

CITIES & TOWNS

The decision maker's bridge
to stronger, **greener** communities

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Strategies for project review under a form-based code

GEORGE J. PROAKIS

Form Based Codes (FBCs) allow communities to implement a plan for quality place-making with a by-right development code, instead of a complicated discretionary design review process. Communities are selecting form-based codes to replace conventional zoning in downtowns and neighborhood centers, not simply to regulate around form instead of use, but also to replace a system of uncertainty with one that offers predictability. By developing graphical standards and prescribing building form, the code can capture the intent of a community's physical planning strategy.

Still, the art and science of form-based codes continues to evolve to meet the political and design culture of communities. While many cities and towns have determined that they need not have additional project review for development that conforms with the code, others are establishing or streamlining project review systems. Deciding how far to take "by-right" approvals is more complicated than it might first appear. Implementing a form-based code (FBC) is not just a matter of desired form, but also a community's expectations about the role of government officials, public input into development, and the necessity of architectural design and site plan review. The decision also requires an understanding of what might go wrong, and how unintended consequences and necessary deviations from the code will be addressed.

Many communities have implemented a FBC that requires simple review of projects by a town planner or code enforcement official. But other communities are deciding that, while it makes sense to use a FBC to prescribe the size, bulk, height, lot placement, fenestration, and pedestrian amenities, project review would benefit from an extra look by a staff architect or review board. Further, public meetings may still be required.

A community developing a form-based code must determine how it will be implemented and administered by asking:

1) Do we want to review design? While a form-based code will typically regulate form and not design, the community must determine if design creativity should be left for developers and their designers, or reviewed and/or approved by a staff

SEE FORM-BASED CODES ON PAGE 5

A bike lane along a New York City Avenue. See article on Janette Sadik-Khan, page 11.



CREDIT: NYC DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

A downtown rises by the UConn

PHILIP LANGDON

Idrove in September to Storrs, Connecticut, in the rolling countryside 26 miles east of Hartford, to see what a dozen years of effort and tens of millions of dollars had wrought.

BAM! Rising right next to Storrs' main road was a brand-new cluster of five-story buildings—the core of a mixed-use town center. Five-story buildings may not sound like much to someone in New York or Chicago, but in Storrs, where farming is practiced within walking distance of the University of Connecticut's main campus, four stories of apartments over 30 ground-floor shops, restaurants, and institutions make quite an impression.

Until recently, retailing in UConn's hometown had consisted mostly of freestanding, single-story buildings and automobile-oriented strip shopping centers. For most purchases, you needed to drive. Now this out-of-the-way community has the beginnings of a lively, walkable area called Storrs Center.

When I arrived, a crowd was standing in a narrow street named Dog Lane, celebrating the project's grand opening. Lou Marquet, vice president of LeylandAlliance, a Tuxedo, New York-based company that is Storrs Center's lead developer, was bursting with enthusiasm. Of the 322 apartments completed so far, every one has been filled, Marquet said. All the commercial spaces have been signed up for, too—by cafes, restaurants, banks, a bookstore, a puppetry museum, the UConn Health Center, a clothier, a florist, a barber, physical therapists, a game center, a nutrition company named "ThinkitDrinkit," and a shop where, Leyland principal Howard Kaufman joked, "you can get that tattoo you always wanted."

SEE STORRS ON PAGETK

**BETTER!
CITIES&TOWNS**

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The city that wouldn't die

ROBERT STEUTEVILLE

Before the end of 2013 Detroit is expected to break ground on a 3.2-mile-long light rail line along its main thoroughfare, Woodward Avenue. The project is expected to cost \$150 million funded mostly by a private consortium.

The M-1 Rail line, also known as the Woodward Avenue streetcar, is the first light rail that was conceived and will be implemented by the private sector in modern US history. The planned line will further boost a remarkable renaissance that is occurring Downtown and in nearby neighborhoods in the Motor City.

The news has been mostly terrible coming out of Detroit: The city declared bankruptcy in July, the largest municipal filing in US history. The city's population has been in long-term decline, and Detroit now has only about 38 percent of the residents that it had in 1950.

And yet the central part of the city is surging. More than 10,000 jobs have been added to downtown in the last few years, and that number is expected to top 15,000 by 2015. Everywhere construction projects are moving forward, almost entirely under the initiative of the private and nonprofit sectors.

"Even with a mayor of deep integrity (former basketball star Dave Bing), the city has no capacity to get things done," says Rip Rapson, president and CEO of The Kresge Foundation. "Philanthropy has provided the scaffolding to keep this place together."

Kresge, transportation service magnate Roger Penske, and Quicken Loans founder Dan Gilbert have spearheaded the streetcar. Gilbert, a billionaire, brought 7,000 employees downtown and has bought 34 properties, many of which are tall buildings in the process of renovation for office, retail, and residential uses. Hardly a place downtown has no major construction nearby.

Blue Cross also brought 3,400 employees downtown in a move that saved the company \$30 million in real estate costs while providing more and better quality space than the firm had in its suburban location.

Part of the impetus for these jobs came from Kresge's \$50 million to restore the city's waterfront, and its light rail sponsorship. "He [Gilbert] wouldn't have done this if it weren't for the infrastructure investments," says Rapson. "His young employees wanted transit options."

Downtown enjoys a 97 percent residential occupancy rate. Midtown, just to the west, has seen 3,800 new housing units and \$2 billion in investment since 2000. The light rail line will go directly through Midtown, which is sure to see much more development. Non-profit developer Midtown Detroit Inc. has 20 current projects and 30 more planned.

CHEAP SPACE ATTRACTS STARTUPS

Partly because property is so cheap, entrepreneurial activity is thriving. I attended a two-day October conference in Detroit on Lean Urbanism — a topic that explores how to revitalize cities cheaply and quickly. I had an extended conversation with the hotel bartender on the night I arrived. He owns four houses that he is fixing up and renting. He and his wife, who have a two-year-old son, opened a tea shop. He keeps a close eye on the properties for sale — the city auctioned 22,000 in September, selling for an average of \$1,000 a piece.

Detroit has a thriving "artisanal" economy. The Green Garage in Midtown is home to about 40 startup sustainable manufacturers. Rapson says there are 10 to 15 such incubators in the city, thriving on cheap space. A high-end watch and bicycle manufacturer, Shinola, has grown from 6 to 120 employees in Midtown in the last two years and has plans to double its workforce. High-tech firms are revitalizing the Riverfront warehouse district, north of downtown. Wedged between Midtown and Riverfront, the Eastern Market district thrives on the local food industry, with retail and wholesale distribution.

Probably 90 to 95 percent of Detroit, by land area, is in decline. Yet that 5 to 10 percent is bursting with spirit and energy, despite the city government, which is flat broke.

