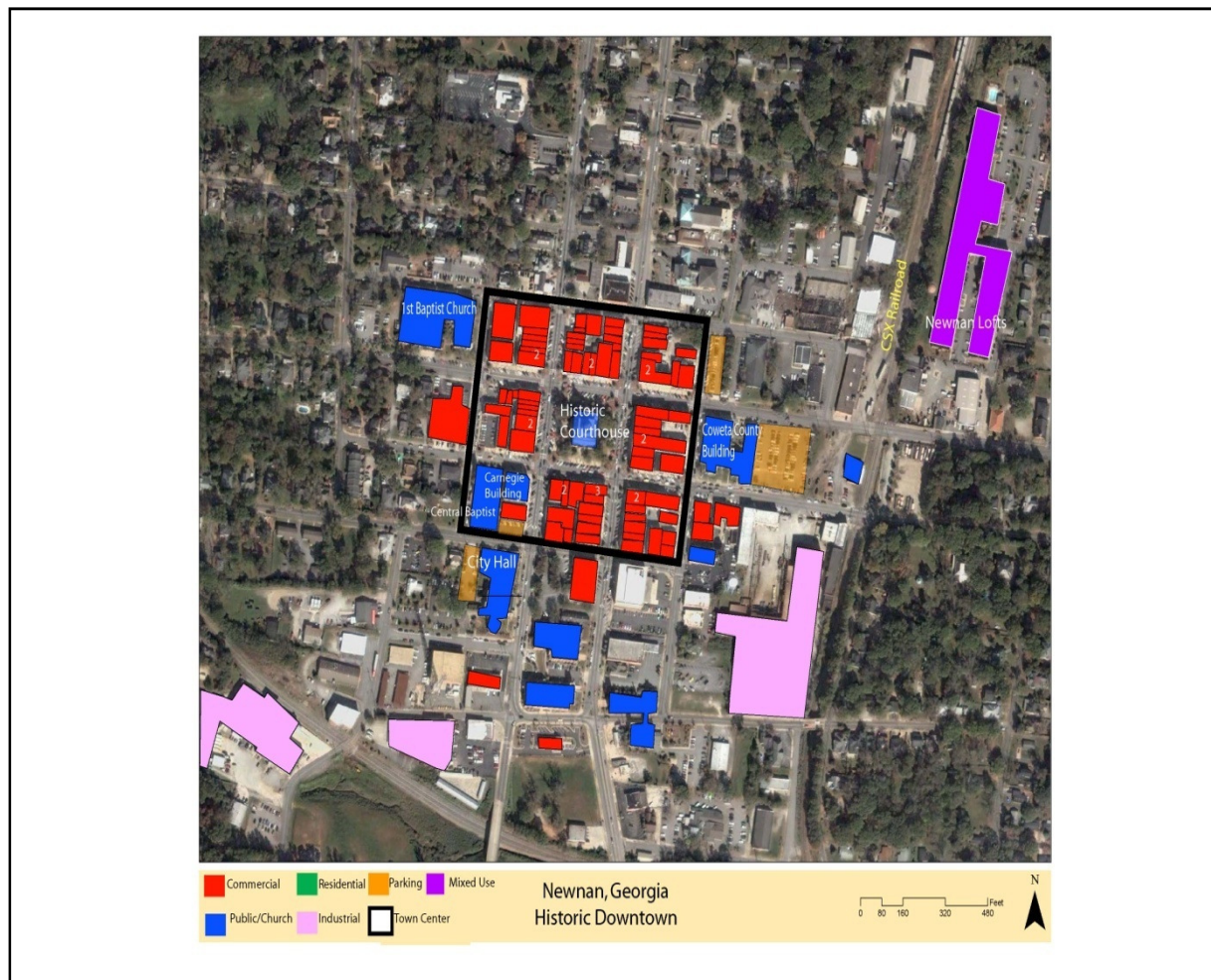
Figure 99: Downtown Newnan, Present Day

The town center of today is reflective of its central theme- in the midst of change, its character remains the same. The department stores and drug stores of 1949 have been replaced by antique shops and home décor boutiques, but the atmosphere around the square continues much as it did in 1949 and even 1911. The town center still bustles with pedestrians and all of the businesses are locally owned, minus Quizno's, which took up residence in 2001.

