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An Analysis of Sprawl and its Alternatives

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by

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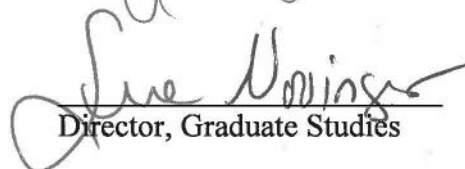An Analysis of Sprawl and its Alternatives

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Introduction

The suburbs have been an integral part of American history since the mid-nineteenth century, a period in which cities began growing in an exponential manner. Over the last one hundred and fifty years, urban and suburban areas and what defines them have undergone an incredible metamorphosis. These changes can be identified in the political, social, and economic arenas; some examples include immigration, federal housing policies, single family houses, industrialization, racial discrimination and segregation, and the development of rural lands away from the city center.

Since the end of World War II, much has been written about the topic of urban and suburban sprawl. Most of the writers and historians that I will introduce in this historiography have criticized sprawl as an inefficient development of land. There are a few writers that I studied, however, who are convinced that sprawl's positives outweigh the negatives. Many writers of works on sprawl analyzed in this paper are not historians or history professors; I believe their credentials as economists, city planners, and geographers make them even more qualified to discuss the issue of sprawl than an average historian because they directly work in urban studies.

One of the most successful alternatives to sprawl and a popular trend in recent years is mixed-use development, on which I conducted original research in my hometown of Henrietta, NY. Mixed-use development is using a plot of land for more than one purpose. In most cases, mixed-use land contains commercial, industrial, and residential aspects. In the last section of this thesis, I will connect research to teaching by assigning students a project to better understand the town they live in. Various research methods are offered for the students to use, with interviews being the primary method taught.

Part One

Urban and Suburban Sprawl: A Historiography

Defining Urban and Suburban Sprawl

The best way to define urban and suburban sprawl is to focus on the word "sprawl". The famous geographer Jean Gottmann defined it as "the spread of urban development beyond the limits of city boundaries." [1] Quite predictably the words urban and city are in the definition. This is because the historiography on the issue of sprawl deals primarily with an urban area expanding. In more recent times, however, the idea of sprawling suburbs has entered into the historical literature, as newer suburbs that are farther away from the center city (downtown) are expanding metropolitan areas well beyond their prior established boundaries. This phenomenon has occurred predominately in the South and Southwest of the U.S. (the Sunbelt). According to urban historian Becky Nicolaides, author of the acclaimed exposé of working-class Los Angeles suburbs entitled My Blue Heaven, "many Sunbelt cities came of age when the suburbs were reaching their heyday in America." [2] Cities like Miami, Dallas, Phoenix, and San Diego have sprawled since World War II in a manner that is consistent with suburban development. In contrast, older Eastern cities like New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, whose population explosion was before World War II, sprawled in an urban style.

It was out of these older Eastern cities that American suburbs first developed. Originally suburbs were characterized as places that middle and upper-middle class whites went to escape from the city and all its different cultures. The draw of the suburbs traditionally was the open spaces and opportunity to own a home. In a historiography

review essay for Stanford University, Margaret Pugh O'Mara stated, "suburban history is, more than anything else, a story in which property equals power." [3] People wanting to have their own space away from the clutter of typical city living helped urban areas sprawl all over the counties that the cities were a part of.

Urban Sprawl in Historical Literature

As stated earlier, historians and other professionals have been writing about the relationship between the city and the suburbs for many years. The literature has increased in volume and quality since the explosion of the American suburbs after World War II when middle-class whites were joined by GI's returning from war and their families in an exodus out of the city. Most of the early historians on sprawl wrote about it in negative terms; however, their opinions appear to be products of their environments, as one of the conclusions from the 1964 conference on Urban Sprawl at Southern Illinois in Carbondale was that to the common man sprawl has a "bemoaning connotation, it is not likeable." [4] In the compilation, Metropolis on the Move, Gottmann claims that "the teachings of Plato, Jefferson, Thoreau, and Emerson castigated all urban growth." [5] The Southern Illinois conference of 1964 is one of the more well-known gatherings on the topic of sprawl to date. Gottmann and Robert Harper edited the major speeches of the conference in the already mentioned Metropolis on the Move. Professors from around the country "weighed in" on issues of urban sprawl ranging from its international ramifications to predictions about how sprawl will affect the future of civilization. The conference had this five-fold agenda: 1) focus on the spread of the urban phenomenon; 2) analyze the process of sprawl and how to better understand it; 3) change the definition of urban sprawl because the meaning of urban is too fluid to have a stable definition; 4)

establish that flow and sprawl are tied to transportation and traffic; and 5) explain that the mode of life that people are used to is the hardest to change because they are attached to it. [6]

In his keynote address as the guest speaker from the University of Paris, Gottmann declared urban sprawl a blend of metropolis and small-town. He made sure to note that, "life in a nice one-family detached structure, surrounded by a piece of green and with easy access to the place of work, is an extremely common desire among the majority of people in America and elsewhere." [7] In essence, the so-called American Dream was also the British Dream, French Dream, Italian Dream, and even the communist Soviet Dream. City planners of the 1950's and 1960's were caught in a design dilemma of attempting to fulfill the average citizen's desire to have a lifestyle that combined the advantages of rural setting and urban life, without the disadvantages of both. The speakers at the Carbondale conference analyzed how viable an option the suburbs were to meet the needs of those who wanted the mix between urban and rural.

Suburbs as a "Solution" to the Sprawl Crisis

By the early 1960's urban sprawl took on a different form in America than it did in many European countries. While the perception was that in America things were unorganized and inefficient because of too much sprawl, things in Europe were potentially worse because there was not enough urban sprawl. The lack of urban development in the European countries was often due to governmental policies aimed at keeping sprawl in check. For example, French law gave local governments the right to control urban sprawl and its spatial patterns. [8] Local governments in America had such rights as well, but since post World War II was the era of the·expanding metropolis in the

U.S., much of the city planning efforts went into spreading (sprawling) the urban areas over a greater percentage of land instead of restraining it. A result of the American attitude of urban expansion was a new type of suburb.

Prior to the 1950's the suburbs were generally built near the city and had a distinct urban look to them. As members of the conference concluded in step four of their five-fold agenda, flow and sprawl are tied to transportation and traffic. What that meant in terms of design and appearance of the suburbs was a greater distance spatially from the center city (downtown) area and a less urban look for the land. These new suburbs, Levittown in New York, Naperville near Chicago, and South Gate in Los Angeles to name a few, attempted to fulfill the American Dream by being that already mentioned ideal mix of urban and rural. The panelists of the Carbondale conference concluded their efforts with ideas of how to make sprawl, which they believed necessary to economic growth in the nation, a planned and efficient process. Their conclusions called for a team effort between local and state governments, as well as urban planners, economists, and geographers.

Cases Studies that Led to Policy Changes

The research that historians had done in the early and middle part of the 20th century was compiled as a guide to help experts in their attempt to solve the urgent problems of urban and suburban America. One of the first studies of "organized urban sprawl planning" was the 1928 Regional Plan of the New York Metropolitan area. This plan served as a pioneering and quality example of developers analyzing what they do and the effects of their actions. The analysis was achieved by answering two key long-term questions: "What is now happening in the huge region? And what might replace

what is now happening that would be better in the long run?" [9] The plan involved the most talented people in the various fields involved to make suggestions on what course of action the Greater New York Area needed to take to answer these two questions. New methods of population projections were created, and planner Clarence Perry developed the concept of using the neighborhood unit as the way to plan a community. Engineers came up with the idea of a "spider-web system" for metro transportation and Sir Raymond Unwin posited that transportation problems of the present could be solved by better land-use distributions and improvements to the already existing highway, rail, and waterway systems. [10]

The New York Regional Plan gave the area the capability to manage the tremendous number of people who converged on the metropolis daily. In agreement with the common thinking on crowded urban areas of the day, the Plan received its fair share of criticism for allowing an already densely populated region to become even more densely populated. Regardless of critical reaction to the plan, the New York Regional Plan started an era of case studies designed to see how urban areas were tackling the issue of sprawl. Gottmann and Harper's book, Metropolis on the Move, goes on to detail ten other studies on the various aspects of sprawl in a wide variety of regions of the United States (most notably in the Eastern Seaboard area known as the Megalopolis or Bos-Wash, from Boston to Washington D.C.). Another of the more notable studies conducted was the Bureau of Roads Studies in the 1940's, which was The Federal Bureau of Public Roads' response to mounting public dissatisfaction over increasing traffic in many sprawling urban and new suburban areas. [11] What the Bureau discovered was that the traditional way of planning traffic was ineffective and becoming outdated. A new

improvement that resulted from the study was that when roads were being planned, calculated predictions of new traffic caused by road improvements needed to be figured in before the specifications for the road work were implemented.

It is interesting to note the variety of subjects that these case studies offered for the fight against sprawl. The only study that was still going on as the book was being printed in 1967 was the Hartford, Connecticut Area Study. This particular study dealt with government policies and services and the managing of the tax base. There were several different alternatives proposed to local legislature by planners, economists, geographers, and other relevant professionals. Hartford's politicians generally agreed on a certain option that they felt would make the metropolis more productive and livable. "This option was initially rejected on the grounds that it implied changes in the Connecticut tax structures that were hard to envision." [12] Elected officials of Hartford and the towns surrounding it reviewed the plan and decided that the potential tax revenues would be too good to pass up; however Hartford's residents would not find the plan as palatable. The politicians' strong belief in the plan led them to conduct an extensive study into how they could use their governmental power to change policy and restructure tax bases in order to make their plan appealing to the people of the Hartford area. Unfortunately for my purposes in this paper, I have thus far been unable to uncover the results of this plan by Hartford officials to control their urban and suburban sprawl.

Is Sprawl Good or Bad for a City?

This is an open-ended question. There are many conclusions to be drawn from this question, and each one's opinion, whether professional or not, is valid. I was pleasantly surprised to see someone lend an opinion on urban sprawl in the October 1970

edition of the magazine Art Education. Charles William Brubaker wrote a short and very interesting piece entitled *Urban Growth Policy*. While this article doesn't belong on the same level as Kenneth Jackson's book Crabgrass Frontier and Robert Fishman's Bourgeois Utopias, which were written in the 1980's and helped define historical study about the suburbs and urban sprawl, Brubaker does an impressive job in stating the layman's concerns about how urban areas will grow in the future. Washington D.C. is his primary focus and he laments the projections of the city's population growth by the year 2000. His thesis statement is very telling and reflective of the general national attitude toward urban sprawl in the early 1970's: "The United States continues to grow without intent, without policy, and without design." [13] This is an obvious assumption that governments are simply allowing uncontrollable growth with no plan on how to deal with the consequences. Although not necessarily true, this was a popular belief back then, and even today many people who prefer smaller urban areas still believe it. However, Brubaker's thesis does have some basis and he presents his case very well.

In 1970, metropolitan Washington D.C. had roughly 3 million people. A study around that time called the "Year 2000 Plan" projected there would be slightly over 5 million people in the D.C. area by the year 2000. Further study by the Metro Councils of Governments changed the expected growth total from 5 million people to 9 million. [14] These reports were revealing that Washington was going to sprawl at an uncontrollable rate unless some kind of policy was to be enacted to stop it. Brubaker's concerns stemmed from the example of the most populated section of the country, the New York City area. Some researchers believed that many of New York City's problems like "transportation woes, power failures, telephone troubles, high costs, pollution, and of

course urban sprawl, are directly caused by sheer size, by too many people and by high density." [15] Generations before World War II typically lived in large urban areas that were densely populated because they believed that it was more efficient and economically stable than smaller urban areas. After the war there was a paradigm shift in planning and design, to more spread out and less crowded urban areas, which created a "new wave" of suburbs.

Brubaker's article supports the idea of having a national policy for urban growth. This idea for a national policy came from the Advisory Commission of Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR). The ACIR recommended establishing a national policy that would coordinate with individual state policies for economic growth and urban development. [16] ACIR believed that government spending policies influence where growth occurs, so if sprawl happens in an area, it is often linked to how the local government allocates its resources. If the idea that government spending policy controls growth is true, then when asking the question, "is sprawl good or bad for a city?" the answer will depend upon how that particular city's politicians and citizens feel their resources are best allocated, toward constant unplanned growth (sprawl), or toward limited, orchestrated growth.

Brubaker ended his article with five alternatives to uncontrolled and unplanned urban sprawl. One was the idea of *New Towns*, which was used at the time in Europe as a planned, less congested alternative to suburbia. Another idea was *New Cities*, or cities built at logical locations where no city currently exists. An example of this is Washington D.C., which was purposely built as the nation's capital in an area where a city did not exist previously. The idea behind this is that instead of adding new

developments to the outskirts of already existing cities and therefore creating sprawl and new suburbs, new urban areas would be started in a place that is not near other developed land and will not contribute to sprawl. His other ideas for sprawl control included rebuilding parts of existing cities, gradually growing existing towns, and giving new developments a design that fits the region of the country that it is in, not the current national trend of "cookie-cutter" developments. [17]

The Relationship between Density and Sprawl

When talking about geography and population, the terms density and urban (and suburban) sprawl go hand-in-hand. Richard B. Peiser demonstrated this relationship in his article entitled, *Density and Urban Sprawl* in the August 1989 edition of the periodical Land Economics. He started with the familiar thesis that one of the fundamental criticisms of urban sprawl is that it leads to inefficient and costly patterns of development. The definition of sprawl used in this case is one that David Mills and Marion Clawson had each used independently, that it is, "the lack of continuity in expansion." [18] In brief summary, this means that in developing areas sprawl makes the urbanized land larger than it would normally be because undeveloped tracts still remain among the developed subdivisions. Therefore, instead of having a central city or town surrounded by developed suburbs with undeveloped rural areas outside the suburbs, in areas of urban and suburban sprawl there is development mixed with non-development for miles outside the city. After the baby boom, many suburban areas became these sprawling eyesores that were still drawing the ire of both civilians and politicians into the 1980's.

It was during the 1980's that some of the best literature written on the suburbs was produced. As mentioned before, Crabgrass Frontier and Bourgeois Utopias were the two most critically acclaimed pieces written during the 1980's and like most of the literature up until that time, urban sprawl was portrayed negatively in those books. Peiser's article differed from the typical position of most of the literature on sprawl in that it displayed sprawl in a favorable light.

Using data from a three-county study that he conducted over time and research from historians who had previously made the claim that sprawl wasn't as bad as it was purported to be, Peiser set out to conclude that urban sprawl's positives outweighed its negatives. One of the main arguments that people have against sprawl is that it creates a low-density, spread-out landscape. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Peiser tried to prove that anti-sprawl policies were not necessarily in the public's best interest. He also tried to prove that "a freely functioning urban land market with discontinuous patterns of development (sprawl) inherently promotes higher density development." [19] Like J.C. Ohls and David Pines concluded in their study entitled *Discontinuous Urban Development and Economic Efficiency* in the August 1975 edition of Land Economics, Peiser believed that low-density urban development was inefficient. This is because it increases transportation costs, wastes land because it uses more than is needed, and increases the cost of public utilities and services. [20]

One reason that Peiser, and those whose theories his data supported, believe that sprawl is necessary and good is because the housing market can operate as a free enterprise, not bound by governmental control. The main reason though for their belief is the idea that the discontinuous development that is a result of sprawl will be followed

later by what planners call infill. Infill is the "filling-up" of already developed land so that it is not a necessity to develop new areas. Patience is the key for this type of land usage, because while sprawled areas will not be very efficient early on, those that support sprawl believe that over time these areas will fill up (infill), become more high-density, and therefore increase the economic efficiency of the land in the long run. While not in support of government policy on urban sprawl that would restrict the natural flow of the land market, this article does take into consideration that there has to be some planned growth as well. In his conclusion Peiser states, "A delicate balance must be struck between policies which control or reduce sprawl and policies that inadvertently increase sprawl by incorrectly pricing costs of development at the urban fringe." [21] There are two things that both proponents and opponents of urban sprawl can agree on which are also supported by research. First, higher land prices lead to higher density land areas (ex. New York City compared to Rochester). Second, high-density land areas tend to run with more efficiency than low-density land areas.