The Woodward streetcar was conceived in a 2005 lunch meeting between Rapson, Penske, and the late Robert Larson of the Urban Land Institute and now it is about to become a reality. Let's hope Detroit's resurrection will inspire other cities. ♦

Delaware new town moves forward after 15 years

The first new town in Delaware to be built in a century is poised to break ground in April. Whitehall, which is being developed by the philanthropic Welfare Foundation with EDiS and Eastern States Development, two Delaware-based private firms, is slated to break ground in April of 2014, according to Brian diSabatino of EDiS.

Whitehall is more than 15 years in the making. *Better! Cities & Towns* reported on earlier Whitehall plans in 1998. The plans then were beautiful on paper — three compact villages bordering on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal — but the community was not ready. “The project ran into a political and market-based buzz saw,” says diSabatino. “It was way too retail and commercial oriented.” The prior zoning was heavily geared toward industrial uses and the state wanted to lure a semiconductor plant to the site. The developers were also counting on zoning reform that would allow mixed-use, walkable villages. The grand plans never materialized; land-owner Welfare Foundation, which was founded with DuPont money, bided its time until New Castle County adopted a SmartCode as a countywide option in 2009. “Once that was in place, we felt safe enough to make an investment,” he says.

The firm hired Placemakers to design a plan that met the county code, with Mike Watkins — who rode herd on builders in Kentlands in Gaithersburg, Maryland for two decades — serving as town architect. The result is a classic traditional neighborhood development (TND) designed to meet every aspect of the new code. The project involves the development of 1,100 acres of the 2,000-acre property in seven mixed-use villages and hamlets, each with varying size and number of dwelling units. Phase 1, called Mapleton Village, is 145 acres with 499 dwellings of various kinds, 64,000 square feet of retail, 15,000 square feet of office space, small civic buildings and possible facilities such as a regional library and continuous care for senior citizens. DiSabatino notes that the project has been “self-financed for the past 10 years — I don’t see the rest of the financing being an issue.”

Whitehall is one of the first large-scale TNDs to emerge in the post-Great Recession period. Single-family housing has



PLAN BY PLACEMAKERS, COURTESY OF BRIAN DISABATINO

Whitehall's first village, Mapleton Village.

been rising nationwide — but it is still way below (40 percent of) pre-crash levels. Although many national builders are increasingly focused on multifamily in urban settings, the single-family development has tended towards bare-bones conventional suburban design.

Whitehall is different in that the landowner has a charitable purpose, diSabatino notes. The Welfare Foundation needed to take an asset, land, and turn it into money that could be used for charitable purposes. The question became: “How do you create value from property and create a legacy that Delaware will be proud of for generations to come?”

NATURAL ASSET

Although Whitehall is creating urbanism from scratch — which puts many TNDs at a disadvantage in this era of resurgent historic cities — the site has a tremendous natural asset. It borders the canal, which provides an open space amenity that is hard to match. “Even though we may not have Talbots, Gap and Starbucks in the first week,

the planning leverages the incredible natural setting along the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.”

The site is not likely to have anything resembling a complete town center for years. The developer wants to make use of the emerging ideas of “lean urbanism” to bridge the gap.

“Real towns emerge out of incubation,” says diSabatino. “You go from serving food out of back of pickup truck, to a lunch truck, to a shack, to retail. Some of our peers get so excited about the final stage that that’s where they start. We don’t think that approach is financially sensible, or authentic.” He is especially enthusiastic about the idea of a restaurant and outdoor community center that could be incubated and subsidized by the developer, similar to a building called the Tipping Point in the new town of Hampstead, near Montgomery, Alabama. He tested the idea on social media, and “the community went wild about it.”

The developer is extensively using social media like Facebook and Twitter to test ideas, like housing styles, that will

SEE WHITEHALL ON PAGE 8

A third of TIGER grants aimed at smart growth

The US Department of Transportation announced \$474 million in 52 TIGER grants in September. By our count, 18 of the funded projects in this competitive multimodal program directly support smart growth. That's a good batting average, considering that many of the projects are port, freight rail, or bridge related.

One of the standout projects in this round is the Inner Loop East reconstruction in Rochester, New York. The Inner Loop is a sunken interstate that forms a tight noose around downtown, cutting it off from the rest of the city. The Inner Loop was a huge federally funded mistake in the early 1960s. The reconstruction will make a boulevard out of a portion of this highway, opening up 9.4 acres of publicly owned land, and significant privately owned land, for compact development (see plan and image below).

Another key project is enabled by \$20 million "to help construct the 2-mile streetcar system from the River Market to Union Station" in Kansas City, according to *The Kansas City Star*. The grant covers 20 percent of the project cost — the rest is from other sources, including an assessment on property owners. Ten stations are planned along the route, operating at 10-minute intervals. Connections will be made with existing bus service. Values and development are expected to rise substantially along the line.

In **El Paso**, \$10.3 million will fund the Northgate Transfer Center for the terminus of a soon-to-be-completed Bus Rapid

A plan and image for Inner Loop East in Rochester



Smart TIGER: US DOT smart-growth-related grants

Recipient, state	Description	Funding (\$)
City of Foley, AL	Regional Pedestrian System	4.7 million
City of Fresno, CA	Fulton Mall Reconstruction	15.9 million
Connecticut DOT	New Haven State Street Station expansion	10 million
Lee County MPO, FL	Complete streets initiative	10.5 million
Florida International University, FL	University City prosperity project	11.4 million
City of Atlanta, GA	Southwest Beltline corridor trail	18 million
Winneshiek County, IA	Northeast Iowa Livable rural communities	1.7 million
Indianapolis Public Transportation Corp, IN	IndyGo electric bus	10 million
City of Boston, MA	Connect Historic Boston	15.5 million
City of Kansas City, MO	Downtown Streetcar	20 million
Missoula County, MT	Missoula to Lolo trail	4.6 million
City of Goldsboro, NC	Main Street revitalization	10 million
City of Raleigh, NC	Union Station Phase 1B	10 million
City of Olean, NY	Walkable Olean: Complete Streets	6.5 million
City of Rochester, NY	Inner Loop East reconstruction	17.7 million
City of Oklahoma City, OK	Intermodal transportation hub	13.6 million
Rhode Island DOT	Apponaug Circulator improvements	10 million
Sun Metro, El Paso, TX	Northgate Transfer Center, BRT	10.3 million

Transit (BRT) line that connects the northeast corridor to downtown. The site is within walking and biking distance of thousands of existing, moderate-income homes. These are largely single-family housing built after WWII. It will also anchor transit-oriented development of an adjacent former strip mall (see rendering below). The 30-acre site, planned by Dover, Kohl & Partners, is moving forward with the city in the process of selecting a development partner.

In **Fresno, California**, TIGER funds will reintroduce vehicle traffic along a 6-block downtown main street that was converted to a pedestrian mall in 1964. The Fulton Street Mall has long since failed, with a high percentage of vacant storefronts. The project will bring back a traffic-calmed, multimodal main street that is expected to revitalize the city's downtown. The total project would reconstruct 11 blocks of street.