That being said, the town center of today is transitioning to a new brand of consumer. Stylish boutiques and a growing number of classy restaurants are establishing Downtown Newnan as a destination for better-educated, higher-income suburbanites. Though Interstate 85

worked to pull away essential services from the town center, it also allowed downtown to reinvent itself as a destination for more cosmopolitan metro Atlanta residents who find the quaint town atmosphere appealing.

Thus, the modern era in the town center's evolution shows the blurring between the urban and small town lifestyle. The old cotton mill, for example, was converted into Newnan Lofts in 1999, an urban-style condominium project consisting of 145 units and 27,000 square feet of retail. The project has been a surprising success, as residents enjoy the 3-block walk to the town center, if not their long commutes to work in Atlanta.

The town center itself is still trending toward commercial and retail uses. There are 19 businesses categorized as shopping, representing 24.4% of all businesses in the town center, as shown below. In addition, the clothing and dining sectors are also growing, indicating that the town center is continuing to move away from offering any essential goods to consumers. While the trend is only natural, it also makes the town center more susceptible to downturns in the economy.

Town Center Businesses- 2008

Notable Businesses

Name	Address
Redneck Gourmet	11 N. Court Sq.
Andre's Off the Square	11 Jefferson Street
Ten East Washington	10 E. Washington
Whitley's Feed & Seed	10 Jefferson Street
What's In Store	7 Jefferson Street
Katelyn's Closet	10 E. Broad Street
Other Side of the Moon	9 Greenville Street
Virtu	15 Greenville Street
Panoply Interior Design	16 Greenville Street
The Vintage Flea	8 Greenville Street
Scott's Bookstore	28 S. Court Square
Cook Office Equipment	3 E. Court Square
Hit the Trail	10 Lagrange Street
Oz Cutlery & Ammo	1 E Court Square

Distribution

Category	Total	Percentage
Shopping	19	24.4%
Legal & Financial	16	20.5%
Food & Dining	10	12.8%
Clothing & Accessories	8	10.3%
Professional	7	9.0%
Personal Care	5	6.4%
Sports & Recreation	3	3.8%
Government & Community	3	3.8%
Home & Garden	3	3.8%
Real Estate	3	3.8%
Health & Medicine	1	1.3%

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Table 67: Town Center Businesses, 2008

Urban Design Conclusions

The urban design structure of Newnan's historic downtown continues to contribute to its vibrancy in a number of ways.

- First, the original 9-block layout establishes a clear hub of marketplace activity that endures despite boundary expansion. In other words, development more or less tends to spread in each direction over time rather than in a linear fashion along a Main Street, for example, in effect preserving the hub over time.

- Small block sizes determine the building type and scale.
- Block size and structure makes walking the preferred mode of transportation within the town center.
- Buildings do not become obsolete because their scale allows for a wide range of uses over time. Figure 8, below, shows the range of uses available over time when buildings are constructed at an adaptable scale.
- On the other hand, certain essential services, like grocery stores and department stores, were not viable uses for smaller scale buildings with limited parking.
- Blocks immediately outside the town square are larger and vary in sizes. This allowed industrial uses which were critical to the city's survival to remain in close proximity to downtown.
- The design structure facilitates the mixing of uses. Second floor storage spaces are easily converted into apartments.