<div align="center">The Transformation of the Suburbs</div>

Urban sprawl has had a tremendous effect on the suburbs in America. Though the suburbs existed long before the 1950's and have changed greatly since then, by the late 1980's and early 1990's the stereotype of the suburbs was still the middle-class 1950's nuclear family. In his article, *Stressed out in Suburbia* in the November 1989 edition of The Atlantic, Nicholas Leamann writes that this stereotype has lasted because the volume of information about the American middle-class and suburbia was greater in the 1950's than any other era in United States history. [22] In the fields of journalism, sociology, and fiction writing there was a tremendous amount written about the middle-class, post-war,

baby boom generation. Unlike suburbanites of previous generations, the baby boomers were living predominantly in a one family home with yard space and one or more cars. Leamann believes that people's perceptions on suburbia today come more from what they remember growing up than from what they know or are experiencing as adults. He states that, "While we've been glorifying the suburbs of the fifties, the suburbs of the eighties have been evolving into places quite different." [23] The suburb of the 1950's was not only predominantly middle-class, but also mostly white and residential. By the 1980's the suburbs had evolved to become more commercial and more racially and socially diverse. Though the one family home was still common, apartment complexes and housing tracts were beginning to define the suburban landscape. A suburbanite of the 1950's generally worked downtown in the nearest city, requiring a commute to the city. In the 1980's many suburbanites were working in their own or another suburb and did not have to commute to the city.

The new type of suburb that was established by the 1980's experienced rapid growth because of the commercial explosion in these areas. Historians coined new names for these modern suburbs; several common ones were urban villages, edge cities, and technoburbs. These "new suburbs" were popping up all over the country. Leamann uses Naperville, Illinois as an example of a suburb in transformation. This town thirty miles west of Chicago had a population growth from 1950 to 1990 of about 76,000 people. The population growth every ten years is what is really amazing. In 1950, Naperville had roughly 7,000 residents, by 1960 it was 13,000, in 1970 it was 22,600, by 1980 there were 42,600 residents, and finally in 1990 there were 83,000 people in the Chicago suburb. [24] Such growth over a relatively short amount of time is due to the

already mentioned commercialization of suburbs like Naperville and the increasing numbers of minorities making their homes in the suburbs. The drive from Chicago to Naperville to nearby Aurora is the perfect picture of urban sprawl. As you leave Chicago going west, you pass through the older suburbs, which have the appearance of still being in the city. After going through a short stretch of undeveloped land, you find the suburbs again in booming Oak Brook. Another similar short stretch of rural land and you are in Naperville, which after another small rural area you are in the old, small town of Aurora. While Oak Brook and Naperville were mostly rural before World War II, these places now teem with urban sprawl. As Leamann puts it, "Subdivisions back up onto cornfields. Mirrored-glass office parks back up onto convenience-store parking lots. Most trees are saplings." [25] The suburbanites of the 1950's would probably be amazed at the transformation of the suburbs since those days. It has only been in the last 20+ years that the literature on the suburbs has changed with the suburbs themselves, away from the "Leave it to Beaver" stereotype to the reality of the suburbs' ever-changing demographics.

The "Real" City

Urban sprawl, in conjunction with suburban sprawl, has caused the definition of the city to undergo a metamorphosis. According to David Rusk, author of the book Cities Without Suburbs, the real city is the total metropolitan area, which is the city and the suburbs combined. The U.S. Census Bureau definition of a metropolitan area is "a geographic area consisting of a large population nucleus together with adjacent communities which have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus." [26] As I mentioned before, the post World War II era is seen as the dividing time

period between old urbanization and newer urbanization. Immediately after the war, urban America was still concentrated in the inner cities. A few decades later, urban sprawl shifted the concentration of urban America from the city to the suburbs.

Rusk gives these statistics to demonstrate the shift of urban population from the city to the suburbs. In 1950, 70% of the population of the 168 metropolitan areas in the United States lived in central cities. Central cities are defined as an urbanized area that is a contiguous, densely settled territory with at least 50,000 people. By 1990, there were 320 metropolitan areas in the United States, and only 40% of this population lived in central cities. [27] To reinforce the Leamann article, Rusk notes that by the 1990s the suburbs were no longer residential communities for people with city-based jobs. In fact, a majority of jobs in metro areas were located in the suburbs. [28] Not only were jobs leaving the city for the suburbs, but quite often the school systems and public services in the suburbs were superior to those of the inner city. These are some of the advantages which established the suburbs as a more ideal place to live than the city.

It is interesting to note that the high-water mark for many cities in terms of population took place in the 1950 census. Of the twelve biggest cities in America as of 1990, New York City and Los Angeles were the only two cities that did not have a peak in population in 1950. [29] Over the next four decades after 1950, the urban growth in the United States can be generalized as low-density and suburban style. To demonstrate this concept, by 1990 the overall density in the central cities in America was 2,937 people per square mile. That is practically half the overall density of central cities in 1950, when there were 5,873 people per square mile. [30] The density decrease was not only due to more American-born minorities moving to the suburbs, but also new immigration

patterns in which immigrants were moving right into the suburban areas instead of the city. One point that Rusk makes over and over again is the difference in growth potential between what he terms elastic and inelastic cities. An elastic city, no matter the population, is one whose density is generally low. In contrast an inelastic city is one that has a high population density. The elastic city has greater growth potential because it has undeveloped land within its boundaries that can fill up (infill) as needed. The inelastic city is often near or at the end of its boundaries, so growth can only happen by increasing density (making the area more crowded). As one could probably surmise by population changes in the United States since World War II, most cities that are elastic are in the Sunbelt (Southeast, Southwest and West) and most of the inelastic cities are in the North and Midwest.

Sunbelt cities have seemingly exploded in population because they have the ability to do something that Rusk believes is very important to urban sprawl, which is to annex (acquire) land from surrounding territory. [31] A typical annexation brings a city undeveloped land which they will urbanize; on more rare occasions existing communities will be annexed by a bigger city. Throughout the entirety of his book, Rusk makes comparisons between seven groups, each containing two cities and their metropolitan areas. In each group there is one elastic city and one inelastic city. Over the forty year time period from 1950 to 1990 that Rusk used in his study, all fourteen metropolitan areas had population increases, but the elastic cities grew at a much greater rate. The table below shows the increases that Rusk compiled in his study.

Growth of Selected Metropolitan Areas from 1950 to 1990 [32]

Elastic Cities	% Population Growth	Inelastic Cities	% Population Growth
Houston, TX	174%	Detroit, MI	35%
Columbus, OH	89%	Cleveland, OH	19%
Nashville, TN	96%	Louisville, KY	50%
Indianapolis, IN	72%	Milwaukee, WI	41%
Albuquerque, NM	230%	Syracuse, NY	42%
Madison, WI	117%	Harrisburg, PA	47%
Raleigh, NC	142%	Richmond, VA	87%

The elastic and inelastic cities that share the same row were paired by Rusk because they had "roughly the same amount of new-home buyers and about the same percentage of Black population metro-wide." [33] As shown by the chart, the metropolitan areas that are farther North (one exception being Harrisburg, which is south of Madison) had less population growth than those farther South. Likewise, the metros that are farther East (one exception being Milwaukee, which is west of Indianapolis) had a smaller population growth than those farther West. Rusk uses a chart that demonstrates how sprawl helped increase elastic cities' population, but inability to sprawl actually helped decrease inelastic cities' population.

Some Central Cities Have Grown; Others Have Shrunk [34]

Elastic Central Cities	% Population Growth	Inelastic Central Cities	% Population Growth
Houston, TX	174%	Detroit, MI	-44%
Columbus, OH	68%	Cleveland, OH	-45%
Nashville, TN	180%	Louisville, KY	-27%
Indianapolis, IN	71%	Milwaukee, WI	-1%
Albuquerque, NM	297%	Syracuse, NY	-26%
Madison, WI	99%	Harrisburg, PA	-42%
Raleigh, NC	217%	Richmond, VA	-12%

The Politics of Urban Policy in 20th Century America

Politics plays a very important role in the creation or reduction of urban sprawl. In the September 5, 1994 edition of the weekly magazine The New Republic, an interesting article by Alex Gibney entitled *Suburban blight: Glendale, vicious Glendale* explored how local politics affected the way that suburban towns were planned. Gibney's native Glendale, California was the subject of his case study, and he took a look at the political and social changes that the town has undergone. A suburb of Los Angeles, Glendale is like other California suburbs according to Gibney, "… the apotheosis of the American dream, mixing the romance of the frontier with the predictability of a small town." [35] Glendale had all the amenities of the stereotypical suburban town – lawns, friendly neighbors, and highly successful schools. As the demographics of Glendale changed, it became less like the traditional suburb. Longtime residents of Glendale tended to be conservative Republicans; however, as their town began to be more racially diverse; the longtime residents became more reactionary in their politics.

The way the state of California zones its districts is partly responsible for the conservative domination in the Glendale area. It is part of the 27th district and the Democratic Party, who has long controlled the redistricting of the state, sought to bunch Republicans there. The town has the unfortunate legacy of being a magnet for white supremacists. According to Gibney, "the white supremacists are known to spray swastikas in public places and, in a peculiar nod to suburban convention, to apply for barbecue permits in order to burn crosses on neighborhood lawns." [36] Like in most suburban places in America, Glendale was vastly different in 1994 (when the article was

written) than what it was in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. As a result of the population shifts over time, the local voter registration in 1994 tallied about 1,500 more Democrats than Republicans. There are more young voters in Glendale than ever before, a larger lower-middle class population, and so much immigration that over half of the town's schoolchildren speak English as a second language. [37] Glendale, California in 1994 serves as a good example of how politics can transform an urban or suburban area.

In his book review of *Urban Policy in Twentieth Century America*, Joe T. Darden takes a broader look at how politics affect urban life than Gibney's article on Glendale. Darden's piece is in the December 1994 edition of Urban Studies. The book is based on a 1990 seminar on urban history conducted by well known urban historian Raymond Mohl at the University of New Orleans. Darden states that, "the book covers a great many topics, from poverty in early New York City, black residential segregation in the United States, black political power in the urban South, race and space in Miami, and the role of sunbelt cities in the world economy." [38] The seminar evaluates America's urban policy from 1900 to 1990. There has not been only one American urban policy during this time so the book makes some generalizations. The main generalization made about urban policy is that it can best be characterized by two competing interests, free enterprise and social justice. [39] Arnold Hirsch, a contributor to the book, believes that black residential segregation is a comprehensive example of the conflict of interests. Government policies have in many cases been aimed at creating 'fair' living opportunities for minorities, but not at the expense of the housing market being controlled by law. Therein is the dichotomy that politicians and urban planners must deal with to ensure the rights of the producers and consumers in the residential market. Though

Darden generally agrees with the book's thesis on the two competing interests, he believes it is often lacking in details to back up any claims being made. For instance in Hirsch's chapter on residential segregation, he doesn't detail too many housing policies that failed black people, nor does he give an opinion on what future policies are needed to address the problem.

Mohl does put forth what Darden calls the best example of the impact of policy in the chapter dedicated to what Interstate 95 has done to the black community in Miami. The policy of expressway building in Miami's metropolitan area was a reflection of how most urban areas across the nation built their expressways. Unfortunately the trend for obtaining land to build new highways is to remove low-income housing. This trend disproportionately affects minorities, and the minorities in Mohl's example are blacks. The U.S. expressway route in question upset the residential part of the Overton community in Miami. What makes this similar to other displacements for highway building is that "unlike urban renewal, federal policy dealing with highway construction did not require relocation assistance for those blacks who were uprooted." [40] This issue of federal usurping of residential lands to build roads did not get modified to assist the displaced with housing options until the Federal Highway Act of 1962 required municipalities to help the affected residents. The law effectively made sure that road planning had to be done in conjunction with the urban and metropolitan planning of a given area.

The most interesting section within the book was David Goldfield's chapter on persistent poverty of blacks in the urban South. What is strange about the urban South since the 1980's is that while "the black-middle class has expanded; there has not been a

corresponding decline in black poverty." [41] In fact, the 1980's and 1990's saw an increase in Southern blacks below the poverty line, and the disparity in employment between blacks and whites was increasing. To make this situation more curious is the fact that since 1965 there has been a general increase in black elected officials and political power in the South. With this political shift taking place, one cannot so easily blame policies as the main culprit for social and economic injustice to Southern blacks. Darden was pretty critical of the book for not assessing policies thoroughly enough and for having what he perceived as a lack of a coherent theme. Despite its apparent weaknesses, the compilation from the conference delved into some interesting topics.

<div align="center">The Suburbs and the American Middle Class</div>

Middle-class, as stated often before, has long been the class that American suburbia is most connected to. In contrast, when one thinks of an urban area, especially an inner-city, lower class is often the expectation of the residents' economic status. Andrew Wiese, a well known urban historian and author, wrote a compelling historiography in his article *Suburbia: middle class to the last?* It appeared in the September 1997 issue of the Journal of Urban History (1997 was a year that much was written on the topics of urban and suburban life and sprawl). Wiese credits the literature of the previous thirty years as invaluable in helping people understand the physical, social, political, and cultural development of the suburbs. [42] In his article, Wiese reviews books by David Contosta, Barbara Kelly, and Margaret Marsh that illustrate the vitality of suburban history. All three books acknowledge an increase in racial, cultural, and economic diversity in the suburbs over time. The glaring issue Wiese points out is that in

each book, much like the majority of literature on the suburbs, the focus is on upper and middle class white America.

Contosta writes about Chestnut Hill, a community on the outskirts of Philadelphia. His narration describes the evolution of this neighborhood since colonial times. The town planners and developers are the main characters in this book. According to Contosta, "like most suburbanites, residents of Chestnut Hill maintained a dual identity, one urban and the other suburban." [43] The relationship between Philadelphia and Chestnut Hill has changed drastically since colonial times. Before World War II, residents of Chestnut Hill generally considered themselves Philadelphians. Since World War II and the "white flight" to the suburbs by baby boomers and GIs, the residents of Chestnut Hill have become more detached from Philadelphia. The result of the detachment from Philadelphia has left many long-time residents of Chestnut Hill identifying themselves more with the adjacent suburbs. Contosta's main argument is that "analysis of community history and the shifting attachments of residents should illuminate the long and troubled relationships between American cities and their suburbs." [44] Wiese's biggest problem with Contosta's book is that he assumes too much at times. For instance, the assumption that people from the "Hill", as it is commonly called, generally view themselves as suburbanites was proven questionable when in the 1980's a secession move from Philadelphia was rejected. This rejection of the secession move was probably most strongly supported by the less wealthy people of the community; unfortunately their voice is barely heard in this story because of the focus on the affluent of the community.