In **Lee County, Florida**, a \$10.5 million grant will fund a complete streets initiative. This project will create an integrated system of walking, bicycling, and transit facilities that connect major commercial, residential, and recreational facilities. ◆

A rendering of Northpark, a transit-oriented mall redevelopment



Form-based codes

FROM PAGE 1

member, town consultant, or local review board.

2) Does our community demand public meetings before development review? While the community should already have consensus about building form, height, and bulk (as the code was developed) sometimes neighbors will still expect to be involved in the process of individual project review.

3) Can the local community of builders understand and design to the code? It may benefit both the community and the builders to have the assistance of a professional from within the review agency, especially with a code developed for an existing area where individual landowners will need help with both new and existing development on their property.

4) Can the zoning reviewers understand the intent of the FBC? Sometimes, the individuals in government who review projects under conventional codes are not the right ones to review projects under a form-based code.

5) What, if any, state enabling laws apply? Some state rules require certain levels of notice and/or review under zoning enabling or environmental regulations.

Here is a review of five different strategies used by communities looking to review projects under a form-based code.

The town architect: Employing a town architect is a common practice in implementing a form-based code, particularly in communities that do not otherwise have staff with the time or design skills to undertake the role. Both the town of Hercules and Redevelopment Authority in Contra Costa County (both in California) hired a firm on a contract basis to serve as Town Architect to do code compliance and design review. Other communities have hired a staff person to fill the role. Either way, a Town Architect serves to ensure that development under the code meets both the letter and the intent of the regulation. For a Town Architect strategy to be effective, a community must be willing to place trust in a professional designer to make decisions that will influence the results in the area under the code.

Consistency Review by an Interdepartmental Team: In the Hamilton Canal District in Lowell, Massachusetts (where the author was part of the FBC development team), the City determined that projects should have a straightforward approval. But, zoning was typically approved by building inspectors (as required by state law in Massachusetts) without familiarity with the functional standards and building forms in a FBC. So, the City added a “certificate of consistency” to be provided by a three person board of city planning and building staff, to ensure that a project was compliant. Upon making that determination, a building permit would be issued. The review takes less than 30 days and a permit can quickly be issued for a complying project.

Design review committee: Some communities, such as Ventura in California, have used their design review committee (DRC) to do review of projects under the code. The board does more than determine consistency; it ensures that the architecture of the building reflects the high standards expected by the community. A process such as this can also allow for public comment on a project before construction. While the Board can demand improvements to project design, the project remains a by-right project. Unlike discretionary permit approvals, the DRC does not have jurisdiction over building envelope, site design, or use. The DRC may also grant warrants (minor deviations from the specific requirements of the code as long as they help further the code’s



Penrose Square, above, includes 200 units, retail, and a supermarket. It was approved as a large project under the Columbia Pike code. Below, The Appleton Mill Renovation was granted a ‘certificate of consistency’ after a quick review under the Hamilton Canal District code.



intent), but more significant exceptions require further review.

Two-tier Solutions: Arlington, Virginia, developed the Columbia Pike code with a two-tier process. Projects on small sites have a 30-day administrative review, similar to the strategy in Lowell. Larger projects have a 50-day review, with a design review and public meetings before the Planning Commission and County Board, similar to the process used in Ventura. Planners in Arlington caution that, despite these short timeframes, the actual steps to prepare a proposal that meets the code and also meets building and fire code and public access requirements is longer. So, an individual project must be ready to enter one of these two tiers before the clock starts ticking.

State-Mandated Solutions: New Hampshire, a state with a long tradition of direct democracy, has a state law requiring projects over a certain size to be reviewed with a public hearing. So, when the New Hampshire town of Dover developed a form-based code for its downtown, all but the smallest projects require public review. Nonetheless, hearings within the form-based code area are much more efficient because of the code.

As these examples show, strategies for code implementation depend upon many factors, and selecting a strategy is fundamental to developing, securing and managing a successful code. ♦

George Proakis is a member of the Form Based Codes Institute’s Resource Council and serves as the Director of Planning for the City of Somerville, Massachusetts

Storrs

FROM PAGE 1

All joking aside, the center appears to be a very good thing both for UConn and for the local community. The wife of retired professor told me that faculty members who had previously lived in cities were eager to see the center built. (The first buildings opened in August 2012. A 45,000 sq. ft. Price Chopper supermarket with a mezzanine dining area will be underway by mid-October, and other components, including for-sale housing, are expected to be built by 2016.)

“This center will be transformative,” an important advance for smart growth and sustainability in Connecticut, proclaimed US Senator Richard Blumenthal (D-Connecticut). This was a welcome message, coming from a politician who, in his previous post as attorney general, had opposed (on environmental grounds) another compact, mixed-use project—the Madison Landing project that LeylandAlliance had wanted to build in the Town of Madison.

State and federal grants provided more than \$25 million for Storrs Center in the Town of Mansfield, including \$15 million for a parking garage. The public funds are credited with having leveraged more than \$80 million in private investment for construction so far. Planners had the wisdom to place the garage

where it doesn’t dominate the center’s atmosphere; it’s hidden on the interior of the site, behind a mixed-use five-story building called Royce Center.

The Mansfield Downtown Partnership, established by UConn and the town in 2001 to coordinate the project, says the pedestrian-friendly environment should cut car trips and vehicle emissions. “Since Storrs Center opened, we don’t drive as much,” Peter Millman, a local real estate broker, told me. “We come here to eat.” Millman expects that over time, people from the surrounding area will increasingly come to the center.

TRANSPORTATION CENTER

Adjacent to the parking garage will be a transportation center that will coordinate local and long-distance bus services. That facility will include car rental by the hour and a bike facility, including lockers and showers for cyclists.

“This has had 12 years of gestation, and it’s worth the wait,” Secretary of State Denise Merrill said of Storrs Center. As for why it’s taken so long, Merrill said, “This is a town that does a lot of discussion about just about everything.” Some of the land was polluted by previous businesses there, which added to the complexity of the undertaking.

UConn has been trying in recent years to upgrade its national standing. The lack of a vibrant town center within

walking distance of the 22,000-student campus had been a drawback in recruiting students and faculty; now the community feels more complete. The center is directly across Storrs Road (Rt. 195) from university arts facilities.

The streets are narrow, for human scale, and include a number of jogs, so that vistas change as people go from place to place.

The architecture, mostly by BL Companies’ office in Meriden, Connecticut, is, for the most part, a generic traditionalism. A false sixth story on part of Royce Center looks trite—reminiscent of the fake dormers that developers often plop on top of one-story strip shopping centers. Leyland had Connecticut architect Patrick Pinnell advise BL Companies on how to refine the architecture, but time or limited fees may have gotten in the way.