Address	1911 Use	1949 Use	Current Use
1 E. Court Square	Clothing store	Woolworth's Dept. Store	Oz Cutlery
2 E. Court Square	Newnan Weekly News	Lee-King Drug Company	Quizno's
2 Jackson Street	Photographer	Furniture Company	Nu Link Digital
3 E Court Square	Mattie Cook General Store	Boone's Department Store	Cook Office Equipment
6 E. Court Square	1st National Bank	Cates Drug Company	Brothers, Ltd. (men's clothing)
9 E. Court Square	General store	Kessler's Dept. Store	Golden's on the Square (restaurant)
11 N. Court Square	Newnan Banking	Austin Drug Store	Redneck Gourmet
12 N. Court Square	General Store	Bohrman's Dept. Store	June's Fashions
14 N. Court Square	Clothing Store	Levine Dept. Store	Morgan's Jewelry
15 N. Court Square	Men's Clothing	Smith Drug Co.	Morgan's Trophy
16 N. Court Square	Drug store	McConnell Dept. Store	Gridiron Grill
18 N. Court Square	Hardware store	Deep Mansour Eatery	Debbie Stratton Photography
19 W. Court Square	Grocery	Alamo Theatre	Alamo Jack's
22 W. Court Square	Moving pictures	Gem Theatre	Espresso Lane
22.5 W. Court Square	Undertaker	McCalla's Book Store	Heritage Quilts and Fabrics
26 W. Court Square	Hardware	Johnson Hardware Company	Newnan Hospital Fitness
28 S. Court Square	General store	Mansour's Dept. Store	Scott's Bookstore

Table 68: Newnan Building Uses Over Time

Contributing Economic Factors

Newnan's urban design structure is not solely responsible for its ability to adapt and rebound over time, however. A slew of small towns with similar urban design structures were indeed not economically successful over time, especially in the face of interstate-oriented

development. Therefore, a number of economic characteristics unique to Newnan must also be noted.

First, the construction of the railroad connecting Newnan's town center with Atlanta was critical in fueling the city's economic engine for the better part of a century. Because of the railroad, Newnan was able to develop a diverse industry base, including a cotton mill and prominent manufacturing building, leading to long-term investment and employment opportunities. Another advantage enjoyed by Newnan was its standing as the county seat. Civic uses have proven a valuable anchor for jobs and activity in Newnan's town square for 180 years. Finally, Newnan's town center was unique in the prosperity of surrounding residents, who repeatedly showed great investment timing.

Case Study Conclusions

Downtown Newnan's ability to remain a vibrant town center over its 180-year existence points to the town square-model as a compelling option for sustainable development. Its small blocks and street grid configuration provide the accessibility and walkability required for a sustainable community marketplace. Buildings prove to be sustainable as well, as a wide variety of merchants are able to recycle and reuse the space to fit their needs. In addition, the model promotes good health by encouraging visitors to park their automobiles and explore all the shops around the square by foot, in a very pedestrian-friendly environment. It should be noted, too, that the model itself does not fail to provide for big-box retail, as some critics may point out. In fact, the larger blocks surrounding the town center offer sufficient space and infrastructure for such uses.

Total Population	16,242
Male	48%
Female	52%
Under 18	28%
Over 65	12%
Hispanic	5%
White	54%
Black or African American	41%
Asian	0%
Other	0%
Total Pop. 16+	**12,150**
Total Employed	58.5%
Total Unemployed	4.5%
Total Not in Labor Force	37%
Umemployment Rate	4.5%

Table 69: Newnan Population Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Housing Units	5,939
Median Home Value (2000)	$114,000
Median Home Value (2007)	$167,900
% Owner Occupied	47%
% Renter Occupied	53%
Total vacant	604
For Rent	35%
For Sale	26%
Other	38%

Table 70: Newnan Housing Information (US Census, 2000)

Total Households	6,039
1 person	26%
2 person	33%
3 person	17%
4 person	13%
5 Person or more	11%