Wiese is more complimentary of Marsh's and Kelly's books, but they too suffer from telling their stories through the limited perspective of the suburban white middle-class. Houses are used as cultural artifacts in these books, with their design and use being central components to conclusions made about the suburbs. What Marsh and Kelly do that sets them apart from many histories written on the suburbs is to make the distinction between what men and women valued about the suburban experience. [45] Marsh's book stands out in that it describes a change in the historiography, not only about women's role in sprawling suburbs, but also about how the suburban vision has changed over time. This view of a changing suburban ideal fits the research of Leamann; however, it is contrary to most suburban histories in this respect. Marsh examines a time of suburban sprawl and suburban lifestyle that is not as commonly looked at by historians – the mid-nineteenth century to the end of World War I. It is interesting to learn how the suburbs were settled and viewed during those days, since post-World War II suburbs have received the bulk of the attention from historians.

Marsh claims that "the suburban ideal was really formed in the early nineteenth century, had a distinctly masculine ethos, and had its roots in Jeffersonian republicanism." [46] Of vital importance to this ideal was the belief that property ownership is essential to the health of the Republic. This concept of "property equals power" in the suburb was stated earlier in this paper by Margaret Pugh O'Mara's 2005 review of four books about suburbia, including Wiese's entitled Places of their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century. It is apparent that throughout the history of suburbia, property ownership has been vital to social status. What was different about suburbia before World War I than the more frequently studied post World War II era is

that "place was of equal if not greater importance than ownership in the residential suburbs of the middle class." [47] According to Marsh, while the men were concerned about owning property, early suburban women were concerned with creating the ideal domestic environment. The stereotype of Harriet and June Cleaver as the suburban housewives of the 1950's was then due in large part to the feminine ideal of homemakers created by nineteenth century suburban housewives. Marsh portrays women as protector of the family unit, which was especially important considering her study was conducted on the time period of industrialization. A popular belief among middle-class men and women was that urban life during industrialization posed a threat to the family. [48] Wiese praises Marsh for taking the historiography of suburbanization back to its roots.

The last book that Wiese analyzes is by Barbara M. Kelly on the subject of the social history of the most famous of suburban developments, Levittown on Long Island, New York. The idea of mass produced housing developments in the suburbs has often been viewed as an attempt by builders and bureaucrats to impose perceived middle-class values on the masses. However, Kelly argues that the middle-class residents of the suburban sprawled areas have been willing participants in this process. [49] She states this because new homes and neighborhoods create a belief in those moving out of the city that they were becoming part of a higher social class. Kelly believes that housing designs were somewhat mandated by the consumers. The new suburbanites wanted to disassociate themselves from their former existence in the city; therefore, anything that resembled the city was avoided. This was especially evident in the type of houses they desired. The "lack" of imagination in housing design served two purposes – one, to enable faster building of housing developments and two, to reinforce that the residents

involved were on equal social standing. Out of such developments as Levittown was born the stereotype that all suburban houses look the same.

The creator of Levittown, famous builder William Levitt, purposely excluded non-whites from his housing developments by making the price of the houses too high for the average minority in the 1950s to afford. Until the Federal Housing Administration, in reaction to the civil rights movement in the 1960s, declared unfair housing practices illegal, Levitt's policies were very effective in making Levittown almost exclusively white middle-class. These policies created what has been termed by some historians as 'racial apartheid' in housing. Kelly, much like Marsh, was quick to point out that this suburban middle-class ideal that was being established in developments all around the country like Levittown was a masculine creation, and women did not play a huge role in the design of the developments. In Levittown, according to Kelly, "men and women generally assumed the roles of breadwinner and homemaker." [50] Though this was one of the ways that Levittown fell into the suburban stereotype, the community has shown an ability to adapt to social and economic changes over time. In the 1970s and 1980s, residents of Levittown wanted the designs of their homes to change because many were starting to take in aging relatives. Adult children were also living with their parents for reasons varying from unemployment to divorce. As a result of these changes, Levittown homeowners were wanting (and needing) bigger houses, and the designers met the demand. Over time in Levittown a harmonious relationship between producer and consumer was formed. Kelly argued that the tight relationship happened because both groups shared a common set of values, those characteristic of the suburban middle-class. The conclusion Wiese drew from the reviewing of the three books was that they made a

significant contribution to the inclusion of the roles of culture and gender to suburbanization. Even more importantly to Wiese, the books illustrate how the issues of class and race have been on the periphery of the literature, but are becoming more of a part of the historical conversation. [51]

The Making of Urban America

Earlier in this paper, I talked about Darden's 1994 critique of a compilation that Raymond Mohl was responsible for editing, a 1990 seminar on urban history at the University of New Orleans. In 1997, Georgina Hickey of Georgia Southern University reviewed another of Mohl's books, this one being The Making of Urban America. While Contosta, Marsh, and Kelly were tracing back the history of suburban America before World War II, in this volume Mohl takes us back to the early days of city formation in America. General knowledge of urban studies will reveal that it is the people that give a city its character. Urban historians believe that a city is shaped by the people's lives, vocations, communities, and conflicts. What Mohl tries to do in his book is create a "framework for understanding the pattern of American urbanization." [52] What Mohl most effectively brings into the historiography of urban issues, like sprawl, is the social history of American cities. To most urban historians, the city has been the central part of American history. Going back to colonial days, many of the greatest, most lasting accomplishments in social history have taken place in urban areas (in particular the central city). Mohl argues that the American colonial urban area was "the support for frontier settlement, linked regions to world markets, helped spur on the revolution, and was a catalyst for industrialization." [53]

The evolution of urban life and effects of urban sprawl have been responsible for major changes in the way society has functioned in certain periods of American history. In the ante-bellum south, for instance, immigration and the general change in demographics of many Southern cities caused social uproar. Mohl cites Randall Miller's essay about the distinct way of life in the South as evidence showing how different cultures slowly changed the region. He quotes the following from Miller's essay, "immigration, cultural diversity, urban disorder, and class conflict all posed real threats to the slave holding way of life." [54] These changes in the ante-bellum south happened because cities like Atlanta were growing in size and population (sprawling) at a great rate. Blacks were no longer slaves and some immigrants were leaving the Northeast, so the way of life for many Southern whites was in a "threatened" state. Jim Crow laws in the Southern states after the ante-bellum period went a long way in reestablishing the old way of life. Though some whites of that time would deny it, Miller's claim of the South's slave holding way of life seems to be merited.

Sprawl was one of the major results of industrialization. In the second section of Mohl's book, the industrialization of American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the theme. Urban America was being transformed by machines, machines were the creation of new technology, and technology helped fuel the sprawling outward of major cities. It was during this time of industrialization that sprawl was identified as a phenomenon and an issue. The overcrowding of cities, especially in the Northeast, was the catalyst for urban areas to expand their boundaries. Suburbs were beginning to grow larger, as people who were tired of the immigrant and minority growth of the city were moving away. As we have already established, the suburban population

did not boom until the age of baby boomers in the 1950's, but the time of industrialization is when the suburbs first became a popular destination for stressed out city dwellers.

Urban areas were sprawling during industrialization for economic reasons as well. Though the immigrants played a significant role in urban sprawl, in Mohl's eyes a bigger impact was created by the desire by business to reach new markets. To make things more economically efficient, city planners and politicians caved to the interests of big business. Cities adopted gridiron models for development. This created an atmosphere of conformity as city blocks were looking remarkable similar to ones adjacent to them. This is ironic because many critics of the modern suburb and urban sprawl (those who love central cities) have declared the monotony of suburban design as one of their chief problems with the suburbs. It may be quite possible that suburban "sameness" of post World War II America is an extension of the urban "sameness" of industrialization America. Mohl believes that the way cities catered to the whims of big business during industrialization reflects the attitude that "economic success and individual achievement were valued over human welfare and the idea of community." [55] By this way of thinking, if a stronger economy called for the development of rural lands to create a wider economic base, then urban areas sprawling out of organized control was not only acceptable but necessary.

Edge City: The Result of Suburban Explosion

Australian professor Richard Harris wrote a critique of a work written by Jon Teaford entitled, Post-suburbia: Government and Politics in the edge cities. Historically the typical discourse about edge cities has been focused on the employment and retail

opportunities that they provide. Teaford changes the conversation by focusing on government and politics in these areas. [56] By looking at how edge cities are managed, Teaford discovers that the political systems that exist in them are distinctly different from those in cities. Teaford's method was to compare the way the edge cities were governed in the surrounding counties of five major metropolitan areas; New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. [57] These regions of the country were chosen because they represented metropolitan areas in all regions of the country, except the South, and all these cities were some of the first to experience rapid suburban development.

Teaford's study confirms the theory that early twentieth century suburbs were the way the middle class escaped from the business of the city. An increase in the movement of employment from the city to the suburbs after World War II changed the dynamics of politics outside the central city. With retail stores and office parks now sharing the suburban landscape with residential tracts, post World War II (or as Teaford termed it post-suburbia) edge cities could not be governed the way they were originally. Local governments in the counties surrounding the five metropolitan areas that Teaford studied tended to resist collaboration on political issues with the central cities. These edge cities were more likely to form political leagues (or service districts) with other nearby edge cities than they were with the local central city. [58]

Harris praises the historical depth of Teaford's effort about edge cities, but what he regularly criticizes about the book is how outdated it is. Harris believes the book "takes little account of important developments in both the design and management of suburbs, and also in their historiography." [59] Teaford hardly analyzes the exclusionary practices that these edge city governments employed on the basis of income and race. He

also overlooks very important aspects of edge city politics like homeowner associations. Teaford's work is important to the historiography of suburban life in that it turns the conversation towards how the edge cities are run. Professor Harris appreciates the significance of this, but is disappointed that the book is not more contemporary.

<div align="center">Racial Integration in the Suburbs</div>

As mentioned before the stereotype of many suburban areas is that they are racially homogenous (and that the socioeconomic status is homogenous as well). In her article entitled *Welcome neighbors? New evidence on the possibility of stable racial integration* in the winter 1997 edition of the Brookings Review, Ingrid Gould Ellen put this stereotype to the test and found that the suburbs are more diverse than ever. Traditionally the racially mixed neighborhood has not only been rare in America, but usually very unstable. White discrimination has often been blamed for neighborhood segregation and lack of integration. Whether white discrimination or some other cause is the reason for a racially segregated neighborhood, most critics agree that when minorities begin to become a larger percentage of a neighborhood than whites, the result is often what is termed "white flight." [60] The definition of white flight is Caucasians moving from an area where they formerly were the majority in response to the increasing arrival of minorities in that area. As a result, integration in America is "no more than the time between the first blacks move in and the first whites move out." [61]

Various United States census numbers from 1970 to 1990 show the increasing integration of American neighborhoods. In Ellen's study of the census numbers the definition for an integrated neighborhood was those whose population was from 10% to 50% African-American or other minorities. By 1990, 20% percent of American

neighborhoods fit into this category and were thus declared racially mixed. The study also showed that 15% of the Hispanic population of the United States and 33% of African-Americans lived in racially mixed neighborhoods. The most telling statistic that Ellen's study revealed was that the percentage of white Americans living in overwhelmingly white neighborhoods decreased from 63% in 1970 to 36% in 1990. [62] The suburbs have in many cases been the place where this racial integration has taken place. Ellen's study revealed that many neighborhoods that were being integrated in the 1970's remained integrated twenty years later. This shows that the more recent integration in American cities and suburbs is stable, and not the result of the time passage from the first blacks moving into the neighborhood and the last whites moving out. The tendency in the modern American suburb (and often in the city as well) is to live among those that have similar income and educational levels as you do. This trend in populating neighborhoods has automatically caused racial integration, as minorities continue to improve their economic and educational position in this country. Though "white flight" still happens in American neighborhoods, it has certainly decreased over the years.

Sprawl Victims

In the year 2000 Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck wrote a compilation entitled, Suburban Nation: The rise of Sprawl and the decline of the American Dream. As evidenced by the title, the book is anti-sprawl and strongly advocates purposeful neighborhood planning. The authors believe that there are many 'victims' of sprawl. Their list includes: kids, teenagers, soccer moms, the elderly, commuters, the poor, the municipalities themselves, and lastly the real estate developer. In their opinion the most affected is the developer. The cookie-cutter nature of many

suburban developments has led to a "fall from grace" of the importance of the developer in American society. [63] In earlier days of suburban development, the planners of the municipalities held prestige. George Merrick, who developed Coral Gables in Florida in the 1930's, was viewed as a town founder rather than a real estate developer. To support that opinion, the University of Miami decided to build its campus in the town that Merrick created. The change in the meaning and function of the American suburb since World War II has made 'real estate developer' a reviled occupation by many. [64] An amusing proof of many people's disdain of suburban development is a line of bumper stickers that read: LEAVING TOWN? TAKE A DEVELOPER WITH YOU. Though developers provide an indispensable service to the community with their designing and building of houses, shops, and office parks, they are often seen as raiders who convert farmland into "cookie-cutter sprawl." [65]

Though town developers get much sympathy from the authors in regards to the sprawl problem, the other groups mentioned in the previous paragraph are shown as sprawl victims as well. According to the authors, the next group most victimized by sprawl is those who don't drive. This includes kids, some teens, many elderly, and most poor people, four of the seven groups in the list of sprawl victims. The sprawling suburb creates a lack of autonomy for kids, as parks or activity centers usually aren't close enough for them to reach by themselves. This creates a dependence that can become a burden for the soccer mom, who is busy shuttling her kids from place to place. [66] Teenagers fall victim to sprawl because instead of being able to stay in their neighborhood to hang out, the distance between them and their friends forces public

gathering places like the mall to become hangouts. The result often is that these public places become a burden to the community instead of a benefit.

The elderly are affected by suburban sprawl in that their decreased mobility often isolates them into senior living communities. The amenities of the suburbs are often too expensive and distant for the poor to benefit from them. Commuters are victimized by the long hours needed to be able to afford the luxuries of the suburbs. Commute time takes away from family time, and even if the commuter works within their own suburb, the traffic created by the sprawl makes short distances time consuming. Lastly, suburban municipalities themselves suffer from sprawl, as evidenced by the Milwaukee suburb of Franklin. A 1992 cost analysis done by the town found that the average property taxes on each new single-family home were about $5,000 per year. The amount of money that the town spent on services for each house was about $10,000 per year. [67] In other words, with each new single-family house being built in Franklin, the town was losing $5,000 per year.