One nice touch is the gabled yellow building that was constructed for Storrs Automotive, a business that had been on the site previously and that consequently had to be incorporated into the development. The little board-and-batten building far surpasses the usual garage in visual appeal. It also offers a counterpoint to bigger structures nearby. More surprises of this sort would help Storrs Center feel like it wasn’t designed so overwhelmingly by one hand.

Leyland was named master developer in 2004. A few years ago, another developer, Education Realty Trust (EDR) of Memphis, Tennessee, was added to the team. That aroused some concern because EDR was known for student housing; townspeople worried that EDR would fill the apartments with students—undercutting the ambition of attracting a more varied population.

“There are quite a few graduate students and some undergraduates” renting the apartments, Stephen Bacon, a board member of the Downtown Partnership, told me. Marquet acknowledged that in the evening, some young men, presumably students, come to the center and remove signs—apparently as a kind of prank. (Maybe they’re inebriated.) In the morning, said Marquet, the signs are replaced. Clearly, building and maintaining a town center next to a campus with 16,000 undergraduates presents challenges.

Nonetheless, Bacon described Storrs Center as “a quiet, well-managed apartment community.” When I toured The

The grand opening of Storrs Center among the five-story, mixed-use buildings



PHOTO BY PHILIP LANGDON

Oaks on the Square—the four residential floors of Royce Center—a guide from the leasing company noted that there’s a staff member on each floor. (The floor I examined had 49 apartments.) There are “24-hour quiet hours,” the guide said. “If your radio is too loud, we will knock on your door.” She said that in fact there had been little or no problem with noise.

Bacon said the apartment company agreed to redesign units in one building under construction—adding a dining room to appeal to families, including older people. Millman observed that unlike students, some older people didn’t like entering an apartment through the kitchen.

Studios start at \$989 a month, and one-bedroom units start at \$1,449. Rents start at \$2,169 for 2-bedroom, 2-bath units, and at \$2,729 for 3-bedroom, 3-bath apartments. Rent includes cable TV, Internet, gas, water, hot water, and sewer service—basically everything except electricity.

The Oaks on the Square is organized around two courtyards containing a mix of outdoor social areas and green expanses of sedum (garden plants). Courtyards are at the second-story level, on top of commercial space. Tenants also have access to other amenities, including a study room and a business center.

Apartments on the rear of some of the buildings overlook parking lots.

The for-sale housing will be built near the back of the com-



PHOTO BY ROBERT ORR

A student studies at a cafe in Storrs Center

plex. Providence, Rhode Island, architect Donald Powers is helping to develop the concept for that area. ♦

Contributing editor Philip Langdon’s most recent book is *The Private Oasis: The Landscape Architecture and Gardens of Edmund Hollander Design*.

REVIEWS

Completing Our Streets

The Transition to Safe and Inclusive Transportation Networks

Barbara McCann

Island Press, 2013, 206 pp. paperback, \$27.99

REVIEW BY ROBERT STEUTEVILLE

No task is more important to the future sustainability, resilience, livability, and health of the US than “complete streets.” Barbara McCann, the founding director of the National Complete Streets Coalition and the author of this book, has made a remarkable policy impact in the last decade.

Since the phrase “complete streets” was coined — a stroke of genius by writer David Goldberg during a brainstorming session organized by McCann in 2003 — more than half the states and close to 500 local jurisdictions have adopted complete streets policies. The phrase is memorable and it encapsulates a public benefit — a street that anyone can use on foot, by bike, on transit, or in a car — that is difficult to contest regardless of political affiliation.

Unfortunately, as McCann demonstrates at length in this book, it is



COMPLETING OUR STREETS, MCCANN, ISLAND PRESS, 2013. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

A makeover of the main street in Montclair, New Jersey, yielded economic benefits

far easier to adopt a complete streets policy than implement it. Success stories, some of them in places that were already moving toward walkability prior to adopting complete streets policies (Portland, Oregon, New York City), are numerous. But too many states and jurisdictions have adopted legislation and made little or no progress. My state, New York, enacted a complete streets law in 2011. Except in New York

City, where celebrated commissioner of transportation Janette Sadik-Khan has made remarkable improvements, I’ve yet to see much evidence of progress. The barriers to designing multimodal thoroughfares are just as strong as they ever were in most locations.

McCann describes the transportation planning and engineering culture that has formed over generations, bolstered by systems and guidelines and ap-

proved practices, and is remarkably resistant to change – even in the face of legislation. One strength of *Completing Our Streets* is dozens of stories and case studies of people making a difference and how they overcame enormous barriers to build streets that better serve people on foot, on bikes, in transit, and in cars. This book is chock full of “champions” of complete streets, all of whom deserve recognition.

Completing Our Streets is strong on strategy and communications. In the introduction, McCann describes the strategy that led to so many complete streets policies being adopted: 1) Reframe the conversation about transportation in a simple and powerful way; 2) Build a broad base of support for completing the streets; 3) Provide a clear path to follow in transitioning to a multimodal process. The complete streets movement has arguably been more successful at 1 and 2 than 3, but this clear statement has power.

Part of the implementation difficulty lies, ironically, in the fact that so many arguments can be made in favor of complete streets. They are safer, can save money in many circumstances, are more sustainable, contribute to healthy communities, spur economic development, may boost retail sales, and offer transportation choice. The list goes on. Advocates for complete streets tend to focus on broad societal goals like sustainability, walkability, livability, and economic development. These are great arguments when asking public officials to adopt complete streets policies, McCann explains.

APPEALING TO PROFESSIONALS

These same officials, in the design and construction of actual projects, defer to the expertise of their transportation engineers and public works directors, who are not swayed by these broad arguments and operate under a different set of priorities. In order to influence the professionals that have power over the streets, McCann recommends three arguments: Safety, safety, and safety. The safety argument is made in relation to existing users. If citizens are walking and biking and taking transit on roads that are not safe for these uses, the transportation professionals are not doing their jobs. And that’s according to *how they define their own jobs*.

There’s more: These professionals will *still* not implement complete streets if they feel that that money is not available. These professionals must be assured that complete streets will not break the budget; that they can be implemented cheaply, within the existing budget, and sometimes *save* money. *Completing Our Streets* is useful in this regard, especially in the case studies and research presented.

One particularly valuable section focuses on how maintenance programs can be employed to create complete streets. If the road is going to be entirely repaved, restriping and providing a bike lane adds little cost. This approach, which requires rapid-fire implementation a few steps ahead of the steamroller, is in accord with “lean urbanism” concepts developed by new urbanists and Tactical Urbanism.

WISHY-WASHY ON DESIGN

Completing Our Streets is wishy-washy on design. If you want strong general design concepts for complete streets, read *Walkable City* by Jeff Speck. In the preface, McCann warns that the book is “not the cutting-edge design manifesto that some would expect,” explaining that “I’ve found that those finely crafted visions are not of much immediate use in the commu-

nities that I see as my baseline: Atlanta and the small towns across Georgia and the suburban United States.” Yet many of her case studies were successful to the extent that they were very carefully designed — even those in suburbs like Montclair, New Jersey, and Lancaster, California. McCann says little about design in this book and what she does say is of little use.