Table 71: Newnan Household Information (US Census, 2000)
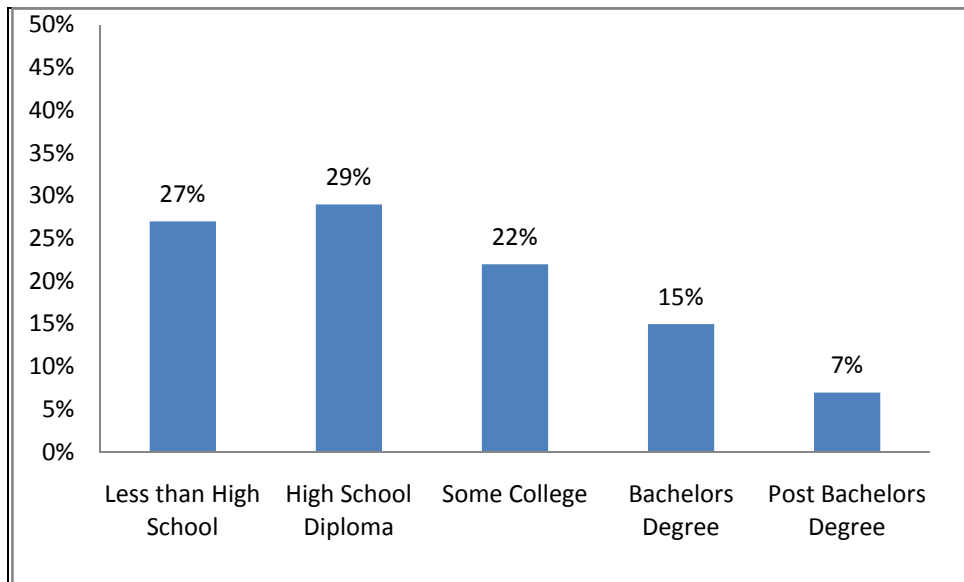
Figure 100: Newnan Educational Attainment, 2000 (US Census, 2000)
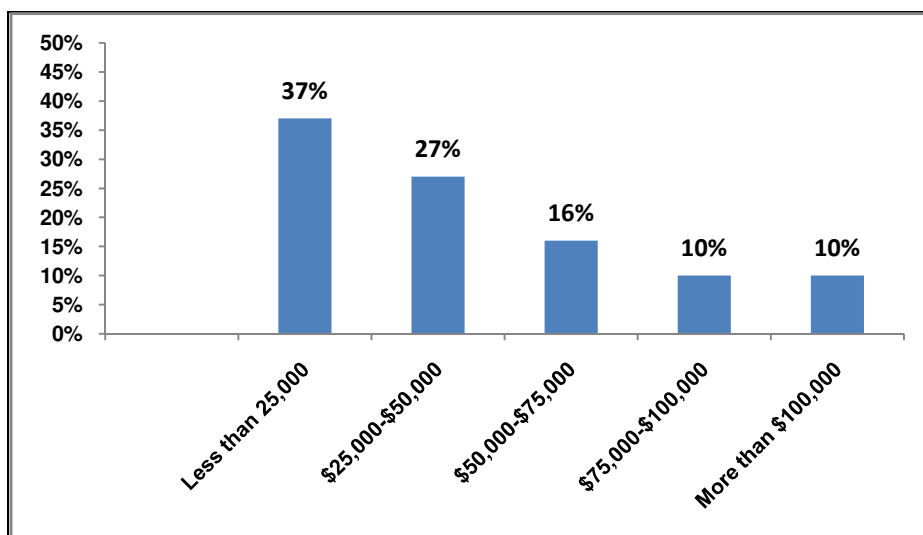
Figure 101: Newnan Income Distribution, 2000 (US Census, 2000)

Name	Total Enrollment	Student/Teacher Ratio	%Free and Reduced Lunch	Type
Atkinson Elementary	433	12.9	58%	Public
Elm Street Elementary	508	13.5	45%	Public
Ruth Hill Elementary	401	10.8	67%	Public
Evans Middle School	740	14.4	46%	Public
Newnan High School	2,080	19.3	32%	Public