Party Politics in the Suburbs

In the September 2001 edition of the periodical History Today, Mark Clapson, a professor in England, wrote an interesting article on political influence in the suburbs titled, *Suburbia and Party Politics.* Clapson notes that in England as well as the United States the assumption is that the politics of the suburbs is conservative. Taking it further he says "that suburban politics is conformist and a petit bourgeois." [68] The results of elections in the 1990's in both England and America revealed a trend that made the suburbs seem less conservative than was assumed. It is well known that elections in the United States are often won or lost by the votes of 'Middle America'. The term 'Middle

America' has a dual meaning, for not only does it mean the land area in the middle of the country (Midwest, Central, Southwest, and Mountain states), but it also means the middle class (typically suburbia). In England, much is the same, where 'Middle England' is made up of suburbanites who hold critical political sway. In both England and America, over half of the population lives in suburban homes. The concept of the suburbs being a 'middle class haven' is no longer valid. By the late 1990's various suburbs in both countries were populated by the affluent working-class, blue-collar workers, and many ethnic groups. According to Clapson, "No longer can suburbia be dismissed as a boring dormitory of white, snooty, conservative-voting middle classes." [69]

Our focus in this paper has been on suburban America and Clapson puts forth an interesting analysis of the changing political landscape of suburban America. During the Eisenhower years, suburbanites played a huge role in Republican domination. A Newsweek quote from that time displayed the post-war stereotype of the suburbs:

> When a city dweller packs up and moves his family to the suburbs, he
> usually acquires a mortgage, a power lawn mower, and a backyard grill.
> Often, although a lifelong Democrat, he also starts voting Republican. [70]

As more blue-collar workers became suburbanites in the 1960's (especially in California), Democrats started to win more elections (Kennedy and Johnson years). The 1970's and Richard Nixon brought suburbia into its more typically conservative voting trend. Ronald Reagan's era in the 1980's was a time period where suburbanites voted more conservatively than ever. This was because the Republicans made themselves out to be the party of mainstream America, contending that the Democrats were too concerned about the poor. [71] The 1990's and the Democratic Party under Bill Clinton was the time period that the political transformation of suburbia was most noticeable. Clinton

and Gore 'aimed for the middle', or they connected with 'Middle America'. This was a departure from the 1980's Democratic focus on the poor and the inner-city. This shift in party focus played well for democrats in the polls. Clapson's analysis of suburban American politics over the last fifty years concludes that suburbanites aren't decidedly conservative or liberal, instead they vote for the party that they feel best represents them at the time.

Suburbia and the Sunbelt

Much of the discussion on the post-war suburbs has been on the Northeast and Midwest regions of the United States. In the 2000's there has been more discussion on suburbanization in the Sunbelt area of the country. The October 2003 edition of <u>OAH Magazine of History</u> had two excellent articles that dealt with the changes over time in the populating of Sunbelt cities and suburbs. Quintard Taylor wrote an article called *Seeking Sunbelt Freedom: African-Americans in the Urban Southwest, 1865-1970.* Taylor showed the change in lifestyle for African-Americans in this part of the country over this 105 year cross-section. As in most parts of America, many Southwestern blacks live in urban areas. After the end of the Civil War, great numbers of ex-slaves moved from rural areas to urban. Cities like Houston, Dallas, and Los Angeles boomed in population due to this slave migration. Over time newer cities, such as Oklahoma City, Phoenix, and San Diego, would become large metropolises due to minority migration from rural areas as well. Taylor noted that in these communities, "African-American professionals and entrepreneurs served the mostly working-class residents." [72] While there was much black entrepreneurship in the Southwest some of this creativity was born out of necessity, and as very similar to the antebellum South, many public facilities were

segregated. The NAACP became a strong force in Southwestern cities as a means to fight against discrimination.

After World War II, many African-Americans left inland areas of the Southwest and settled on the coastal regions. For example, immediately after the war, Oklahoma lost about 23,000 blacks while California gained 338, 000. [73] This population shift was in large part due to better employment opportunities on the West coast. Taylor points out that the biggest difference that African-Americans who moved to the Southwest faced compared to those in urban areas in other parts of the country is the Southwestern blacks were surrounded by large numbers of other minorities. Latinos and Asians lived in the same neighborhoods and competed for the same jobs as blacks. Though there was some conflict between the minority groups, the post-war Southwest became a positive example of multiculturalism. [74] The last year that Taylor looks at in his study was 1970, shortly after the famous Watts Riots in Los Angeles. What Watts showed was that while the Southwest for African-Americans was very different than other parts of the country, discrimination was something faced by blacks all over the country.

The other article from the October 2003 edition of OAH Magazine of History was entitled *Suburbia and the Sunbelt* by Becky M. Nicolaides. Nicolaides' famous work titled My Blue Heaven, about working-class suburbs near Los Angeles, was referenced earlier in this thesis. In Nicolaides' article, she made the point that Sunbelt cities have sprawled in a way consistent with suburban sprawl. An example of this is her tour of Phoenix of which she said, "The city was one continuous stretch of suburbia." [75] Not only are Sunbelt cities similar to suburbia spatially, but they display many of the cultural, social, and political characteristics of suburbia as well. [76] As mentioned earlier,

Nicolaides attributes the suburban type of sprawl that Sunbelt cities display as a result of many of these cities 'coming of age' at the time of the post World War II suburban boom. Sunbelt growth is thus distinct from growth in the older Northeastern cities, which had an urban type of sprawl characteristic of growth in the United States before World War II.

The difference between sprawl in the Sunbelt and in the Northeast was not only a result of timing, but also a result of planning by developers and politicians in the Sunbelt. The leaders of Sunbelt cities dreamed of their areas as being an improvement on the congested model of the Northeastern city. This attitude led to planners trying to "suburbanize" Sunbelt cities. As Nicolaides stated, "The Sunbelt city would be the antithesis of the industrial city. Theirs would be…wide open, in tune with nature, with plenty of fresh air and space for all to enjoy." [77] The idea for post-war Sunbelt regions was to "Ruralize the city; urbanize the country." [78] This played right into the idea that leisure and recreation were not just for the suburbs and could become booming industries. Golf courses, amusement parks, resorts, and vacation spots, which would later become famous, were being built in the city limits of sprawling Sunbelt towns. Although cities like Los Angeles, Phoenix, Las Vegas, Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Miami, Charlotte, and many other Sunbelt cities are big metropolises, they are not nearly as congested as Northeastern cities because they have sprawled in a 'spread-out' suburban style.

<div align="center">Suburban Myths</div>

The July-August 2004 edition of the <u>Columbia Journalism Review</u> had an article by Laurie Kelliher entitled, *Suburban myth: Elizabeth Llorente's stories puncture our preconceptions of the suburbs. And she's getting others to take a closer look in their own backyards.* It is a long title for a relatively short article on how the suburb of the 2000's

is very different from the traditional post-war suburb. Llorente has written for the Bergen County Record in northern New Jersey for fifteen years. Her travels around the state have revealed an increasing changing suburban way of life. The state of New Jersey is the very definition of sprawl; while in the bottom ten in land area in the U.S., it is in the top ten in U.S. population. It has been said that northern New Jersey is a suburb of New York City and southern New Jersey a suburb of Philadelphia. These characteristics make New Jersey an intriguing study in suburban life. In talking about the changes in American suburbs, Kelliher states:

> Once homogeneous bedroom communities are now the destination
> of many new immigrants -- a pattern that is altering the demographics
> of the country and broadening tensions previously confined to urban centers. [79]

Llorente's stories are excellent examples of the suburbs' evolution into the destination of immigrants. She tells about seeing an immigrant man balancing his bags of groceries on his bicycle in the affluent suburb of Hillsdale, New Jersey. That image suggests the possibility of many immigrants not being able to meet New Jersey's residency requirements for a driver's license or being too poor to afford a car. [80] A striking trend in many of Llorente's articles is that over the last ten years more and more immigrants are bypassing urban centers, with their working-class neighborhoods, and settling in the suburbs. This results in sprawl in a more spread out suburban style than a congested urban style, but the suburbs are still becoming more crowded than ever. Palisades Park, New Jersey is a great case study in the urban-like cultural tension that is now prevalent in many suburbs. Up until the 1980's the town was predominately Italian- and Irish-American. It was during the 1980's that many Koreans started to settle in Palisades Park. Llorente wrote a three-part series called, "A Tale of Two Cultures." It

discussed the tensions between the cultures and further discussed how both cultures were dealing with the recent influx of Guatemalans. [81] The series was successful, said Vivian Waixel, executive director of The Record, because "it got other towns thinking about the inevitability of immigration to their suburb and how they were going to make that adjustment." [82] Kelliher's article about Llorente's examination of the changes in the suburbs is strong evidence that the suburbs as America once knew them will never be the same.

The Cost of Sprawl

Sprawl has already been defined in this paper as the spread of urban development beyond the limits of city boundaries. In this section we will focus on some of the costs that sprawl is responsible for. In 2005 Robert Burchell, Anthony Downs, Barbara McCann, and Sahan Mukherji collaborated on a book entitled, Sprawl Costs: Economic Impacts of Unchecked Development. In the twelve chapter book, they defined sprawl, measured it, displayed the consequences of it, told of its costs, spoke of its benefits, and discussed policies in response to it. The book discussed many studies about measuring sprawl, but is primarily based on the Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research. The Center for Urban Policy Research (CUPR) created an index that determines how much past growth is sprawl and how much future growth is likely to be sprawl. [83] Based on the system that CUPR uses, geographic areas are categorized as sustained, growing, or declining sprawl areas. The CUPR index also allows for non-metropolitan areas to be labeled as sprawling, which is why the book chose to reference this index.

According to the United States Census Bureau, there are 3,091 counties in the nation. The Rutgers sprawl index indicates that 24% or 742 counties will experience significant sprawl between 2000 and 2025. [84] A great majority of these predicted sprawling counties are presently rural and undeveloped. If this turns out to be true, the sprawl will be suburban style. As mentioned before, suburban style sprawl is characterized by unlimited outward extension, low density, and leapfrog development. Very similar to the sprawl of the last twenty years, most of the expected sprawl will be in the South or West (Sunbelt). According to the Rutgers index, the top ten sprawling states in the next twenty years will be Florida, California, Arizona, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Colorado, Washington, Georgia, and Nevada. [85]

One of the major costs of uncontrolled sprawl is the loss of space. From 1982 to 1997 the American population increased by 17%, while during that same time period urbanized land grew by 47%. [86] What these statistics show is how sprawl consumes land. If the trend is that urbanized land is growing at a greater rate than the population increases, the result is uncontrolled sprawl. Urban Studies professors call uncontrolled sprawl an inefficient use of land. It is because of inefficient land use that farmland, natural areas, and open spaces seem to be disappearing quickly. In recent years, "an estimated 2.2 million acres of prime farmland, forests, and wetlands…are converted into developed land each year." [87]

Sprawl also causes great costs in infrastructure. Infrastructure deals with the provision of services to areas within a municipality or county. With much of the recent sprawl being suburban style, the costs for extra pipe, asphalt, and wiring increase with the sprawl. Homes, schools, offices, and shopping centers are spread out farther than they

would be in an urban sprawl setting so the need for services covers a greater distance. Sewer lines, electrical wires, and roads need to be built to satisfy the sprawling residents' needs, and these services are usually accompanied by a tax increase to cover costs. The bill gets even steeper when repairs need to be made.

One of the more annoying costs of sprawl is the traffic and congestion it causes. The authors of the book are big proponents of compact growth, which is higher density than suburban sprawl and lower density than urban sprawl. This relates to traffic and congestion in this way – according to the CUPR index, if growth over the next twenty years were to be compact instead of sprawling, then about 4.4 million more drivers would live in already developed areas. [88] Therefore, if more people live near preexisting roads (with several alternate routes) instead of remote areas with limited access, traffic would be less congested and there would be less roads to build and repair. The result would be that roads would become less of a financial burden for all involved.

In the book, there are plenty of responses to the problems that sprawl creates. Open spaces can be preserved by restrictions on physically developable land. Infrastructure costs can be cut by setting standards for the adequacy of public facilities before further development takes place. Vacant land can be made available for immediate development instead of undeveloped land. Traffic and congestion can be eased by making High-Occupancy-Vehicle lanes and having Peak-Hour tolls. No matter what policy is adopted to combat sprawl, the authors believe that effective change "would require shifting significant influence over land use planning decisions from individual local governments to regional or statewide bodies." [89]

Reshaping Suburbia

In keeping with one of the main topics discussed in the last section, the suburbia of today is experiencing changes in how its land is being used. A trend in suburban planning that would make the authors of Sprawl Costs happy is the increase of mixed-use development. Mixed-use development is having more than one type of development in a given area. A good example of this would be a neighborhood that contains homes, stores, and offices. This type of development has taken place for years in the city, but until recently was rarely seen in suburbia. Stereotypically suburbs would have residential neighborhoods, office parks for business, and malls and plazas for retail. Rarely did suburban land serve multiple functions. In the August 2005 edition of the periodical Buildings, Robin Suttell wrote an article entitled *Reshaping Suburbia: traditionally a focal point in downtowns, mixed-use projects branch out*. The article discusses how the suburbs are copying urban areas and using their land for more than one function. One prime example of this changing trend is Crocker Park in Westlake, Ohio (about 10 miles from Cleveland). On a typical June night, Suttell says, "Families gather on blankets on the center's green spaces to savor picnic dinners as they enjoy live music...Shoppers drift from store to store along the development's traditional main street." [90] Crocker Park is a seventy-five acre development in the center of Westlake. It serves as the town's downtown and is alive and thriving. Crocker Park has brought to Westlake and the surrounding suburbs of Cleveland a welcoming place to shop, dine, play, and eventually, live and work. [91]

This new trend in suburban planning is called "new urbanism". It is sprawling in an urban style, and it seems that suburban planners love it. New urbanism is an

international movement that was originally designed to "revitalize cities' flagging downtown areas, and it promotes the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use communities." [92] It is urbanism with a with a lower case 'u', meaning that urban style development doesn't only have to happen in the city. The Baby Boomer generation has become attached to the suburbs that they live in, but as they age, the long commutes of traditional suburban living have become less desirable. By popular demand, the suburbs in which the 'boomers' live in have become mixed-use areas so that people can walk or ride their bikes to places, just like in the city. A developer for Intracorp San Diego put it best when he said, "The big driver of any evolution is not the product; it's market demand. It drives city planning. It drives development." [93] Developments like Crocker Park are springing up all over the country in suburban towns. Developers are eager to build mixed-use projects in the suburbs because they see them as good long-term investments. It seems that in the 2000's people in the suburbs want their towns more like the city, which is quite a contrast from the suburbanite of the 1950's. It will be interesting to see what the next fifty years hold for the American suburb.

Old Myths Die Hard

Much of the recent scholarship about suburbia proclaims how much it has changed in the last fifty years. The historiography of the suburbs has undergone a radical evolution with each new decade. Most of the research that I have come across in this paper has shown shifts in American attitudes towards the suburbs over time. However, not all scholarship or attitudes about the suburbs have changed over time. One article putting forth the idea that old suburban stereotypes might still exist was written in the September 2005 edition of History Today. The author of the article is historian Mark

Clapson and its title is, *Not so desperate housewives: historian of suburbia Mark Clapson peers over the fences of Wisteria Lane to discover a fifty-year-old myth still at work.* The article itself goes against the grain of what many historians believe about suburban myths today. The title is obviously a play off the hit ABC drama about life for married women in the suburbs. Desperate Housewives gives the impression that suburban living for women who stay at home is discontenting. In response to the initial popularity of the show, television reviewers boldly declared, "Women of suburbs everywhere are living on the edge of reason because suburbia is so fundamentally boring." [94] Contempt for suburban life is nothing new. Ever since the suburban boom of the 1950's, professionals from the fields of social scientists to television producers have had a negative view of the lifestyle.

Regarding the history of contempt of suburbia, Clapson says, "David Reisman's 1950 book The Lonely Crowd was a cultural criticism of the American city." [95] The book tells of Reisman's travels around America to the newly formed middle-class developments of suburbia (many of them Levittowns) and how he encountered many sad, young housewives with no escape from their kids or home. Over time as families with two cars became more common, the automobile was thought to be the suburban housewife's escape to more freedom. However, having a second car brought on the phenomenon that we call the 'soccer mom'. Suburban women, and in some cases men, spent much of their time shuttling their children from one place to the next. A car was needed to get anywhere in the suburbs, but the recent trend of mixed-use land in the suburbs is changing the way suburbanites live.