New urbanists get little credit in this book. They were responsible for the first national-scope, peer-reviewed design manual written by and for professional engineers — *Designing Walkable Urban Thoroughfares*. They’ve been fighting this battle, with many individual successes, for three decades. They have come up with the Transect, which McCann mentions briefly, which is very useful for design of complete streets. McCann describes a Sisyphean implementation process for complete streets. “While this web of internal policies, rules, standards, and guidelines can be overcome for a single project, it will keep catching future multimodal projects, forcing advocates to struggle toward a more inclusive outcome again and again.” That’s been the story of the New Urbanism, too: Rolling the boulder back up the hill endlessly. New urbanists and the complete streets advocates should get together more often, if for no other reason than to tell war stories.

And they need each other. Complete streets are among the nation’s most important challenges, but design does matter. Although the overall trend is overwhelmingly positive, some complete streets don’t look good or function well. If there is one lesson from complete streets, it’s that design and function are bound together. And we need to know more than just how to make streets useful for all transportation modes. We also need to understand what makes streets great. That may be a tall order for engineers, but we’d all be better off if more of them took an interest in that topic. This would round out the professional education of transportation engineers — some of whom could advance their careers in a world favoring complete streets.

New urbanists — and public officials, and transportation professionals — need McCann and the complete streets movement. Not only because their policies aid in improving our nation’s public realm and transportation system, but also to learn from the communication skills, strategic thinking, and sheer coalition-building power of McCann and her colleagues. Read *Completing Our Streets* and find out how she does it. ♦

Whitehall

FROM PAGE 3

inform how the project goes to market. “We get to see which styles get rave reviews, and which get booed. We get the likes, and not likes,” he says. The development is using three historical styles — Federal, Greek revival, and classic vernacular from historic towns such as New Castle, Delaware, and Chesapeake City and Chestertown, Maryland.

Many people in Delaware would appreciate living in a walkable environment, but historic cities that are appealing to the middle class are in limited supply. “The competition in Delaware for appealing urban places is not strong. Wilmington, the primary city, has a few revitalized neighborhoods but suffers from a high crime rate overall.” Another driver is schools, which are in bad shape in Wilmington, 20 miles to the north. Zillow ranks 13 of 14 city public schools in the bottom 3 out of 10. The elementary school that will serve Whitehall is ranked a 9. ♦

Two-way conversions to complete New Haven streets

In the late 1960s, many streets were converted from two-way to one-way in cities all across the US. This preceded the worst decade of urban decline in US history. There is no direct connection between the two events, but widespread one-way streets were one of many automobile-focused planning changes in cities in the decades after World War II that damaged urban places. The good news is that many cities and towns have an opportunity to repair that damage and encourage revitalization.

New Haven, Connecticut, has begun that process with a recent charrette that is proposing to convert 10 city streets from one-way back to two-way. At the same time, bicycle facilities are proposed to be expanded and bus routes simplified. In some cases, new landscaping is proposed.

The project deliberately avoided the conversion of three major one-way streets downtown. "The city wanted to see how the conversions of other streets worked out before tackling Elm Street and a couple of other streets," notes urban design writer Philip Langdon, a New Haven resident and contributing editor to *Better! Cities & Towns*.

"There may be a few complications yet to be worked through, but over all, as a 30-year resident of New Haven, I'd say the plan looks very good," he said. "We've needed to have many of the one-way streets made two-way for a long time."

A three-day design charrette was facilitated by Sarah Lewis, an architect with the engineering firm Fuss & O'Neill.

The one-way system was created in the 1960s when New Haven residents were fleeing to the suburbs, notes the *New Haven Independent*. Now they are coming back. "The task of the consultants, in conjunction with interested New Haveners: to create a new road grid to reflect a pedestrian- and bike-friendly, rather than car-centric, 'new urbanist' approach to developing the city."

The group's plans will set in motion a first phase of the work, which will involve preparing to relane roads, paint sharrows (road-sharing signals for cyclists) and erect new signs. The first phase will commence within one to three years, city transportation chief Jim Travers.



Existing Grove Street, top, is wide and fast-moving. The plan shows a median to narrow lanes. Below, the simpler plan for York Street allows a more immediate conversion with paint.



ers told the paper. "Depending on funding, a second phase—it might deal with such features as medians with plantings

decorating the new two-ways—would begin in approximately five years, said Travers." ♦

IMAGES COURTESY OF FUSS & O'NEILL

Bike-sharing shifts into high gear

This has been a great year for bike sharing. Two of the nation's biggest cities, New York and Chicago, rolled out high-profile, successful bike-share programs in 2013. These systems, like car-share, are making car-free — or car-reduced — living more practical in big cities across the US.

Citi Bike launched in late May with about 5,700 bicycles in 320 stations in the city's most compact, mixed-use neighborhoods (Manhattan south of Central Park, northwest Brooklyn, and a small part of Queens). If Citi Bike had failed, and many critics loudly proclaimed it would, the bike-sharing industry would have suffered a major setback in the glare of national news coverage. A few glitches did occur, mostly because the system was more popular than expected. Calls centers were swamped at first, but NYC Bike Share, the operator, quickly geared up.

"Today, the company has 54 employees in its Brooklyn call center, an in-house bike shop that repairs about 150 bikes each day and makes an additional 50 repairs in the field, and 11 rebalancing teams working three shifts to move about 2,500 bikes around the city daily," *Streetsblog* reported in October.

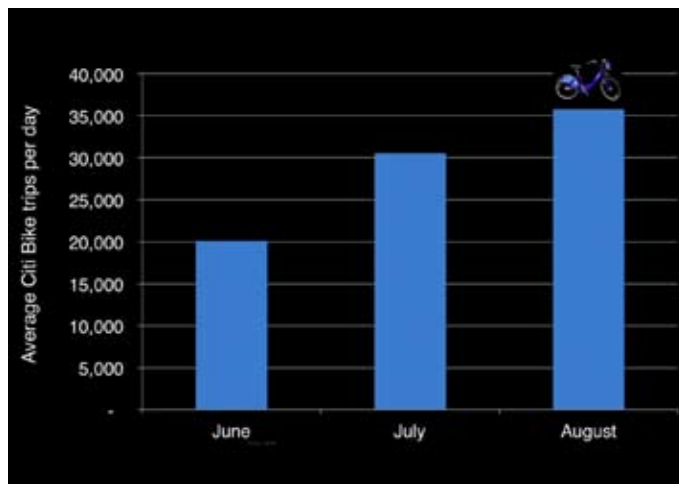
After a little more than three months, Citi Bike had 80,000 members — a third more than was projected for the end of the first year. Bike trips skyrocketed in the first three months, to more than 35,000 per day. Each bicycle is being used six times a day. Citi Bike, which required no government funding for startup or operations, has yet to prove itself financially sustainable in the long term. The system operates on advertising sponsorships and operating fees. Michael Bloomberg said Citi Bike is not yet profitable, but is close to breaking even. The city will split profits with Alta. Expansions are planned to the system, but no timeline has been announced. "I actually think you could quadruple what we have now," Jon Orcutt, the city's DOT policy manager, told *Streetsblog*.