Table 72: Newnan Local Schools, 2008 (National Center for Education Statistics)
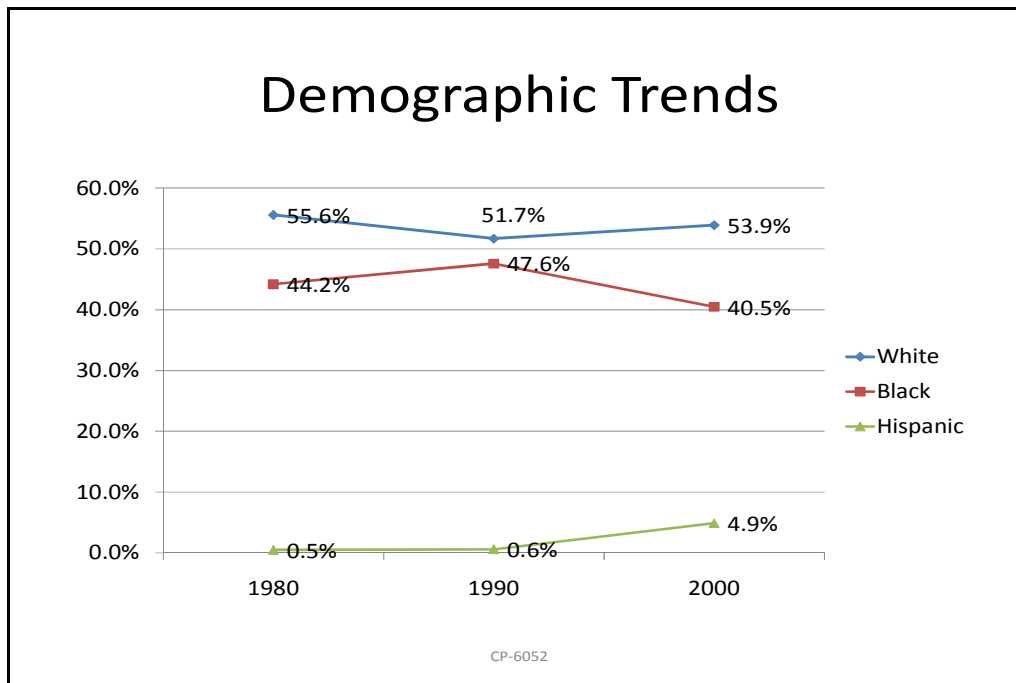
Figure 102: Newnan Demographic Trends, 1980-2000 (US Census, 1980-2000)

Business (1911)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
1st National Bank	6	E Court Sq	Legal & Financial
Avery and Banta Jewelry	35	S Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
barber	34	S Court Sq	Personal Care
bookstore	10	Greenville Street	Shopping
buggy store	9	Jackson Street	Travel & Transportation
Carnegie Building	1	Lagrange Street	Government & Community
Central Baptist Church	14	W Broad Street	Government & Community
Chinese Laundry	7	Jackson Street	Clothing & Accessories

Business (1911)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
cigar and candy store	31	S Court Sq	Food & Dining
cigar factory	27	W Court Sq	Industry
clothing and general store	12	N Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
clothing and general store	1	E Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
clothing store	14	N Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
clothing store	15	Greenville Street	Clothing & Accessories
Coweta National Bank	3	Greenville Street	Legal & Financial
D.G. & Notions	6	Jackson Street	Shopping
drug store	16	N Court Sq	Health & Medicine
drug store	8	E Court Sq	Health & Medicine
drug store	8	Greenville Street	Health & Medicine
farm supplies	10	Lagrange Street	Industry
Fire Department	5	Lagrange Street	Government & Community
furniture store	9	Greenville Street	Home & Garden
general store	5	Jackson Street	Shopping
general store	9	E Court Sq	Shopping
general store	5	E Court Sq	Shopping
general store	19	W Court Sq	Shopping

Business (1911)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
general store	33	S Court Sq	Shopping
general store	28	S Court Sq	Shopping
general store	5	Greenville Street	Shopping
general store	16	Greenville Street	Shopping
general store	14	Greenville Street	Shopping
grocery- unnamed	12	Jackson Street	Food & Dining
grocery- unnamed	19	W Court Sq	Food & Dining
grocery- unnamed	11	Greenville Street	Food & Dining
grocery- unnamed	4	Greenville Street	Food & Dining
hardware store	18	N Court Sq	Construction
hardware store	26	W Court Sq	Construction
hardware store	13	Greenville Street	Construction
hardware store	7	Greenville Street	Construction
hardware store	6	Greenville Street	Construction
Historic Courthouse			Government & Community
horse and buggy store	29	S Court Sq	Travel & Transportation