The family structure has changed greatly in the last fifty years, one good example being an increase in divorce rates. This relates to the suburbs in that over the last twenty years the amount of female-headed single parent families that living in the suburbs has also increased. Clapson attributes this to women being born and raised in the suburbs, finding their identity in the suburbs, and wanting to stay there. His belief about these women challenges the myth that the suburbs are unpopular and unhealthy environments. [96] Some professional fields are slowly chipping away at the stereotype of American suburbia. Sociologists and historians of the suburbs, like Clapson, assert that the suburban woman is not powerless or a victim, which has long been a commonly held idea in those fields. [97] The attitude that Reisman had of suburbia is well entrenched. Without a tangible way to compare how difficult the lives of suburban women are with rural or urban women, the myth that they are desperate to break away from suburbia will persist.

Urban and Suburban Sprawl

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Margaret Pugh O'Mara wrote a review essay on the historiography of suburbia. It was written in the Fall 2005 edition of the <u>Journal of Social History</u> and entitled, *Suburbia Reconsidered: Race, Politics, and Property in the Twentieth Century*. Very early in her article she demonstrates the changing nature of sprawl. Citing the 2000 U.S. Census, she noted that in American metropolitan areas, more immigrants lived in the suburbs than in the city. [98] The urban sprawl that characterized population growth in pre-World War II days has long since been replaced by suburban the predominant suburban sprawl of post-World War II. The main change since the 1980's is not the type of sprawl, but who is doing the moving to non-urban areas. The stereotype of suburbia being a haven for the white middle-class is

outdated, as minority middle-class, blue-collar workers, and immigrants are moving to the suburbs in droves.

Change happens for a reason, and one of the reasons O'Mara gives for the new look of American suburbs is federal housing policy. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's was essential in making progress toward racial equality in housing. With government help, suburbia began to slowly change demographically to the point where today, "immigrants enthusiastically move to new exurban developments in the suburbs...an indication that suburbia is more desirable than city neighborhoods." [99] According to O'Mara, the tendency throughout the historiography of the suburbs is to separate the urban and the suburban. With reference from books authored by Nicolaides, Self, and Wiese, she changes the historiography by looking at urban and suburban areas together. She claims that:

> Urban and suburban history is moving in a direction that not only leaves
>
> behind the old suburban clichés but also challenges past interpretations
>
> of urban crisis, local politics, and race relations. [100]

In conclusion, the definition of what is urban and what is suburban is ever changing. Some of the sources I have looked at claim that the stereotype of the suburbs as white, middle-class remains and will be hard to change. Much of the new scholarship is revealing a new American attitude towards the suburbs. In regards to sprawl, much like popular old feelings towards the suburbs, it is viewed with consternation by many Americans. The reality is that sprawl is a constant part of life. No matter what form (urban or suburban), everyone feels the effects of sprawl. As long as the population grows, if people desire their own space like the promise of the post-World War II suburbs, then more land will have to be used to accommodate their wishes. The choice of

how to handle this situation is up to the American consumer; will they allow undeveloped land to be transformed into development or will they want to see vacant lands be used to create new\ things? In my opinion, the mixed-use of land seems to be the best way to give people what they demand, whether it's in the city or the suburbs. However, until there is a national plan for land development, sprawl will continue to be an unsolved problem in both urban and suburban areas.

Part Two

Mixed-Use Developments: Original Research

For my historiography I focused on of urban and suburban sprawl. In transitioning into the original research piece of my thesis, the historiography gave me plenty of options to concentrate on. Intriguing to me were issues such as whether or not the stereotypes of suburban life were true, and why Sunbelt cities seemed to grow in a dissimilar way than the older Northeastern cities grew. Housing policy was also an aspect of the historiography that interested me, but the most exciting part was urban (and suburban) planning. In regards to city planning the topic that I desired to learn more about was mixed-use development. Mixed-use has been a part of land development in the United States for over 100 years. Like most concepts in planning, its popularity has come and gone in a seemingly continuous cycle. I chose to research about mixed-use because out of all the solutions for sprawl that I encountered during the historiography, it seemed to be the most effective.

Definition of Mixed-Use

As stated earlier, mixed-used land development has taken place in America for years, but an official definition for it has existed for only thirty years. In 1976 the Urban Land Institute (ULI), housed in Washington, D.C., defined mixed-use as follows: [1]

- Three or more significant revenue-producing uses

- Significant functional and physical integration of project components

- Development in conformance with a coherent plan

The ULI further defined mixed-use as, "An appropriate combination of multiple uses, inside a single structure or place within a neighborhood, where a variety of different

living activities (live, work, shop, and play) are in close proximity (walking distance) to most residents." [2] The development industry has viewed mixed-use land development in the past thirty years through the filter of the ULI's definition for it. Throughout this paper I will be referring back to this definition and analyzing how successful cities have been in meeting the ULI standards of mixed-use.

<div align="center">Trends in Mixed-Use Land Development</div>

Mixed-use land development can and does happen in the city and suburbs alike. It has become very fashionable among town planners to combat the 'evils' of sprawl by creating mixed-use projects. Mixed-use land development encompasses many of the recent trends in land development. In his article entitled *Urban Mixed-Use* in the May 2, 2006 edition of <u>Land Development East</u>, Steve Surprenant (an architect for HDR, In.c in Boston) came up with this list of twelve modern design trends that mixed-use encompasses: [3]

- Smart Growth

- Livable Communities

- New Urbanism

- Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND)

- Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)

- Urban Revitalization

- Development Near Transit (DNT)

- New Community Development

- Green Infrastructure

- Metro Greenways

- Low-Impact Development

- Sustainable Development

Of these twelve modern design trends connected with mixed-use land development, only Smart Growth, New Urbanism, Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND), and Urban Revitalization will be discussed in this paper.

The ULI definition of mixed-use land development mentions the four most important aspects of an average American adult's life; where you live, work, shop, and play. In the suburban boom in America after World War II, these four spheres of life were often separated by enough distance to necessitate having a car. The way urban and suburban areas have sprawled over the last fifty years (especially in the Sunbelt), the car is still indispensable, but more and more metropolitan areas are planning higher density 'infill' projects.

Hurricane Katrina in 2005, besides being tragic, was an interesting study in how important it is to plan a city so that as many people as possible have access to transportation in case of an emergency. New Orleans, a Sunbelt city, is not as densely populated as many older Northeastern cities. While the public transportation in New Orleans is more accessible than it is in smaller cities like Rochester, it was not as well equipped to handle the catastrophe as a more densely populated city such as Philadelphia probably would be. As a result of the less-dense, sprawled growth of New Orleans, many of the poor in that city had fewer resources for escape in close proximity to them. Simplistically, one could conclude that those who had access to cars were able to get out of harm's way more easily than those who didn't. This situation obviously has something to do with economics (the haves and the have nots), but I believe it also speaks

to the importance of how development is planned in a city. What Hurricane Katrina shows in regards to city planning is that a neighborhood with living, working, shopping and playing in close proximity is not only a modern design trend, but could lead to a better chance of survival in an emergency. Having those four spheres of life together is the essence of mixed-use development.

<div align="center">History of Mixed-Use</div>

Mixed-use land development is generally characterized by a combination of residential, office, and retail spaces in a given neighborhood or area. A mixed-used neighborhood or area can also have room for hotels, entertainment, civic functions, and cultural displays. [4] An example of this that I gave in the historiography was the Crocker Park development in Westlake, Ohio (a suburb of Cleveland). Robin Suttell wrote about Crocker Park in an article called *Reshaping Suburbia: Traditionally a focal point in downtowns, mixed-use projects branch out*. The article appeared in the August 2005 edition of the periodical <u>Buildings</u>. At the time of the article, Crocker Park was a 75 acre development where nearby residents could shop, dine, and play. Plans were being made for people to be able to live and work in Crocker Park soon, with proposals for "Class-A office space; a boutique hotel; luxury apartments; and high-end, single family homes." [5] Learning about Crocker Park only scratched the surface as far as examples of mixed-use land development. My research led me to find books whose pages were filled with models of mixed-use development in various American cities and suburbs. I will discuss more of the specific examples later, including one near home, Midtown Plaza in Rochester.

Up until the early 1900's mixed-use development that was oriented around transit was commonplace. In the 1910's some metropolitan areas started to create zoning laws that segregated land use according to its function. For instance, homes were distanced from work or school. [6] Zoning practices that separated the main spheres of life helped create the suburban phenomenon of the 1950's. It was during the 1950's also that the Sunbelt began to explode in population and metropolitan land area. In essence, zoning laws and land annexation practices were responsible for the 'suburbanization' of America and the sprawl that resulted from it. Starting in the late 1960's, the market for Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) was beginning to increase slowly. City planning and building, just like most other industries, is driven by market demand so the developers responded to the increased demand by designing more mixed-use projects. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the mixed-use developments were almost exclusively in urban settings. Mixed-use developments often became integral parts of urban revitalizations (especially downtowns). These downtown revitalization projects were usually large-scale. [7]

Greenway Plaza in Houston, Texas is a perfect example of the magnitude of mixed-use developments (MUD's) in the late 1960's. Greenway is located about four miles from downtown Houston and is a 127 acre plot of land. Century Development Company took about fifteen years to get it all completed, and it included 17 major office buildings, a 400-room hotel, an underground retail mall, four high-rise residential towers, movie theaters, and the Summit Arena (the former 17,500 seat home of the NBA's Houston Rockets and now site of the largest church congregation in America). [8]

By the late 1970's and early 1980's, MUD's were being built on a smaller scale than the MUD's of the previous decade. During this time the trend in developing mixed-use areas was to integrate them more into their urban contexts. [9] What this basically means is having MUD's as part of a neighborhood, not exclusively a city-center where everybody met. The already mentioned Crocker Park in Westlake, Ohio is a good example of the scaling down in the size of MUD's in this time period. In the 1990's and 2000's MUD's have evolved into a combination of the earlier large-scale projects and the later small-scale projects. Depending on intended function, a well planned MUD can serve as a city-center or a neighborhood-center. At the present time, mixed-use plays a key role in the twelve modern design trends that were listed earlier in this paper.

<center>Reasoning behind Mixed-Use Design</center>

The rationale that urban planners offer for mixed-use is three-fold. Mixed-use increases the intensity of land uses, increases the diversity of land uses, and integrates segregated land uses. [10] The increase in the intensity of land use is essentially getting as much production out of a plot of land as possible before new land is developed. This is exemplified in reconstructing a vacant lot rather than building on a new site. Practicing this type of land use helps decrease the amount of vacant lots, which many people view as eyesores in their town. It also leaves more land undeveloped, which in turn decreases sprawl.

Mixed-use land development is designed at combining different aspects of life in a neighborhood-sized area so that residents are able to walk from venue to venue. A generic example would be a neighborhood that has its own park for children. Such a park would eliminate the need for a large-scale park or activity complex to be built to meet the

needs of several neighborhoods. Within the same neighborhood of the park, there would be a store, restaurants, apartments, and maybe a hotel or offices. Diverse land use diminishes the need for malls, office parks, and cul-de-sacs. The urban (and suburban) planning market is certainly trending towards the diversity of mixed land use.

The ultimate result of the diverse use of land is the integration of previously segregated land use. The housing market suggests that the suburban housing tract is becoming less desirable to many consumers. Many suburbanites have gone back to the cities to be a part of urban revitalization. The term Yuppie (Young Urban Professional) suggests that the 'white flight' from the city to the suburbs that characterized the first few decades after World War II is now being reversed. The 'New Urbanism' that has developed over the last fifteen years in America is a rebirth of the traditional neighborhood development (TND) that was common in American cities before World War I. In urban revitalization, land being used for living, working, shopping, and playing is in more demand than land separated for one specific use.

Types of Mixed-Use

Mixed-use not only encompasses modern design trends but it also takes on different project forms. Surprenant talks of four different types of mixed-use projects in his article in Land Development East. He speaks of the Mixed-use Building, the Mixed-use Parcel or Site, the Mixed-use Walkable Area and the Mixed-use Street Car Area. [11] He shows each type in picture fashion from lots taken around the United States. The mixed-use building that he shows is the East End Lofts in Sacramento, California. This mixed-use building has fashionable lofts on the second and third levels, and on the first floor is a P.F. Chang's restaurant. The mixed-use parcel (or site) that Surprenant uses is

the Town Center in Southlake, Texas. This town center consists of a restaurant (Chico's), retail store, and fancy town offices.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida's downtown is the site that is used to signify a mixed-use walkable area. An overhead view of downtown shows how there are many open spaces of green mixed in with the roads and buildings that make up the city. The key to a walkable area is that residents are close enough to public places that they can walk to them, or close enough to public transportation that getting to the other end of town doesn't require a car. Lastly, the mixed-use street car area is Portland, Oregon's Pearl District. A building with an advertisement to "GO BY STREETCAR" is in the center of the photo. Directly underneath the advertisement is a streetcar, whose destination is Portland State University. Nearby bridges, cars, roads, and streetlights suggest that automobiles and streetcars function well together in Portland's Pearl District.

The Driving Forces behind Mixed-Use

As in all types of planning and design, the driving force behind mixed-use land development is initiated by public and private entities. Some factors behind public initiative for mixed-use are an excess of land or buildings, a plan for urban revitalization and infill, a lack of funds for other initiatives, or a desire to obtain an increase in the tax base. Private initiatives for mixed-use are often the possibility of higher profits as a result of the higher density of consumer use of the area, and the potential 24 hour/7 days a week use of the facilities. [12] Surprenant believes that the public and private sectors also have common reasons for promoting mixed-use land development. One of the reasons that he came up with is the changing trend in home-buyer preferences over the last thirty years. The suburban myth of people wanting more space isn't dying, but it is changing as

people buying their homes in more Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) areas than in sprawled areas. Another common reason that the public and private sectors have for desiring mixed-use development is a perceived growing shortage of residential land. With more and more farmland being developed, turning rural areas into new suburbs, there is the fear that there will be very little land left to develop.

Another driver of mixed-use shared by public and private interest is the idea that many municipalities have reached the commuting edge. This means that it is not efficient to sprawl any further away from the center city (downtown), as the traffic and pollution that are a by-product of long commutes will hurt areas more than help them. Yet another reason tied to reaching the commuting edge is the increasing gas prices. With bigger vehicles (SUV's) being more en vogue these days, soaring gas prices make long trips to work or play very cost-ineffective. The last reason given for the shared desire for mixed-use is the feeling of belonging to a community. Surprenant calls it a "desire for a sense of place." [13] Communities that are close in proximity tend to have a more shared sense of ownership. With the suburbanization of the United States, the idea of everyone having their own space was popularized. One of the casualties of this phenomenon was the 'sense of place'. Neighborhoods in older Northeastern cities became famous communities. Many metropolitan areas had areas named "Little Italy" or "China Town", etc. With mixed-use bringing back the TND style of town planning, the sense of place has come back in many cities.