DIVVY BIKE DEPLOYED

Divvy Bike in Chicago was launched this past June in the most intense, revitalized parts of town — from Hyde Park in the Southside through the Loop and extending into many Northside neighborhoods. The system initially deployed 750 bikes in 75 stations. In the first month, the city announced that more than 80,000 bicycle trips were taken, 250,000 miles were ridden, and the city had 24 corporate and community partners. Chicago quickly ramped up to 3,000 bikes in 300 stations, and next spring expects to add another 1,000 bikes in 100 more stations. Chicago's \$22 million system was launched with the aid of federal grants.

Like in New York, Chicago's system was met with media skepticism that quickly turned around as ridership exceeded expectations. One early *Chicago Tribune* article featured "bicycle riding lawyer" named William Choslovsky, who complained about the program's fees and supposed elitism, saying it was a government boondoggle that only serves tourists. Ninety days later, Choslovsky is reported to be a regular user of a system that is winning popular praise. Some of the busiest docking stations are at transit stations, indicating that Divvy Bike is useful to commuters.

With the addition of New York and Chicago, the number of bicycles in US bike-share programs doubled in 2013, but there



Citi Bike in New York grew rapidly in popularity, as the graph of daily trips shows. Below, Mayor Michael Bloomberg hops on while Transportation Commissioner Janette Sadik-Khan looks on.



is much room for expansion. Philadelphia recently put out a request for proposals for a program with 150 to 200 stations and 1,500 to 2,000 bicycles. Orlando Bike Share is planning a 2014 launch with 200 bicycles in 20 stations, with a long-term goal of 1,000 bicycles.

Bike-share systems are starting to be taken seriously as mass transit, but they only work in places with walkable, compact urbanism. They amount to another way to get around in optional communities.

Citi Bike and Divvy Bike are run by Alta Bike Share, which also runs systems in DC, Boston, the San Francisco Bay Area, and other cities. Alta uses bicycles and technology made by PBSC Urban Solutions of Montreal, which is having financial difficulties. The firm says its cash-flow problems resulting from fast international expansion will be resolved in 2014. It is not clear whether these troubles will affect the expansion of programs in New York and Chicago, or other systems. ♦

Sadik-Khan: Reimagine your streets

New York City Transportation Commissioner Janette Sadik-Khan is praised as one of the nation's great "inventors" in the November issue of *The Atlantic*, alongside Amazon-founder Jeff Bezos and father of the Internet Vint Cerf. "In her six years running New York City's streets, the legendarily data-driven Sadik-Khan has tangibly changed the city's landscape. Thanks to new open spaces (including a plaza in the middle of Times Square), hundreds of miles of bike lanes, and the nation's largest bike-share system, New York is now a friendly, pleasant place to navigate on foot or by bicycle — at least, more so than it used to be. Sadik-Khan has also pushed other cities to use transportation infrastructure as a catalyst for economic development," *The Atlantic* says.

One of Sadik-Khan's admirable qualities is apparent fearlessness: She has an ability to cut through red tape. Although "legendarily data-driven," she often goes ahead without preliminary data. "We've moved very quickly with paint and temporary materials — instead of waiting through years of planning studies and computer models" Sadik-Khan says in a "TED" talk that is available on ted.com. The data is then collected on the actual street — so far confirming positive results for most of the changes.

BICYCLE NETWORK EXPANDS

She and her soon-to-be-former boss, Michael Bloomberg, have dramatically expanded the city's bicycle network. Since 2000, bicycling has skyrocketed by 400 percent in New York City, while injuries from cycling have remained flat. Manhattan avenues with new bike lanes have seen a 47 percent rise in retail sales and a 49 percent drop in vacancies. This may be due to a better pedestrian environment on these streets: Automobiles are further removed from pedestrians while traffic is calmed. (See photo on page 1).

Sadik-Khan has converted 26 acres of streets in the five boroughs into more than 50 pedestrian plazas, with dozens more on the way. The most famous examples are on Broadway in and around Times Square, which used to be chaotic for traffic and dangerous to pedestrians. Since the changes, five new department stores have opened. "It's now one of the top 10 retail destinations in the world."



CREDIT: NYC DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

A gritty Brooklyn parking lot is painted and turned into a park and retail sales shot up 172 percent.

These plazas have improved retail sales in other parts of the city, as well.

She has also focused on improving bus service: Fifty-seven miles of bus lanes have been added, with pre-boarding sales of tickets from kiosks that contribute to speedier rides.

Many of these changes have been controversial. One paper called a Brooklyn bike lane "the most contested piece of real estate this side of the Gaza Strip." Overall, the initiatives have been popular. Polls show that 64 percent of New Yorkers favor the bike lanes, and 72

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REINVENTING REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT



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percent like the pedestrian plazas.

"It's possible to change your streets quickly," she says. "It's not expensive, it can provide immediate benefits, and it can be quite popular. You just need to reimagine your streets. They are hidden in plain sight." ♦

UPDATE

■ About 60 prominent urbanists met in October in Detroit, led by Andres Duany, to develop ideas of "Lean Urbanism." The conference was sponsored by the Kresge Foundation, which has been critical to helping Detroit through the lean years of financial crisis and population loss since 2008. Lean Urbanism is a set of ideas, aligned with New Urbanism, that revitalize cities in a way that is "lighter, cheaper, quicker." Lean Urbanism is about empowerment and an answer to gentrification. Unlike development projects requiring tens of millions in capital, Lean Urbanism can be undertaken with limited resources.

Lean Urbanism is about small-scale development on individual parcels. It's about buildings that don't require an elevator or structured parking (Lean Urbanism is greatly enabled by the elimination of minimum parking requirements). It's about codes that are streamlined and do not require the assistance of an attorney to understand. It's about development that makes use of existing infrastructure — and existing buildings — as

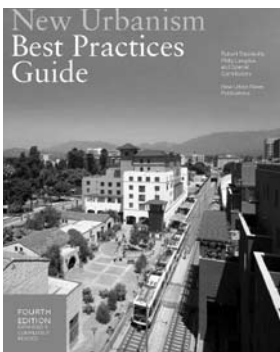
UPDATE

much as possible. It's about temporary improvements that test out ideas for transportation and public space, avoiding years spent on planning and computer modeling. Transforming streets and building plazas with paint is Lean. Construction that focuses on rental is Leaner than for-sale housing, according to developer/designer John Anderson, who attended the meeting.