Business (1911)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
jewelry	4	E Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
Livery	13	Jackson Street	Travel & Transportation
meat- unnamed	8	Jackson Street	Food & Dining
meat- unnamed	30	S Court Sq	Food & Dining
men's clothing store	15	N Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
MFRS National Bank	2	Greenville Street	Legal & Financial
moving pictures- unnamed	22	W Court Sq	Arts & Entertainment
Newnan Banking Co.	11	N Court Sq	Legal & Financial
Newnan Weekly News	2	E Court Sq	Media
opera house	36	S Court Sq	Arts & Entertainment
photography	2	Jackson Street	Professional
sewing machine store	25	W Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
Southern School of Telegraphy	32	S Court Sq	Government & Community
undertaker	22.5	W Court Sq	Health & Medicine
Virginia House	4	E Washington St	Travel & Transportation
women's clothing	12	Greenville Street	Clothing & Accessories

Table 73: Newnan Business Listings, 1911

Business (1949)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Alamo Theater	19	W Court Sq	Arts & Entertainment
Gem Theatre	22	W Court Sq	Arts & Entertainment
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Automotive
			Clothing & Accessories
Barnett-St. John Co	21	W Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
Carrasco's Men's Shop	-	-	Clothing & Accessories
Carrasco's Ladies Shop	-	-	Clothing & Accessories
Newnan Hardware Co.	24	W Court Sq	Construction
Johnson Hardware Co.	26	W Court Sq	Construction
			Construction
Angelo's Sweet Shop	36	S Court Sq	Food & Dining
			Food & Dining
Deep Mansour Eatery	18	N Court Sq	Food & Dining
Angelo's Café	11	N Court Sq	Food & Dining
			Government & Community

Business (1949)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
			Government & Community
Historic Courthouse			Government & Community
Carnegie Library	1	Lagrange Street	Government & Community
Smith Drug Company	15	N Court Sq	Health & Medicine
Austin Drug Co.	11	N Court Sq	Health & Medicine
John R. Cates Drug Co	6	E Court Sq	Health & Medicine
Lee-King Drug Co.	2	E Court Sq	Health & Medicine
Henson-Sims Furniture Company	2	Jackson Street	Home & Garden
Hamilton Furniture Co.	19	W Court Sq	Home & Garden
Reynolds Furniture	32	S Court Sq	Home & Garden
			Home & Garden
First National Bank	6	E Court Sq	Legal & Financial
MFGR's National Bank	2	Greenville Street	Legal & Financial
H.S. Bank	36	S Court Sq	Legal & Financial
			Media
Waller Beauty Shop	-	-	Personal Care
Alexander's Barber Shop	-	-	Personal Care
McCalla's Book Store	22.5	W Court Sq	Shopping
			Shopping
McConnell's Department Store	16	N Court Sq	Shopping

Business (1949)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Levine Department Store	14	N Court Sq	Shopping
Stripling Department Store	12	N Court Sq	Shopping
Bohrman's	12	N Court Sq	Shopping
Kessler's	9	E Court Sq	Shopping
Boone's	3	E Court Sq	Shopping
F.W. Woolworth's	1	E Court Sq	Shopping
Mansour's	28	S Court Sq	Shopping
Mattie H. Cook & Co.	3	E Court Sq	Shopping
Virginia Hotel	4	E Washington St	Travel & Transportation

Table 74: Newnan Business Listings, 1949

Business (2008)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Brothers, Ltd.	6	E Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
Lucy's Alterations	5.8	Lagrange Street	Clothing & Accessories
Boulignini Shoes	14	Greenville Street	Clothing & Accessories
Broadway Men's Fashion	6	Jackson Street	Clothing & Accessories
June's Fashions	12	N Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
Three Sisters Bridal	11	Greenville Street	Clothing & Accessories
Morgan's Jewelry	14	N Court Sq	Clothing & Accessories
R S Mann Jeweler	5	Greenville Street	Clothing & Accessories
Gridiron Grill	16	N Court Sq	Food & Dining
Redneck Gourmet	11	N Court Sq	Food & Dining
La Fiesta Restaurant	7	Jackson Street	Food & Dining
Andre's Off the Square	11	Jefferson Street	Food & Dining
Ten East Washington	10	E Washington	Food & Dining
Golden's On the Square	9	E Court Sq	Food & Dining
Quizno's	2	E Court Sq	Food & Dining
Alamo Jack's	19	W Court Sq	Food & Dining
Fabianos Pizza	19	W Court Sq	Food & Dining