<center>Arguments in Favor of Mixed-Use</center>

Up until this point I have relied heavily on Surprenant's data to make a case for mixed-use. Much of what he drew from was the Urban Land Institute's report on mixed-

use that revolutionized the industry thirty years ago. Another good source stating the case for mixed-use was the fourth issue of 2004 from Carter & Burgess Quarterly. The company Carter & Burgess publishes a quarterly as well as maintaining a website in which many topics of development are discussed. In this particular issue was an article entitled, "Mixed-Use Developments: Driven by Demographics and Smart Growth, Mixed-use Projects are taking off around the U.S." The author is not credited, as it is a compilation of interviews and statistics. The main argument that is made in the article is that, "members of the creative class and workers in the knowledge economy are demanding interesting, character-filled places in which to live and work." [14] Much like any other area of commerce, municipal planners produce what the market demands. The fashionable model for settling city and suburban neighborhoods is higher population density in a given area, along with walkable streets, and active downtowns. Mixed-use is increasingly the tool being used to revitalize downtowns and newer suburbs.

The revitalization of the city is a key to mixed-use being embraced as a viable alternative. According to the Brookings Institute, the poverty rate in central cities (downtown and the nearby areas) is twice that in suburban areas. The urban poverty rate is at 16.4% nationwide, while the suburban poverty rate is at 8.0%. [15] In one of the most important statistical studies done on the cost of sprawl, the Urban Land Institute estimates that the average home on a 1/3 acre lot that is about 10 miles from downtown costs taxpayers about $69,000. The ULI found that homes near downtown were on more compact lots and cost taxpayers about $34,500, exactly half of the amount of the suburban home. [16] These findings back up much of what Robert W. Burchell, Anthony Downs, Barbara McCann, and Sahan Mukherji argued in their famous book, Sprawl

Costs: Economic Impacts of Unchecked Development. In essence what those numbers say is that if more and more people are living farther away from the central city, then there is a greater cost to everyone because of the extra roads, wires, and services needed to accommodate their living needs. Sprawl is the result of people spreading out, and it tends to be more costly than the price tag attached with mixed-use, Smart Growth, and New Urbanism.

John Rufo, a Carter & Burgess architect, believes that movements such as mixed-use "offer solutions to some of the problems plaguing many cities." [17] Instead of buildings and people being spread out all over the town (sprawl), mixed-use neighborhoods have recognizable centers, venues are within walking distance, and residents tend to have a strong sense of community. That is the New Urbanism aspect of mixed-use. The Smart Growth piece emphasizes development in harmony with the environment. Smart Growth generally deals with water conservation and making sure urban areas have green spaces (Central Park in New York). Rufo states that, "It also calls for neighborhood redevelopment, housing diversity and infill." [18] Much like New Urbanism, the idea of Smart Growth is to establish commercial and residential development in more densely populated areas that bring communities together and reduce the need for driving. Proponents of mixed-use are not against driving; however, they dislike the almost exclusive dependence that urban and suburban sprawl have placed on driving.

Areas of Reform

Mixed-use land development, though very popular, has some obstacles to overcome. Historically outdated zoning codes encourage sprawl instead of mixed-use.

Bruce Katz of the Brookings Institute made a list of three things he feels need to be reformed so that mixed-use ideas like Smart Growth will be incorporated by more municipalities. The areas needed for reform are metropolitan governance, growth management and land use reforms, and infrastructure spending. [19] Reform in metropolitan governance has to take into account that cities can only control what goes on within their borders. This means that sprawl can be tough to stop. Katz claims that for mixed-use policies to be effective, "governance needs to be extended across an entire region." [20] David Rusk gives excellent examples of cities that have grown over the last fifty years in his book, Cities without Suburbs. In it he speaks of cities like Houston, Indianapolis, and Nashville that greatly increased their population because of an aggressive annexation plan that brought their counties under their governance. [21] Rusk's argument was one of growth potential for what he called 'elastic' and 'inelastic' cities. Elastic cities are those that have an ability to grow upwards and out, while inelastic can only grow upwards.

Some of the annexations that Rusk mentions, especially in Sunbelt cities, led to sprawl and not higher density Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND). Katz differs from Rusk in that he isn't speaking of a city's population growth potential; his focus is on how to better plan urban and suburban growth so that sprawl is not the result. Katz uses the programs going on in Portland, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Atlanta as his models for effective and aggressive regional governance. In these four cities (actually three since Minneapolis and St. Paul work together), regional authorities oversee land use and transportation in the metropolitan area. [22]

In regard to growth management and land use reforms, Katz believes that "states can exert control over the use of land at the edges of metropolitan areas, limiting growth into open land and promoting conservation." [23] Mixed-use is encouraged by state management of growth and land-use. State and local zoning laws eventually follow market trends in development. More and more states are changing their zoning laws so that Smart Growth and New urbanism practices are a part of the process. Tennessee is a prime example of a state adjusting to the market as it "requires counties to adopt land use plans that designate growth boundaries for urban areas and set aside rural preservation areas." [24]

The last area of reform that Katz mentions is infrastructure spending. In many states, infrastructure spending is presently promoting greenfield development, which is ensuring green spaces remain within urban areas. Using Pennsylvania as their example, the Brookings Institute notes that in that state, newer suburbs received 58% of spending for new transportation and other infrastructure. That amount is disproportionate because the newer suburbs only make about 42% of the population. [25] Katz believes that states can refocus their infrastructure spending to redevelopment instead of new development. Maryland and New Jersey are the trend setters in this area. They both have programs that target direct spending and tax incentives towards existing communities, instead of creating new ones. Massachusetts has a unique program called the "Fix It First" policy. This policy "gives priority to the repair of existing streets, roads, and bridges over new transportation projects." [26] Each area of reform that Katz speaks about paves the way for an increase in mixed-use land development.

Zoning Laws

Zoning laws in America are changing, but change in this field goes slowly. In the thirty years since the ULI literally wrote the book on mixed-use developments, there has been change for the better, but there is still a long way to go. American city planning is a true testament to the saying, "Old habits die hard." For years city planners were accustomed to developing their towns in the suburban style that became popular after World War II. Although this planning gave many people the 'space' they desired, it also led to unchecked sprawl. While some strategies to promote mixed-use and fight against sprawl have already been mentioned, one of the best approaches I have found was created by the Local Government Commission. The LGC is a nonprofit organization that is devoted to promoting livable communities and advocating zoning code reform to overcome the obstacles to smart growth. [27] An example in the United States that the LGC has commended for their great work is the TND programs in Austin, Texas. New residential developments in Austin are not required to build in the traditional neighborhood style, but they are strongly encouraged to do so through incentives.

The LGC also commended Mixed-Use and Live/Work codes around the country. High density areas are the objective for these types of codes. Like typical mixed-use, the buildings being constructed are multi-story. In these buildings generally the ground floor is used for retail, service, or office space and the upper floors are residential. [28] The LGC reviewed Sonoma, California's recently adopted development code that allows live/work units in virtually every district of the city and exempts them from density calculations. [29] Sonoma's decision to allow mixed-use projects to be exempt from density calculations shows how popular such development is today. High density seems to go against trying

to make the city an attractive place to live. Many people that left the city in the past have done so because it was too crowded. For urban areas to promote high density development, which is characteristic of mixed-use, on the surface seems counter-productive. Since people seem to be so drawn by the benefits of mixed-use (like walkable spaces and diversity of activities), its high density has not proven to be a deterrent to its popularity.

One last example of zoning reform that the LGC has found to be excellent is Transit-Area codes. These codes are centered on rail and surface transit. Transit-Area codes promote higher densities at or near stops, stations or transfer nodes. [30] Eugene, Oregon and Seattle, Washington lead the way nationally as models of Transit-Area codes, as they have implemented zoning overlay districts to promote transit-oriented development (TOD). Urban areas are becoming so committed to mixed-use that some have even begun to make laws about pavement width to encourage walking. Other new laws are intended to beautify the streetscape features and determine the distance of building facades to the street. Parking codes are being revised to encourage shared and curbside parking. [31] Mixed-use has proven to be a very versatile and viable strategy to reform zoning laws.

Is Mixed-Use Planning Worth the Risk?

There are many sources that laud the benefits of mixed-use, but with all the good things developers and consumers have to say about it, this question comes to mind: what are its risks? Byron Sampson, an Urban Design and Planning Unit manager with Carter & Burgess, analyzed mixed-use and its risks in the same article on mixed-use developments that we have been discussing. His main conclusion is that many of the

mixed-use projects, such as TND, TOD, Smart Growth, and New Urbanism, have been successful in the short-term, but are unproven in the long-term. Developers realize the trends in their market, but sometimes latching on to a new sensation can be risky. According to Sampson:

> Some developers are very bottom-line oriented,
>
> No one wants to be the first one out of the gate with something new.
>
> They'll watch the guy trying it and learn from his mistakes. [32]

Sampson came up with a list of four challenges and advantages to mixed-use projects for developers, which are the availability of real estate, the risk of limited exposure, the viability of activity on the lot all day and all week long (24/7), and last and most importantly, market demand. Many of these issues with mixed-use have been already addressed in this paper, but Sampson brings an interesting perspective to the discussion. Regarding the availability of real estate, Sampson believes newer zoning laws are more favorable to mixed-use urban development than sprawled suburban planning. Developable land on urban edges is more scarce and expensive than ever. The strict environmental requirements and state growth management policies also make land hard to obtain. In contrast to the struggle to develop land on the outskirts of the city, Sampson notes, "compact packages in or near city centers can be purchased relatively inexpensively and translated into profitable developments." [33] It seems that the 'deck is stacked' in favor of urban development, which is increasingly becoming mixed-use.

Limited exposure to mixed-use can be a problem in generating funds for the projects, according to Sampson. In some cases lenders are unfamiliar with financing mixed-use projects and need to learn about the risks and rewards of such undertakings. What makes funding mixed-use tricky is that because housing, office, hotel, retail, and

other uses are part of the projects, usually multiple developers are involved. If the developers can get together and create a common vision for the project, obtaining funding is even easier than one development group going at it alone. On the other hand, if there is division between the developers, then funding can become a deterrent to the proceedings.

One of Sampson's contemporaries at Carter & Burgess, Rory Chen, a unit manager for Retail and Distribution, contributed to his analysis of 24/7 use of mixed-use developments. Taking into account that mixed-use projects don't shut down when the office closes for the day or when the restaurant is not open, both men agreed that successful mixed-use developments remain open and active all day, into the evening and through the weekend. [34] Chen states, "These projects give the developer more flexibility and versatility, uses feed off of one another. Someone who comes to work might stay to eat or go to a movie." [35] All of the other reasons for and risks of mixed-use development are secondary to what drives it (any industry for that matter), market demand. When planners got away from TND in the 1950's and turned to sprawling suburban developments, this move was a response to market demand. The backlash against sprawl that has taken place over the last thirty years is a result of the slowly shifting market demand. John Rufo rejoins the conservation at this point and contributes to Sampson's claim of the importance of the market. In the thirty years since the ULI defined mixed-use developments, developers have seen that such projects avoid some of the problems that are common to single-use developments. Rufo states:

> When one market goes cold, and that's your market, you're stuck.
> Office markets are down now in the Northeast, so if you're an
> office developer, you're going to suffer. In the long run, mixed-use
> projects can better weather storms. [36]

Sampson concludes the Carter & Burgess conversation on the mixed-use market by declaring that demand, not city encouragement, will drive developers to undertake such projects. He says, "People want to be able to walk to a park from their home, you can expand on that by giving them a place to eat, get some coffee, or read a book." [37] He believes that if you give them all those options, eventually you will have a town center. Developers are seeing these possibilities and are getting excited. Sampson concludes by making the point that neither the suburbs nor single-use development are going away. However, he also concludes that recent demographic shifts and market demand indicate that mixed-use development is the trend of the present and future.

Burbank, California

During my research, I have unearthed plenty of examples of mixed-use neighborhoods and communities. Burbank, California is one of the best examples that I found. On the town's website I found nice pictures of local mixed-use development, as there is an excellent combination of residential and commercial. Like most popular mixed-use, Burbank's neighborhoods are filled with multi-level edifices that contain office or retail on the ground floor and residential on the upper floors. These buildings have modern design, but often have old-style brick faces. In Burbank, mixed-use seems to be a blend of old layout and new design; it makes for an interesting and beautiful combination.

The website contained more than just pictures of mixed-use; it also displayed the city's vision as of March of 2003. Town board members, led by then Interim City Manager Mary Alvord, laid out the way the city came up with its vision and how they planned on achieving it. Mixed-use was an integral part in the Land Use Element of the

city's General Plan. The Land Use Element served as the blueprint for all future development in Burbank. In general, the Land Use Element set policies for all development in the city. The map drawn up by the unit had the goal of ensuring that land is provided at appropriate locations for all types of development, open space and public facilities. [38] Burbank's Planning Division created its vision by spending a year reaching out to the community to learn what they wanted for their town. The Planning Division held three public informational meetings in 2002 to educate the population on what was being planned and to find out what residents thought was important. Flyers and cards were placed in public places to update residents on the planning process. These flyers and cards also contained spaces for feedback. [39] Burbank's website also contained much information on the development process.

The most effective informant was the compilation of responses to the city's questionnaire titled, Your City, Your Plan: Share Your Vision! Over 300 questionnaires were filled-out and returned; it was in short response form and contained five questions. The five questions were as follows: [40]

1. What is unique about Burbank?

2. What is special about your city that you want to preserve?

3. What would you like to change?

4. What does Burbank need that it doesn't have?

5. How would you define the "character" of Burbank?

Of the many responses to question one, the most important one was, "it has a small town feel with big city conveniences." [41] Question two's most popular responses were "small town feel" and "sense of community." [42] The answers for question three were

broken down into categories; the most repeated ones were: schools and youth programs, business, housing, improve traffic, airport, and visual blight. [43] Each response was broken down into further detail, but it is not necessary for this paper to get that specific. Question four was summarized similarly to question three in that the answers were broken down into different categories. The categories were: low cost housing, parks and recreation, businesses, and transportation. [44] Burbank, obviously, has each of these four things, but what people wanted to see were improved programs in each. The four most popular responses to question five were: clean, community oriented, great place to work and live, and safe. [45]

Town leaders in Burbank discovered that the townspeople wanted a 'balance' between its small town feel and big city amenities. As a result they adopted this slogan for the town: **Burbank—a Big City in a Small Town**. [46] Analysis of the questionnaire and the town meetings led the Town Board to conclude that Burbank has thirteen outstanding qualities. The outstanding qualities are as follows: [47]

1. Small Town Character

2. Balanced Development

3. Community Architecture and Design

4. Neighborhoods

5. Quality Schools

6. Proactive Community Services and Public Facilities

7. Housing

8. Mobility

9. Safety

10. Economic Vitality

11. Open Space and Recreational Opportunities

12. Responsive Government

13. Strategies for Sustainable Growth

Of this list of thirteen, the ones that spoke to the virtues of mixed-use development are: balanced development, neighborhoods, housing, mobility, open space, sustainable growth, and in particular community architecture and design.

Original Research (Henrietta, New York)

Burbank, California's 2003 City Vision offered an informative look at how a town plans its land use, and what role mixed-use development plays in those plans. My search of town planning in Burbank piqued my curiosity about how local towns are planned. It seemed only natural that I would research the town I grew up in, Henrietta, New York. Henrietta is practically the best local suburban area for research on development. The town has a region-wide reputation for being "over-developed", particularly with retail. Lawn signs protesting the building of Wal-Mart and other retail venues in the neighboring town of Geneseo a few years back, read "Don't turn Geneseo into Genrietta." As stated often in this thesis, many people who leave urban areas for suburban or rural life do so to get away from the busyness that is associated with the city. Geneseo residents' disdain for becoming like Henrietta was stereotypical of the "urban flight" mentality, except this was "suburban flight". I define suburban flight as the reaction of people who are not in favor of suburban or rural towns becoming too similar to urban areas in commercial industry and population density. If this definition holds any

credibility with experts in the field of settlement patterns, then Henrietta is a perfect example of the type of town that some suburbanites would 'fly' from.