The natural constituencies for Lean Urbanism are 1) Millennials, the entrepreneurial young adults who don't have the capital for traditional development; 2) Immigrants; and 3) Self-builders. The latter category includes blue-collar workers who are often ignored by demographic analyses and market studies for urban revitalization. These folks can thrive in a place like Detroit, where a large house can be purchased for \$5,000 and fixed up not far from downtown.

■ Los Angeles has embarked on what may be the biggest zoning rewrite in US history — a \$5 million, 5-year contract with Code Studio, based in Austin, Texas. Code Studio has, in turn, hired Torti Gallas and Partners, based in Los Angeles, as a subcontractor on the job. The challenge will be how to create a form-based code covering a city as diverse as Los Angeles, with 3.86 million people living in 503 square miles. The city has hundreds of neighborhoods and urban centers, both large and small. The final code may end up being, in ef-

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UPDATE

fect, many codes.

■ The City of Austin, Texas, is proposing a new development in a suburban neighborhood within city limits called **Colony Park**. A US HUD Sustainable Communities grant is funding the 208-acre master plan, which is in its early stages.

The demographics of the suburb — roughly split between African-Americans and Latinos — makes this project different from most traditional neighborhood developments that have been built to date.

The area is a disconnected suburb, built mostly in the 1970s, with few services. The closest food outlet is attached to a gas station about three-quarters of a mile away, according to Doug Farr of Farr Associates, the firm that has been hired by the city to draft a plan and code for the site. The Walkscore of the site (walkscore.com), is 7, which is totally automobile dependent.

The team will also include market and economic consultants to advise the city on how to proceed as master developer or to bring in a developer, like the Mueller Airport project — a mixed-use neighborhood built in the city by Catellus.

The project will probably include significant single-family detached housing, because that type dominates the market in the area. But the project will also likely have a large town center and a smaller one. It is connected to a planned future transit line.

Streets will be fully engineered in the project, so that it is

shovel ready.

■ The Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), which serves the 9.7 million population Chicagoland region, has put out a series of toolkits for planners, including *Form-Based Codes: A Step-by-Step Guide for Communities*. The 48-page document has earned the praise of the Form-Based Codes Institute, the national think-tank on coding reform. “A number of our board members have reviewed it and think very highly of it,” says Carol Wyant, executive director of the institute, which met with CMAP to “discuss how we might help them promote it nationally.” If you Google the title, the manual can be downloaded for free.

■ A huge migration, equivalent in many respects to the building of the suburbs in the latter half of the 20th Century, is underway that will transform cities and suburbs alike, Arthur C. Nelson writes in the recently released issue of *Planning Theory & Practice*. The US will add a hundred million people in coming decades, and that growth will focus on more walkable, mixed-use, environments, Nelson says. He calls this new era **The Fifth Wave**, or The Fifth Migration. (The Fourth Migration, predicted by Lewis Mumford in the 1920s, comprised the 100 million Americans who resettled in the suburbs in the decades after World War II. The first three migrations settled the continent and West, moved people from farms to towns, and created the great industrial cities).

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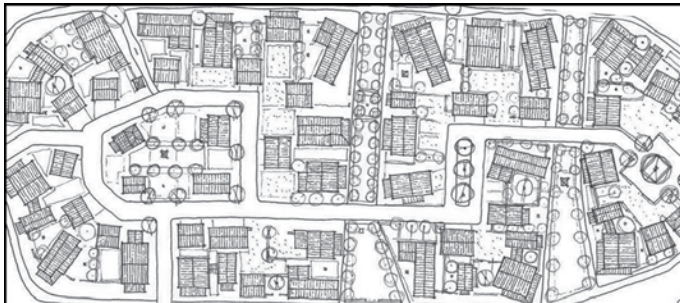
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During the Fifth Wave, some will move to cities, but many or most will relocate in suburbs, transforming them and making them more urban, Nelson predicts. "Preference surveys indicate that half or more Americans now want something other than what conventional suburbia offers, but for the most part they do not crave large, dense cities." To stay prosperous, he says, suburbs will have to change their character. "American suburbs may need to achieve a certain level of urbanity to be successful," he writes.

■ After a 25-year hiatus, **The Remaking Cities Conference** returned to Pittsburgh in October. The original conference, hosted by Prince Charles and attended by an influential group of urbanists, found a city in disarray and heading downhill after the collapse of the street industry.

Looking at pure demographics, you would think that the news is would be worse this time around. In the last quarter century, Pittsburgh has lost more than 60,000 people, a 17 percent decline. Yet according to writer Neal Peirce, who attended, today the story is much different.

"And what a difference a quarter century has wrought — underscored by Pittsburgh's stunning skyline, parks, open space and vibrant nightlife districts have replaced the moldering industrial hulks of yesteryear's heavy steel factories and their belching smokestacks," Peirce writes.

The city ranks high in livability and low cost of living, yet it has also managed to attract a "creative class" workforce. According to Peirce, one lesson is that "Cities grow by fostering the talent and earning potential of residents, and not by expanding populations." A key topic was how to do that while keeping the city "equitable and inclusive."

■ *The Boston Globe* reported that **motor vehicle registrations** have dropped by 50,000 in the last five years, even as population is growing. "There is ... evidence that automobile use is declining among Boston residents," the article reports. "The

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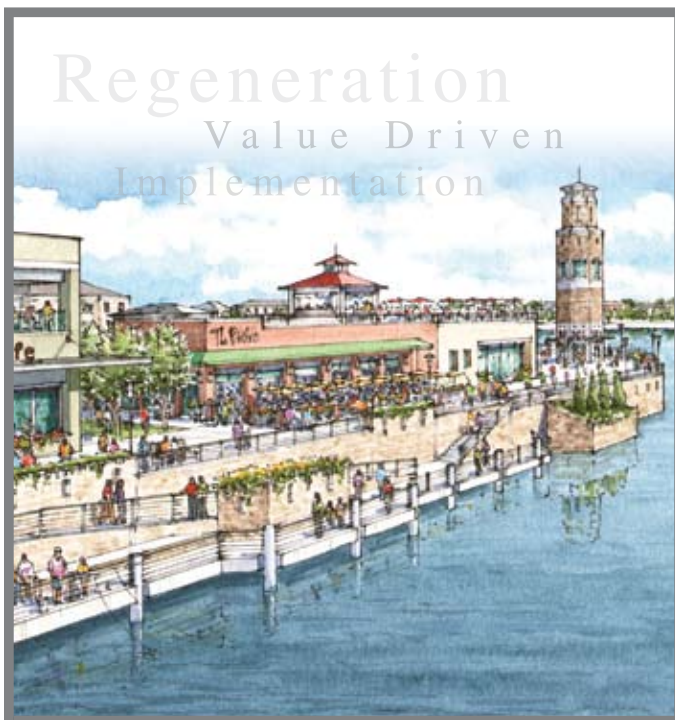
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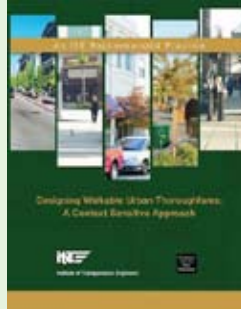
FHWA embraces CNU/ITE street design guide

Last month, the Federal Highways Administration released a memorandum officially endorsing CNU/ITE's manual *Designing Walkable Urban Thoroughfares: A Context Sensitive Approach*. The manual will serve as a complement to AASHTO's "Green Book" in transportation planning nationwide.