Business (2008)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Espresso Lane	22	W Court Sq	Food & Dining
Central Baptist Church	14	W Broad Street	Government & Community
Historic Courthouse			Government & Community
Carnegie Building	1	Lagrange Street	Government & Community
Newnan Hospital Fitness	26	W Court Sq	Health
Whitley's Feed & Seed	10	Jefferson Street	home & garden
J Veitch Construction	5	Lagrange Street	home & garden
Murphy's Florist	6	Lagrange Street	home & garden
Tidwell & Dewitt- Chuck Johnson CPA	10	Jackson Street	Legal & Financial
Harwell Brown & Harwell	12	Jackson Street	Legal & Financial
Wood, Odom, Edge Attorneys	15	Jefferson Street	Legal & Financial
Harmon & Gorove Attorneys	1	Jefferson Street	Legal & Financial
Mark Morgan, Inc.	14	E Washington	Legal & Financial
Steven Erle Fanning, Attorney	44	Perry Street	Legal & Financial
McMillan & Camp	7.5	E Court Sq	Legal & Financial
Murphpy & McClendon	9	W Broad Street	Legal & Financial
Rosenzweig, Jones, and MacNabb	32	S Court Sq	Legal & Financial
Patrick McKee & Assoc	19	Spring Street	Legal & Financial
Heritage Investments	13a	Jackson Street	Legal & Financial

Business (2008)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Stifel Nicolaus	9	Jackson Street	Legal & Financial
Debt Relief	5	Jackson Street	Legal & Financial
Metro Collection Services	5	Lagrange Street	Legal & Financial
Synovus Mortgage Corp	36	S Court Sq	Legal & Financial
Bank of Coweta	36	S Court Sq	Legal & Financial
A & D Hair Designs	9	W Washington Street	Personal Care
Golden Beauty Salon	13b	Jackson Street	Personal Care
Genelle's Hair Styles	3	Jackson Street	Personal Care
Finishing Touch Hair Design	5	Jefferson Street	Personal Care
Both of You Hair	10	Greenville Street	Personal Care
Achieve Stars Consulting	3.5	Jackson Street	professional
Daybreak Assessment & Family	8	Jefferson Street	professional
Debbie Stratton Photography	18	N Court Sq	professional
Southwest Key Program, Inc.	4	E Washington	professional
Smart Solutions, Inc.	7	Lagrange Street	professional
Globe Telecommunications	30	S Court Sq	professional
Turner & Associates Land Surveyor	7.5	Jefferson Street	professional
Josh Wright-Lindsey's Realtors	14	Jackson Street	real estate
Tall Oak Properties	7.5	Jefferson Street	real estate
LHI Real Estate Sales	5	Lagrange Street	real estate
CM Frames	12.5	Jefferson Street	Shopping

Business (2008)	Street #	Address	Type of Business
Heather Home Interior	14	Jefferson Street	Shopping
What's in Store	7	Jefferson Street	Shopping
Katelyn's Closet	10	E Broad St	Shopping
Heritage Quilts & Fabrics	22.5	W Court Sq	Shopping
Other Side of the Moon	9	Greenville Street	Shopping
Virtu	15	Greenville Street	Shopping
Panoply Interior Design	16	Greenville Street	Shopping
The Vintage Flea	8	Greenville Street	Shopping
Interior Repeats	6	Greenville Street	Shopping
Greenville St. Antiques	4	Greenville Street	Shopping
Scott's Bookstore	28	S Court Sq	Shopping
Oz Cutlery	1	E Court Sq	Shopping
Nu Link Digital	2	Jackson Street	Shopping
Brooks Vacuum Shop	5	Lagrange Street	Shopping
Cook Office Equipment	3	E Court Sq	Shopping
Franklin's Printing	21	W Court Sq	Shopping
Paper Appointments	7	Greenville Street	Shopping
Hit the Trail	10	Lagrange Street	Shopping
Morgan's Trophy Shop	15	N Court Sq	Sports & Recreation
Sportsdome	13	Greenville Street	Sports & Recreation
Allison Performance Hobbies	12	Greenville Street	Sports & Recreation

Table 75: Newnan Business Data, 2008

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