There are many indicators of Henrietta's development boom, and one of the most basic is its population increase. In the 1977 version of Henrietta Town Historian Eleanor C. Kalsbeck's book called, Henrietta Heritage, population figures are given in five to ten year intervals. The town was incorporated in 1818, so its first census figures were in 1820, and in that year the population was 2,181. [48] Henrietta's population stayed remarkably close to that total for 110 years. Population jumps of about 5,000 people happened from 1930 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1950. However, it was not until the 1960's that Henrietta experienced a significant upswing in population. From 1950 to 1960 the town's population increased from 3,385 to 11,598. [49] This increase was in large part due to the new commitment to commercial development by the town planners. Close to the end of the 1960's (by 1968) the town's population more than doubled to almost 25,000 and has remained in between that number and 40,000 ever since.

As mentioned before the first big population boom in Henrietta happened in the early 1960's when the town made its first big foray into commercial development. The town propaganda publication entitled The 1961 Henrietta Brochure displays the town's thirst for industry. Besides diagramming the town's dynamic population growth during this time as compared to Monroe County, the brochure has over 20 pages of text aimed at convincing businesses to call Henrietta home. Page twenty-seven starts like this, "Two thousand five hundred acres of flat, well-drained land are available for industry." [50] The page goes on to say how town zoning ordinances encourage nicely-landscaped, campus-type buildings. Examples given are the newly built industrial buildings at the Miracle

Mile (now the Marketplace), like RG&E, Roehlen Engraving, and Wilmot Castle. These businesses, along with places like the Genesee Valley Regional Market, were enticed by Henrietta town planners' propaganda effort to help the town grow.

To this point in my case study of Henrietta and how it became a sprawling and somewhat over-developed suburb of Rochester, I focused on population and commercial growth and how they are connected. As I further researched, I found many examples and designs for mixed-use development. The Zoning Map of the Town of Henrietta in the 1961 Brochure shows five different types of development. The five types of development are: industrial, commercial, and three types of residential (based on the number of houses in a given neighborhood). The three residential types are called Class A, Class AA, and Class B, with A being the most densely populated, B the least dense, and AA being moderately dense. [51] This zoning map provides an excellent visual of the way Henrietta was in 1961 and gives a forecast of the vision for the near future. Since the town was still in the infancy of its development boom, most of the land development was not mixed-use yet. The map does show pockets of the town that were practicing the mixed-use philosophy.

On the west side of town near the Rochester Institute of Technology and the Genesee River, the land was a combination of industrial and class B residential. Designers and town planners during the early 1960's worked under the presumption that most suburbanites didn't want to live in a neighborhood where industrial buildings existed. This thought process was probably why the residential neighborhoods near most of the industry in Henrietta in 1961 were Class B (low density). East and West Henrietta Roads were becoming increasingly more commercial and also contained some of the

most densely populated neighborhoods in the town (Class A). The road that was the best example of mixed-use development in the town was Lehigh Station Road. Lehigh Station contained Class A residential development, commercial development (at its intersections with both East and West Henrietta Roads), and some new industrial development at its intersection with the Lehigh Valley Railroad. [52]

Henrietta's 1961 Brochure also goes on to laud the town's advantages by mentioning its favorable tax rates and easy accessibility to the rest of the state because it has a New York State Thruway exit. [53] More interesting data on the town in the 1961 brochure was the chart entitled *Present Establishments of Henrietta* on page 29. It gives a breakdown of how the town has been developed; some of the most important statistics are as follows: [54]

Homes	3,000
Food Stores	18
Eating Places	25
Retail Stores	34
Industries	39
Schools	5

The chart talks about other establishments like hotels, banks, and gas stations, but what I found most interesting was the added statistic at the bottom, which said that 53% of Henrietta's 1961 tax base was non-residential. This fact was exciting in two ways for the Henrietta Town Board; it meant that the town was becoming more commercial and industrial (just what they wanted to happen) and more people would be attracted to move

there because of the low taxes. Henrietta's low taxes did attract more residents as by 1970 its population increased to just over 33,000, almost triple the 1960 total. [55]

Another indicator of Henrietta's population boom in the 1960's was the number of housing developments that were built during the decade. Kalsbeck chronicles this in Henrietta Heritage. By 1967 there were twenty-three housing developments in Henrietta; only two of these existed before 1954. Of the remaining twenty-one, fifteen were designed and built in the 1960's. [56] It was during the 1960's that enduring developments like Indian Hills, Wedgewood-on-the-Green, and Trout Spring Farm were established. Due to the increasing population, town construction continued on to the building of new schools. Buildings that housed both Senior High Schools (Roth and Sperry) were built in the late 1960's. As the 1970's dawned, Henrietta was at a critical time in its development. Industry, retail, and a growing number of housing developments were here to stay; the town had to figure out how best to deal with the situation they had created. The three-part *Town of Henrietta's Master Plan Report* for the town, which was written in 1967, would become very instrumental for its future development.

1967 Town of Henrietta's Master Plan Report

In researching Henrietta's march from a small town to a sprawling suburb, the Henrietta Public Library was an invaluable resource. Maps, books, zoning codes, and many other tidbits stock their shelves; some of the most useful information is contained in the Master Plan, which the Town Board puts out every few years. 1967 was a year in which the Board put together a Master Plan that was vital to the town's continued transition to bigger and better things. The 1967 Plan was broken-up into three parts:

Phase 1 – Existing Conditions, where my research is focused; Phase 2 – Master Plan and Program; and Phase 3 – Implementation.

In Phase 1, the Town Board looked at the existing conditions of Henrietta to determine whether or not they were compatible with their vision for the future. As stated in the Plan's introduction the existing land use was studied to "provide a framework for future planning conclusions relative to two major objectives." [57] First, the 1967 Master Plan was to become the principle cornerstone of Henrietta's future land use preparation. Second, the 1967 Plan was to provide information to be used in recommending measures for site design and zoning requirements. Data was collected primarily in survey form (over five years of study) and was separated into various land use categories. Residential and commercial uses were the two major categories, but the Board also looked at manufacturing, public building, semi-public building, public utility, and several other land uses.

In the charts and maps used in the study, the town was slotted into six areas, which are: Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, Southeast, West Central, and East Central. Route 15A (East Henrietta Road) served as the dividing line between the east and west side of town, while the NYS Thruway was the southern dividing line and Lehigh Station Road (Route 253) the northern dividing line. According to Table 9, on page 61 of Phase 1, in the early 1960's agricultural or vacant land made up 15,739 of the 21,847 acres of land in Henrietta (or 72%). [58] That statistic alone shows that even though Henrietta was making a big push to commercialize, it was still mostly rural. The population explosion in a short period of time was the best indicator that the town was becoming less rural, and that claim is backed-up by further statistics on the chart.

Family dwellings (a combination of one and two family households) made up the second most common use of land in Henrietta at 1,996 acres (9%). [59] Semi-public buildings like schools, churches, hospitals, clubs, and charitable institutions, made up the third largest land-use group at 1,173 acres (5.4%). [60] Roads and the New York State Thruway composed the last significant group, but retail was slowly becoming more important in Henrietta. In regards to housing, the Northeast and East Central parts of town used the most land and were therefore the most populated sections. Concerning retail, the Northwest section of town was the town's commercial center, occupying 90 of the 131 acres. [61] One obvious conclusion to be drawn from the chart is that the northern part of town was clearly the most developed, and the southern part was the most rural.

Another important aspect of Phase 1 of the 1967 Master Plan were the categories of residential densities that the town established. There were four residential densities that the town classified, and the point of the classifications was to provide variety in the type of living available to Henrietta residents. The four residential densities the board came up with were: Rural-Residential, Suburban-Low Density, Suburban-Medium Density, and Suburban-High Density. Using the four density categories, the town planners created a general guide for future growth and change in Henrietta. This guide was also meant to improve the town's character as a residential community and strengthen its tax base. Table 15, entitled *Land Use Areas and Dwelling Unit Densities*, displays the town's radical plans to become much more residential and to promote mixed-use developments in the near future. While the percentage of residential land was just under 10% in Table 9, the proposed plan found in Table 15 called for a little over

45% of the town's land to be residential. [62] The residential development piece of the chart read as follows: [63]

Residential Development	Area in Acres	% of Town	Dwelling Units/Acre
Rural-Residential	2,600	11.0	0-1
Suburban-Low Density	3,200	14.0	1-2
Suburban-Medium Density	4,000	18.0	2-3
Suburban-High Density	800	3.7	13-15

With the proposal for dramatic increase in land use for residents, mixed-use development would naturally take place. This is simply because more residents would create a demand for more retail options and very likely more industry as well. Figure 16 of Phase 1 is a map called *Preliminary Land Use Plan*, and as before, the south-side of town was maintained as a rural area and the north (especially the east) was densely populated. [64] The mixed-use element was most prominently displayed in the Henrietta Regional Center which was then the major retail area of the town. While the area was mostly commercial, there was industry and a few planned neighborhoods surrounding the Regional Center. This retail area, which included South Town Plaza, would become the framework for future commercial development in Henrietta (especially Marketplace Mall). Part of the mixed-used land proposed was the parks and open spaces mandated by the town. Henrietta Memorial Town Park took shape about the same time the Library was built (1966). Parks and nature trails kept a rural feel to the rapidly developing town. It also was a strong indication of the wide variety of development that Henrietta planners desired.

The last important aspect of Phase 1 was the planning of the multi-county Genesee Expressway (now U.S. Route 390). Route 390 was planned to have a Henrietta exit, situated just down the road from the town's New York State Thruway exit. [65] This development would do wonders for the town's plan to become more populated, as these two big roadways along with Routes 15 and 15A (West and East Henrietta Roads) would bring many travelers through the area. Route 390 and the Thruway greatly contributed in making Henrietta a magnet for retail and industry. As stated before, Henrietta's population did boom from the beginning of the 1960's to the beginning of the 1970's. It did not, however, boom as much as the town planners predicted in 1967. On page 116 of Phase 1, they planned on building enough houses in town so that the population would range from 65,000 to 85,000 people by the early 1980's. To accomplish this goal, the Board figured they would need to build about 15,000 to 20,000 dwelling units (houses and apartments). [66]

Henrietta's population has been over 30,000 ever since the 1970's but has only barely reached 40,000 for its highest total. The 1967 Town Board was very ambitious in its planning for growth. Even though the town never grew as much as they hoped, the impressive gains of the 1960's have continued ever since. What they did get right was that Henrietta would become a popular destination for businesses and shoppers. This popularity has helped the town maintain a low tax base and attract many new residents. As a result, to this day Henrietta is one of Rochester's biggest suburubs and, along with Greece, Irondequoit, Gates, and Webster, also one of the busiest.

In conclusion, although mixed-use development has been a part of urban and suburban planning in America for over 100 years, it has only been since the mid-1970's

that many areas have made it a priority. In response to the wave of mixed-use planning, the Urban Land Institute (ULI) gave the first official definition of mixed-use in 1976. If a given area has three or more revenue-producing uses, has functional and physical integration of the project components, and is developed in conformance with a coherent plan, it is a mixed-use development. Design trends such as Smart Growth, New Urbanism, Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND), Transit-Oriented Development (TOD), and Urban Revitalization are examples of mixed-use development. Examples given in this paper include Crocker Park in Westlake, Ohio (a suburb of Cleveland); Burbank, California; and the case study on Henrietta, New York. Mixed-use development contains the combination of residential, industrial, and commercial aspects that Americans have responded to favorably. This is important because in city planning and housing development, as in other markets, the producers respond to the demands of the consumers.

Part Three

Getting to Know Your Town: Applying Research to Teaching

Section 1

Connecting Research to Teaching

In Part One of my thesis I wrote a historiography on urban (and suburban) sprawl. Part Two was an original research project on one of the more popular ways of combating sprawl, mixed-use development. This third and final part of the thesis will be focused on connecting research to teaching. If teachers are able to learn how to turn their research into lessons, it will make it easier to teach students how to properly research. Of the many options offered by Dr. Corey to complete our thesis, I chose to interview an expert on the field of research that I focused on in Part Two. Mixed-use development was an easy subject to research because of the wealth of information on the subject. This leads me to my first teaching point for students or other teachers in how to conduct a research project: choose a topic with a wealth of information. While this seems like an obvious statement to make, nonetheless it is very important because if you are researching an obscure topic, the lack of information can lead to frustration and several topic changes.

The Process of Choosing a Research Topic

In choosing the subject for my individual research piece, I honed in on different ways to combat urban sprawl. Of the many 'weapons' against sprawl (city revitalization, building suburbs, rezoning land, etc.) the most commonly talked about strategy in my research was mixed-use development. In fact, many of the tools used to fight sprawl had elements of mixed-use in them. This made it easy for me to choose mixed-use as my topic. I encourage students and teachers to avoid reinventing the wheel when doing a

research project. Research is hard enough work as it is and usually many other people have worked on the topic you have chosen, so take advantage of the hard work that has already been done for you. Using a well documented topic to research falls under the category of K.I.S.S. (Keep It Simple Stupid). Most students are motivated by success and if they are given overly complicated methods, it will make it that much harder for them to succeed. If students are given something they can manage, I believe their motivation for doing the assigned task will only increase.

On the other hand, what about the student that loves a challenge; how can you keep them motivated? Since these students want to be put to the test, they may choose a topic has not been well-researched. In that instance the social studies teacher's job is the same as it is with students who pick a less strenuous project; that is, teach the students how to research. If a student learns the required tools for effective research, they will be able to get a tremendous amount of information on any subject. The learning theory addressed in teaching students how to research is modeling. Showing the students 'how to' research by modeling gives them a guideline to follow. All teachers have had times when they felt they explained their lesson well and everyone understands; only to find out some kids have no idea what to do. That is why it's essential to take class time to do research so they can see rather than hear or read how it's done.

The way to go about teaching research methods is to do what works best for you. An example from my own teaching experience was when I took about a week trying to show the students how to write a thematic essay. The best way I knew how was to pick a topic from an old Regents test and use our text, notes, and class worksheets as our tools to research from. I wrote the essay with them step-by-step, showing them how outside

information improved the quality of the paper. The students seemed to receive the instruction well, but when I assigned them an essay to do on their own, many still had no idea of what to do. Thinking back on it, maybe I 'held their hands' too much in the teaching process without giving them the tools to survive on their own. Even with that experience that had mixed results, modeling was the best practice for me in teaching essay writing. What I could have done better was to make the students more responsible for the research we did as a class, and in the process they would have learned how to research.

<p style="text-align:center">Narrow the Focus of Your Research</p>

The biggest hurdles that students face when researching are choosing a topic and then narrowing the topic down to a manageable size. With my original research topic of mixed-use development, I had so many directions I could go that it was tough choosing a focus. What I finally focused on was a case study of mixed-use in the town I grew up in, the town of Henrietta, New York. Henrietta was an easy choice for the case study, not only because of my familiarity with the town, but also because it contains numerous mixed-use development areas. All through the town there are areas that have a mix of residential, commercial, and industrial land uses. My case study focused on a specific era of great change in town planning in Henrietta, the 1960's. It was during the 1960's that the pace of mixed-use planning gained steam in the town. To this day, mixed-use development continues to be the model that Henrietta town planners prefer. Though things don't always go the way the town board wants (the Senior Living Community that was supposed to be built next to the big Wegmans store scheduled to open in 2009 will now most likely not be built at all) development of the town's land is often mixed-use.