From the FHWA memo:

"This memorandum expresses the Federal Highway Administration's (FHWA) support for taking a flexible approach to bicycle and pedestrian facility design. The American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials (AASHTO) bicycle and pedestrian design guides are the primary national resources for planning, designing, and operating bicycle and pedestrian facilities. The National Association of City Transportation Officials (NACTO) Urban Bikeway Design Guide and the Institute of

Transportation Engineers (ITE) *Designing Urban Walkable Thoroughfares* guide builds upon the flexibilities provided in the AASHTO guides, which can help communities plan and design safe and convenient facilities for pedestrian and bicyclists. FHWA supports the use of these resources to further develop nonmotorized transportation networks, particularly in urban areas." (FHWA.dot.gov)



CNU/ITE manual

"FHWA's statement puts the ITE Street Guide front and center on every traffic engineer's desk," said CNU's John Norquist of the monumental announcement. "This is exactly what we hoped would happen." This endorsement bolsters CNU's call for "context sensitive solutions" in transportation matters and builds flexibility into transportation planning that will help to further promote livable communities that are compact, pedestrian-scaled, and open to all modes of transportation. ♦

Prestigious Charter Awards jury for '14

Jury chair Jeff Speck revealed an impressive list of urbanists that have agreed to judge the 2014 CNU Charter Awards, the global award for excellence in urban design. Speck handpicked an especially prominent jury to convene in January and review hundreds of entries from architecture, planning and design firms around the world (as well as student submissions).

The full list of jurors is as follows (in alphabetical order):

- **Ronald E. Bogle**, President & CEO of the American Architectural Foundation
- **Will Bruder**, FAIA, President and Lead Design Architect at Will Bruder Architects
- **Adele Chatfield-Taylor**, President & CEO of the American Academy in Rome
- **Manny Diaz**, Mayor of Miami 2001-2009, Partner at Lydecker Diaz, LLP
- **Rob Krier**, Architect and Sculptor, KK Urbanism
- **Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk**, Principal, Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company
- **Michaele Pride**, Professor of Architecture at the University of New Mexico
- **Brent Toderian**, city planner and urbanist, Toderian UrbanWORKS



Michaele Pride

Plater-Zyberk, one of the founders of the Congress for the New Urbanism, Dean Emeritus of the Department of Architecture at the University of Miami and Principal at DPZ Associates, was a no-brainer: Speck worked under her at DPZ for a decade, and calls her a mentor. Air-lifting Rob Krier in from his home base in Berlin was a coup, as was securing the participation of Chatfield-Taylor, who is much more accustomed to running juries than serving on them. Perhaps the wild card of the bunch is Will Bruder, an iconoclastic Arizona-based architect who is known for his modernist masterpieces, but who has impressed Speck with his "commitment to the city-making principles put forth in the Charter of the New Urbanism."

The 2014 Charter Awards began accepting submissions on November 8th, 2013 and will close January 8th, 2014. ♦

Call for new urban research

Since 2008 at CNU XVI in Austin, CNU has showcased innovative academic papers at the annual Congress. Submissions are now being accepted for academic papers representing this year's selected topics:

- New Urbanism & Transportation
- Urban Design Education

Papers that focus on New Urbanism & Transportation should address critical discussion and practice of New Urbanism with respect to transportation. Topics include (but are not limited to) performance measures, travel and traffic behavior/psychology, road safety, transit networks, bikeway networks, street vitality, and highways to boulevards.

For papers dealing with Urban Design Education, CNU is looking for academic investigations that address questions of tradition and/or innovation in the education of urban design students or in the construction and deployment of responsive urban design programs.

Papers will be peer-reviewed by at least two members of a distinguished international group of professionals and scholars. Selection will be based on depth of content, methodological rigor, advancement to the topic, and overall significance to the practice of urban design.

Winners will present their papers at CNU 22 in Buffalo and have their papers published on CNU.org. Contact: callforpapers@cnu.org. ♦

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UPDATE

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number of vehicles registered in the city has dropped by nearly 14 percent in the past five years, from 362,288 in 2008 to about 311,943 today, according to the Registry of Motor Vehicles.”

Meanwhile, Boston’s population grew by 4.8 percent from 2000 to 2010. That growth has accelerated in the last two years. Boston gained 19,000 people, or 3.1 percent, from 2010 to 2012. At that pace, the population will rise by 15 percent this decade, more than any decade since beginning of the 20th century.

At the current average cost of car ownership, \$9,100/year, Boston residents are saving more than \$450 million annually by owning fewer cars.

■ Who knew that Atlanta, a poster-child city for suburban sprawl, is fertile ground for mixed-use, compact development? Fifty percent of the region’s development and 60 percent of “income property” are now being built in Walkable Urban Places (WalkUPs), reports Christopher Leinberger of the George

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Washington University’s Center for Real Estate and Urban Analysis.

These “WalkUPs” amount to less than 1 percent of the region’s land, according to the *The WalkUP Wake-Up Call: Atlanta*. WalkUPs as “regionally significant” urban centers that average 16 times the density of the region as a whole. They command a 112 percent price premium per square foot compared to automobile-oriented

commercial development. This Atlanta report is the second for Leinberger on WalkUPs: The first, published in 2012, found similar trends in the Washington DC region.

■ Unlike previous generations, **Millennials** are unlikely to move to distant suburbs in droves as soon as they start raising families, according to a just-released study by the American Public Transportation Association based in Washington, DC.

The study focused on the transportation and living preferences for the Millennial generation, here defined as born from 1982 through 2003.

This survey of 1,000 generational cohorts was focused on six metro areas—Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland (OR), and Washington, DC.

The vast majority of Millennials in this survey either live in the city (56 percent), or in a close-in suburb (34 percent). Only 10 percent live in far suburbs. Those who own vehicles prefer a suburban lifestyle only to a slightly higher degree.

When Millennials have a child, they are more likely to buy a car. But they are not likely to move to the suburbs. Only 21 percent of this group moved to the suburbs in the last two years, and 23 percent of them intend to do so in the next five years.

■ Jeff Speck’s *Walkable City* is now out in paperback for only \$16. Every urbanist should read this book. Also, check out Speck’s new TED talk (ted.com). He has taken arguments from the book and polished them in many presentations. Speck uses no slides, and the book has no images. No matter. This is one of the best TED talks on urban planning that you are likely to see. ♦

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