In this third part of my thesis, not only is the connection between research and teaching made, but also a particular research method is explored. That research method that I am exploring is interviewing an expert. Using the subject of the case study in the original research portion of my thesis, I decided to interview the town historian of Henrietta, Helen Elam. I conducted a forty-five minute phone interview with her over the summer in which I informed her of my research, had her fill in any gaps I missed, and most importantly asked the question, "What do you want people to know about Henrietta?" I will delineate her answers to this question as I develop this third part of my thesis, but also will demonstrate how teachers can model for students how to interview. Ultimately, I would like to have students do research on the town they live in so they can learn why things are the way they are where they live. If all goes well, a class project could result in which the students can interview town historians, board members, politicians, and/or long-time residents of their area.

Section 2

Interview with Mrs. Helen Elam, Henrietta Town Historian

The main objective of this portion of my thesis is to teach students how to conduct research. As mentioned before, I interviewed Henrietta's town historian to strengthen my case study in the original research section of the thesis; therefore interviewing will be the main research method that is taught. Mrs. Helen Elam and I conducted a phone interview over the summer and her statements confirmed most of the library research I gathered on Henrietta. Henrietta's population at the present is about 46,000 people; Mrs. Elam informed me before World War II the population was much smaller. She attributed the population explosion to the return of GI's from the war

looking for jobs and new places to live. [1] Much like suburbia all over America during the post-war days, these GI's looked at Henrietta as a place to get away from the crowdedness of the city. Though it was a typical suburb in some ways, Henrietta was never a "Levittown". Mrs. Elam believes Henrietta's housing codes and mortgage rates were more inclusive to people who were non-white and not in the middle class, in comparison to other Levittown-type suburbs like Pittsford or Fairport. [2] According to Mrs. Elam, "This is just one of many reasons that set Henrietta apart as the best place to live in Monroe County." [3]

To keep up with the rapid growth of the town, miles of water and gas lines were installed. Simple moves like this by the town board were not only done to accommodate the residents' needs, but according to Mrs. Elam they showed the planners' forward thinking for its continued growth. [4] Tract homes in new housing developments sprung up all over Henrietta in the 1950's and 1960's. Apparently the popular style of homes that the town planners preferred was the ranch, which is still evident all over Henrietta to this day. One of the main developers that the town went into business with was Wilmot, a company known for many major construction projects in the Rochester area (including Marketplace Mall). The first homeowners built their ranches on East Henrietta Road; these homes did not have basements. A major factor for many people being attracted to Henrietta according to Mrs. Elam was its accessibility. [5] In the early 1960's the New York State Thruway and U.S. Route 390 built exits in Henrietta, so its residents had much easier access to Rochester and elsewhere. Mrs. Elam believes that this easy access also made Henrietta more attractive to businesses and industry as well. [6]

Henrietta's Growth and Diversity

One of Henrietta's nicknames is the "Crossroads of Monroe County"; this is because of its central location in the county. Mrs. Elam (a Henrietta resident for over fifty years) believes that this was instrumental in attracting Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) to move there in 1968. [7] It also helped attract Kodak and Xerox to build marketing plants in the town. In Mrs. Elam's time living in Henrietta, she has seen a commercial explosion, as shops, restaurants, and eventually malls have come to dot the landscape of Henrietta. For years the town has had the county's lowest rate and remains one of the lowest, according to Mrs. Elam, and this is the biggest reason that residents, commercial business, and industries have flocked to Henrietta. [8] For decades now the town board has had a long tradition encouraging development. To many outsiders Henrietta is overdeveloped; to Mrs. Elam it has a good mix of development and small time charm. [9] Government infrastructure in the town has been setup to encourage continued growth, but places such as the Lehigh Valley Trail and Tinker Nature Park show that the town has focused on maintaining a country feel as well. Though Henrietta is nowhere close to the town that Mrs. Elam grew up in, she seems to think the changes have been for the better. [10]

One aspect of Henrietta's growth that Mrs. Elam mentioned again and again in the interview was the great diversity of churches within the town's limits. [11] Like most of the rest of the Rochester area, prior to World War II it was a predominately Catholic town. Though places such as Good Shepherd and Guardian Angels continue the strong Catholic influence in Henrietta today, there are many different Protestant denominations and non-Christian churches as well. Mrs. Elam believes the diversity in religion is a reflection of

the diversity of the people in Henrietta. [12] As someone who grew up in Henrietta as well, I believe Mrs. Elam is correct in her assessment of the town's diversity. In terms of religion, I went to school with atheists, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. Taking into account the wide variety of religious backgrounds of my classmates, one can also imagine the diversity of race and ethnicity that the schools contained. This has long been a trademark of the Rush-Henrietta Central School District. In the Monroe County suburbs, only Gates rivals the diversity of Henrietta's population. Mrs. Elam credits this diversity to not only low taxes and low-income housing, but also the residents' tolerance for one another. [13] The town's churches exemplify this tolerance by working together on fundraisers, most notably Habitat House.

As has already been mentioned, Henrietta's diversity is displayed in land usage. Beyond its mixed-use of land, single-use plots are still an important part of the landscape. Though the stereotype of Henrietta is that it is over-commercialized, the town still has many farms. Most of the farms are on the south side of town, near Rush, and the west side of town, near Scottsville. This was done intentionally as the town's people and planners have decided to keep these areas undeveloped. There are a growing number of housing developments in these areas, but hardly any stores or offices. Mrs. Elam believes the restriction of development to certain areas in town has contributed to the label of "over-developed" by non-residents. [14] Jefferson Road is the most developed area in town (also an excellent example of mixed-use), and the Calkins-East Henrietta Road section is nearly as developed. Besides the new Wegmans being built to replace the smaller one already on that corner, the Monroe County Fairgrounds are also being renovated. According to Mrs. Elam, the County Fair came to Henrietta in 1947 because

of its central location and the town's commitment to growth. [15] Current renovations on the sixty-acre plot of land are being done not only to spruce up the Fairgrounds, but also to advertise the town. The upgrades at the Fairgrounds display Henrietta's continued commitment to growth.

Connections between Transportation and Commercialism

Mrs. Elam has nothing but praise for what the town has historically done in dealing with transportation issues. As I previously mentioned, the building of Route 390 and the New York State Thruway made Henrietta more accessible to motorists in the Rochester area, in comparison to other suburbs. In the time since these two expressways were built, the expansion of streets such as Jefferson Road, East and West Henrietta Roads, and Calkins Road helped the increased traffic to keep flowing. To quote Mrs. Elam, "It is fairly easy to get around Henrietta." [16] These busier roadways led to increased construction (especially in housing), which led to the huge population increase in the 1960's. One surprising result of the great population increase that Mrs. Elam has noticed is how well Henrietta's long-time residents have adjusted. [17] These long-time residents grew up in a small farming community and now live in a densely populated commercial community. One of the greatest changes in the town's population is that before World War II there were barely any black families in Henrietta. It wasn't until 1950 that the first African-American graduated from the Rush-Henrietta district (a fellow by the name of Robinson, who later became a doctor). Mrs. Elam remembers "how graciously the town embraced the GI's and minorities that flooded into town in the 1950's and 1960's." [18]

While many people move to the suburbs to get away from the city, Henrietta's town board made this move even more desirable by bringing positive aspects of the city to the suburbs. South Town Plaza was opened in 1958 to give the experience of shopping without having to go into the city to do it (this was around the same time Midtown Plaza was built to attract people to the city to shop). Since South Town's opening, Henrietta has built many stores and plazas, with Marketplace Mall being the biggest. The abundance of shopping opportunity has been good for Henrietta's economy. Mrs. Elam notes, "Henrietta's shopping options are diverse; not only do they have the malls and plazas, but also small farm markets throughout the town as well." [19] The last thing that Mrs. Elam and I discussed was how the elderly fared in Henrietta. She is impressed by how they are treated. Even in what would seem like a setback with the proposed new Senior Center being rejected, Mrs. Elam believes that the current one is sufficient and well respected around the county. [20] As I have revealed the major points of the interview with Mrs. Elam, you can tell that she provided quite a detailed answer to my question of, "What do you want people to know about Henrietta?"

Section 3

Research Methods

The challenge for me as a teacher is to teach the students how to conduct an interview (or how to perform whatever research method I expect them to use). Using my interview with Mrs. Elam as a guideline, I would teach students questioning techniques. There are many types of questions; according to www.cgap.org, there at least eleven. The list that they compiled on questioning techniques included the following: [21]

1. Closed Questions- Those that involve a simple answer (a yes or no)

2. Presumptive Questions- Those that assume part of the answer

3. Leading Questions- Those that strongly suggest a certain answer is expected

4. Multiple Questions- A series of questions strung together (often confusing)

5. Rambling Questions- No definable part to answer (very ineffective)

6. Conflict Questions- Those that elicit an emotional response

7. Hypothetical Questions- Test the responder's problem-solving ability

8. Open Questions- Open discussions (Who, what, when, where, how, and why)

9. Probing Questions- Seek clarification of responses already given

10. Testing Understanding- Makes sure the responder understands question

11. Reflection- Encourages responder to give more info without extra prompting

CGAP (which stands for The Consultative Group to Assist the Poor) analyzed each type of question to determine the most effective types in an interview. Of the eleven given, the last four – open questions, probing questions, testing understanding, and reflection questions – were considered the best.

In teaching my students how to conduct an interview, I would show them the eleven questioning techniques, but even more importantly I would model for them effective uses of questions. CGAP gave these five tips to make an interview go well: [22]

1. Ask for more information- this requires the responder to give more detail

2. Restate what you have heard- shows your understanding of an answer

3. Formulate questions that elicit long answers- responder-centered interview

4. Piggy-back next question on responses from previous questions

5. Ask challenging questions, which CGAP broke down into three categories: [23]

   a. Convergent- brings together facts to potentially form a theory

b. Divergent- evokes interpretation, explanation, and translation

c. Evaluative- requires making judgments

I plan to show my classes how to conduct a good interview by having selected students do a role-play. I would help the pre-selected students with the "script" for the role-play. This method not only contributes to student learning, but is student-centered since they are involved in the action.

<div align="center">Other Research Methods</div>

I have so far focused on interviewing as a research method since that is what I used in the original research part of my thesis. There are many other effective research methods that I will encourage my students to explore as they begin their projects. Katherine Dunham, a psychology professor at SUNY Plattsburgh, constructed a list of research methods that I will use to show the students their options. I chose to use a list constructed by a psychology professor because psychologists conduct thorough research using many different types. Professor Dunham's list consisted of ten research methods, some of which I'll cover in detail. The ten methods are: experiment, quasi-experiment, correlational study, longitudinal study, cross-sectional study, survey, interview, case study, naturalistic observation, and demonstration.

Experiments are when individuals or groups are studied and compared in how they react to certain phenomenon. This method has dependent and independent variables, group assignments are random, and conditions are constant (called controls) except in regards to the independent variable. [24] For my class, students who use experiments would explore how different people react to events that have happened in their town. Experiments are an excellent research method because the information gathered is based

on what was observed, not pre-conceived notions. Quasi-experiments are similar to experiments except the members of the groups are assigned by a given similarity (gender, age, race, etc...). [25] A correlational study would be an excellent option for my students. This method generally investigates the relationship between two variables. The two common types of correlations are a positive relationship and a negative relationship. [26] Using the town of Henrietta as an example, one can deduce that the town's low taxes have a positive relationship to its high number of lower income residents. Longitudinal and cross-sectional studies are valuable, but because of the time involved, they would not be realistic for my students to conduct.

Surveys would be useful to my students as they are relatively easy to construct and distribute. Essentially a survey is a structured list of questions given to participants. According to Professor Dunham, "surveys can be written or oral; they can also be face to face or over the phone." [27] Surveys are effective in that they can reach a large number of people, but they are ineffective in that answers may be generic. Case studies are great tools because they are focused on only a small group of people. They involve extensive observations, meticulous data collection, and often interviews. [28] A student in my class might want to research how physically disabled students fare at Rush-Henrietta High School. A case study would be an excellent way to get the information needed to conduct such a project. Naturalistic observation and demonstration, while valuable in psychology, would not fit the purposes of my students' research projects. I believe if I can give students at least a little training in all the relevant research methods, they will be well-equipped to choose the right one for them to use. With practice, like the interview role-play, the students will be able to effectively research a topic of their choosing.

Teaching Students How To Get To Know Their Town

Students will use the research methods that I have mentioned in the last few paragraphs to complete the assignment of Getting to Know Your Town. I will facilitate the project by inviting Mrs. Elam to class so she can give the students a lesson on the town of Henrietta. Other teachers can set-up meetings for their classes with their town's historian. Students will have the responsibility of taking their research a step further using one of the given methods. If a student wants to conduct interviews, I will encourage them to expand their interviews beyond town historians. Many average citizens have wonderful stories to tell about the towns they live in. People such as town board members would be great resources, not only for interviews, but for access to town records and other data. The assignment will be a 3-5 page paper and will be graded on a 1 to 4 point rubric. A generic version of my rubric is as follows:

1- Student gave minimal facts, did not have a clear direction. Used only one source.

2- Student gave minimal facts, somewhat clear direction. Used at least two sources.

3- Student presented many facts, had clear direction. Used three or four sources.

4- Students presented many facts, well organized paper. Used five or more sources.

Working with Mrs. Elam could lead to setting up an exhibit at a place like Henrietta Memorial Town Park or Tinker Nature Center, where student research could be displayed. My classes, with the help of Mrs. Elam, could set up a walking tour of Henrietta's history at one of those places or the public library. The lesson plans and exhibits from this project could serve as a template for other teachers in other towns who would be interested. In terms of teaching standards, the New York State Social Studies standards involved in this project are: 1 (History of New York), 3 (Geography), 4

(Economics), and 5 (Government). Most of the ten National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) standards are used, in particular 1 (Culture), 2 (Time, Continuity, and Change), and 3 (People, Places, and Environments).

As shown by the title, the object of the class project is to help students to become more knowledgeable of the town they live in. In my opinion it is a worthy project because in each classroom there are future business leaders, town board members, and politicians. A project such as this might spark students to ask the question, "Why are things the way they are in my town?" Their pursuit of the answer might lead them to become activists for necessary changes in their area, or to gain a greater appreciation for the town they live in. Either way, if students get to know their town better, I believe that in the long run their town will become a better place because of it.

Conclusion

Part One of this thesis identified sprawl as a reoccurring factor in United States history. Sprawl can happen in an urban or suburban setting; the difference between the two is that while both are hard to control, urban sprawl leads to higher population density. In Part Two, one of the most popular strategies to combat sprawl was discussed. Mixed-use development has been incorporated by town planning boards across the country with predominately a positive response from developers and consumers alike. Mixed-use seems to be an efficient use of land; instead of segregating land for a single use, varying aspects of commercial, industrial, and residential development are blended on a plot of land. Finally, in Part Three, teaching strategies for conducting research were discussed. I believe it is important that students discover why their town was developed the way it was, and conducting research is an essential tool in this process.

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